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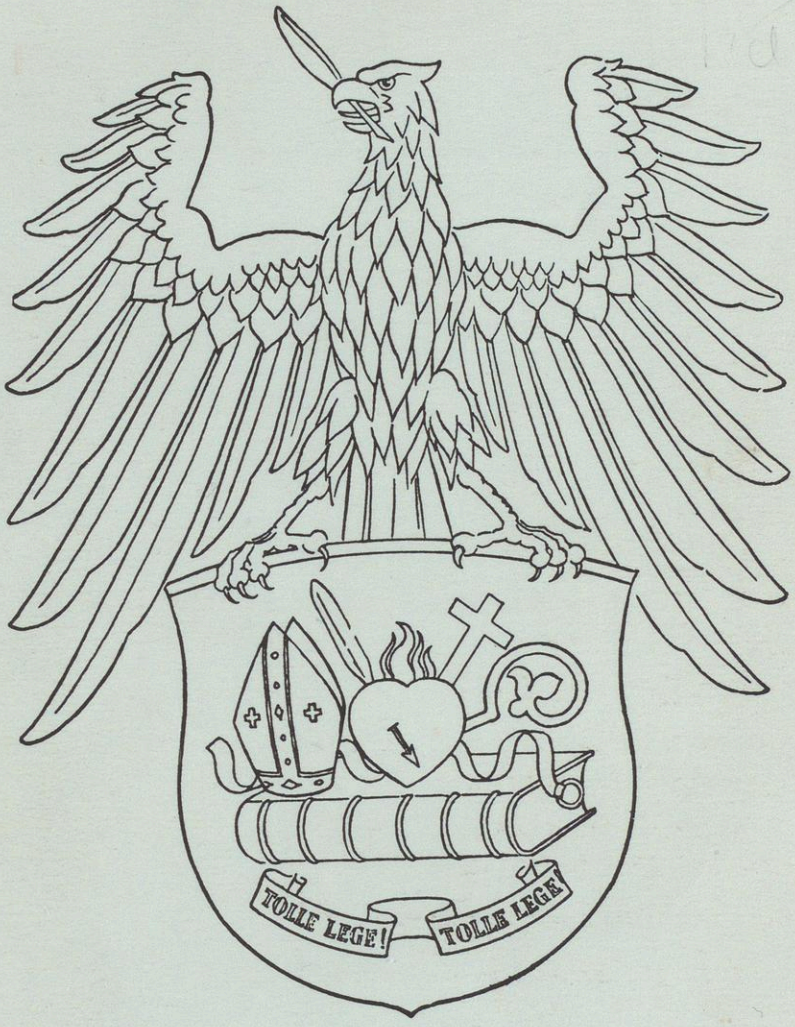

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INHOUD — SOMMAIRE

L. Verheijen, O.S.A., Éléments d'un commentaire de la Règle de saint Augustin 5-25

J. Belche, Die Bekehrung zum Christentum nach Augustins Büchlein De Catechizandis Rudibus (*Fortsetzung folgt*) . 26-69

E. Booth, St. Augustine's « notitia sui » Related to Aristotle and the Early Neo-Platonists (*to be continued*) . . . 70-132

B. Bubacz, Augustine's « Visio Intellectus » and Perceptual Error 133-138

L. Ferrari, Halley's Comet of 374 AD. New Light upon Augustine's Conversion to Manicheism 139-150

P. Rousseau, Augustine and Ambrose. The Loyalty and Singlemindedness of a Disciple 151-165

C. O'Reilly, « Without Councils We Cannot Be Saved... ». Giles of Viterbo Adresses the Fifth Lateran Council . . 166-204

F. Secret, Notes sur Egidio da Viterbo 205-237

L. Ceyssens, Chrétien Lupus O.E.S.A. Sa période ultramontaine 1660-1681 (*à suivre*) 238-282

P. Kubalek, Der Wiener Augustiner-Eremit P. Ferdinand Hartisch 1642/43-1699 (*Schluß*) 283-310

Boekbesprekingen — Comptes rendus 311-330

Ontvangen boeken — Livres reçus 331

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TIJDSCHRIFT VOOR DE STUDIE VAN SINT AUGUSTINUS EN DE AUGUSTIJNENORDE

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

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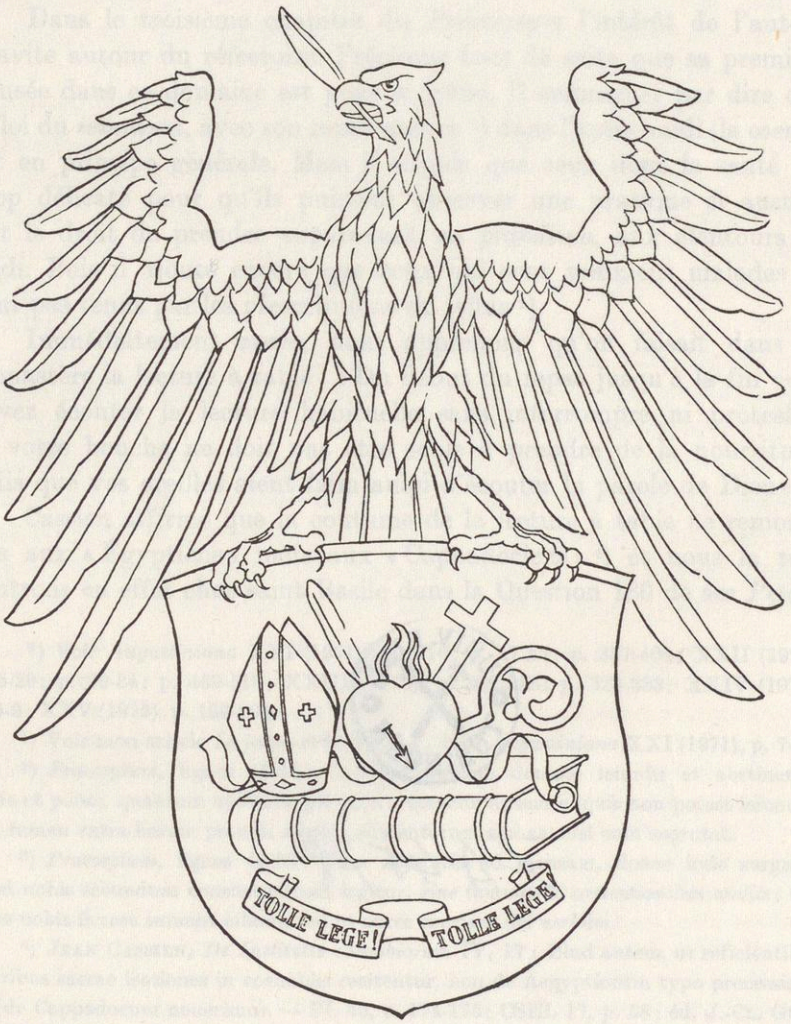
1977



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Éléments d'un commentaire de la Règle de saint Augustin *

XI. *Écouter la parole de Dieu sans interrompre ni protester.*

Dans le troisième chapitre du *Praeceptum* l'intérêt de l'auteur gravite autour du réfectoire. Précisons tout de suite que sa première pensée dans ce domaine est pour le jeûne. Il commence par dire que la loi du *ieiunium*, avec son repas unique [1]) dans l'après-midi (la *coena*), est en principe générale. Mais il stipule que ceux dont la santé est trop délicate pour qu'ils puissent observer une pratique si austère ont le droit de prendre auparavant un *prandium*, aux alentours de midi. Puis il ajoute encore que ceux qui sont vraiment malades ne sont pas tenus par les prescriptions du jeûne [2]).

Immédiatement après, nous apprenons qu'on faisait dans ce monastère la lecture à table : « Du début du repas jusqu'à la fin vous devez écouter la lecture habituelle sans interrompre ni protester, et votre bouche ne doit pas être seule à prendre de la nourriture, mais que vos oreilles aient faim aussi d'écouter la parole de Dieu » [3]).

Cassien affirme que la coutume de la lecture à table ne remonte pas aux « Égyptiens » mais aux « Cappadociens » [4]) et nous la rencontrons en effet chez saint Basile dans la Question 180 de ses *Petites*

*) Voir *Augustiniana* XXI (1971), p. 5-16; p. 17-23; p. 357-404; XXII (1972), p. 5-29; p. 29-34; p. 469-510; XXIII (1973), p. 306-328; p. 328-333; XXIV (1974), p. 5-9; XXV (1975), p. 199-204.

[1]) Voir mon article *Le jeûne et le déjeuner*, dans *Augustiniana* XXI (1971), p. 7-16.

[2]) *Praeceptum*, lignes 45-48 : Carnem uestram domate ieiuniis et abstinentia escae et potus, quantum ualetudo permittit. Quando autem aliquis non potest ieiunare, non tamen extra horam prandii aliquid alimentorum sumat, nisi cum aegrotat.

[3]) *Praeceptum*, lignes 49-52 : Cum acceditis ad mensam, donec inde surgatis, quod uobis secundum consuetudinem legitur, *sine tumultu et contentionibus audite*; nec solae uobis fauces sumant cibum, sed et aures esuriant *dei uerbum*.

[4]) Jean Cassien, *De Institutis coenobiorum* IV, 17 : Illud autem, ut reficientibus fratribus sacrae lectiones in coenobiis recitentur, non de Aegyptiorum typo processisse, sed de Cappadocum nouerimus. — PL 49, c. 174-175; CSEL 17, p. 58; éd. J.-Cl. Guy, p. 142).

Règles : « Avec quels sentiments et quelle attention faut-il écouter la lecture qui nous est faite pendant le repas ? Réponse : Avec plus de plaisir que nous n'en avons en mangeant et en buvant, de sorte que notre esprit montre qu'il n'est point distrait par les voluptés du corps mais se délecte plutôt des paroles du Seigneur, tout comme celui qui a dit : « Elles sont plus douces que le miel et le rayon de miel » (Ps. 18, 11) » [5]).

Remarquons que la lecture pendant le repas est également prescrite dans l'*Ordo Monasterii* où nous lisons : *Sedentes ad mensam taceant, audientes lectionem* [6]). Se pourrait-il que l'*Ordo Monasterii*, qui porte des traces d'influences orientales [7]), ait été ici l'intermédiaire entre l'Orient et le *Praeceptum* ?

Mais ce n'est pas cette question-là qui nous occupera dans cet article. Le passage du *Praeceptum* que j'ai cité plus haut nous apprend aussi que le lecteur risquait de se voir interrompu par des protestations. Les Africains étaient plus bruyants que nous, si bien que ces interruptions ne nous étonnent pas outre mesure. Mais nous voudrions savoir contre quoi ces serviteurs de Dieu dans le monastère étaient censés vouloir protester. Pourrions-nous trouver des renseignements à ce propos dans les œuvres de saint Augustin ? Il y en a en effet et, chose plutôt inattendue, il faut les chercher dans ses exposés sur les « béatitudes » et les « dons du Saint-Esprit » [8]).

Le tout premier exposé [9]) de ce genre se trouve dans le *De Sermone domini in monte* de saint Augustin. L'œuvre a été écrite quand Augustin était encore prêtre, c'est-à-dire entre 391 et 395 (ou 396). S'il est exact que le *Praeceptum* date du début de l'épiscopat de saint

[5]) PG 32, c. 1204. Je cite d'après la traduction de L. Lèbe dans Saint Basile, *Les Règles monastiques*, Maredsous, 1969, p. 266. Les textes de Jean Cassien et de saint Basile se trouvent cités dans R. Lorenz, *Die Anfänge des abendländischen Mönchtums im 4. Jahrhundert*, dans *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* LXXVII (1967), (p. 1-61), p. 48.

[6]) Voir L. Verheijen, *La Règle de saint Augustin.* I : *Tradition manuscrite*, Paris, 1967, p. 150.

[7]) Voir L. Verheijen, *La Règle de saint Augustin.* II : *Recherches historiques*, Paris, 1967, p. 134-138.

[8]) Les textes se trouvent utilement groupés dans C. van Lierde, *Doctrina sancti Augustini circa dona Spiritus Sancti ex textu Isaiae* XI 2-3, Würzburg, 1935, p. 8-17 et p. 62-65.

[9]) Dans son *Enarratio in Ps.* 11, 11, saint Augustin rapproche les béatitudes des dons, mais sans aucun développement. Cette *Enarratio* date également de l'époque du sacerdoce de saint Augustin.

Augustin [10]), le *De Sermone domini in monte* aurait précédé de peu la prescription monastique qui nous occupe dans cet article.

Le « Sermon de la montagne » que l'Évangile selon saint Matthieu situe au début de la vie publique de Jésus, s'étend de Matthieu 5,1 à 7,29. Les « béatitudes » ou « macarismes » se trouvent énumérées en 5,3-12. Dès son premier commentaire Augustin combine les sept béatitudes — il y en a huit mais qui se réduisent à sept — avec les sept « dons du Saint Esprit » que le prophète Isaïe énumère en 11,2-3 : « Sur lui repose l'esprit du Seigneur, esprit de sagesse et d'intelligence, esprit de conseil et de force, esprit de science, de *piété* et de crainte du Seigneur ». C'est du moins sous cette forme que saint Augustin a connu le texte d'Isaïe. Elle remonte à la version des LXX. Le texte hébreu ne présente que six « esprits ». La *pietas* y manque. Or c'est précisément de la *pietas* qu'il sera question ici.

En lisant la série dans l'ordre inverse de celui donné par Isaïe d'après la LXX, la *pietas* est le d e u x i è m e don de la liste. D'après saint Augustin il faut la mettre en rapport avec la d e u x i è m e des béatitudes : « Heureux les doux, les *mites*, car ils recevront la terre en héritage ».

Il faut ajouter encore un autre rapprochement. Augustin estime — mais il précise qu'il s'agit d'une idée personnelle [11]) — qu'à la *pietas* des *mites* correspondent dans l'Évangile selon saint Matthieu les deux versets 5,25-26 : « Hâte-toi de t'accorder avec ton adversaire, tant que tu es encore avec lui sur le chemin, de peur que l'adversaire ne te livre au juge, et le juge au garde, et qu'on ne te jette en prison. En vérité, je te le dis : tu ne sortiras pas de là, que tu n'aies payé le dernier sou ». Saint Augustin explique ces deux versets dans le premier livre du *De Sermone domini in monte*, en 11(29-32).

Curieusement, chaque fois qu'il est question de la *pietas* des *mites*, il s'agit selon saint Augustin de la l e c t u r e d e l a p a r o l e

[10]) Voir en dernier lieu mes articles *Non sicut serui sub lege, sed sicut liberi sub gratia constituti. La « date ancienne » et la « date récente » du Praeceptum*, dans *Scientia Augustiniana. Festschrift A. Zumkeller*, Würzburg, 1975, p. 76-91, et *Spiritualité et vie monastique chez saint Augustin. L'utilisation monastique des Actes des Apôtres* 4, 31, 32-35 *dans son œuvre*, dans *Jean Chrysostome et Augustin*. Actes du Colloque de Chantilly 22-24 septembre 1974, éd. par Ch. Kannengiesser, Paris, 1975, p. 93-123.

[11]) *De Sermone domini in monte* II, 25 (87) : Sed siue iste ordo in his considerandus sit siue aliquis alius, facienda sunt quae audiuimus a domino, si uolumus aedificare super petram. — PL 34, c. 1308; CC 35, p. 188. Voir A. Holl, *Augustins Bergpredigtexegese nach seinem Frühwerk De Sermone domini in monte libri duo*, Wien, (1960), p. 63-64.

de Dieu et c'est pour cette raison que ses affirmations nous intéressent dans le cadre de la présente recherche. Nous ne nous interrogerons pas sur la valeur exégétique de ces propos. Il nous suffit qu'ils nous éclairent sur ce que les frères du monastère pouvaient bien clamer quand ils interrompaient la lecture avec leurs protestations.

Le premier exposé sur la *pietas* des *mites* se situe dans l'explication générale des béatitudes dans Matthieu 5,3-10. Il se trouve dans le *De Sermone domini in monte* I,3(10). Après quelques mots sur « Heureux les pauvres en esprit » et sur « l'esprit de la crainte du Seigneur », Augustin rapproche la béatitude des *mites* de l'esprit de *pietas*. Le Sermon de la Montagne, dit-il, va parler maintenant de la façon dont il faut prendre connaissance des saintes Écritures. Dans ce domaine on doit se montrer doux, *mitis*, par *pietas* : qu'on n'ose pas blâmer dans l'Écriture ce que des ignorants regardent comme absurde, et qu'on ne devienne pas rebelle à ses enseignements par des querelles obstinées [12]).

Dans ce premier texte saint Augustin parlait directement des « doux » et c'est dans ce cadre qu'il évoquait leur *pietas*. Un peu plus loin, en I,4(11), il fait le contraire. Il parle maintenant directement des dons du Saint Esprit, constate qu'en ordre inverse la *pietas* est le deuxième don des sept, et la met en rapport avec la deuxième des béatitudes, celle des *mites*. Voici ce qu'il dit ensuite de ce *spiritus pietatis* : La *pietas* convient aux « doux », car celui qui « cherche » avec *pietas* honorera l'Écriture sainte, ne critiquera pas ce qu'il ne comprend pas encore et par là même n'y tiendra pas tête. Or c'est ce qui constitue précisément la douceur. Aussi est-il dit : « Heureux les doux ! » [13]). De nouveau saint Augustin a donc situé la *pietas* et les *mites* dans le contexte de la lecture de la parole de Dieu.

En I,4(12) il revient encore une fois sur la deuxième béatitude : « Heureux les doux, car ils recevront la terre en héritage ». Il fait comprendre que la terre dont ils héritent est le royaume des cieux. L'idée de l'héritage lui donne l'occasion de donner une explication intéressante du terme de *pietas* (terme qu'il ne faudrait pas traduire

12) Inde uenit ad diuinarum scripturarum cognitionem, ubi oportet (animam) se mitem praebere pietate, ne id quod imperitis uidetur absurdum uituperare audeat, et peruicacibus concertationibus efficiatur indocilis. — PL 34, c. 1233; CC 35, p. 8.

13) Pietas congruit mitibus. Qui enim pie quaerit, honorat sanctam scripturam et non reprehendit quod nondum intellegit, et propterea non resistit, quod est mitem esse; unde hic dicitur : *Beati mites*. — PL 34, c. 1234; CC 35, p. 10.

par « piété »). *Pius* est quelqu'un qui reconnaît et remplit fidèlement ses devoirs envers Dieu (ou les dieux), envers les parents, la patrie, ou, inversement, envers ses enfants, au sens propre ou figuré du terme. Ceci dit, on comprendra mieux pourquoi saint Augustin dit : l'héritage est la part des doux, doux comme des enfants qui prennent connaissance du *testament* de leur père dans des sentiments d'affection filiale [14]). Jouant sur le double sens de *testamentum* (testament et Alliance consignée dans la Bible), Augustin place donc encore une fois la deuxième béatitude dans l'ambiance de la lecture de la parole de Dieu. Que cette lecture soit affectueuse et « ouverte ».

C'est dans le second livre du *De Sermone domini in monte*, en II,11(38), que saint Augustin préconise encore une troisième correspondance. La deuxième béatitude et le deuxième don sont d'après lui à mettre en rapport avec la deuxième invocation du Notre-Père : « Que ton Règne arrive ». La *pietas*, dit-il, a pour conséquence qu'on est *mitis* et n'oppose pas de résistance à la venue du Royaume en chacun de nous [15]). Augustin ne dit pas nettement que l'accueil de cette venue implique une lecture docile de la parole de Dieu, mais après tout ce que nous avons vu jusqu'ici, cela n'est guère douteux. Nous faisons abstraction du fait qu'Augustin donne dans le même contexte également un sens eschatologique à la « venue du Royaume ».

Il nous reste à lire son exposé le plus développé et complet. Répétons que d'après saint Augustin la deuxième béatitude s'exprimerait dans les versets 5,25 et 26 du Sermon de la montagne : « Hâte-toi de t'accorder avec ton adversaire, tant que tu es encore avec lui sur le chemin, de peur que l'adversaire ne te livre au juge, et le juge au garde, et qu'on ne te jette en prison. En vérité, je te le dis : tu ne sortiras par de là, que tu n'aies payé le dernier sou ». L'adversaire, estime-t-il, est ici ... la parole de Dieu. L'Écriture Sainte renferme une Loi et nous trace un programme de vie. Mais ce programme, dur et contrariant, est notre adversaire parce qu'il résiste avec une insistance inégalée à ceux qui désirent pécher. L'Écriture Sainte nous a

[14]) Unum autem praemium, quod est regnum caelorum, pro ipsis gradibus uarie nominatum est ... Mitibus hereditas data est tamquam testamentum patris cum pietate quaerentibus : *Beati mites, quoniam ipsi hereditate possidebunt terram.* — PL 34, c. 1235; CC 35, p. 11.

[15]) Si pietas est qua *beati* sunt *mites, quia ipsi hereditate possidebunt terram*, petamus ut ueniat regnum eius siue in nos ipsos, ut mitescamus nec ei resistamus, siue de caelo in terram in claritate aduentus domini ... — PL 34, c. 1286; CC 35, p. 128.

été donnée pour notre vie d'ici-bas, afin qu'elle soit notre compagne tant que nous sommes sur le chemin. Nous ne devons pas la contredire. Elle nous livrerait au juge. Il faut s'accorder avec elle, et cela promptement, car personne ne sait quand il sortira de cette vie. Or qui est-ce qui se met d'accord avec l'Ecriture ? C'est celui qui la lit ou écoute avec *pietas* et lui défère le plus haut degré d'autorité. Ici deux possibilités se présentent : ou bien on comprend les paroles qu'on lit, ou bien on ne les comprend pas. Prenons d'abord le premier cas. On se rend peut-être compte que les paroles qu'on comprend trop bien s'opposent au mal que nous faisons. Dans ce cas, l'esprit filial du *pius* n'éprouvera pas d'aversion, mais acceptera au contraire le reproche et se réjouira de voir qu'on ne ménage pas la maladie tant qu'elle n'est pas guérie. Le second cas ensuite : on ne comprend pas les paroles de l'Ecriture ; elles paraissent obscures ou absurdes. L'esprit filial du *pius* ne soulèvera pas alors de contradictions ni de débats, mais se mettra à prier pour comprendre et n'oubliera pas qu'on doit faire preuve de dispositions favorables et respectueuses à l'égard d'une si haute autorité. Or qui se conduit ainsi ? C'est celui qui vient ouvrir le testament de son père et en prendre connaissance, non pas avec la menace d'engager des procès, mais dans un esprit de douceur et de respect filial. Heureux donc les doux, parce qu'ils recevront la terre en héritage [16]).

Je pense que ces passages et en particulier le dernier nous fournissent une excellente explication de ce que saint Augustin voulait dire en écrivant qu'au réfectoire il fallait « écouter la parole de Dieu sans interrompre ni protester ».

[16]) *De Sermone domini in monte* I, 11 (32) : ... hic aduersarium praeceptum dei esse intellegamus. Quid enim sic aduersatur peccare uolentibus quam praeceptum dei, id est lex eius et scriptura diuina, quae data est nobis ad hanc uitam, ut sit nobiscum in uia, cui non oportet contradicere, ne nos trahat iudici, sed ei oportet consentire cito ? Non enim quisque nouit, quando de hac uita exeat. Quis autem consentit scripturae diuinae nisi qui legit uel audit pie deferens ei culmen auctoritatis, ut quod intellegit non propter hoc oderit quod peccatis suis aduersari sentit, sed magis diligat correctionem suam et gaudeat quod morbis suis, donec sanentur, non parcitur, quod uero aut obscurum aut absurdum illi sonat, non inde concitet contradictionum certamina sed oret ut intellegat, beniuolentiam tamen et reuerentiam tantae auctoritati exhibendam esse meminerit ? Sed quis hoc facit nisi quisquis ad testamentum patris aperiendum et cognoscendum non litium minitatione sed pietate mitis accesserit ? *Beati* ergo *mites, quoniam ipsi hereditate possidebunt terram.* — PL 34, c. 1245-1246 ; CC 35, p. 35.

Nous retrouvons les mêmes idées dans plurieurs œuvres plus tardives de saint Augustin [17]). J'en ai retenu trois.

L'œuvre que nous venons de parcourir parlait à plusieurs reprises de l'éventuelle obscurité, voire absurdité du discours biblique. Ce phénomène, dû en partie à la façon dont le texte sacré était traduit, a longuement retenu l'attention de saint Augustin dans son manuel d'herméneutique, le *De Doctrina christiana*. C'est ici qu'il dit en II,7(9) : Nous avons besoin de *pietas* pour que nous devenions « doux » et ne contredisions pas l'Écriture sainte. Parfois, quand on comprend bien les paroles, on se rend compte qu'elle frappe le mal que nous commettons d'une manière ou d'une autre. Tantôt nous ne comprenons pas ce que le texte veut dire. Mais nous nous imaginons alors être capables de formuler des pensées plus valables ou de donner de meilleurs préceptes [18]).

La Lettre CLXXI A n'apporte rien d'inédit, si ce n'est l'emploi du terme de *contentio* : il ne faut pas que le lecteur de la Lettre s'oppose à l'Écriture avec des protestations hardies, *non oblucteris animosa contentione* [19]). C'est en effet ce terme de *contentio*, de « protestation », qui se retrouve dans le passage cité de la Règle [20]).

Dans son Sermon 347,3 enfin, Augustin présente encore une autre variation sur le même thème et nous donne une nouvelle lumière sur ce sentiment filial qu'est la *pietas*. Grâce à elle, dit-il, on ne proteste, ni contre la parole de Dieu quand son sens nous échappe, ni contre les décisions de la providence divine qui diffèrent si souvent de ce que chacun voudrait. La *pietas* dira alors avec Jésus-Christ : « Cependant, non pas comme je veux, mais comme tu veux ! » [21]).

[17]) Voir note 8.

[18]) Deinde mitescere opus est pietate neque contradicere diuinae scripturae siue intellectae, si aliqua uitia nostra percutit, siue non intellectae, quasi nos melius sapere meliusque praecipere possimus ... — PL 34, c. 39; CC 32, p. 36-37.

[19]) Deinde ut pietate mansuetus et mitis, etiam quae nondum intellegis et quae inperitis uidentur absurda sibique contraria in scripturis sanctis, non oblucteris animosa contentione nec superinponas sensum tuum sensibus diuinorum librorum, sed cedas potius atque intellectum mitis differas, quam secretum inmitis accuses. — PL 33, c. 751; CSEL 44, p. 633.

[20]) Voir note 3.

[21]) ... unde ascendunt ad pietatem, ut non resistant uoluntati eius, siue in sermonibus eius, ubi non capiunt sensum eius, siue in ordine ipso et gubernatione creaturae, cum pleraque aliter accidunt, quam priuata hominis uoluntas exposcit : ibi quippe dicendum est : *Verum non quod ego uolo, sed quod tu uis, Pater* (Mt 26, 39). *Beati* enim

Somme toute, saint Augustin a voulu qu'avec douceur et « piété » la parole de Dieu soit prise pour ce qu'elle est : un message divin, parfois difficile à déchiffrer, parfois dur à entendre, mais toujours le testament du Père.

XII. *Praepositus ad presbyterum referat quod modum uel uires eius excedit.*

Le texte qui constitue le titre de cet article se trouve dans le septième chapitre de la Règle. S'adressant à tous à la fois — aux « frères » de la communauté et à leur *praepositus* — saint Augustin expose dans quelles dispositions il convient d'exercer l'autorité et de s'y soumettre.

C'est au *praepositus*, leur dit-il, qu'il appartient en premier lieu de veiller à la pratique des préceptes qui viennent d'être formulés, de ne rien laisser enfreindre par négligence, mais de redresser et de corriger ce qui n'aurait pas été observé [1]). *Ad praepositum p r a e c i p u e pertinebit* ... Pourquoi ce *praecipue*, « en premier lieu » ? Il faut savoir qu'il y a dans ce monastère encore une autre autorité, le prêtre. Le rôle de ce *presbyter* est plus effacé que celui du *praepositus*, tout en étant plus important en même temps. Dans le chapitre du *Praeceptum* qui nous occupe en ce moment, il est appelé le *presbyter, cuius est apud uos m a i o r auctoritas*, ce qui, vu le contexte, veut dire : le prêtre, dont parmi vous l'autorité dépasse celle du *praepositus*. C'est pourquoi le *praepositus*, comme le dit le titre de cet article, doit en référer au prêtre pour les matières qui excéderaient ses moyens et ses forces [2]).

La question se pose de savoir quelles pourraient être ces matières.

Un élément de réponse à cette question se trouve à un autre endroit du *Praeceptum*. Dans ce document, le prêtre de la maison

mansueti, quoniam ipsi hereditate possidebunt terram : non terram morientium, sed terram de qua dictum est : *Spes mea es tu, portio mea in terra uiuentium* (Ps. 141,6). — PL 39, 1525.

[1]) *Praeceptum*, lignes 220-222 : Ut ergo cuncta ista seruentur et, si quid seruatum non fuerit, non neglegenter praetereatur, sed emendandum corrigendumque curetur, ad praepositum praecipue pertinebit ...

[2]) *Praeceptum*, lignes 222-224 : ... ad praepositum praecipue pertinebit; ita, ut ad presbyterum, cuius est apud uos maior auctoritas, referat, quod modum uel uires eius excedit.

est nommé quatre fois [3]). Le dernier de ces passages est cité à la tête de cet article. Il est précédé de peu par la remarque suivante : il faut obéir au *praepositus*, mais encore davantage au prêtre qui est en charge de l'ensemble de la communauté [4]). Conformément à l'idée selon laquelle la direction quotidienne du monastère revient en premier lieu au *praepositus*, celui-ci est nommé avant le *presbyter*. La même disposition se retrouve dans le tout premier des passages où le *presbyter* est mentionné. Dans le contexte il s'agit de la « médecine des péchés ». Si quelqu'un s'est mal conduit mais nie les faits, il faut lui apporter des preuves irréfutables. Et une fois confondu, le coupable doit accepter une peine destinée à le rendre meilleur (une *emendatoria uindicta*), conformément à la décision du *praepositus*, ou même du *presbyter*, qui est en charge de tous les frères de la communauté [5]). L'emploi de « ou même », *uel etiam*, marque nettement un progrès ; le prêtre est plus important que le « frère prieur ». Il reste néanmoins que c'est le dernier qui est mentionné d'abord.

Il nous reste l'emploi de *presbyter* à la ligne 137. Ici la situation n'est pas la même, bien qu'il s'agisse toujours, comme à la ligne 125, de la « médecine des péchés ». Voici le contexte : « Quelqu'un parmi vous en est-il venu au point de recevoir en secret de la part d'une femme des lettres ou n'importe quels petits présents ? S'il l'avoue de lui-même, il ne faut pas sévir contre lui, mais prier pour lui. Mais s'il est surpris et sa culpabilité prouvée, il doit être corrigé avec la rigueur qui convient, conformément à la décision du prêtre ou celle du *praepositus* » [6]). Exceptionnellement, c'est donc le prêtre qui est nommé en premier lieu, avant le *praepositus*. Il faut préciser que les manuscrits hésitent ici entre *arbitrium presbyteri uel praepositi* et *arbitrium praepositi uel presbyteri*. Mais remarquons en ce qui concerne ce dernier libellé une différence considérable par rapport à 125 : il y a

[3]) *Praeceptum*, lignes 125, 137, 218 et 222.

[4]) *Praeceptum*, lignes 217-219 : Praeposito tamquam patri oboediatur, honore seruato, ne in illo offendatur deus; multo magis presbytero, qui omnium uestrum curam gerit.

[5]) *Praeceptum*, lignes 125-127 : Conuictus uero, secundum praepositi, *uel etiam* presbyteri ad cuius dispensationem pertinent, arbitrium, debet emendatoriam sustinere uindictam.

[6]) *Praeceptum*, lignes 134-138 : Quicumque autem in tantum progressus fuerit malum, ut occulte ab aliqua litteras uel quaelibet munuscula accipiat, si hoc ultro confitetur, parcatur illi et oretur pro illo; si autem deprehenditur atque conuincitur, secundum arbitrium presbyteri uel praepositi grauius emendetur.

uel presbyteri, et non pas, comme en 125, *uel e t i a m presbyteri*. J'estime que l'absence de *etiam* dans tous les manuscrits est fortement en faveur de la disposition retenue dans notre édition critique : *arbitrium presbyteri uel praepositi*.

Dans la phrase qui sert de titre à cette recherche, la proposition *quod modum uel uires* (*praepositi*) *excedit*, signifierait donc : le *praepositus* doit en référer au *presbyter* pour les transgressions exceptionnellement graves commises par l'un des membres de la communauté.

Mais certains textes parallèles me font croire que cela n'était pas tout. Il semble qu'il s'agit aussi, et peut-être même avant tout, du ministère doctrinal du prêtre qui consiste essentiellement à expliquer l'Ecriture sainte. Normalement c'est le prêtre qui a la plus grande autorité quand il s'agit de commenter les *diuinae lectiones*.

Il est vrai que saint Augustin a écrit son manuel d'herméneutique, le *De Doctrina christiana*, pour rendre service à tout *diuinarum scripturarum studiosus* [7]). Pas plus que saint Jérôme, saint Augustin n'a exclu qu'un fidèle, homme ou femme, puisse être exceptionnellement instruit en Écriture sainte. Mais normalement l'exégète était clerc.

Pour les clercs, c'était un devoir d'état de pouvoir expliquer la Bible et d'être à même d'octroyer une doctrine fondée sur elle. Dans les décisions conciliaires africaines de l'époque, nous rencontrons en effet le « canon » suivant qui se trouve dans le *Breviarium Hipponense* sous Ic :

> Ut primum *scripturis diuinis instructi* uel ab infantia eruditi, propter fidei professionem et assertionem, clerici promoueantur [8]).

Quant à saint Augustin lui-même, nous trouvons chez lui des renseignements intéressants tout d'abord dans son *De Opere monachorum*. Ce livre évoque tout naturellement un milieu monastique. Mais ce milieu n'est pas homogène; tous les moines n'ont pas les mêmes qualités ni les mêmes occupations. Il y en a pour qui le ministère doctrinal est trop absorbant pour qu'ils puissent accomplir des travaux manuels. Ils en sont exempts de fait, mais non pas de droit.

La pensée qui sous-tend tout l'exposé de saint Augustin s'exprime en effet dans la citation biblique que voici : « Celui qui ne veut pas

[7]) *De Doctrina christiana* II, 41 (62). — PL 34, c. 64; CC 32, p. 75. Ajouter III, 37 (56) : ... studiosi uenerabilium litterarum. — PL 34, c. 89; CC 32, p. 115.

[8]) CC 149, p. 33.

travailler, qu'il ne mange pas non plus » (2The 3,10). Augustin critique sévèrement les moines qui prétendent être venus au monastère pour prier, mais non pas pour travailler de leurs mains. Pourtant il distingue deux sortes de moines : ceux qui vivent sans aucune charge « active », et ceux qui combinent la vie monastique avec un ministère pastoral. La loi du travail s'applique-t-elle à ces derniers comme aux autres ?

Le passage que nous allons analyser tout d'abord se trouve à la fin de la première partie du *De Opere monachorum*. Comme Augustin l'a annoncé lui-même [9]), il veut ici démontrer que la phrase citée de saint Paul se rapporte à des travaux d'ordre corporel. Mais arrivé à la fin de sa démonstration, il précise que l'Apôtre a admis certaines atténuations à la règle générale. Aussi le travail manuel doit-il être mesuré aux forces et au temps dont chaque moine dispose. Si les moines sont vraiment incapables de se procurer le nécessaire par leur travail corporel, les fidèles ont le devoir de leur fournir ce dont ils ont besoin. Cette incapacité provient de différentes raisons. Il pourrait y avoir quelques-uns parmi les moines qui souffrent d'infirmités corporelles, tandis que certains autres auraient des *occupations ecclésiastiques* ou devraient *enseigner la doctrine du salut* [10]).

Les trois textes suivants se situent au début de la seconde partie du *De Opere monachorum*. Saint Augustin y affirme que le travail manuel se concilie fort bien avec les occupations de la plupart des moines. Il se pose la question de savoir à quoi s'occupent ceux parmi eux qui se refusent à ce genre de travail. D'après eux-mêmes, ce serait à des prières, *orationibus*, à la psalmodie, *psalmis*, à la lecture, *lectioni*, à la parole de Dieu, *uerbo dei*. De saintes occupations en effet, mais qui selon Augustin ne dispensent pas nécessairement du travail manuel. Ces moines ne les interrompent-ils pas pour aller manger, ou même déjà pour préparer les repas ? [11])

[9]) *De Opere monachorum* 3(4) : Prius ergo demonstrare debemus beatum apostolum Paulum *opera corporalia* seruos dei operari uoluisse ... — PL 40, c. 551 ; CSEL 41, p. 535.

[10]) *De Op. mon.* 16(19) : ... ut hoc suppleatur ex oblationibus bonorum fidelium, quod laborantibus et aliquid unde uictum transigant operantibus, propter infirmitates tamen corporales aliquorum et propter ecclesiasticas occupationes uel eruditionem doctrinae salutaris deesse putauerint. — PL 40, c. 564 ; CSEL 41, p. 564.

[11]) *De Op. mon.* 17(20) : Quid enim agant, qui operari corporaliter nolunt, cui rei uacent scire desidero. Orationibus, inquiunt, et psalmis et lectioni et uerbo dei. Sancta plane uita et Christi suauitate laudabilis ; sed si ab his auocandi non sumus, nec manducandum est nec ipsae escae cotidie praeparandae, ut possint adponi et adsumi. — PL 40, c. 564-565 ; CSEL 41, p. 564.

Les moines s'occupent donc entre autres à la parole de Dieu, *uerbo dei*. Il faut dire que ce terme n'est pas bien explicite. Mais dans le contexte toutes ces idées se trouvent reprises, et dans le même ordre. Les prières d'abord. Une seule prière, *una oratio*, d'un homme qui travaille comme le prescrit l'Apôtre, est exaucée plus promptement que dix mille prières de quelqu'un qui méprise ce précepte apostolique. Quant au chant des cantiques de Dieu, *cantica diuina cantare*, même ceux qui sont en train de travailler manuellement peuvent facilement psalmodier, *psallere*, une fois qu'ils auront disposé du temps nécessaire pour apprendre les Psaumes par cœur. Puis, en s'adonnant à la lecture, *lectio*, de la Bible, on rencontrera nécessairement la parole de l'Apôtre : « Celui qui ne veut pas travailler, qu'il ne mange pas non plus ». *Oratio, psallere, lectio* ..., trois idées sont déjà reprises. La suite du texte doit donc nous informer sur le sens à donner à la quatrième, le *uerbum dei*. Nous y lisons : Il arrive que l'un des membres du monastère ait à « distribuer » la parole, le *sermo*, et que cela l'occupe à tel point qu'il se trouve dans l'impossibilité d'accomplir un travail manuel. Mais est-ce à dire que tous dans le monastère soient capables d'expliquer les Saintes Écritures, *diuinas lectiones exponere*, à des gens qui viennent les voir, des frères qui mènent un autre genre de vie, ou que tous soient capables de discourir sur différentes questions avec profit pour le salut, *de aliquibus quaestionibus salubriter disputare* ? Puisque tous, évidemment, n'en sont pas capables, pourquoi donc, sous ce prétexte, tous veulent-ils être dispensés du travail manuel ? Et même si tous avaient pour cela la compétence nécessaire, ils devraient le faire à tour de rôle. Il suffit en effet qu'un seul parle devant plusieurs auditeurs. Cela permettrait aux autres de s'adonner au travail corporel indispensable [12]). Ainsi donc : quand Augustin parlait un peu plus haut de la parole de Dieu, *uerbum dei*, il pensait au ministère doctrinal et notamment à l'explication de la Bible.

[12]) *De Op..mon.* 18(21) : Si autem alicui sermo erogandus est et ita occupat, ut manibus operari non uacet, numquid hoc omnes in monasterio possunt uenientibus ad se ex alio genere uitae fratribus uel diuinas lectiones exponere uel de aliquibus quaestionibus salubriter disputare ? Quando ergo non omnes possunt, cur sub hoc obtentu omnes uacare uolunt ? Quamquam etsi omnes possent, uicissitudine facere deberent non solum ne ceteri a necessariis operibus occuparentur,sed etiam quia sufficit, ut audientibus pluribus unus loquatur. Deinde ipsi apostolo quomodo uacaret operari manibus suis, nisi ad erogandum uerbum dei certa tempora constitueret ? Neque enim et hoc deus latere nos uoluit. Nam et cuius artis opifex et quibus temporibus uacaret dispensando euangelio, sancta scriptura non tacuit. — PL 40, c. 565 ; CSEL 41, p. 565.

D'ailleurs le terme de *uerbum dei* revient immédiatement après. L'Apôtre Paul, lisons-nous, a travaillé corporellement, mais il s'était réservé du temps pour « distribuer » la parole de Dieu, *ad erogandum uerbum dei* [13]). Autrement dit, plus haut, en 17(20), *uerbum dei* était une brachylogie pour *erogatio uerbi dei*, le ministère doctrinal.

Avec le texte suivant nous nous trouvons encore une fois dans la même partie du *De Opere monachorum*. Saint Paul, dit Augustin, a fait du travail manuel, mais sans inculper ses compagnons d'apostolat qui n'en faisaient pas. En principe, lui-même en était dispensé également, mais il n'a pas voulu user de ce droit. Cependant, les moines qui ne travaillent pas corporellement ne sont pas tous comparables à saint Paul et comme lui dispensés en principe du travail manuel. Ils le sont s'ils sont prédicateurs de la bonne nouvelle, *euangelistae*, ministres de l'autel, *ministri altaris*, dispensateurs des mystères de la foi, *dispensatores sacramentorum* [14]). Le rapprochement du ministère doctrinal et du ministère de l'autel donne au premier une connotation cléricale qui mérite d'être soulignée.

Plus loin, saint Augustin s'adresse aux anciens riches, voire très riches, qui ont tout quitté pour entrer dans la vie monastique. Ils se sont montrés très généreux. Mais il serait bon qu'ils poussent leur générosité encore plus loin. Ils n'ont pas appris à travailler de leurs mains, mais qu'ils s'y mettent désormais. Ainsi ils ôteront toute excuse à des paresseux issus d'un milieu plus humble où le dur travail corporel était chose courante. Mais comme n'importe qui, les anciens riches sont dispensés du travail manuel s'ils ne sont pas bien portants, ou s'ils donnent leur temps à d'activités d'ordre ecclésiastique, *ecclesiasticis occupationibus* [15]).

Nous arrivons maintenant au dernier des passages du *De Opere monachorum* qui nous intéressent ici. La première chose qui nous

[13]) Voir la fin de la note précédente.

[14]) *De Op.mon.* 21(24) : Isti autem fratres nostri temere sibi adrogant, quantum existimo, quod eius modi habeant potestatem. Si enim euangelistae sunt, fateor, habent ; si ministri altaris, dispensatores sacramentorum, bene sibi istam non adrogant, sed plane uindicant potestatem. — PL 40, c. 567 ; CSEL 41, p. 569-570.

[15]) *De Op.mon.* 25(33) : Quamobrem etiam illi, qui relicta uel distributa siue ampla siue qualicumque opulentia inter pauperes Christi pia et salubri humilitate numerari uoluerunt, si corpore ita ualent et ab ecclesiasticis occupationibus uacant, ... tamen, si et ipsi manibus operentur, ut pigris ex uita humiliore et ob hoc exercitatiore uenientibus auferant excusationem, multo misericordius agunt, quam cum omnia sua indigentibus diuiserunt. — PL 40, c. 572-573 ; CSEL 41, p. 579.

frappe dans ce texte est l'emploi réitéré de la première personne « nous ». Le cas dont parle saint Augustin est manifestement aussi le sien propre. Il s'agit en effet des moines qui militent *in eo ministerio quod sacramento (domini) debetur*. Ces termes ne sont pas bien explicites, mais on ne risque guère de se tromper en pensant au ministère épiscopal ou sacerdotal avec ses diverses implications. Un moine qui accomplit ce genre de ministère peut être empêché de travailler manuellement, soit à cause d'une infirmité corporelle, soit en raison de l'une ou l'autre des activités propres à ce « service ». Elles peuvent le lier à tel point qu'il ne puisse rien faire d'autre [16]).

Essayons de tirer queques conclusions générales de ces six passages du *De Opere monachorum*.

Il y a deux genres d'excuses légitimes en ce qui concerne le travail manuel dans les monastères : les infirmités corporelles et les activités d'ordre ecclésiastique, les *occupationes ecclesiasticae*. Afin d'être précis, saint Augustin varie ses expressions dans ce dernier domaine : *eruditio doctrinae salutaris, erogatio uerbi dei, diuinas lectiones exponere, de aliquibus quaestionibus salubriter disputare, dispensare euangelium*, être *euangelista, minister altaris, dispensator sacramentorum*, être lié par le *ministerium quod sacramento domini debetur*. L'ensemble de ces précisions évoque des charges sacerdotales ou épiscopales. L'Apôtre saint Paul est le point de référence par excellence. Saint Augustin lui-même a des charges de ce genre. Or les mêmes précisions nous apprennent que parmi ces occupations le ministère doctrinal et notamment l'explication de l'Écriture sainte a une place prépondérante. Bien sûr, on peut se demander si ces textes excluent que tel moine-laïque ait pu devenir une autorité en exégèse, qu'il ait pu donner des conférences aux fidèles. Il n'y a rien dans le *De Opere monachorum* qui s'y oppose catégoriquement. Mair cette éventualité reste à l'arrière-plan et saint Augustin ne s'y arrête pas un instant explicitement. L'exception aurait confirmé la règle générale. Normalement c'est le *minister altaris* qui explique l'Écriture sainte et instruit les laïques.

Il y a à ce propos également un texte éclairant dans la Lettre LX, adressée par Augustin à Aurelius, évêque de Carthage. Comme le

[16]) *De Op.mon.* 26(35) : ... seruos suos dominus praemonet, ut in eo ministerio, quod sacramento eius debetur, non ista (necessaria), sed regnum eius et iustitiam *cogitemus* : et haec omnia adponentur *nobis* siue per manus operantibus siue infirmitate corporis inpeditis siue ipsius militiae tali occupatione destrictis, ut nihil aliud agere *ualeamus*. — PL 40, c. 574 ; CSEL 41, p. 583.

Praeceptum, cette Lettre confronte le moine-laïque avec le prêtre. Faisant allusion à un fait concret récent sur lequel on ne s'étendra pas ici, Augustin écrit à Aurelius : Quelle injure pour le clergé si l'on permettait de militer dans ses rangs à des gens qui ont déserté le monastère. Parmi les moines en effet qui y persévèrent, seulement ceux dont la réputation et la conduite sont excellentes, sont agrégés au nombre des clercs. Un proverbe ironique dit qu' « un mauvais joueur de flûte fait un bon musicien de concert ». Si l'on ne fait pas attention, les gens vont dire également qu' « un mauvais moine fait un bon clerc ». Il arrive qu'avec un bon moine on fasse à peine un bon clerc. Il a beau avoir un esprit mortifié, il reste possible qu'il lui manque l'*instruction nécessaire* ou l'intégrité canonique [17]).

Ceux qui avaient été rebaptisés par les Donatistes ne pouvaient plus être promus à la cléricature. Est-ce à cela que saint Augustin fait allusion en parlant de l'« intégrité canonique », de la *personae regularis integritas* ? Je laisse à plus compétent le soin de commenter ces termes. Ce qui nous intéresse pour l'instant, c'est que d'après saint Augustin tout moine n'a pas nécessairement l'instruction qui convient aux clercs. Rappelons que le *Breviarium Hipponense* exigeait de leur part d'être *scripturis diuinis instructi propter fidei professionem et assertionem.*

L'aptitude au ministère doctrinal était manifestement regardée comme un trait normalement caractéristique et indispensable du sacerdoce. Les moines-laïques n'avaient pas besoin de posséder cette qualité, bien qu'ils aient pu l'avoir. Et cela pourrait fort bien expliquer dans quel domaine avant tout le *praepositus*, moine-laïque, devait, d'après la Règle de saint Augustin, en référer au *presbyter* pour les matières qui excéderaient ses moyens et ses forces.

[17]) *Ep.* LX, 1 : ... ordini clericorum fit indignissima iniuria, si desertores monasteriorum ad militiam clericatus eliguntur, cum ex his, qui in monasterio permanent, non tamen nisi probatiores atque meliores in clerum adsumere soleamus, nisi forte, sicut uulgares dicunt : « Malus choraula bonus symphoniacus est », ita idem ipsi uulgares de nobis iocabuntur dicentes : « Malus monachus bonus clericus est ». Nimis dolendum, si ad tam ruinosam superbiam monachos subrigimus et tam graui contumelia clericos dignos putamus, in quorum numero sumus, cum aliquando etiam bonus monachus uix bonum clericum faciat, si adsit ei sufficiens continentia et tamen desit instructio necessaria aut personae regularis integritas. — PL 33, c. 227-228 ; CSEL 34,2, p. 221-222.

XIII. *Hapax legomena Augustiniana.*

Dans cette même Revue T. J. van Bavel a publié, en 1959, un important article intitulé : *Parallèles, vocabulaire et citations bibliques de la « Regula sancti Augustini ». Contribution au problème de son authenticité* [1]). L'auteur y a réuni environ cinq cents textes augustiniens qui présentent des ressemblances avec la Règle de saint Augustin, ressemblances plus ou moins grandes, bien sûr, mais souvent fort frappantes.

Depuis 1970 je publie dans cette Revue une série d'articles sous le titre d'*Eléments d'un commentaire de la Règle de saint Augustin* [2]). D'autres articles, qui auraient pu prendre place dans la même série, ont été publiés ailleurs, dans des Mélanges notamment [3]). Tous réunis, ces articles feraient déjà un ouvrage d'un volume appréciable. Or ces travaux sont tous fondés sur des textes parallèles augustiniens. S'il n'y en avait pas tant, il aurait été impossible à T. J. van Bavel et à moi-même d'accomplir le travail qui a été fait.

En revanche, si l'on désirait mettre en valeur les parallèles entre la Règle de saint Augustin et l'œuvre monastique de saint Jérôme, par exemple, l'entreprise serait rapidement terminée. Je prends l'exemple de saint Jérôme étant donné que la confrontation est ici singulièrement facilitée par le très bon article de Dom Paul Antin sur le *Monachisme selon saint Jérôme* [4]). En lisant cette étude, tout connaisseur de la Règle de saint Augustin constatera qu'il n'y a là rien de particulier à glaner. Bien sûr, dans le *Praeceptum* et chez saint

[1]) Voir *Augustiniana* IX (1959), p. 12-77.

[2]) Voir plus haut p. 5, note *).

[3]) a. *Saint Augustin*, dans *Théologie de la vie monastique*, Paris, 1962, p. 201-212; b. *Mundus et saeculum dans les Confessions de saint Augustin*, dans *Studi in onore di A. Pincherle*, Rome, 1967, p. 308-325; c. *The Straw, the Beam, the Tusculan Disputations and the Rule of Saint Augustine. On a Surprising Augustinian Exegesis*, dans *Augustinian Studies*, 2 (1971), p. 17-36; d. *Le monachisme augustinien à la lumière de l'Enarratio in Psalmum* 132, dans *Forma Futuri. Studi in onore del Cardinale Michele Pellegrino*, Firenze, 1975, p. 806-817; e. *Non sicut serui sub lege, sed sicut liberi sub gratia constituti. La « date ancienne » et la « date récente » du Praeceptum*, dans *Scientia Augustiniana. Festschrift A. Zumkeller*, Würzburg, 1975, p. 76-91; f. *Spiritualité et vie monastique chez saint Augustin. L'utilisation monastique des Actes des Apôtres* 4, 31, 32-35 *dans son œuvre*, dans *Jean Chrysostome et Augustin*. Actes du Colloque de Chantilly 22-24 septembre 1974, éd. Ch. Kannengiesser, Paris, 1975, p. 93-123.

[4]) Avec une annotation revue et augmentée, cet article a été inséré dans P. Antin, *Recueil sur saint Jérôme* (Collection Latomus, vol. XCV), Bruxelles, 1968, p. 101-131.

Jérôme il s'agit de christianisme et de monachisme, mais les parallèles s'arrêtent pratiquement là.

Ce que l'on ne pourrait pas faire avec l'œuvre de saint Jérôme, cela a été fait, et abondamment, avec l'œuvre de saint Augustin. Autrement dit, il faut bien que la Règle de saint Augustin ait en effet un caractère augustinien bien marqué.

Dans mon article *Emendatorius, terme augustinien* [5]), j'ai même pu souligner que le *Praeceptum*, dans 126 *emendatoriam sustinere uindictam*, renferme un vocable qui ne se rencontre jamais avant saint Augustin et qui, après lui, se retrouve seulement dans des textes qui dépendent de la Règle augustinienne. Cela confirme singulièrement le caractère augustinien du *Praeceptum*.

Mais que faut-il dire de la citation biblique et des quelques mots du même texte qui ne se retrouvent chez saint Augustin nulle part ailleurs ou qui ailleurs n'ont pas le même sens ? Prouvent-ils que le *Praeceptum* ne saurait être d'authenticité augustinienne ?

La citation biblique est : 102 *Abominatio est domino defigens oculum*. Il s'agit de Proverbes 27,20, fondé sur la version grecque des Septante. Or A. M. la Bonnardière vient de souligner que les citations augustiniennes du Livre des Proverbes correspondent précisément à cette version [6]). Il reste que la citation de Proverbes 27,20 semble bien être unique chez Augustin. Mais cela ne prouve absolument pas la non-authenticité du *Praeceptum* où cette citation unique se trouve. A. M. la Bonnardière a fait remarquer en effet dans la même publication qu'il y a 90 citations isolées du Livre des Proverbes chez saint Augustin. Pour citer un autre exemple, toujours d'après le même auteur, de la brève Lettre de saint Paul à Tite « neuf versets n'ont qu'une citation isolée » [7]).

On ne saurait donc pas mettre en doute l'authenticité du *Praeceptum* en se fondant uniquement sur le caractère isolé de la citation de Proverbes 27,20 [8]).

[5]) Voir *Augustiniana* XXI (1971), p. 17-23. Le chiffre 126 avant la citation indique la ligne de mon édition critique du *Praeceptum*.

[6]) *Biblia Augustiniana. A.T. Le Livre des Proverbes*, Paris, 1975, p. 18-23. Cet ouvrage cite Prov. 27,20 comme faisant partie de la Lettre CCXI, 10 de saint Augustin. Si je vois bien, il s'agit là d'une transcription, au féminin, du *Praeceptum*. Voir mon livre *La Règle de saint Augustin*. I. *Tradition manuscrite*, Paris, 1967, p. 425.

[7]) Voir *Biblia Augustiniana. N.T. Les Epîtres aux Thessaloniciens, à Tite et à Philémon*, Paris, 1964, p. 35.

[8]) Bien que la *citation* de Prov. 27, 20 dans le *Praeceptum* soit unique, la présence

Regardons maintenant du côté des vocables.

Il est vrai que jusqu'ici aucun autre emploi augustinien n'a été trouvé de 37 *oratorium*, de 59 *stramenta* au sens de « matelas, coussins », et de 59 *operimenta*, au sens de « couvertures » [9]). Mais cela fournirait un argument contre l'authenticité augustinienne du *Praeceptum* uniquement si Augustin ne présentait jamais des *hapax legomena*, *Augustiniana* bien entendu. Or il n'en est rien. J'ai pu en noter quelques-uns dans les matériaux du *Thesaurus Augustinianus*. Il est vrai que le fichier du TLA représente uniquement les œuvres de saint Augustin publiées jusqu'ici dans le *Corpus Christianorum* [10]), mais nous avons fait les vérifications nécessaires dans les dictionnaires de Forcellini, Georges et Blaise, sans oublier bien entendu les volumes parus du *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Le lecteur peut être pratiquement sûr que chaque mot de la liste suivante ne se retrouve qu'une seule fois chez saint Augustin.

1. *De Civitate dei* XVII,15 : *cento*, « centon ». Augustin estime qu'il ne faut pas détacher de leur contexte des versets du Psautier pour les combiner dans un texte tout différent. Ce serait travailler « à la manière des centons », *more centonum* [11]). « Le centon empruntait à tel poète des mots, des parties de vers, voire des vers entiers, avec quoi il faisait des poèmes entièrement nouveaux sur des sujets complètement différents » [12]).

2. *Enarratio in Psalmum* 4,9 : *abalienatio*, « abandon ». Dans la recherche des véritables biens, le désir des hommes va en s'unifiant et en se simplifiant. Ils peuvent espérer légitimement qu'ils arriveront à un *abandon* intérieur total des choses périssables et à l'oubli des misères du monde actuel [13]).

3. 2 *En. in Ps.* 33,18 : *falcitare*, « élaguer ». Un ouvrier déclare à

possible d'une *allusion* à ce verset a été indiquée par T. J. VAN BAVEL dans l'article cité (voir note 1), p. 38 : « Peut-être décèlera-t-on une réminiscence à ce texte dans le passage suivant : ... metiuntur infirmitatem suam, et *quod damnat deus* deuitare cupientes ab aspectu securo abstinent *oculos* : *non* eos *defigunt* in pulchritudine carnis alienae ... Proponunt enim sibi casum Dauid ... (Enarratio in ps. 50,3) ».

[9]) Pour le sens de *stramenta* et *operimenta* dans le *Praeceptum* voir mon article *Aliquid stramentorum, operimentorum*, dans *Augustiniana* XXIII (1973), p. 306-328.

[10]) Actuellement plus de 40% de l'œuvre de saint Augustin a été inséré dans le *Corpus Christianorum*.

[11]) PL 41, c. 548; CC 48, p. 579.

[12]) *Oeuvres de saint Augustin*, vol. 36, p. 432, note 1.

[13]) PL 36, c. 82; CC 38, p. 18.

son patron : Vous m'avez amené à la vigne pour que je l'*élague* et émonde [14]).

4. *En. in Ps.* 38,3 : *udus*, « humidité ». La langue de l'homme se trouve dans de l'*humidité* et glisse donc facilement [15]).

5. 2 *En. in Ps* 68,14 : *stomachatio*, « colère ». Le Psalmiste se déclare pauvre et souffrant, mais loin de lui d'injurier Dieu ou d'exprimer de la *colère* [16]).

6. *En. in Ps.* 74,9 : *aduersator*, « qui se dresse contre ». Dieu s'adresse à un malfaiteur en disant : Parce que tu es inique toi-même, tu as pensé que je le serais également , que j'approuverais tes forfaits, ne *me dresserais* pas *contre* eux, ne les punirais pas [17]).

7. *En. in Ps.* 78,13 : *adulanter*, « d'une manière qui flatte ». Il y a des gens qui savent nous sourire *d'une manière qui* nous *flatte* [18]).

8. *En. in Ps.* 85,3 : *holosericatus*, « vêtu de soie ». Dieu résiste aux orgueilleux, qu'ils *se vêtent de soie* ou qu'ils se promènent en haillons [19]).

L'emploi de *hapax legomena Augustiniana* dans le *Praeceptum* ne prouve donc rien contre l'authenticité augustinienne dans cette pièce dont le caractère augustinien est par ailleurs si évident.

Il reste qu'on peut parfaitement reconnaître la marque augustinienne de ce document sans admettre pour autant que saint Augustin lui-même en soit directement l'auteur. C'est effectivement la position de R. Lorenz [20]). Il estime que plusieurs éléments du *Praeceptum* trahissent un « esprit supérieur », mais que d'autres traits sont difficilement compatibles avec une authenticité directement augustinienne. Le *Praeceptum* serait plutôt l'œuvre d'un disciple d'Augustin, influencé par les meilleures pensées de son grand maître.

Pour ma part j'estime que ce disciple devrait être exceptionnellement doué pour être à même de rédiger un texte aussi augustinien que l'est le *Praeceptum* et que pour cette raison il risque fort de se confondre tout simplement avec le maître lui-même.

14) PL 36, c. 318; CC 38, p. 294.
15) PL 36, c. 414; CC 38, p. 403.
16) PL 36, c. 863; CC 39, p. 927.
17) PL 36, c. 952; CC 39, p. 1030.
18) PL 36, c. 1017; CC 39, p. 1107.
19) PL 37, c. 1083; CC 39, p. 1178.
20) Dans son article *Die Anfänge des abendländischen Mönchtums im 4. Jahrhundert*, dans *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 77 (1967), (p. 1-61), p. 60-61.

Quant aux éléments qui seraient si difficilement compatibles avec une authenticité directement augustinienne, R. Lorenz les énumère ainsi : mauvaise composition, emploi fréquent du comparatif, abondance (caractérisée de « populaire »), répétition des mêmes mots. Je pense que R. Lorenz aurait dû démontrer que saint Augustin ne présente pas ailleurs également les mêmes traits stylistiques. En ce qui concerne la répétition des mêmes mots, par exemple, je me permets de citer un bref passage où il y a dix-sept emplois de *facere* :

> ... quidquid creaturarum in caelo, quidquid in terra, quidquid in mari et in omnibus abyssis, a domino *factum est*; quia omnia quae uoluit, *fecit* in caelo et in terra, in mari et in omnibus abyssis, sicut iam diximus. Non omnia quae *fecit*, coactus est *facere*, sed omnia quaecumque uoluit, *fecit*. Causa omnium quae *fecit*, uoluntas eius est. *Facis* tu domum, quia si nolles *facere*, sine habitatione remaneres; necessitas cogit te *facere* domum, non libera uoluntas. *Facis* uestem, quia si non *faceres*, nudus ambulares; ad *faciendam* ergo uestem necessitate duceris, non libera uoluntate. Conseris montem uitibus, semen spargis, quia nisi *feceris*, alimenta non habebis : omnia haec necessitate *facis*. Deus bonitate *fecit*, nullo quod *fecit* eguit : ideo omnia quaecumque uoluit, *fecit*.

Cela se lit dans l'*Enarratio in Psalmum* 134,10 [21]). Il ne serait pas difficile de multiplier les exemples du même genre.

Emploi fréquent du comparatif. Citons le passage suivant du second livre *De Peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo parvulorum*, 17(26) :

> Tanto enim quidque *uehementius* uolumus, quanto *certius* quam bonum sit nouimus eoque delectamur *ardentius* [22]).

L'abondance populaire se manifesterait dans 32 *cum anima m i s e r a superbior efficitur diuitias contemnendo, quam fuerat possidendo*. Or un parallèle très intéressant se rencontre dans le *De Spiritu et littera*, 30(52) :

> Ut quid ergo *miseri* homines aut de libero arbitrio audent *superbire*, antequam liberentur, aut de suis uiribus, si iam liberati sunt ? [23])

[21]) PL 37, c. 1745; CC 40, p. 1945.
[22]) PL 44, c. 167; CSEL 60, p. 99.
[23]) PL 44, c. 234; CSEL 60, p. 209.

Quant à la « mauvaise composition », que n'a-t-on pas écrit sur les *Confessions*, par exemple, où les rapports entre les livres I-IX, X et XI-XIII posent d'intéressants mais difficiles problèmes ?

Somme toute, pour employer une expression qui, elle, est certainement « populaire », j'estime que la balle est encore dans le camp de M. Lorenz et que c'est à lui de jouer.

(*à suivre*) L. M. J. Verheijen, O.S.A.

Die Bekehrung zum Christentum nach Augustins Büchlein De Catechizandis Rudibus

Die Entwicklung unserer Gesellschaft, die immer stärker zu Säkularisation, Pluralismus und Revolution drängt, zwingt das Christentum, Wesen, Ziele und Mittel der Mission zu überdenken und die Missionsmethoden zu überprüfen. Jede Besinnung und Neuorientierung in diesem Bereich führt zurück zu den Schriften der Kirchenväter, die wegen der Parallelstellung ihrer Probleme und wegen der lebendigen Einheit urschristlichen Gedankengutes und theologischer Spekulation für die gegenwärtige Situation von grösster Bedeutung sind. Einer der bedeutendsten Kirchenlehrer ist Aurelius Augustinus, dessen Werke gerade für die Missionstheorie und — praxis von allerhöchster Wichtigkeit sind. Neben dem grossartigen geschichtstheologischen Werk *De civitate Dei*, der persönlichen Bekehrungsgeschichte *Confessiones*, den Einübungen ins Christentum *De agone christiano*, *De doctrina christiana*, dem *Enchiridion* mutet die kleine Schrift *De catechizandis rudibus* unansehnlich und unbedeutend an. Doch der ungewöhnliche Einfluss dieses Handbüchleins für den ersten Religionsunterricht durch alle Jahrhunderte hindurch bis zur Gegenwart auf Katechumenatspraxis und Katechetik überhaupt rechtfertigt, nach vorausgegangenen wertvollen Kommentaren, eine weitere Untersuchung unter dem Aspekt der Bekehrung zum Christentum. Bekehrung zu Christus ist nicht nur wesentlich Aufgabe der missionierenden Kirche, sie ist auch das unabdingbare Fundament jeden christlichen Lebens. Neben dem Begriff, dem Wesen, den Voraussetzungen, Ursachen, Motiven und Folgen der Bekehrung scheint es folgerichtig, Katechumenat und katechetische Unterweisung im Blickwinkel der augustinischen Schrift darzustellen.

I. Veranlassung, Abfassungszeit und Quellen des Büchleins

In Karthago, dem Augustinus auch als Bischof von Hippo durch freundschaftliche Beziehungen verbunden blieb [1]), war der Diakon Deogratias [2]) mit der Betreuung der Katechumenatsbewerber betraut. Wegen seiner gründlichen theologischen Vorbildung und der Anziehungskraft seines Vortrages galt er als besonders geeigneter Katechet [3]). Gefühle der Unzufriedenheit und der Unlust ob des eigenen Vortrages, wie Unsicherheit in der Methodik katechetischen Unterrichtes bewogen den Diakon, des berühmten und erfahrenen Bischofs von Hippo Ratschläge und Anweisungen zu erbitten. Der Brief des Deogratias blieb nicht erhalten, doch lässt sein Inhalt sich aus Augustins Antwort erraten. Nicht bloss aus Freundschaft zu Deogratias, « sondern überhaupt auch durch das Gefühl der Liebe und des Bewusstseins der Verpflichtung zu unserer Mutter, der Kirche gedrängt » (1, 2), entsprach Augustinus der Bitte durch die Abfassung des Büchleins *De catechizandis rudibus*. Wie die meisten Werke Augustins [4]) ist also auch dieses Büchlein eine Gelegenheitsschrift, die durch Schwierigkeiten der praktischen Seelsorge veranlasst und aus ihren Nöten geboren wurde.

Verfasst wurde die Schrift um das Jahr 400. Diese Datierung der Mauriner, die sich auf die *Retractationes* II, 14 berufen, wird auch heute von den meisten Autoren beibehalten [5]), da überzeugende Zeugnisse für ein späteres Abfassungsjahr nicht erbracht wurden [6]).

[1]) Lapeyre G. G., L'ancienne Église de Carthage, études et documents. 1re série : Saint Augustin et Carthage. Paris 1933.

[2]) Deogratias ist wahrscheinlich identisch mit dem Adressaten des Briefes 102 (Christopher J. P., S. Aurelii Augustini Hipp. Ep. De Catechizandis Rudibus. Liber unus (The Cath. Univ. of America. Patristic Studies, VIII), Washington 1926, 123). Theophorische Namen waren in Nordafrika sowohl in der heidnischen als auch in der christlichen Zeit gebräuchlich. Da die Katholiken gegenüber der Devise und dem Schlachtruf « Deo laudes » der Donatisten sich des « Deo gratias » bedienten (Monceaux P., Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe, Paris 1912, IV, 437-443), ist dessen Verwendung als Personenname naheliegend.

[3]) *De cat. rud.* 1, 1.

[4]) « On peut dire que presque toutes ses œuvres sont des œuvres de circonstance, nées sous la pression d'une nécessité immédiate ou sous la menace d'un danger prochain » (de Labriolle P., in : Fliche et Martin, Histoire de l'Église, IV, Paris 1948, 52).

[5]) van der Lof L. J., The date of the De catechizandis rudibus, in : *Vigiliae*

Bei der schriftlichen Festlegung der beiden Musterkatechesen, die aus eigener katechetischer Tätigkeit erwuchsen, scheint Augustinus Richtlinien Tertullians [7]) und des Bischofs Ambrosius [8]) zu folgen. Der Inhalt kann im wesentlichen als Fortsetzung der Missionspredigt der Apostel und der *Didache* angesehen werden [9]). Wenn man auch annehmen kann, dass sich sowohl im Orient wie im Okzident ein durch Tradition geformter Lehrtypus herausbildete, blieb dem Katecheten doch grosse Freiheit in der Gestaltung des Stoffes. Ob Augustinus literarische Quellen für seine Katechesen benutzte [10]), ist schwer feststellbar, da jeder Hinweis fehlt. Die von Drews [11]) festgestellte

christianae 16 (1962), 198-204 stellt überzeugende Gründe zusammen für eine Abfassung im Jahre 399.

Krüger G., in : Schanz, Geschichte der römischen Literatur, IV/2, München 1920, 441; Bardenhewer O., Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur, IV 1 + 2, Freiburg i.Br. 1924, 493; Drews P. in : Einleitung zu Krüger G., Augustin, De catechizandis rudibus, Tübingen 1934, IV; Pope H., Saint Augustine of Hippo, London 1937, 373; De Labriolle P., Histoire de la Littérature Latine Chrétienne, II, Paris 1947³, 625; Sciacca M., S. Agostino, I, Brescia 1949, 77; Altaner B., Patrologie⁷, 432.

Für das Jahr 399 entscheidet sich Zarb S., Chronologia operum Sancti Augustini secundum ordinem Retractationum digesta, in : *Angelicum* 10 (1933), 487.

[6]) De Bruyne D., L'Itala de Saint Augustin, in : *Revue Bénédictine* 30 (1913), 303 nimmt das Jahr 405 an, gefolgt von Wundt M., Augustins Konfessionen, in : *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 22 (1923), 185; Christopher J. P., The First Catechetical Instruction (Ancient Christian Writers 2), Westminster (Maryland) 1946, 5; Brown P., La Vie de saint Augustin, Paris 1971, 217 : « approx. 404 ».

[7]) *De idol.* 24 (PL 1, 774) : « Haec (lex) accedentibus ad fidem proponenda... et ingredientibus in fidem inculcanda est ut accedentes deliberent, observantes perseverent, non observantes renuntient sibi ». Cf. Bardy G., Saint Augustin et Tertullien, in : *Année Théologique Augustinienne* 13 (1953), 145-150.

[8]) *In Luc.* VI, 104-106 (PL 15, 1783/4).

[9]) Schermann Th., Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung des zweiten Jahrhunderts (Studien z. Gesch. u. Kultur d. Altert., hg. v. Drerup, Grimme, Kirsch, 3. Ergänzungsband), Paderborn 1914, 249-252; Seeberg A., Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit, Leipzig 1903; Probst F., Predigt und Katechese vom Anfang des vierten bis zum Ende des sechsten Jahrhunderts, Breslau 1884, 65.

[10]) Cf. Christopher, First cat. instr., Introd., 7 : Philo und Origenes. Dazu Altaner B., Augustinus und die griechische Patristik, in : *Revue Bénédictine* 62 (1952), 209; *id.*, Augustinus und Origenes, in : *Historisches Jahrbuch* 70 (1951), 15-41; Courcelle P., Les lettres grecques en Occident. De Macrobe à Cassiodore, Paris 1948, 183-194; Fontaine J., Les Images dans les Confessions, in : Augustinus Magister I, 120, n. 2.

[11]) Drews P., Einleitung zu De cat. rud. (Ausg. Krüger³), V-VI; *id.*, Der literarische Charakter der neuentdeckten Schrift der Irenäus « Erweis der apost. Verkündigung », in : *ZfntW* 8 (1907), 226-233.

Verwandschaft zwischen der grossen Katechese in *De cat. rud.* und der Schrift des Irenäus *Zum Erweise der apostolischen Verkündigung* lässt, nach den Untersuchungen Altaners, auf keine direkte Einwirkung schliessen [12]). Auch über den Einfluss der *Apostolischen Constitutionen* VII, 39 [13]) lässt sich nichts Genaueres sagen [14]). Grosse Ähnlichkeiten bestehen zwischen Augustins Büchlein und dem *Paidagogos* des Klemens von Alexandrien, der für Katechumenen und Neugetaufte bestimmt war [15]). Die Hinweise von M. Wundt [16]) auf Zusammenhänge zwischen *De cat. rud.* und den *Confessiones* wurden von P. Courcelle aufgegriffen und vertieft [17]). Nach dieser These hätten die zehn ersten Bücher der *Confessiones* nur untergeordnete Bedeutung als bekennender Lobpreis auf die Vorsehung Gottes im Einzelleben und wären nur als Einleitung gedacht zu einem grösseren, jedoch unvollendet gebliebenen Werk, das Gottes Walten in Welt und Geschichte seit der Schöpfung beweisen sollte. In den beiden Katechesen hätte Augustinus dieselben Gedanken aufgegriffen und ausgeführt. Dass in der Anleitung zur geistlichen Betreuung suchender Seelen, die der Vierzigjährige schrieb, nachdem er in seinen *Bekenntnissen* die eigene Entwicklung gezeichnet hatte, persönliche Erfahrungen und gleiche Gedanke mitschwingen, kann nicht geleugnet werden.

II. Der Titel des Bücheins

In der klassischen lateinischen Literatur bezeichnet das adjektivische *rudis* im eigentlichen Sinne eine unbearbeitete, rohe, kunstlose Masse, während es in der übertragenen Bedeutung zur Charakterisierung unerfahrener, unausgebildeter, unwissender oder unschuldiger Personen gebraucht wird [18]). In der altchristlichen Literatur wird

[12]) Altaner B., Augustinus und die griechische Patristik, *l.c.* 62 (1952), 208; *id.*, Augustinus und Irenaeus, in *Theologische Quartalschrift* 129 (1949), 170-171.

[13]) Christopher J. P., De cat. rud., Washington 1926, 8.

[14]) Altaner B., Augustinus und Irenaeus, *l.c.*, 171.

[15]) Cf. Quatember F., Die christliche Lebenshaltung des Klemens v. Alexandrien nach seinem Pädagogus, Wien 1946.

[16]) Wundt M., Augustins Konfessionen, in : *ZfntW* 22 (1923), 185.

[17]) Courcelle P., Recherches sur les Confessions de Saint Augustin, Paris 1950, 21-25.

[18]) Ernout A./Meillet A., Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine, Paris 1932, 834; Fay E. W., The derivation of latin rudis quasi « singlestick », in : *Classical*

rudis zur Bezeichnung des Neuen und Ungewohnten gebraucht [19]). Zur Bezeichnung von Katechumenatsbewerbern, Anfängern im christlichen Glauben und Leben, wird *rudis* zuerst von Tertullian [20]), dann von Cyprian [21]) und Ambrosius [22]) verwendet. In der gleichen Bedeutung gebraucht Augustinus in *De cat. rud.* dieses Wort, um jene zu bezeichnen, « qui fide christiana primitus imbuendi sunt » (1, 1; 2, 4), ohne mit diesem Ausdruck etwas über die moralische Haltung und geistige Bildung des betreffenden Menschen sagen zu wollen [23]).

Was versteht Augustinus unter *catechizare*? Bereits Paulus gebrauchte κατηχεῖν ausschliesslich in der Bedeutung : Unterricht über den Glaubensinhalt geben [24]). Augustinus verwendet das bereits von Tertullian [25]) gebrauchte *catechizare* [26]) in seinem Büchlein vorwiegend zur Bezeichnung des christlichen Einführungsunterrichtes [27]). Die gleiche Bedeutung haben die verwendeten Ausdrücke *insinuare* [28]) und *intimare* [29]), während *initiare* [30]) ausser der Bedeutung der Erst-

Review 33 (1929), 106-107; Cordovani Rinaldo, Il « De Catechizandis Rudibus » di S. Agostino. Questioni di contenuto e di stile, in : *Augustinianum* (Roma) 6 (1966), 489-527, besonders : 506-527.

19) Blaise A.-Chirat H., Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens, 727.

20) Tertullian, *Adu. Marc.* I, 20 (CSEL 47, 315) : « adhuc in gratia rudis » ; *ibid.* V, 3 (CSEL 47, 575) : « rudi fidei ».

21) Cyprian, *Ep.* 70, 2 (CSEL 3/2, 769) : « qui ad ecclesiam rudis uenit ».

22) Ambrosius, *In ps.* 118, s. 18, 26 (PL 15, 1537) : « rudis adhuc in fide ».

23) Als Substantiv steht *rudis* (bzw. *rudes*) im Titel des Büchleins; ferner 1, 1; 2, 4; 5, 9; 8, 12; 10, 14; 11, 16: 15, 23; 23, 43. Als Eigenschaftswort wird es gebraucht 26, 51 : « rudem hominem ».

24) Cf. Beyer H. W., κατηχέω, in Kittel, Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament III, 639; Wegenast K., κατηχέω, in : Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum N.T., hg. von Coenen L., Beyreuther Er. u. Bietenhard H., II/1, Wuppertal 1969, 861.

25) Tertullian, *De idol.* 10 (CSEL 20, 40); *Adv. Marcionem* IV, 29 (CSEL 47, 522).

26) Über *catechizare* als erster mündlicher Unterricht in den christlichen Glaubenswahrheiten im Hinblick auf die Taufe cf. Blaise-Chirat, *o.c.*, 138; Christopher J. P., The First Catechetical Instruction, 93-94 (n. 4); Fausset W. Y., S. Aur. Augustini Liber De catechizandis rudibus, London 1912, 123-124; Thesaurus Linguae Latinae III, 599-600.

27 *De cat. rud.* : Titel; 1, 1; 2, 4; 3, 5; 5, 11; 8, 12; 10, 14; 11, 16; 13, 19; 14, 22; 15, 23.

28) *De cat. rud.* 2, 4; 10, 14. Über die Bedeutung des Wortes *insinuare* cf. Blaise-Chirat, *o.c.*, 454; Forcellini A., Lexicon totius Latinitatis II, 869.

29) *De cat. rud.* 1, 1, Cf. Blaise-Chirat, *o.c.*, 468; Forcellini, *o.c.*, II, 913.

30) *De cat. rud.* 13, 19; 14, 21.

unterweisung hauptsächlich die Einweihung durch Weiheriten und -sakramente beinhaltet [31]). Da es sich in Augustins Katechese um die erste offizielle Heilsverkündigung an den bekehrungswilligen Nichtchristen handelt, mit dem Ziele, ihn zum Glauben zu führen, wäre die Bezeichnung Kerygma [32]) angebracht. Seit Klemens v. Alexandrien hatten jedoch Kerygma als erste Heilsverkündigung und Katechese als Vertiefung der Glaubensunterweisung nicht mehr ihre genau umschriebene Bedeutung [33]). Da andrerseits weitgehende Kenntnisse der christlichen Lehre vorausgesetzt sind und die Katechese der Vorbereitung auf den Empfang der Sakramente dient, kann man die Katechese Augustins als kerygmatische Katechese bezeichnen. Nach dem Erstlingsunterricht und den anschliessenden Initiationsriten galt der *rudis* als *catechumenus* [34]).

Der Unterricht in den Heilswahrheiten und die Anweisungen für christliche Lebensgestaltung waren für eine Zulassung zur Taufe die unerlässliche Vorbedingung, von der nur in Ausnahmefällen abgesehen werden konnte [35]).

III. Inhalt und Bedeutung der Schrift de Catechizandis Rudibus

A. Der Titel weist schon auf den Inhalt des Büchleins hin.

In der Einleitung (1, 1-2) geht Augustinus auf die Fragen des Deogratias ein und erklärt seine Absicht, die Erfahrungen der eigenen Praxis dem Dienste anderer Katecheten dienstbar zu machen.

Die Schrift gliedert sich klar in zwei Hauptteile. Der erste Teil

[31]) Cf. Botte B., Paschalibus initiata mysteriis, in : *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 61 (1947), 77-87, bes. 80-82; Blaise-Chirat, *o.c.*, 448; Forcellini, *o.c.*, II, 846.

[32]) Cf. Friedrich G., κῆρυξ usw., in : Kittel, *o.c.*, III, 628-717; Rétif A., Foi au Christ et mission d'après les Actes des Apôtres, Paris 1953, 15-32. Rahner K. - Lehmann K., Kerygma und Dogma, in : Mysterium Salutis I, 622-704.

[33]) Rétif A., *l.c.*, 118.

[34]) Cf. Blaise-Chirat, *o.c.*, 138; De Puniet P., Catéchuménat, in : Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie II/2, 2586; Mohrmann Chr., Die altchristliche Sondersprache in den Sermones des hl. Augustin, Amsterdam 1965², 90; Thesaurus Linguae Latinae III, 600-602.

[35]) Cf. Holtzmann H. J., Die Katechese der alten Kirche, Freiburg i. Br. 1892, 77-83.

(2, 3 - 15, 23) enthält theoretische und praktische Anweisungen, die sich auf des Katecheten Grundhaltungen, der Katechese Aufbau, Teleologie und Methodik und die seelsorgliche Betreuung der Katechumenatsbewerber beziehen. Im zweiten Teile (16, 24 - 27, 55) bietet Augustinus, nach einer Einleitung, die von der Geistesverfassung des Bekehrungswilligen ausgeht (16, 24 - 17, 28), eine ausgeführte längere Katechese (18, 29-25, 49) und eine kürzere Katechese (26, 51 - 37, 55), die, entsprechend der zur Verfügung stehenden Zeit, als Musterbeispiele für die Erstkatechese vor der Aufnahme ins Katechumenat dienen können.

Im ersten Teil will Augustinus durch Hinweise auf die eigene schmerzliche Erfahrung der Unzulänglichkeit menschlicher Ausdrucksfähigkeit und des Gefühles der Abgedroschenheit Deogratias, wie jeden Katecheten, ermutigen, eine der wichtigsten Eigenschaften, die Berufs- und Lehrfreudigkeit, nicht verkümmern zu lassen. Dem lähmenden Überdruss zu wehren, deckt Augustinus in längeren Ausführungen (10, 14 - 14, 22) dessen Quellgründe auf, die grösstenteils im Katecheten selber, auf seiten der Zuhörerschaft oder in äusseren Einflüssen liegen. Die selbstlos sich herablassende Liebe eines mütterlichen Herzens, das jedem Seelsorger und Katecheten eigen sein muss, findet ihr Vorbild in Christus, dessen Liebe zu allen Menschen in der Katechese aufleuchten und Gegenliebe wecken soll.

Diese Grundhaltungen sind, ausser anderen Eigenschaften des Katecheten, ungleich wichtiger als der formal-logische Aufbau der Katechese, entsprechend den klassischen Regeln der Rhetorik, die in der Gerichtsrede der Einleitung (*exordium*) eine Darlegung des Tatbestandes (*narratio*), dann den Beweis (*Probatio* oder *argumentatio*) und die Widerlegung gegnerischer Behauptungen (*refutatio*) folgen lässt und in der *peroratio* abschliessend Wille und Gemüt des Hörers bewegen will [36]). Auf die *narratio* ausführlich eingehend, stellt Augustinus verschiedene Prinzipien auf, die sich auf die Auswahl, die zielstrebige Ordnung und Einheit des Stoffes beziehen. Individueller Unterricht wird als Ideal angesehen und setzt eine weitgehende Akkomodation des Lehrers an den Hörenden voraus. Der *narratio* sollen sich Erklärung und Lehrgespräch anschliessen und in einer *exhortatio* enden, die im

[36]) Cf. Curtius E. R., Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter, Bern 1948, 69-86; Kroll W., Rhetorik, in : Pauly-Wissowa, RE. Supplementband VII, Stuttgart 1940, 1039-1138; Norden E., Die antike Kunstprosa. Vom 6. Jh. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance. 2 Bde, Leipzig und Berlin 1909.

Hinblick auf die eschatologischen Ereignisse dem Willen neuen Auftrieb zur Beobachtung der christlichen Sittenvorschriften geben, gegen Versuchungen kräftigen und zugleich eine *refutatio* gefährdender Irrlehren sein soll.

Der Erstkatechese geht, nach vorherigen Erkundigungen über die Lebensverhältnisse und Absichten der Katechumenatsbewerber, eine Prüfung ihrer Bekehrungsmotive voraus. Ausser dem Prüfen hat der Katechet die Aufgabe, zur rechten Absicht zu erziehen. Augustinus fordert eine besondere Anpassung des Katecheten an die Geistesbildung der Taufbewerber, die, entsprechend dem damaligen Bildungswesen, in allseitig Gebildete und einseitig literarisch Geschulte geschieden werden, deren Geisteshaltung stark von ihrem Bildungsgang geprägt wurde.

In der Einleitung zur *längeren* Musterkatechese zeigt Augustinus des Menschen Streben nach Seelenfriede und wahrem Glück wie auch die Abwegigkeit des verkehrten Strebens auf. Die ewige Ruhe des Schöpfergottes und die Wiederherstellung der verlorengegangenen Ruhe der Menschenseele durch den Erlöser bilden den Ausgangspunkt für die folgende *narratio*. Die Haupttatsachen der Heilsgeschichte werden in sechs Zeitabschnitte gegliedert und kurz aufgezeigt : die Schöpfung und der Sündenfall des Menschen, der Anlass zu Betrachtungen über das Problem des Bösen und seine Machtentfaltung in der Welt bietet; die Sintflut; die Geschicke des auserwählten Gottesvolkes, die als Vorbilder ihre Erfüllung, neben den Weissagungen, in Christus und der von ihm gegründeten Kirche finden sollten. Mittelpunkt der Heilsgeschichte ist Christus, der Altes und Neues Testament miteinander verbindet und sein Reich aufbaut inmitten der Spaltungen und Spannungen der Menschheit. Die im Alten Testament vorbereitete Erlösung durch Christus leitet die 6. Periode der Menschheitsgeschichte ein. Aus dem Leben des Erlösers werden seine menschliche Erniedrigung, sein Tod und seine Auferstehung von den Toten hervorgestellt. Die Geschichte der Kirche beginnt mit der Geistessendung am Pfingstfest, setzt sich fort in der Ausbreitung über die Welt, in ihren Verfolgungen und Leiden und mündet in einen Ausblick in die Zukunft, die eine Erfüllung der noch ausstehenden Prophezeiungen bringen wird. Die folgende *exhortatio* unterstreicht und verteidigt den christlichen Auferstehungsglauben, warnt vor Versuchungen durch die Feinde Christi und durch schlechte Christen und empfiehlt den Anschluss an gute Christen.

Die *kürzere* Katechese zeigt den gleichen Aufbau wie die erste, berührt in der *narratio* jedoch nur knapp den Heilsratschluss Gottes, die Erlösung durch Christus und die Geschicke der Kirche. Das Hauptgewicht wird auf den Nachweis der erfüllten Prophezeiungen im Neuen Testament gelegt und als Beweis für die Wahrheit des Christentums und die Echtheit der katholischen Kirche ausgewertet. Im abschliessenden paränetischen Teil werden die eschatologischen Erwartungen der Christen und deren Versuchungen hervorgehoben, die christlichen Sittengesetze im Hauptgebot der Gottes- und Nächstenliebe zusammengefasst. Die Katechese schliesst mit einer Ermahnung zu Glaubenstreue und Ausdauer.

B. Bedeutung für die Geschichte des Katechumenates gewinnt *De catechizandis rudibus* durch den Umstand, dass es als einzige Schrift dieser Art uns erhalten blieb. Ausser Einblicken in das kulturelle und religiöse Leben des beginnenden 5. Jahrhunderts werden Aufschlüsse über die Zulassung und Aufnahme von Bekehrungswilligen ins Katechumenat geboten.

Als älteste Katechetik bleibt *De cat. rud.* für die *Missionskatechetik*, wie für die *Katechetik* und *Pädagogik* überhaupt, nicht nur von historischem, sondern von höchst praktischem, aktuellem Wert. Der Missionar und Seelsorger aller Zeiten findet in der augustinischen Schrift nicht nur wertvolle Musterkatechesen für die kerygmatische Verkündigung und die Unterweisung der Katechumenen, es werden ihm auch Pastoralregeln geboten, die aus praktischer Erfahrung geboren und von selbstlosem Seeleneifer geformt sind. Tiefe theologische Gedanken, in der strengen Logik und zwingenden Beredsamkeit spätantiker Bildung formuliert, in der warmen Schlichtheit biblischer Sprache vorgetragen, sind für den Missionar und den Katecheten von mitreissender Anregung. Getragen wird des Büchleins Inhalt von der genialen Persönlichkeit eines der grössten Kirchenväter, der aus der versinkenden Antike wertvolles Erbe herüberrettete in eine neue Epoche und von massgebendem Einfluss auf die Lehre der Kirche wurde, welche die Leitung der abendländischen Geschichte für ein Jahrtausend übernahm.

Missionarische Probleme von grösster Bedeutung bleiben die in *De cat. rud.* behandelten Fragen : die Evangelisation, der Kontakt und Dialog mit Nichtchristen, die Prüfung der Absichten der Taufbewerber, die Akkomodation an das Missionsobjekt, die Stellungnahme zu heidnischem Brauchtum, das Eingewöhnen in das kirch-

liche Leben, das nicht ohne Schattenseiten ist. Vor allem jedoch bleibt die Bekehrung zum Christentum mit ihrer ganzen Problematik eine der wichtigsten Aufgaben der Mission und Evangelisation. Gerade hier sind immer wieder die grundlegenden Begriffe der Hl. Schrift und der Väterlehre zu untersuchen und zu verwerten. In dieser Untersuchung darf *De cat. rud.* nicht fehlen.

IV. Das Weiterwirken der Schrift De catechizandis rudibus durch die Jahrhunderte

Während in Augustins engerer Heimat das Christentum und sein missionarisches Wirken in der Sturmflut des Islams erstarben, wurden die Schriften des « neuen Begründers des alten Glaubens » (Hieronymus) nach Europa herübergerettet und wirkten im christlichen Abendland weiter. Es ist erstaunlich, wie modern und zeitnah Augustinus auch dem heutigen Menschen geblieben ist. Erstaunlicher ist der Einfluss der äusserst bescheidenen Gelegenheitsschrift *De catechizandis rudibus* auf Katechese und Evangelisierung im Laufe der Jahrhunderte. Wo immer eine Neuorientierung der Katechese, der christlichen Bildung und Erziehung überhaupt, sich anbahnt, greift man auf dieses Büchlein zurück. Auch für die Bekehrungsarbeit der Missionare und für das Katechumenat blieb das Handbüchlein Richtschnur und Vorbild.

Im frühen Mittelalter

Kurze Zeit nach den Wirren der Völkerwanderung schrieb Eugippius, Schüler Severins und Abt eines von ihm gegründeten Klosters bei Neapel, die *Excerpta ex operibus S. Augustini* [1]). In seiner *Epistula ad Probam virginem* [2]), der er seine Kompilation von 348 Auszügen aus augustinischen Schriften widmet, erklärt Eugippius, es sei leichter in einem einzigen Buche Augustins Hauptwerke beisammen zu finden, als in vielen Schriften ihnen nachzujagen. Aus *De catechizandis rudibus* stellt Eugippius 7 Abschnitte zusammen, die er für die Katechetik und die Katechumenatspraxis als richtunggebend ansieht [3]). Da diese

[1]) Edit. Knoell P. (CSEL 9/1), Vindobonae 1885.

[2]) *Ibid.*, 1-4.

[3]) *De cat. rud.* 3, 6 - 4, 7; 9, 13; 10, 15 - 11, 16; 14, 20; 14, 22; 16, 24: 26, 52 - 27, 55.

Exzerpte im Mittelalter viel benutzt wurden, trug Eugippius weitgehend zur Verbreitung des augustinischen Gedankengutes bei [4]).

Cassiodorus (um 490 - um 583), der Retter antiker Kultur und einer der Begründer geistlich-weltlicher Bildung des Abendlandes, verfasste um 560 als Anweisung zum Studium der theologischen und profanen Literatur seine *Institutiones* [5]), die einen grossen Einfluss Augustins verraten [6]).

Ob Martin von Bracara (etwa 515-579) in seiner oft zitierten Predigtvorlage *De correctione rusticorum* Augustins Büchlein benutzte, lässt sich schwer beweisen.

Isidor von Sevilla (um 560-636) entnahm für seine grosse Enzyklopädie, *Etymologiae*, und für seine *Sententiae* wichtiges Material aus Augustinus und Gregor dem Grossen. Über Augustinus schreibt Isidor von Sevilla in seinen *Etymologiae* VI, 7 : « Horum tamen omnium studia Augustinus ingenio vel scientia sua vicit. Nam tanta scripsit, ut diebus ac noctibus non solum scribere libros ejus quisquam, sed nec legere quidem occurrat » (PL 82, 237).

Unter Karl Martell wirkte im westlichen Frankenreich Pirminius (Primenius), wegen seiner Klostergründungen und seiner Reformtätigkeit der « Apostel der Alemannen » genannt [7]). Im Jahre 724 hatte er, unter Mithilfe Karl Martells, die Abtei Reichenau gegründet. Nach seiner Ausweisung wirkte er segensreich in den Diözesen Strassburg und Metz († 753). Zwischen 710 und 724 stellte Pirmin aus der Hl. Schrift und den Schriften hervorragender kirchlicher Schriftsteller ein Missionsbüchlein zusammen, den *Scarapsus* [8]). Im ersten Teil bietet Pirmin eine Kurzfassung der Heilsgeschichte (PL 89, 1031-1035), die starke Anlehnungen an die *narratio* des Büchleins *De cat. rud.* sichtbar werden lässt [9]). Er schliesst mit dem *Symbolum*, das er an

[4]) Cf. Martin J., Die Augustinusüberlieferung bei Eugippius, in : Miscellanea critica, II, Leipzig 1965, 228-244.

[5]) *Institutiones* ed. by Mynors R. A. B., Oxford-Clarendon 1961.

[6]) Cf. Gross J., Cassiodorus und die augustinische Erbsündenlehre, in : *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 69 (1958), 299-308.

[7]) Engelmann U., Der hl. Pirmin und sein Missionsbüchlein, Konstanz 1959; Lehmann P., Erforschung des M.A., IV (Stuttgart 1961), 142-147 (*Dicta Pirmini*).

[8]) Von *excarpsum* = Auszug (Nach Blaise-Chirat, Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens, 323).

[9]) Dazu Etchegaray Cruz A., Le rôle du De catechizandis rudibus dans la catéchèse missionnaire dès 710 jusqu'à 847, in : Studia Patristica, Part. II ed. by F. L. Cross, XI, Berlin 1972, 316-317.

verschiedenen Stellen seines Handbuches wiederholt [10]). Der zweite längere Teil den *Scarapsus* (PL 89, 1036-1050) beginnt mit einer auffrütelnden Erinnerung an die Taufe und ihre Verpflichtungen. Ihr schliessen sich moralische Weisungen an, die zum Teil Martin von Bracara entnommen sind. Ausserdem benutzte Pirmin als Quellen Caesarius von Arles, Eligius von Noyon, Isidor von Sevilla und die Benediktinerregel [11]). Der *Scarapsus* erwies sich als wertvolle Hilfe für die Missionstätigkeit der Schüler Pirmins.

Geboren um 550 in Irland, war GALLUS [12]) vor allem am Bodensee als Missionar tätig. In seiner Heidenpredigt [13]), die er in Konstanz gehalten hat, bietet Gallus eine gedrängte Zusammenfassung der Heilsgeschichte vom Paradies bis zum Leben Jesu, die inhaltlich und formal an Augustins *narratio* erinnert.

Der repräsentativste Vertreter angelsächsischer Missionare im Frankenreich war, neben Willibrord, WINFRIED-BONIFATIUS (672/3-754). Ihm wurden 15 Missionspredigten zugeschrieben (PL 89, 843-872) [14]), die zu Beginn des 8. Jahrhunderts entstanden. Die 2. Predigt *De origine humanae conditionis* könnte von Augustins Bericht inspiriert sein [15]), wie auch *Sermo 8 De fide et charitate* Augustins Auffassungen widerspiegeln. *Sermo 10 De Incarnatione Filli Dei et humani generis reparatione* sowie *Sermo 11 De duobus regnis a Deo statutis* enthalten deutliche Anklänge an *De cat. rud.* Die übrigen Predigten beziehen sich auf die Fastenzeit, auf Ostern und die Tauffeier.

In der karolingischen Renaissance

Grossen Einfluss auf die Wiederbelebung des Katechumenen-Unterrichtes zu Beginn der karolingischen Renaissance gewann *De*

[10]) Cf. KELLY J. N. D., Altchristliche Glaubensbekenntnisse, Göttingen 1972, 391-411.

[11]) ENGELMANN U., in : Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart V, 385/6.

[12]) BLANKE F., Columban und Gallus. Urgeschichte des schweizer. Christentums, Zürich 1940; KILGER Laur., Die Quellen zum Leben der hl. Kolumban und Gallus, in : *Zeitschrift f. Schweiz. Kirchengeschichte.* Stans 36 (1942), 107-120.

[13]) Die « Heidenpredigt » St. Gall's, in : Walahfridi De uita b. Galli, cap. 25, ed. THULI Rob., in : *Mitteilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte des Histor. Vereins in St. Gallen* XXIV, 1891, 32-33.

[14]) Zu Werken, die fälschlich oder zweifelhaft Bonifatius zugeschrieben werden cf. v. SCHUBERT Hans, Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Frühmittelalter, Tübingen 1921, 299-312.

[15]) ETCHEGARAY CRUZ, *l.c.*, 318.

cat. rud. vor allem durch ALKUIN (ca. 730-804), der massgebend an der Reform des Taufunterrichtes und des Missionswesens beteiligt war. Vor allem war Alkuin bemüht, praktische Missionskatechismen zu veranlassen und zu fördern. Den Taufbewerbern sollte — wie in der alten Kirche — wieder ein systematisch geordneter Unterricht zur Vorbereitung auf die Taufe erteilt werden. Statt Zwang und Massentaufen sollte die Taufe nur nach freiwilliger Entscheidung und entsprechender Unterweisung erfolgen. In mehreren Briefen hat Alkuin seine Auffassungen über die Katechumenen-Katechese klargelegt und auf die grosse Bedeutung des Büchleins *De cat. rud.* hingewiesen.

Im Jahre 796 gratuliert Alkuin in einem Brief [16]) an Karl d. Gr. dem Herrscher für seinen Sieg über die Hunnen, die in den Karolingischen Urkunden auch Avari genannt werden. Über die Bekehrung der Unterworfenen zum Christentum schreibt er wörtlich : « Igitur ille ordo, in docendo virum aetate perfectum, diligenter, ut arbitror, servandus est quem beatus Augustinus ordinavit in libro cui De catechizandis rudibus titulum praenotavit. Prius instruendus est homo de animae immortalitate, et de vita futura, et de retributione bonorum malorumque, et de aeternitate utriusque sortis. Postea pro quibus peccatis et sceleribus poenas cum diabolo patiatur aeternas ; et pro quibus bonis vel benefactis gloria cum Christo fruatur sempiterna. Deinde fides sanctae Trinitatis diligentissime docenda est, et adventus pro salute humani generis Filii Dei Domini nostri Jesu Christi in hunc mundum exponendus. Et de mysterio passionis illius, et de veritate resurrectionis et gloria ascensionis in coelos, et futuro ejus adventu ad judicandas omnes gentes : et de resurrectione corporum nostrorum, et de aeternitate poenarum in malos et praemiorum in bonos, ut mox praediximus, mens novella firmanda est. Et hac fide roboratus homo et praeparatus baptizandus est. » — Eine Abschrift dieses Briefes sandte Alkuin an Erzbischof Arno von Salzburg, dem er im gleichen Jahr schrieb : « Sed et hoc sciendum est quod fides, secundum quod sanctus Augustinus ait, ex voluntate fit, non ex necessitate. Quomodo potest homo cogi ut credat, quod non credit ? » [17]) Im gleichen Brief schreibt er : Dominus noster Jesus Christus : « Bis docere dixit, et semel baptizare. Primo omnium fidem catholicam docere praecepit, et post fidem acceptam in nomine sanctae Trinitatis

[16]) Nach DUEMMLERS Zählung *Ep.* 110 (PL 100, *Ep.* 33).

[17]) *Ep.* 36 (PL 100, 194) — DUEMMLER : *Ep.* 113.

baptizare jussit. Deinde fide imbutum, et sacro baptismo ablutum evangelicis instruere praeceptis mandavit. — Hunc tu ordinem, sanctissime doctor, catechizandi in adultae aetatis viris ubique firmiter obtineas. » (PL C, 193/4) — In einem Brief an den Führer des Sachsenheeres Megenfridus wiederholt Alkuin die gleichen Grundsätze : « Primo fides docenda est, et sic baptismi percipienda sunt sacramenta. Deinde evangelica praecepta tradenda sunt. At si aliquod horum trium deerit, salutem animae suae auditor habere non poterit. Fides quoque, sicut sanctus ait Augustinus, res est voluntaria, non necessaria. Attrahi poterit homo in fidem, non cogi. Cogi poteris ad baptismum, sed non proficit fidei. » [18])

Symbolum und Vater unser bilden den Abschluss der Alkuin zugeschriebenen [19]) *Disputatio puerorum per interrogationes et responsiones* (PL 101, 1097-1144). Als Urformen christlichen Glaubensunterrichtes bilden beide auch in der Karolingischen Zeit das Kernstück des christlichen Kerygmas. Das gleiche gilt noch für das 11. Jahrhundert, als Bischof Bruno von Würzburg seinen *Commentarius in orationem Dominicam, Symbolum Apostolorum et fidem Athanasii* schrieb [20]).

Im Jahre 812 wollte Kaiser Karl d. Grosse, die Erzbischöfe seines Reiches durch seine *Epistola encyclica ad archiepiscopos de baptismo* hinweisen auf die Bedeutung der Taufe und des Taufunterrichtes. Die Antwortschreiben der Erzbischöfe beweisen, dass Alkuins Hinweise auf Augustins Büchlein nicht vergebens waren.

Um das Jahr 800 verfasste ein unbekannter Autor 6 Katechesen unter der Überschrift *Ratio de cathecizandis rudibus*, erstmals ediert durch Jos. Mich. Heer [21]). Sie sollen als Katechumenenkatechese eine erste Vorbelehrung des Proselyten darbieten. Nach Heer ist die « Quelle für den Titel, sowie für die missions-methodische Einleitung und die erste Katechese Augustins Schrift *De catechizandis rudibus* und in etwa Alkuins Brief 110 (Duemmler), während in den übrigen

[18]) *Ep.* 42 (PL 100, 205).

[19]) Über die Autorschaft schreibt Migne (PL 101, 1099) : « Veri eruditi judicabunt opusculum praesens, si non certo genuinis, dubiis saltem Alcuini operibus, jure a nobis accenseri potuisse ».

[20]) PL 142, 557-568.

[21]) Heer J. M., Ein Karolingischer Missions-Katechismus (Biblische und Patristische Forschungen, H. 1), Freiburg i.Br. 1911.

fünf Katechesen kaum Anknüpfungen an Augustins Schrift feststellbar sind.

Die II. Katechese, die Dekalogkatechese, findet in Augustins Büchlein keine Vorlage, da Augustin den Dekalog nur erwähnt, ohne auf Einzelheiten einzugehen. » [22])

Aus der 2. Hälfte des 9. oder der 1. Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts stammt die kleine Schrift *Ordo vel brevis explanatio de catechizandis rudibus* [23]), die inmitten einer Sammlung von Aussprüchen verschiedener Kirchenlehrer, von Clemens Romanus über Augustinus und Hieronymus bis Beda und Alkuin, eine kurze Auslegung des *Symbolum Apostolicum* bietet. Caspari, der diese Schrift veröffentlichte, weist eine Anzahl von Stellen aus Augustins Predigten nach [24]). Ob der Verfasser auch *De cat. rudibus* kannte und benutzte, lässt sich, trotz Anklängen an Augustins Schrift, nicht sicher beweisen; wahrscheinlicher ist eine Benutzung der Vorlagen Alkuins.

Hrabanus Maurus, der wegen seiner Verdienste um die Anfänge des theologischen Studiums in Deutschland « Praeceptor Germaniae » genannt wird, benutzte die Periode erzwungener Zurückgezogenheit auf dem Petersberg (842-847) zu einer Neubearbeitung seines Handbuches der Klerusbildung. Unter dem Titel *De ecclesiastica disciplina* (PL 112, 1191-1262) ist diese Neufassung dem Bischof Reginbald gewidmet. Augustins Anweisungen aus *De cat. rud.* teilweise wörtlich entlehnend, erklärt Hrabanus Maurus im 1. Buch unter der Überschrift *Quomodo rudes catechizandi sint* : « Nam quia de eruditione doctrinae et institutione morum praedicatores verbi Dei juxta traditionem majorum hactenus aliquantum instituimus, nunc consequenter quomodo rudes catechizandi sunt dicamus. Itaque hoc officium faciendum est narratione, exhortatione atque hilaritate » (PL 112, 1193). Einzelne für junge Mönche anstössige Ausführungen Augustins lässt er weg [25]), legt jedoch besonderen Wert auf die Prüfung der Motive der Taufbewerber und wiederholt ausführlich die Lehre Augustins von den Zwei Reichen (PL 112, 1203-1214). Nach Augustins Vorbild bietet dann auch Hrabanus Maurus eine Kurzfassung des

[22]) *Ibid.*, 18.

[23]) Caspari Carl Paul, Alte und neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel, Christiana 1879, 282-289.

[24]) *S.* 213 (PL 38, 1058-1065); *S.* 215 (cf. A. Wilmart in : *Revue Bénédictine* 32 (1929), 161 adn. 9); *S. ad cat. de Symbolo* (PL 40, 627-636).

[25]) Etchegaray, *l.c.*, 321.

Katechumenenunterrichtes (*Qumodo quis breviter catechizandus sit* : PL 112, 1214-1216). Im 3. Buch wird neben Anweisungen für das sittliche Leben eines Christen der Zusammenhang von Glaube, Hoffnung und Liebe und der Wert der *caritas* hervorgehoben.

Die Zeit des Hochmittelalters und der Scholastik

Im Hochmittelalter scheint die regelmässige kirchliche Katechese zurückgetreten zu sein, da Eltern und Paten in grösserem Masse die religiöse Erziehung der Kinder und Jugendlichen übernahmen. Da die Völker des Abendlandes weitgehend — wenigstens nach aussen hin — verchristlicht waren, verfiel das altchristliche Katechumenat. Trotzdem stellt Vagaggini fest [26]), bestimmten bis zum 13. und 14. Jht. die Ideen Augustins die Katechese und die Theologie überhaupt. Und Domenico Grasso bemerkt : « Erst als die Scholastiker als Vertreter des aristotelischen Wissenschaftsbegriffes auftraten, begannen die 'Gründe' (*rationes*) die Oberhand über die 'Erzählung' (*narratio*) zu gewinnen. » [27]) Wie die Theologie und Philosophie des Mittelalters weist auch das christliche Kerygma weiterhin starke augustinische Gedankenelemente auf. Padberg kommt zur Feststellung, dass seit Thomas von Aquin zwar Augustins *Enchiridion de fide, spe et caritate* besonderen katechetischen Einfluss aufweist, dass aber seit der karolingischen Zeit *De cat. rud.* stärkeren Einfluss hatte [28]). Auch des « Fürsten der Scholastik » Thomas v. Aquin's Sorge galt der katechetischen Unterweisung. Katechetische Predigten des Hl. Thomas v. Aquin sind in seinen *Opuscula* erhalten [29]), die Übereinstimmungen mit Augustinus aufweisen, wie auch in seinem Begriff der Bekehrung Thomas weitgehend mit Augustinus übereinstimmt [30]).

Die Zeit des Humanismus

Die mittelalterliche Kultur und Geisteshaltung wurde neu orientiert durch den Humanismus. Befruchtet von klassischer und christ-

[26]) Il senso teologico della liturgia, Roma 1958, 625.

[27]) In : Hofinger J., Katechetik heute, Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1961, 80.

[28]) Padberg Rud., Erasmus als Katechet (Untersuchungen z. Theologie der Seelsorge, IX), Freiburg 1956, 29 (Anm. 25).

[29]) *Opuscula omnia* ed. P. Mandonnet, IV, Paris 1927, 349-460.

[30]) Cf. Bouillard H., Conversion et grâce chez S. Thomas d'Aquin (Théologie, 1), Paris 1944.

licher Antike, führte der Humanismus nicht nur zu verstärkter kritischer Subjektivität erstarrten kirchlichen Denkformen gegenüber, sondern auch zur Neubesinnung auf wesentlich christliche Lebenshaltungen. Diese Vorreformation führte notwendigerweise zu einem intensiveren Studium der urchristlichen Schriften und der Väterzeit [31]). Man kann nicht abstreiten, dass den Humanisten eine echte Reform der Kirche am Herzen lag. Diese Reform musste durch eine gründlichere religiöse Bildung vorbereitet werden. Daher versuchten einzelne Humanisten den Religionsunterricht in die Schulen einzuführen und selbst religiöse Lehrbücher für den Schulgebrauch auszuarbeiten [32]).

Der bedeutendste Vertreter des abendländischen Humanismus, Erasmus von Rotterdam, studierte nach seinem Eintritt in das Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Steyn eifrig Kirchenväter. Aber erst nach seinem Weggang aus dem Kloster Steyn (1493) besuchte er das Kloster Groenendael bei Brüssel und fand in dessen Bibliothek die Werke Augustins, « und die verschlang er. Die Mönche von Groenendael erstaunten über seinen Eifer : sogar in sein Schlafgemach nahm er die Bände mit » (Huizinga) [33]). Später, in den Jahren 1528-1529, gab dann Erasmus die Werke Augustins heraus [34]). Obwohl es oft schwierig ist, in den Werken des Erasmus neben den Einflüssen der klassischen Antike und der mittelalterlichen Kultur den Einfluss der Patristik genau abzugrenzen, ist ein sehr grosser Einfluss Augustins, vor allem auf die pädagogischen Schriften des Erasmus, unverkennbar [35]). In einem seiner Briefe gesteht Erasmus : « Ich setzte hinzu, wirklich fromme Menschen seien der Ansicht, sich durch keinen Beruf Gott mehr verpflichten zu können, als wenn sie Kinder zu Christus zögen. » [36]) Erasmus war fest davon überzeugt, dass « Menschen nicht geboren, sondern erzogen » werden [37]). Das Gesamtwerk des Erasmus ist in

[31]) Cf. Buck A., Der Rückgriff des Renaissance-Humanismus auf die Patristik, in : Festschrift W. v. Wartburg. I, Tübingen 1968, 153-175.

[32]) Cohrs Ferd., Die evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion (Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica hg. v. K. Kehrbach, XXIII), Berlin 1902, 242-243.

[33]) Huizinga Johan, Europäischer Humanismus : Erasmus (Rowohlts dt. Enzykl. hg. v. E. Grassi), Hamburg 1958, 21.

[34]) *Divi Augustini opera omnia ex emend. E. Bas.*, Froben, 1528-1529, 10 vol.

[35]) Béné Charles, Erasme et saint Augustin, Genève 1969.

[36]) *Erasmi epistolae*, I, 479.

[37]) Erasmus, Ausgew. pädag. Schriften hg. v. A. J. Gail, Paderborn 1963, 115.

seinem Wesen durch pädagogische Anliegen bestimmt [38]). Obwohl Erasmus vor einer bloss praktischen pädagogischen Betätigung ohne philosophische Unterweisung» warnte, kann nicht übersehen werden, dass er selbst als Pädagoge « über eine vielseitige Praxis verfügte und diese Erfahrung immer wieder heranzieht bei seinen Erörterungen. Als Privatlehrer in Frankreich und Italien, als Lecturer in Cambridge wie als Institutsdirektor in Löwen, als « korrespondierender » Erziehungsberater für Freunde und Bekannte und nicht zuletzt als Förderer der zahlreichen Famuli in seinem Haus hatte er sehr viel Einblick gewonnen » [39]). Seine grosse Bedeutung für die Katechetik lässt sich nicht abstreiten, wenn man auch Erasmus nicht als den « Erneuerer der katechetischen Verkündigung » [40]) ansehen muss. Bei seinem ersten Aufenthalt in England (1499-1500) hatte sich Erasmus befreundet mit John Colet († 1519), dem Dekan von St. Paul, der für seine Schule das *Catechyzon*, ein Religionsbuch in englischer Sprache, zusammengestellt hatte. Dieses übertrug Erasmus, auf Bitten von Colet, in seinem *Institutum hominis Christiani* 1512 in lateinische Hexameter [41]), eine Art Kinderkatechismus in Versen, der mit mehr als 70 Druckauflagen eine weite Verbreitung fand [42]). Mit diesem bescheidenen Katechismus und vor allem mit seinem *Enchiridion* hat Erasmus einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur Entwicklung des Katechismus geleistet.

Im *Institutum* werden Symbolum als gelebter Glaube und Liebe als Inbegriff christlicher Sittlichkeit in engster Verbindung dargestellt. Existenzgrund eines Christen ist der ehrfurchtsvolle und bekenntnisfrohe Glaube an Gott, den Schöpfer und Vater, an den menschgewordenen und im Kreuzestod erniedrigten Sohn Gottes, den Erlöser und Herrn, an den Hl. Geist, « halitus adflatusque Dei sacer, omnia lustrans. » In paulinischem und augustinischem Geiste sieht Erasmus die Kirche als Leib Christi, die im Sakrament der Taufe und der Busse

[38]) Mesnard Pierre, Erasme ou le christianisme critique (Philosophes de tous les temps. Coll. dir. p. A. Robinet), Paris 1969, 95 : « toute l'œuvre d'Erasme est pédagogique par essence... ».

[39]) Gail A. J., Erasmus von Rotterdam in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten (Rowohlts Monographien hg. v. K. Kusenberg, 214), Hamburg 1974, 119.

[40]) Padberg R., Erasmus als Katechet, Freiburg 1956, 157. — Dagegen : Iserloh Erw., Die protestantische Reformation, in : Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte hg. v. H. Jedin, IV, Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1967, 156.

[41]) Text in : Cohrs F., *l.c.*, 421-429.

[42]) Iserloh, *l.c.*, 156.

(« qui diluerint ultro sua crimina fletu ») den Menschen das Heil vermittelt. Enderwartung des christlichen Glaubens ist die Wiedervereinigung von Leib und Seele zu einem ewigen Leben (« Utraque pars nostri, corpusque animusque deinceps / Iuncta simul, vitam ducent sine fine perennem »). Mit der Darstellung des Glaubens verbindet Erasmus die Lehre von den Sakramenten (« Ecclesia septem munera dispensat, quae sacramenta vocantur »). Der Glaube führt zur Liebe, der geistgewirkten Gottesliebe, der gottbezogenen Selbstliebe, die den Gläubigen vor sündhafter Abwegigkeit bewahrt, und der Nächstenliebe(« Non secus atque mihi sum carus, amabitur omnis proximus ».) In den abschliessenden Versen des *Institutum* gibt Erasmus praktische Verhaltensweisen für Beicht, und Kommunionempfang, für Krankheit und Sterben.

Auf Wunsch des Thomas von Rochefort, des Vaters der unglücklichen Anna Boleyn, angesichts der revolutionären kirchlichen Umwälzungen in England, liess der alternde Erasmus 1533 das grössere katechetische Werk drucken : *Dilucida et pia explanatio Symboli quod Apostolorum dicitur, Decalogi praeceptorum et dominicae precationis* [43]), später oft als *Catechismus* bezeichnet. Von den 6 Katechesen, in Form eines Gespräches zwischen Katechumenen und Katechet, behandeln die 5 ersten das christliche Glaubensbekenntnis. Ihr Ziel ist die Hinführung zum lebendigen Glauben [44]). Der Glaube als Fundament muss sich entfalten in der Liebe und in Werken. Glaubensquelle ist die Hl. Schrift, aus der das Symbolum abgeleitet ist. Erasmus ist bestrebt, den Katechumenen durch Bibelzitate und Bibelerklärung zu den Hl. Schriften hinzuführen und betont immer wieder die Autorität der Kirche in der Schriftauslegung [45]). Nach der Botschaft von dem einen Gott in drei Personen, dessen Liebe und Barmherzigkeit in der Heilsgeschichte aufleuchten, macht Erasmus Christus, den aus Gott im eigentlichen Sinne als Sohn geborenen

[43]) *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera omnia et auctiora*, Ed. J. Clericus, V, Lugduni Batavorum 1704, 1133-1196.

[44]) « Nunc elementa tradimus, non fastigia, et fundamenta jacimus, non colophonem inponimus : quia Catechumenum instituimus, non Theologum : denique tyronem instruimus ad fidem, non veteranum ad praelium » (V, 1159).

[45]) « Venimus ad sanctam Ecclesiam, in qua adoramus Patrem omnium Conditorem, Filium mundi Redemtorem, Spiritum sanctum omnium Sanctificatorem, in hac maneamus, in hac juxta spiritum, non juxta carnem, ambulemus, in hac concordes bonam militiam militemus, ut perveniamus ad aeternae vitae stipendium » (*Op.*, V, 1174 C).

Erlöser und Allherrscher zum Mittelpunkt seiner katechetischen Unterweisung. Das pneumatische Leben des Christen aber gründet wesenhaft im Wirken des Hl. Geistes, des « Spiritus veritatis », des « Spiritus vivificator » (V, 1167). Die Kirche als Leib und Braut Christi ist eine *societas* « ad vitam praedestinatorum, quam Christus suo Spiritu conglutinavit, sive apud Indos, sive apud Gaditanos, sive apud Hyperboreos, sive apud Afros » (V, 1175). Obwohl Erasmus erklärt, er wolle die Sakramente nur kurz behandeln (« Tantum obiter de Sacramentis attigisse sat est » V, 1176), möchte er zur Ehrfurcht vor den heiligen Geheimnissen erziehen, in denen « per signa quaedam sensibilia, infunditur insensibilis gratia congruens externis signis » (V, 1175). Ausdrücklich hält Erasmus an der Siebenzahl der Sakramente fest, die nur dem Glaubenden nützen. Durch die Taufe wird der Katechumene zur *militia Christi* und damit zu einem wahrhaft christlichen Lebenswandel verpflichtet. Der Glaube drängt zur Betätigung, vor allem durch Werke der Liebe [46]). Wie Augustinus setzt auch Erasmus das Gebot der Gottes- und Nächstenliebe als Summe aller Gesetze vor seine ausführliche Erklärung der Einzelgebote des Dekalogs, wobei er besonders die Gesinnung und Haltung des Handelnden betont. Die 6. Katechese schliesst mit der Erklärung des Vater unser, dem Gebet, das Christus selbst gelehrt und das Ausdruck der Einheit aller Christen ist [47]).

Auch die *Explanatio* erzielte eine beachtliche Zahl von Auflagen und Übersetzungen [48]).

Im Jahre 1503 gab Erasmus bei Dirk Maertens in Antwerpen sein *Enchiridion militis christiani* heraus [49]), das erst mit Misstrauen auf-

[46]) « Ignea res fides est, ubicumque est, otiosa non est : sed quemadmodum in lucerna oleum alit flammam ne exstinguatur, ita caritatis opera fidem alunt ne deficiat » (V, 1181).

[47]) « Eadam est enim omnium Christianorum fides. Itidem qui precatur juxta Dominicam formulam, totius Ecclesiae voce precatur. »

[48]) Nach Padberg, *l.c.*, 3, dürfte die Zahl von 28 nachweisbaren Ausgaben erzielt worden sein. — Auf die Verbreitung in den Missionsländern weist Etchegaray Cruz A. hin in seiner Untersuchung : Présence de saint Augustin dans l'Enchiridion et le Symbolum d'Erasme, in : *Recherches Augustiniennes* IV (1966), 182 : « Très paradoxalement ce furent les missionnaires des Indes Orientales et Occidentales, les apôtres des terres nouvellement découvertes, qui apprécièrent le plus le Symbolum : et on en retrouve des traces au Mexique espagnol et dans les Indes portugaises, dans un texte de Constantia Ponce de León qui suit de très près le contenu du livre d'Erasme ».

[49]) *Opera omnia* V, 1-66. Benutzt wurde die Übersetzung von Werner Welzig,

genommen, später jedoch grosse Beachtung bei Theologen und Gebildeten fand, nachdem es in mehrere Sprachen übersetzt worden war [50]). Mit seinem *Enchiridion* wollte Erasmus keine theologischen Disputationen anregen, sondern zu einem frommen Leben anleiten [51]). Erasmus hat Augustins *Enchiridion* gekannt und teilweise, neben anderen augustinischen Schriften (*De doctrina christiana*, *De civitate Dei*) sowie anderen Kirchenvätern verwendet. Dass er auch *De catechizandis rudibus* in einem Manuskript gelesen und in seinem *Dolch des christlichen Streiters* gelegentlich zitiert, hat P. Etchegaray Cruz nachzuweisen versucht [52]), räumt jedoch ein, dass Erasmus oft die augustinischen Texte paraphrasiert und in sein eigenes Latein umgeformt habe. Sichtbarer werden die Reminiszenzen und Anlehnungen an *De catechizandis rudibus* in der *Explanatio*, weil inzwischen Erasmus seine Augustinusausgabe abgeschlossen und veröffentlicht hatte. Wichtiger als rein philologische Vergleiche der genannten Schriften scheint mir die Übereinstimmung ihrer Grundgedanken, die im *Enchiridion* besonders deutlich wird. Auch für die Einübung des Katechumenen ins christliche Leben ist das *Enchiridion* sehr nützlich. Nach einem Aufruf zur Wachsamkeit im ununterbrochenen Lebenskampf bietet Erasmus im ersten Teil eine « theologische » Anthropologie [53]), indem er aus der Hl. Schrift und der Tradition nachweist, dass der Mensch aus Geist, Seele und Fleisch besteht. Selbsterkenntnis ist die beste Wissenschaft, Torheit bei Gott die Weisheit dieser Welt, die « Mutter des grössten Übels ». Immer wieder erlebt der Mensch den Widerstreit zwischen Fleisch und Geist und sieht er sich vor die Aufgabe gestellt, die Affekte der Seele durch seine Vernunft zu beherrschen. Besonders den Neuchristen erinnert Erasmus an die Bedeutung seiner Taufe, an « das in der Taufe mit Gott geschlossenen Bündnis », das grundlegend bleibt für das ganze Christenleben. « Oder weisst du nicht, christlicher Streiter, dass du schon damals, als du durch die

Handbüchlein eines christlichen Streiters, in : Erasmus von Rotterdam, Ausgewählte Schriften hg. v. W. Welzig, Bd. 1, Darmstadt 1968, 55-375.

[50]) Huizinga J., *l.c.*, 48-51.

[51]) In einem Brief an John Colet (August 1535) schreibt Erasmus : « Ut autem bonae literae seruirent pietati, scripsi Enchiridion militis Christiani » (Allen, *Epistolae*, XI, Nr. 3032).

[52]) Etchegaray Cruz A., *l.c.*, 183-191.

[53]) Kohls Ernst-Wilh., Die Theologie des Erasmus (Theologische Zeitschrift, Sonderband I, 1), I, Basel 1966, 87.

Geheimnisse der lebensspendenden Waschung aufgenommen wurdest, dich Christus, dem Führer, zur Verfügung gestellt hast, dem du zweimal das Leben schuldest, der dir das Leben geschenkt und wiedergegeben hat, dem du mehr als dich selbst schuldest?» (S. 63). In diesem Lebens- und Glaubenskampf des Christen stehen Gott, der wesentlich Liebe ist, und Christus, in dem Gott sich geoffenbart hat, dem Christen bei, die Welt und ihre Verlockungen zu überwinden. Die zwei Waffen des christlichen Streiters «sind Gebet und Wissen». «Das reine Gebet leitet unsere Neigung zum Himmel, wie zu einer dem Feind unzugänglichen Burg. Das Wissen festigt den Verstand mit heilsamen Meinungen, so dass keines dem anderen fehlen soll: So gewiss fordert eins des anderen Beistand und gelobt sich ihm zu freundschaftlichem Bunde» (S. 77). Als Fundament dessen, was der Christ zum Heile wissen muss, sieht Erasmus die Hl. Schriften des Alten und des Neuen Testamentes an: «Denn jede göttliche Schrift ist von Gott inspiriert und hat Gott zum Urheber» (S. 81). In der Hl. Schrift lebt Christus weiter.

Im zweiten Teil des *Enchiridion* beschreibt Erasmus die Gestalt der christlichen Lebenshaltung und er stellt eine Reihe von allgemeinen Regeln wahren Christentums sowie Anweisungen für den Kampf gegen einzelne Laster auf. Vor allem betont Erasmus die *caritas*, Grundlage und Erfüllung echt christlichen Lebens: «Sag mir nicht sogleich, dass die Liebe darin bestehe, häufig in die Kirche zu gehen, vor den Zeichen der Heiligen niederzuknieen, Kerzen anzuzünden, abgezählte Gebete herzusagen. Gott bedarf dieser Dinge nicht. Paulus nennt es Liebe, den Nächsten zu erbauen, alle als Glieder eines Körpers zu betrachten, alle für eins in Christus anzusehen, über das Wohlergehen des Bruders dich im Herrn zu freuen wie über dein eigenes, seinen Schaden zu heilen wie deinen eigenen, sanftmütig den Irrenden zurechtzuweisen, den Unwissenden zu belehren, den Gefallenen wieder aufzurichten, den Gestürzten zu trösten, dem Beladenen beizustehen, dem Bedürftigen zu Hilfe zu kommen, kurz alle deine Mittel, allen Fleiss, all dein Trachten darauf zu richten, möglichst vielen in Christus zu nützen...» (S. 225). So sieht denn auch Erasmus den Liebesdienst an Gott und dem Menschen als einziges und oberstes Amt der Kirche an: «Je grösser du bist, desto mehr lasse dich herab, allen in Liebe zu dienen» (S. 283). Als verschiedene, aber wechselseitig zusammenhängende Glieder sollen alle Christen den einen Leib bilden, dessen Haupt Christus, das Haupt Christi Gott ist

(S. 273). Nicht durch Macht, sondern nur im Liebesdienst kann die Kirche ihre missionarische Aufgabe in der Welt erfüllen und die Botschaft Christi an die Menschen weitergeben.

Wie immer man auch die Stellung des Erasmus im unheilvollen Streit der Christen und seine Persönlichkeit beurteilen mag, « zu den Geistern, deren wir nicht entbehren können, gehört auch er » (Huizinga). « Nomen Erasmi nunquam peribit » (John Colet in einem Brief an Erasmus vom 20. Juni 1516) [54]).

Die Zeit der Reformation

Die durch Martin Luther ausgelöste Reformation führte nicht nur zu einer Neubesinnung auf die Hl. Schrift, sie regte auch eine katechetische Neubelebung an. Dem Bestreben, Kinder und Jugendliche möglichst früh mit der neuen Lehre vertraut zu machen, kam die Schaffung neuer Lehrbücher entgegen. Die mittelalterliche Kirche kannte zwar den mündlichen religiösen Unterricht und besass Zusammenstellungen der Glaubenslehren, die für Geistliche oder Erwachsene bestimmt waren. Erst die Reformatoren haben jedoch den eigentlichen Kinderkatechismus geschaffen, der in der Folgezeit von Reformatoren und Katholiken weiter ausgebaut wurde. Schon vor Luthers *Enchiridion* versuchten Reformatoren katechetische Schriften herauszugeben. So verfasste Valentin Krautwald seine *Catechesis*, eine Art Katechetik mit einer Musterkatechese und einem kurzen Kinderkatechismus. Hierbei benutzte er wiederholt Augustins *De catechizandis rudibus* und empfahl diese Schrift nachdrücklichst allen Katecheten [55]). Leider wichen die meisten Reformatoren von der heilsgeschichtlichen Form der religiösen Unterweisung ab. Sie folgten darin Martin Luther, dessen Schriften zur Hauptquelle der meisten evangelischen Lehrbücher wurden.

Martin Luther hielt seit 1523 systematische Katechismuspredigten. In einer Katechismuspredigt aus dem Jahre 1528 erklärte er : « Catechismus i.e. ein unterweisung oder Christlicher unterricht, das yhn alle Christen zum allerwenigsten wissen sollen, post hoc sollen sie weiter ynn die schriffz gefurt werden. » Für Luther bestand die

[54]) *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterdami*, ed. P. S. Allen, II, Oxonii 1910, 258.

[55]) Cohrs Ferd., Die evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion (Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica hg. v. K. Kehrbach, XXIII), Berlin 1902, 183-225.

Aufgabe der religiösen Unterweisung in der « Einübung » in die Hl. Schrift. « Inhaltlich nimmt Luther eine Reduktion der katechetischen Stoffe auf biblisch fundierte Stücke vor. Zu der traditionellen Unterweisung im Dekalog, Credo und Paternoster treten Taufe und Abendmahl sowie Sprüche, Psalmen und Lieder. » [56]) 1528 begann Luther mit der Ausarbeitung eines *Grossen Katechismus*, der als Unterrichtshilfe für Pfarrer und Lehrer geplant war. Anfang 1529 erschien in Wittenberg der *Kleine Katechismus* [57]), der bald eine hervorragende Rolle in der evangelischen Unterweisung spielte [58]). Im Laufe des gleichen Jahres 1529 veröffentlichte Martin Luther seinen *Grossen Katechismus* [59]), von dem er am 15. Januar an Görlitz schrieb : « Modo in parando Catechismo pro rudibus paganis versor ». Martin Luther wollte nicht nur ein Glaubens- und Sittenkompendium « für die kinder und einfeltigen « vorlegen, ihn bedrückte die erschreckende Unwissenheit so vieler Erwachsener : « Denn ich dencke wol der zeit, ia es begibt sich noch teglich, das man grobe, alte betagte Leute findet, die hie von gar nichts gewust haben odder noch wissen, gehen doch gleichwol zur Tauffe und Sacrament und brauchen alles was die Christen haben. » Luther stellt fest, dass die Gebote, das Symbolum und Vater unser « von Alters her in der Christenheit blieben sind, aber wenig recht gelehret und getrieben » (Vorrhede z. Gr. Kat.).

Entsprechend der herkömmlichen katechetischen Methode des Mittelalters behandelt Luther zuerst « Die Zehen gepot Gottes », deren Erklärung er einen Grossteil seines Katechismus widmet. Hierbei steht im Vordergrund nicht die Gottesliebe als Seele aller Handlungen, sondern eher die Gottesfurcht : « Sihe also möcht man die ingent kindlicher weise und spielens auffziehen yum Gottes furcht und ehre, das das erste und ander gepot ym schwang und stedter ubunge giengen. »

Im 2. Teil folgen « die heubtartickel Unseres Glaubens ». Statt der traditionsgeheiligten Aufteilung « ynn zwelff artickel » teilt er « den

[56]) Hahn Fr., Die evangelische Unterweisung (Quellen zur Unterrichtslehre hg. v. G. Geissler, 7), Weinheim/Bergstr. 1958, 8.

[57]) *Enchiridion | De kleine Catechismus vor de gemeynen karckheren und Predikere.* Mart. Luther, 1529.

[58]) Kreutzwald Heinr., Zur Geschichte des Biblischen Unterrichts und zur Formgeschichte des biblischen Schulbuches (Unters. z. Theol. der Seelsorge XI), Freiburg 1957, 2-3 ; Bornhäuser Karl, Der Ursinn des Kleinen Katechismus Dr. Martin Luthers, Gütersloh 1933.

[59]) *Deudsch Catechismus.* Mart. Luther, Wittenberg 1529 (Benutzt wurde die Textausgabe von Joh. Meyer, Luthers Grosser Katechismus, Darmstadt 1968).

gantzen Glauben... ynn drey heubtartickel », damit « mans auffs leichteste und einfeltigste fassen künde » : der Glaube an Gott, den allmächtigen Vater ; der Glaube « An Jhesum Christum unsern Herrn » und seine Erlösung der Menschheit ; der Glaube an den Hl. Geist, der weiterwirkt und -lehrt in der « heiligen kyrche », die Gläubigen heiligt und sie auferweckt zum ewigen Leben. In seiner ekklesiologischen Erklärung betont Luther vor allem die « gemeinschafft der heiligen ». « Ausser der Christenheit aber, da das Evangelion nicht ist, ist auch kein vergebung nicht, wie auch kein heilickeit da sein kann. » — « Darümb scheiden und sondern diese Artickel des glaubens uns Christen von allen andern leuten auff erden. Denn was ausser der Christenheit ist, es seyen Heyden, Türcken, Jüden oder falsche Christen und heuchler, ob sie gleich nur einen wahrhafftigen Gott glauben und anbeten, so wissen sie doch nicht, was er gegen yhn gesynnet ist, können sich auch keiner liebe noch guts zu yhm versehen, darümb sie ynn ewigen zorn und verdamnis bleiben. » Die Summa christlicher Glaubenslehren bildet nur den Grundstock zu weiterer Glaubensvertiefung : « Denn wir haben doch teglich, so lang wir hie leben, daran zu predigen und zu lernen. »

Der 3. Teil ist dem Gebet vorbehalten, das im Vater unser seinen tiefsten Gehalt findet.

Der 4. Teil handelt von den Sakramenten : « Von der Tauffe » und « Von dem Sacrament des Altars ». Eindringlich betont Luther, dass die Taufe kein « eusserlich ding » ist, « das es ein Sacrament heisset, wie auch S. Augustinus geleret hat : Accedat verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum ». Vor allem aber hängt die Wirkkraft der Taufe vom Glauben ab : 'Wer da gleubt und getaufft wird, der wird selig'. Das ist, der glaube macht die person allein wirdig, das heylsame Göttliche wasser nützlich zu empfahen. » — « auch das dritte Sacrament, welches man genennet hat die Busse, als die eigentlich nichts anderes ist denn die Tauffe. »

Der Katechismus schliesst mit einer kurzen « vermannung zu der Beicht ».

Mit Augustins Schriften befasste sich Luther wahrscheinlich schon in seiner Erfurter Zeit. Zu einer Phase begeisterter Augustinusrezeption kam es in den Jahren nach 1515 [60]). Walther von Loewenich

[60]) Dazu Köstlin Jul., Luthers Theologie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und ihrem inneren Zusammenhang dargestellt, I, Darmstadt 1968³, 26-30 ; Boehm

schreibt : « Man kann Augustin geradezu als den Vater der Reformation bezeichnen. Keinem Theologen vor ihm verdankt Luther so viel wie Augustin » [61]). Luther selbst erklärte in seinen *Tischreden* : « Principio Augustinum vorabam, non legebam, sed da mir in Paulo die thur auffgieng, das ich wusste, was iustificatio fidei ward, da ward es aus mit yhm. » Dennoch fühlte Luther sich zeitlebens dem grossen Augustinus verbunden, von dem er sagte : « Hic est summus theologus, qui post apostolos scripserunt. » In seinen Richtlinien für die kerygmatische Verkündigung geht allerdings Luther von anderen Voraussetzungen aus. Trotz der erschreckenden Unwissenheit der Erwachsenen und Jugendlichen muss die evangelische Unterweisung als « Rückbesinnung zur Taufe, als Auslegung des in der heiligen Taufe Gegebenen zur Aneignung » verstanden werden [62]). Aus der Vätertradition und aus Augustins Schriften übernimmt Luther die Forderung für eine Unterweisung im Dekalog, Credo und Paternoster, neu ist jedoch seine Hinführung und Einführung in die Hl. Schrift selbst [63]). Während Augustinus das Fundament christlichen Lebens wesentlich in der *caritas* sieht, ist nach Luther der Glaube « das rechte Hauptstück und höchste Gebot » (Predigt vom 24. November 1532). Trotzdem scheint die Folgerung unzulässig : « Die Überordnung des reflexiven Glaubens über die Liebe und die damit verbundene Abwertung der Liebe ist Luthers dogmatisches Urteil über die Liebe. » [64]) So schreibt M. Luther : « Derhalben spricht wohl Augustin, dass des Ersten Gebotes Werke seien Glauben, Hoffen und Lieben. Nu ist droben gesagt, dass solche Zuversicht und Glaube bringt mit sich Liebe und Hoffnung. Ja, wenn wirs recht ansehen, so ist die Liebe das erste oder je zugleich mit dem Glauben. Denn ich könnte Gott nicht trauen, wenn ich nicht gedächte, er wolle mir günstig und hold sein, dadurch ich ihm wieder hold und bewegt werde ihm herzlich zu trauen und alles Gute von ihm zu versehen. » [65])

Einen anderen wichtigen Begriff Augustins, die Ursünde der

Heinr., Der junge Luther, Leipzig 1955[7]; Kawerau Peter, Luther. Leben, Schriften, Denken, Marburg 1969; Scheel Otto, Martin Luther. 2 Bde., Tübingen 1921-1930[3]; Hamel Ad., Der junge Luther und Augustin. 2 Bde., Gütersloh 1934-1935.

[61]) von Loewenich Walther, Von Augustin zu Luther, Witten 1959, 102.

[62]) Hahn, *l.c.*, 109.

[63]) Hahn, *l.c.*, 28.

[64]) Hacker Paul, Das Ich im Glauben bei Martin Luther, Graz 1966, 176.

[65]) Meissinger K. Aug., Glaube und Tun. Ein Luther-Brevier, München 1947, 51.

superbia bildet Luther einseitig weiter. Der menschliche Wille, lehrt Luther, ist ganz unfähig zum Guten. « Das Pochen auf eigene Gerechtigkeit ist superbia und impietas (Augustinus). Wer den eigenen Werken traut und also dem Werke Christi misstraut, macht Gott zu einem 'lügenhaften Mann' » [66]). Das Seelenheil des Menschen hängt nur von Gottes Gnade ab. Auch Adam im Urzustand vermochte nicht aus eigener Kraft im Guten zu verharren. Wohl lässt Luther den *liberum arbitrium* des Menschen in seinem Streben nach natürlich geschaffenen Dingen noch gelten. Wo es sich jedoch um das Verhältnis des menschlichen Willens zu Gott und seiner sittlichen, gottbezogenen Richtung handelt, bestreitet Luther den freien Willen des Menschen [67]). Der *superbia* steht die *humilitas* gegenüber, die im Erlösungswerk Christi und in der Grundhaltung der Erlösten von grosser Bedeutung ist [68]).

Von Augustinus übernahm Luther ebenfalls die Lehre von den zwei Reichen, obwohl er deren mittelalterliche Interpreation ablehnte. Wiederholt wies Luther darauf hin, dass die Menschheit aus Gläubigen und Ungläubigen besteht, die als *Corpus* unter einem Haupt zusammengefasst, in dauerndem Streit bis zum Endsieg Christi sich gegenüberstehen [69]).

Neben der Heilsbotschaft des Evangeliums ist das Sakrament ein äusseres Zeichen des Handelns Gottes am Seelenheil des Menschen [70]). Wie in der Glaubensunterweisung des *De cat. rud.* der Glaube an ein Gericht Gottes und an eine Auferstehung zu einer ewigen Glückseligkeit oder zu einer ewigen Verdamnis zu den Fundamentalwahrheiten christlicher Weltanschauung gehört, so steht Luthers Lehren und Mahnen unter eschatologischem Aspekt [71]).

Wenn auch Luthers Verdienste um die Ausformung des Katechismus voll anerkannt werden müssen, ist es zu bedauern, dass ihm die heilsgeschichtliche Sicht eines Augustinus abging.

[66]) Meissinger K. Aug., Der katholische Luther, München 1952, 228.

[67]) Dazu Köstlin Jul., *l.c.*, I, 214-220.

[68]) Peters Albr., Glaube und Werk. Luthers Rechtfertigungslehre im Lichte der Heiligen Schrift (Arbeiten zur Geschichte und Theologie des Luthertums, VIII), Berlin und Hamburg 1967, 34-40.

[69]) Schrey H.-H., Reich Gottes und Welt. Die Lehre Luthers von den zwei Reichen (Wege der Forschung, CVII), Darmstadt 1969.

[70]) Pinomaa Lennart, Sieg des Glaubens. Grundlinien der Theologie Luthers, Göttingen 1964, 151-159.

[71]) Asendorf Ilr., Eschatologie bei Luther, Göttingen 1967.

Wie für Martin Luther war auch für JEAN CALVIN der grosse Kirchenlehrer von Hippo die überragende Autorität unter den christlichen Theologen. Jean Cadier stellt dem wortgewaltigen, impulsiven Luther den theologisch gründlich vorgebildeten Calvin gegenüber, den in seinen Schriften eine exaktere Quellenzitierung kennzeichnet [72]). Luchesius Smits hat in seiner ausgedehnten Untersuchung über Augustinus im Werke J. Calvins über 3.000 Augustinuszitate nachgewiesen [73]), davon vier aus *De catechizandis rudibus*.

1552 veröffentlichte Calvin in Fortsetzung seiner *Defensio sanae et orthodoxae doctrinae de servitute et liberatione humani arbitrii adversus calumnias Alberti Pighii Campensis* seine Schrift *De aeterna Dei praedestinatione*, um gegen die von dem katholischen Benediktiner Albert Pighius Campensis und dem ehemaligen Karmeliter Hieronymus Bolsec erhobenen Einwände Stellung zu nehmen. Dabei stützt er sich weitgehend auf Augustinus (*De cat. rud.* 18, 30) : « Si diceret Augustinus, propositum semel fuisse Deo omnes servare : ad refutandam eius opinionem aliquid valeret Pighii argutia. Sed quando tradit, Adam prima sua creatione ita constitutum fuisse vitae heredem, ut propinqua eius abdicatio Deum minime lateret, imo in arcano eius consilio iam esset quasi inclusa : vere et merito colligit, universali reatu sic obstrictos teneri reprobos, ut in morte relicti, iustum judicium sustineant. Idem et nos tradimus, quia in Adam sumus ad unum omnes perditi, iusto Dei iudicio perire, qui pereunt : et simul tamen fatemur, quidquid Adae accidit, divinitus fuisse ordinatum » (*Corpus Reformatorum* VIII, 297[50]-298[2]).

In seiner *Institutio christianae religionis* IV, 14, 1 [74]) gibt Calvin

[72]) CADIER Jean, Saint Augustin et la Réforme, in : *Recherches Augustiniennes* 1 (1958), 365.

Zu Calvins Abhängigkeit von Augustinus cf. HEDTKE Reinh., Erziehung durch die Kirche bei Calvin (Pädagogische Forschungen, 39), Heidelberg 1969, bes. 39; 141; BERGER Heinr., Calvins Geschichtsauffassung, Zürich 1955; BESSE Georges, Saint Augustin dans les œuvres exégétiques de Jean Calvin, in : *Revue des études augustiniennes* 6 (1960), 161-172; OTTEN Heinr., Prädestination in Calvins theologischer Lehre, Neunkirchen 1968; SCHOLL Hans, Calvinus Catholicus (Oekum. Forschungen — Ekklesiolog. Abt., Bd. VII), Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1974; BAVAUD Georges, La doctrine de la prédestination et de la réprobation d'après s. Augustin et Calvin, in : *Revue des études augustiniennes* 5 (1959), 431-438.

[73]) SMITS Luchesius, Saint Augustin dans l'œuvre de Jean Calvin, 2 tomes, Assen 1957-58.

[74]) Benutzt wurde : J. CALVIN, Unterricht in der christlichen Religion (übers. u. bearb. v. Otto WEBER), Neunkirchen 1955.

eine Begriffsbestimmung des Sakramentes : « Sakrament heisst ein mit einem äusseren Zeichen bekräftigtes Zeugnis der göttlichen Gnade gegen uns, bei dem zugleich auf der anderen Seite eine Bezeugung unserer Frömmigkeit Gott gegenüber stattfindet ». In IV, 14, 15 erklärt er die Unterscheidung zwischen Sakrament und der von dem Sakrament bezeichneten Sache und zitiert in beiden Fällen *De cat. rud.* 26, 50. Gegen Joachim Westphal und seine Pamphlete richtete sich der 1557 veröffentlichte *Dernier avertissement de Jean Calvin à Joachim Westphal*, in dem Calvin mit einem Zitat aus *De cat. rud.* 26, 50 Westphal, der Augustinus oft in seiner Beweisführung zitiert, zu widerlegen suchte [75]).

Im Winter 1536/37 schrieb Jean Calvin seinen Katechismus : *Instruction et Confession de Foy dont on use en Leglise de Genève* (CR. L, XXII, 33-74) [76]). Diese Schrift, welche die Hauptgedanken der *Institutio* zusammenfasst, sollte der Unterweisung der Jugend dienen. Unverkennbar sind auch hier die Einflüsse Augustins. Nach dem Traktat « von Gott und vom Menschen » im 1. Teil erklärt Calvin den Dekalog im folgenden 2. Teil. Der 3. Teil handelt vom Glauben und vom Symbolum, entsprechend der katechetischen Unterweisung der Urkirche. Im 4. Teil wird das Gebet, vor allem das Vater unser, erklärt. In seinen Ausführungen über die Sakramente betont Calvin, im Sinne Augustins, das Sakrament sei « ein äusseres Zeichen, durch das der Herr uns sein Wohlwollen bezeigt und bezeugt, um der Schwachheit unseres Glaubens zu helfen » [77]).

1545 verfasste Calvin seinen *Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève : c'est à dire les formulaires d'instruire les enfans en la chrétienté : faict en manière de dialogue, où le ministre interrogue et l'enfant respond* (CR. VI, 1-160). Im Vorwort erklärt er seine Absicht : « Quod ergo nunc in medium proferimus, nihil aliud est quam usus eorum, quae iam olim a Christianis et veris Dei cultoribus observata sunt, neque unquam omissa, nisi dum ecclesia omnino corrupta fuit. » Calvin behält die gleiche Einteilung wie im 1. Katechismus bei und legt abschliessend kurze Fragen vor, die ebenso bündig von den Kindern zu beantworten sind.

[75]) *Corpus Reformatorum*, IX, 160.

[76]) Deutsche Übersetzung : J. Calvin, Christliche Unterweisung. Der Genfer Katechismus von 1537, Hamburg 1963.

[77]) Beckmann Joachim, Vom Sakrament bei Calvin. Die Sakramentslehre Calvins in ihren Beziehungen zu Augustin, Tübingen 1926.

Auch in den katechetischen Schriften Calvins tritt das Heilswirken eines gütigen und barmherzigen Gottes zurück hinter dem drohenden Gericht des absoluten Souveräns, das die Gläubigen zu strengster Sittlichkeit zwingt.

Die schnelle und grosse Verbreitung des lutherischen Katechismus seit 1529 zwang die Katholiken zu einer Stellungnahme in der Katechismusfrage. Das Konzil von Trient verpflichtete die Pfarrseelsorger zur Abhaltung der Christenlehre an Sonn- und Feiertagen, die neben den Erwachsenen besonders für die Jugendlichen bestimmt war. Vor seiner Auflösung übertrug das Konzil dem Papst die Veröffentlichung des Katechismus, an dessen Ausarbeitung drei Dominikaner arbeiteten. 1566 konnte dann der *Catechismus romanus* [78]) erscheinen, der weniger für den Gebrauch der Gläubigen gedacht war, sondern die theologische Bildung der Geistlichen ergänzen und ihnen den Glaubensunterricht erleichtern sollte. Nach einem *Prooemium* folgt die traditionelle Einteilung in Glaube und Symbolum, Sakramente, Dekalog und Gebet. Der *Catechismus Romanus* zitiert häufig Augustinus, orientiert sich aber wenig an *De catechizandis rudibus*, obwohl er ausdrücklich die Verbindung von Katechismus und Bibel empfiehlt [79]).

Drei Jahrzehnte vor der Veröffentlichung des offiziellen *Catechismus Romanus* erschien 1535 in Leipzig erstmals der in deutscher Sprache verfasste *Catechismus Ecclesiae* des Georg Witzel (Wicelius) [80]). Wegen der schwankenden Haltung Witzels der katholischen Kirche und Luther gegenüber fand dieser Katechismus nicht die ihm gebührende Anerkennung. Witzel hatte sich eingehend mit dem Studium altchristlicher Liturgie und der Kirchenväter befasst. Dass er Augustinus besonders gut kannte und schätzte, beweist seine Herausgabe des *De fide et operibus S. Augustini* (Leipzig 1539). In seinem Vorwort zum *Catechismus ecclesiae / Lere und Handelunge des heiligen / Christenthums / aus der Wahrheyt Göttlichen worts / kurtz*

[78]) Katechismus nach dem Beschlusse des Konzils von Trient für die Pfarrer. Auf Befehl der Päpste Pius V und Klemens XIII herausgegeben. Übers. nach der zu Rom 1855 veröffentl. Ausg., Kirchen/Sieg 1970.

[79]) Bellinger Gerh., Der Catechismus Romanus und die Reformation (Konfessionskundl. u. Kontroverskundl. Studien, XVII, hg. v. J.-A. Möhler-Institut), Paderborn 1970.

[80]) Moufang Chr., Katholische Katechismen des 16. Jahrhunderts in deutscher Sprache, Mainz 1881. Padberg Rud., Zum katechetischen Anliegen Georg Witzels (1501-1573), in : *Theologie und Glaube* 43 (1953), 192-200.

und lieblich beschrieben verweist Witzel ausdrücklich auf den Zusammenhang seiner Auffassungen mit der kerygmatischen Praxis der Urkirche und den Schriften der Väterzeit, vor allem mit *De catechizandis rudibus* : « Zuletzt habe ich dies gethan aus St. Augustini Rat, welchen er dem Carthagischen Diakon gab, da er ihm schreib, wie er die Leutlein katechisieren solle ». Witzels grosse Leistung liegt vor allem im heilsgeschichtlichen Aufbau seines Katechismus. Das Urteil Kreutzwald's ist berechtigt : « Nicht bloss, dass er vor Canisius mit Erfolg der neuen Lehre entgegentrat und seine Katechismen mehrere Auflagen erlebten, verdient Erwähnung, viel wichtiger ist noch die andere Tatsache, dass hier der erste greifbare Versuch in der Neuzeit vorliegt, die Biblische Geschichte in die religiöse Bildung und Erziehung ein —, ja diese auf jener aufzubauen » [81]). Leider hat Witzel diesen heilsgeschichtlichen Aufbau der Katechese in seinem 1560 erschienenen *Newer und kurtzer Catechismus, das ist Christliche und gewisse Unterrichtung der jungen Christen in katholischer Kirche* aufgegeben. Die lateinische Kurzfassung seines Katechismus *Instructio puerorum ecclesiae, non minus sana, quam succincta* (1542) « bietet in ihrem biblischen Teil in glücklicher Zusammenstellung Texte, die in einer überraschenden Tiefe das AT mit dem NT verklammern, einen heilsgeschichtlichen Überblick bis zur Parusie bieten und den Kern der Frohen Botschaft prägnant und verständlich in harmonisierender Auswahl herausstellen » [82]). Der Einfluss Augustins wird ebenfalls deutlich in Witzels Auffassung der Kirche, die als mystischer Leib Christi verkündet wird.

Zur gleichen Zeit wie Witzel veröffentlichte der Dominikanerprior Johannes Dietenberger (um 1475-1537) eine deutsche Bibel, die 58 Auflagen erlebte, und einen deutschen Katechismus, die Luthers Schriften entgegenwirken sollten [83]).

Zu den « ausgewogensten Leistungen des 16. Jahrhunderts » [84]) gehört das katechetische Werk des Julius von Pflug, des letzten

[81]) Kreutzwald Heinr., Zur Geschichte des biblischen Unterrichts und zur Formgeschichte des biblischen Schulbuches (Unters. z. Theol. d. Seelsorge, XI), Freiburg 1957, 8.

[82]) Padberg, *l.c.*, 197.

[83]) Offele Wolfg., Ein Katechismus im Dienst der Glaubenseinheit. Julius Pflugs « Institutio Christiani hominis » als katechetischer Beitrag zur interkonfessionellen Begegnung, Essen 1965, 307.

[84]) Offele, *l.c.*, 167.

katholischen Bischofs von Naumburg-Zeitz. Im Jahre 1562 erschien in Köln seine *Institutio Christiani hominis*. Julius von Pflug war ein Freund des Erasmus von Rotterdam, dessen Vorschläge zu einer oekumenischen Zusammenarbeit der gespaltenen Christen er weiterführte. Wenige Katechetiker haben die biblische und patristische Tradition so fruchtbar verwertet wie dieser seeleneifrige Bischof, obwohl sein Werk weder im 16. Jh. noch in der Folgezeit die verdiente Anerkennung fand. Dass Julius von Pflug, wahrscheinlich durch den Einfluss des Erasmus, ein Kenner Augustins war, darauf weist schon G. Witzel hin, der ihm 1539 seine Ausgabe des augustinischen *De fide et operibus* widmet. Pflug zitiert häufig Augustinus in seinem Traktat und lässt sich wie dieser von seelsorglichen Absichten, nicht von apologetischen Kontroversen leiten. Bereits auf den ersten Seiten der *Institutio* stetzt Pflug den Glauben als Fundament jedes christlichen Lebens : « Nur der Glaubende kann Gott begehren und das Heil erhoffen » (S. 3). Glaube aber kann sich nur entfalten in Hoffnung und Liebe. « Pflug unterscheidet mit Augustinus Gott als Inhalt (*Deum unum esse*), als Zeugen (*credamus Deo*) und als Ziel des Glaubens (*in Deum credamus*). Alle drei Elemente versteht er als Ausdruck des einen Glaubensaktes » [85]). Vor allem aber betont Pflug die *caritas* als Erfüllung jeglichen Gesetzes : « Deus... addidit legi naturae atque Mosaiçę legem spiritus, quae non scripta est, sed digito Dei prȩcordiis hominũ impressa » (S. 50). Erst von der Liebe gedrängt, nicht durch äusseren Zwang genötigt, erfüllt der Mensch in Freiheit das Gesetz Gottes. Von Augustinus übernimmt Pflug auch seinen Begriff der Kirche : der inneren, unsichtbaren Kirche und der äusseren, sichtbaren Kirche, die geeint sind in dem einen Haupt Christus. Die Sakramente werden in einem eigenen Hauptteil der *Institutio* behandelt, als Zeichen und Merkmale der Kirche.

Durch Pflug wurde besonders der französische Jesuitenpater Edmond Auger (Emundus Augius, 1530-1591) beeinflusst, der 1563 in Lyon seinen *Catéchisme sommaire de la religion chrestienne* herausgab, der später auch lateinisch und griechisch übersetzt, mehrfach aufgelegt und in Frankreich vorherrschend wurde. Im deutschen Sprachraum setzten sich die Katechismen des Jesuiten Petrus Canisius gegenüber den lutherischen Katechismen am stärksten durch. Im Jahre 1556 wurde in Wien eine deutsche Übersetzung seiner *Summa*

[85]) Moufang Ch., Katholische Katechismen des 16. Jh., Mainz 1881, 1-105.

Doctrinae Christianae herausgebracht, die gewöhnlich als Grosser Katechismus des Canisius bezeichnet wird. 1558 liess Canisius selbst seinen *Kleinen Catechismus sampt kurtzem gebetlen für die einfältigen* veröffentlichen. Canisius zitiert in seinen Katechismen sehr ausgiebig die Hl. Schrift und die Kirchenväter, lässt jedoch, wie Luther, die Heilsgeschichte völlig in den Hintergrund treten.

Um die ungenügende biblische Begründung im Canisianischen Katechismus zu ergänzen, veröffentlichte der Jesuitenpater A. Volusius im Jahre 1658 seinen *Catechismus Biblicus*, der eine « schriftmässige Erklärung und Bewährung der wahren christ-katholischen, allein seligmachenden, in Doctoris Petri Canisii S.I. Kleinen teutschen Catechismus begriffenen Lehr » sein sollte. Auch P. Fr. X. Widenhofer, suchte 1750 den Katechismus des Canisius durch Schrift- und Väterstellen zu bereichern, als er seinen zuerst in lateinischer, dann in deutscher Sprache verfassten Katechismus für die studierende Jugend herausgab.

Aber erst den historischen Katechismen, die im 17. und 18. Jh. in Frankreich erschienen, sollte die Synthese zwischen Bibel und Dogma wieder gelingen.

Neue Missionsära im 16. Jahrhundert

Die kolonialen Eroberungen nach den geographischen Entdeckungen und die durch die Gegenreformation ausgelöste neue Expansionskraft der katholischen Kirche führten zu einer Neubelebung des Missionswesens. Dieser missionarische Durchbruch gelang den reformierten Kirchen erst nach Konsolidierung der heimatlichen Verhältnisse. Die Schwerpunkte der Missionstätigkeit der katholischen Kirche im 16. Jh. lagen in Südamerika und im Fernen Osten. Wie die katechetische Erneuerung führte auch die Neubesinnung des Missionswesens und der Missionstheorie zu Augustinus und seinem Büchlein *De cat. rud.*

Der unerschrockene Vorkämpfer für die Menschenrechte der Eingeborenen und der unermüdliche Missionar und Seelsorger Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474-1566) O.P. wurde durch die erst 1942 veröffentlichte Schrift *De unico vocationis modo* [86]) als hervorragender Vertreter

[86]) Del unico modo de atraer a todos los pueblos a la verdadera religión, hg. v. Lewis Hanke und Augustin Millares, Mexico 1942.

der Missionslehre bekannt [87]). Seine These der gewaltlosen und friedfertigen Glaubensverbreitung stützt Las Casas auf den Lehren der Väter, vor allem des Cyrill von Jerusalem, Johannes Chrysostomus und Ambrosius [88]). Ausser Zitaten aus Augustins Werken kommt auch *De cat. rud.* zu Worte, aus dem drei Seiten zitiert werden. Las Casas hat vielfach die bittere Erfahrung erzwungener und unechter Bekehrungen machen müssen. In Augustins Ausführungen findet er wertvollste Richtlinien für die Betreuung der Taufbewerber und für die Taufkatechese.

Der spanische Dominikaner Luis de Granada († 1588) wollte in seinem *Breve Tratado / En Que Se Declara de la manera que se podra proponer la Doctrina de nuestra Sancta Fe, y religion Christiana a los nuevos fieles*, Salamanca 1588 [89]), ein Kompendium für die Heidenbekehrung in den Missionsländern bieten. Er empfiehlt den Missionaren bei ihrer Bekehrungsarbeit *De catechizandis rudibus*, das er mehrmals zitiert [90]).

Der spanische Jesuit und Missionar in Peru José de Acosta (1539-1600) gilt als einer der grossen Missionstheoretiker des 16. Jahrhunderts. In seiner Monographie *De procuranda Indorum salute* [91]). verweist er wiederholt auf Augustins vorbildliche Schrift, ihre Heilmittel gegen Unlust und Missmut des Missionars, seine Aneiferung zum Seeleneifer und ihre klare Zielsetzung der katechetischen Unterweisung, welche die Kenntnis und Liebe Christi vermitteln soll [92]).

Im Jahre 1509 hatte auf Haïti die Dominikanermission unter Pedro de Cordoba begonnen, der 1510 den ersten Konvent auf den Antillen gründete. Er verfasste zusammen mit Juan de Zumarraga und Domingo de Betanzos im Jahre 1548 die *Doctrina cristiana en lengua espanola y mejicana*, deren Gebrauch für alle Gläubigen, vor

87) Beckmann John., Der Missionar im Lichte der Missionstheologie des Bartolomé de Las Casas O.P., in : *Neue Zeitschr. f. Missionswissenschaft* 22 (1966), 175-188.

88) Beckmann, *l.c.*, 179.

89) Benutzt wurde die französische Übersetzung : Louis de Granade, Court Traité sur la manière d'enseigner les vérités de la religion aux nouveaux fidèles (Œuvres complètes, Trad. Bareille, XVI, Paris 1865), 443-490.

90) *l.c.*, 446-456; 484-489.

91) Salamanca 1588. Benutzt wurde die Ausgabe von Velinchon J., Manila 1858.

92) II, 18 : « Deinde multum a B. Augustino commendatum in catechizandis rudibus documentum accurate servetur, ut admoneantur ii, qui Fidem suscipere parant, ne religionem nostram ex nostris hominibus metiantur, sed ex ipsius potius aequitate, et sanctitate »; *ibid.*, III, 6; IV, 18; IV, 21; IV, 22; V, 1.

allem aber für die Eingeborenen bestimmt war. P. Etchegaray Cruz hat in seiner Untersuchung [93]) den Einfluss des *De cat. rud.* in diesem katechetischen Werk nachgewiesen, der sowohl in der Form geschichtlicher Erzählung wie in der Christologie und Ekklesiologie und den Ermahnungen zu Güte und Geduld der Missionare feststellbar ist. Bereits 1543 war in Sevilla eine *Summa de doctrina cristiana* erschienen, die als Grundlage diente und von einem spanischen Erasmusanhänger Constantino Ponce de León verfasst worden war [94]).

Einer der erfolgreichsten Missionare der Neuzeit, der Apostel Indiens und Missionspionier in Japan, ist Franz Xaver (1506-1552). In seinem für Katechisten der Gesellschaft Jesu in Indien bestimmten *Rudes catechizandi methodus* [95]) erinnern nicht nur der Titel, sondern auch die Erklärung des Symbolums und des Vaterunser sowie die Erweckung der Akte der Theologischen Tugenden an Augustins Katechumenatspraxis, mag auch zur Zeit Franz Xavers statt Einzelbekehrungen ein Massenbetrieb die Regel gewesen sein. 1549 schrieb Franz Xaver, in Zusammenarbeit mit seinen Gefährten, das Wesentliche seiner Predigt in Kagoshima nieder in der *Declaración del Símbolo de la fe*, übersetzt ins Japanische. Der Aufbau des umfangreichen Buches, vor allem die Aufteilung der Heilsgeschichte in 6. Zeitalter, deuten darauf hin, dass Franz Xaver, wahrscheinlich durch P. Cosme de Torres, *De cat. rud.* kannte und gebrauchte [96]).

Die historischen Katechismen Frankreichs im 17.-18. Jahrhundert

Das « grosse Jahrhundert » Frankreichs, gekennzeichnet durch kirchlich-humanistische Frömmigkeit und französische Weltkultur (J. Lortz), brachte neben grossen Heiligen bedeutende Erneuerer der Katechese hervor [97]). Neben Fénelon und Bossuet zählt Claude Fleury (1640-1723) zu den Männern, welche die biblisch-historische

[93]) Etchegaray Cruz Ad., Saint Augustin et le contenu de la catéchèse prétridentine en Amérique Latine, in : *Revue des études augustiniennes* 11 (1965), 277-290.

[94]) *Ibid.*, 289.

[95]) In : Monumenta Xaveriana, I, Matriti 1899-1900, n. 145, p. 828-831.

[96]) Etchegaray Cruz Ad., Saint François Xavier a-t-il utilisé au Japon le « De catechizandis rudibus » de Saint Augustin ?, in : Neue Zeitschr. f. Missionswissenschaft 23 (1967), 161-167. — Zum japanischen Katechismus cf. Schurhammer Georg, Franz Xaver, II/3, Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1973, 112-116.

[97]) Dhôtel J. C., Les origines du catéchisme moderne d'après les premiers manuels imprimés en France, Paris 1967.

Begründung der Katechese und die Verbindung der Biblischen Geschichte mit den Glaubenslehren des Katechismus wieder zur Geltung brachten. 1683 erschien in Paris Fleurys *Catéchisme historique, contenant en abrégé l'histoire sainte et la doctrine chrétienne* [98]). In seiner Einführung [99]) beklagt Fleury die religiöse Unwissenheit seiner Zeitgenossen, die eine Hauptursache der Sittenverderbnis sei. Nur in den Katechismen sieht er die Möglichkeit zu solider religiöser Bildung. Er verweist auf Augustins *De cat. rud.* (col. 24/25) und dessen *narratio* als Vorbild religiöser Unterweisung und er übernimmt Augustins Weisung : « Erzählet so, dass der Hörer durch Hören zum Glauben, durch Glauben zum Hoffen, durch Hoffen zur Liebe gelangt » (Col. 29). Im 1. Teil wird die Heilsgeschichte von der Schöpfung bis zum Erdenleben des Erlösers und die Geschichte des Urchristentums bis zu Kaiser Konstantin d. Grossen und dem Aufblühen des Mönchtums geboten. Der 2. Teil handelt über Glauben, Gebet, Gottes- und Nächstenliebe, Dekalog, Kirchengebote, liturgische Feste und Sakramente. Fleurys *Catéchisme historique*, der in Frankreich höchste Anerkennung fand und in viele andere Sprachen übersetzt wurde, ist « Bahnbrecher und Wegbereiter für die eigentliche biblische Bildung der Jugend und für einen selbständigen biblischen Geschichtsunterricht » [100]).

Neben Fénelon (1651-1715), der in seiner bekannten Schrift *De l'éducation des filles* (Paris 1687) die historische Grundlegung der religiösen Unterweisung empfiehlt, fand François Aimé Pouget (1666-1723) grossen Anklang. 1702 erschienen in Paris seine *Instructions générales en forme de catéchisme à l'usage du diocèse de Montpellier* (2 vol.), die in der Folgezeit ins Latein [101]) und ins Deutsche [102]) übersetzt wurden.

Als letzter biblisch-historischer Katechismus erschien 1741 in Paris von G. H. Bougeant S.I. seine *Exposition de la doctrine chrétienne par demandes et réponses, divisée en trois catéchismes (historique, dogmatique, pratique)*, 2 vol. Bougeant zitiert ausgiebig die kirchlichen Schriftsteller und erwähnt ausdrücklich *De cat. rud.* I, 47. Nach einer kurzen Darlegung der Geschichte des A.T. folgt das N.T. und schliess-

[99]) Discours sur le dessein et l'usage de ce catéchisme, col. 17-42.

[100]) Kreutzwald H., Zur Geschichte des biblischen Unterrichts und zur Formgeschichte des biblischen Schulbuches, Freiburg 1957, 19.

[101]) *Institutiones Catholicae in modum Catecheseos*, Aug. Vindob. 1764.

[102]) *Katholische Unterweisungen nach der Weise einer Christenlehre*, Augsburg 1779.

lich die Lehre von der Kirche. Kreutzwald kommt zur berechtigten Schlussfolgerung : « Das grosse Interesse an den französischen Katechismen, das sich in den mannigfachen Übersetzungen, in deren amtlichen Empfehlungen und in den literarischen Hinweisen auf sie deutlich kundgibt, berechtigt wohl zu der Annahme, dass das Beispiel der historischen Katechismen Frankreichs mitbestimmend war für die Einbeziehung biblischen Bildungsgutes in die deutsche katholische Katechese und damit zu einem stärkeren Ausbau der biblischen Bildung der Jugend beigetragen hat » [103]).

Die Aufklärungszeit in Deutschland

Die Aufklärung, welche die Autonomie und Freiheit des Menschen anstrebte, drängte auch die Kirche, ihre Theologie und vor allem ihr Erziehungswesen zu einer Rückbesinnung auf ihre eigentlichen Aufgaben [104]).

Erfüllt « von den gesunden Idealen einer positiven Aufklärung » waren Johann Ignaz von Felbiger (1724-1788) [105]), Abt des Augustinerstiftes in Sagan, und sein Freund und Nachfolger Benedikt Strauch (1724-1803). Sie waren nicht nur die Triebfeder der Schulreform in Schlesien und in Oesterreich, sie bewährten sich auch als entschiedene Vorkämpfer für den biblisch-historischen Religionsunterricht in den Volksschulen. Als Regulierter Chorherr vom Orden des Hl. Augustinus hatte Ignaz von Felbiger die Schriften des Ordensheiligen und der Kirchenväter gründlich studiert. Zusammen mit Benedikt Strauch, dessen grosse Verdienste um das gemeinsame Werk meistens in vornehmer Bescheidenheit zurücktreten, gab er ab 1766 seinen *Römisch-katholischen Katechismus für die erste Classe der Kinder in den Schulen Saganischen Stiftes* heraus [106]). Krömer stellt fest : « Möglicherweise wurde Felbiger dazu durch die Lektüre von Augustins 'de catech. rud.' angeregt » [107]); jedenfalls beruft er sich auf dessen

[103]) Kreutzwald, *l.c.*, 28-29.

[104]) Rabas Jos., Katechetisches Erbe der Aufklärungszeit kritisch dargestellt an dem « Lehrbuch der christkatholischen Religion » von J. Fr. Batz erschienen in Bamberg 1799 (Untersuchungen z. Theologie der Seelsorge, XIX), Freiburg 1963.

[105]) Krömer Ulrich, Johann Ignaz von Felbiger, Freiburg 1966.

[106]) Benutzt wurde die Ausgabe von 1775.

[107]) Krömer, *l.c.*, 212. — Cf. Filthaut Theod., Das Reich Gottes in der katechetischen Unterweisung (Untersuchungen zur Theologie der Seelsorge, XII), Freiburg i.Br. 1958, 28.

Forderung einer historischen Begründung der Religion. 1776-1778 veröffentlichte B. Strauch die erste vollständige deutsche Schulbibel [108]). « Seit Strauch-Felbiger gehörten Biblische Geschichte und Perikopenstunde zum planmässigen obligatorischen Religionsunterricht in den katholischen Volksschulen Deutschlands, wenn auch Zielsetzung und Methode sich mit der Zeit geändert haben. » [109])

Das neunzehnte Jahrhundert

Johann Michael Sailer (1751-1832) sah das Vertrautsein mit der Hl. Schrift nicht nur als Grundlage des geistlichen Lebens der Priester und Erzieher an, jedes erfüllte Christenleben muss seine Kraft aus der Bibel schöpfen [110]). Auf den « besten Vorrath von Beispielen in der Heiligen Schrift » wies immer wieder Heinrich Overberg (1754-1826) hin, der um Volksschule und Lehrerbildung sich höchste Verdienste erwarb. In volkstümlichen Erzählungen wollte Christoph von Schmid Kindern und Erwachsenen die Bibel näherbringen. Vor allem aber war es Bernard Gallura (1764-1856), der, als Pfarrer am Münster in Freiburg und später als Fürstbischof von Brixen, die Grundidee der Bibel, « die Idee vom Reiche Gottes oder Himmel », zum Zentrum der Theologie und des religiösen Unterrichtes machen wollte. Die heilsgeschichtliche Deutung der biblischen Geschichte und die biblische Grundlage jeder religiösen Unterweisung waren klar aufgezeigt [111]).

Obwohl Josef Deharbe mit seinem Katechismus (Regensburg 1847) wieder auf den *Catechismus Romanus* und das Lehrsystem des Canisius zurückgriff und den Katechismusunterricht weitgehend beeinflusste, fanden Biblische Geschichte und Biblischer Geschichtsunterricht wieder ihre gesicherte Stellung im Lehrplan des Religionsunterrichtes. Der « Durchbruch des biblischen Geschichtsunterrichtes in der 1. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts » (Kreutzwald) ist vorwiegend

[108]) Strauch B., Kern der Biblischen Geschichte Alten und Neuen Testamentes mit beygefügten kurzen Sittenlehren, Bamberg-Würzburg 1776.

[109]) Kreutzwald, *l.c.*, 68.

[110]) Sailer J. M., Vorlesungen aus der Pastoraltheologie, 3 Bde., München 1788/89.

[111]) Dreher Bruno, Die biblische Unterweisung im katholischen und evangelischen Religionsunterricht (Untersuchungen z. Theologie der Seelsorge hg. v. F. X. Arnold, XVIII), Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1963, 47 meint, Gallura habe « troz seiner heilsgeschichtlichen Reich-Gottes-Idee im grossen und ganzen in seiner *Biblischen Geschichte der Welterlösung* (Freiburg 1806) isolierte Moralkatechesen » geboten.

dem Einsatz von drei Männern zuzuschreiben : Gruber, Hirscher und Schuster.

J. J. Augustin Gruber, geboren 1763 in Wien, hatte, seit seinem Aufenthalt im Kloster der Augustiner-Eremiten, eine grosse Verehrung für den Hl. Augustinus. Als Fürsterzbischof von Salzburg (1823-1835) übersetzte er *De cat. rud.* Die Übersetzung des Büchleins und die Anwendungen seiner Richtlinien in der Praxis des Religionsunterrichtes erschienen 1830 unter dem Titel : *Katechetische Vorlesungen über des Hl. Augustinus Buch : Von der Unterweisung der Unwissenden in der Religion.* 1832 bot Gruber in seinem *Praktischen Handbuch der Katechetik für Katholiken oder Anweisung und Katechisation im Geiste des hl. Augustinus als Fortsetzung der katechetischen Vorlesung*, nebst praktischen Anweisungen, Musterkatechesen für Kinder im Alter von 5-9 Jahren. « Augustin Gruber kehrt zum augustinischen Gedanken der biblischen Narratio als Ausgangspunkt der katechetischen Unterweisung zurück, entwickelt an ihr den Lehrinhalt und verlangt überall Anschaulichkeit auf Grund der Biblischen Geschichte. » [112])

Konsequenter als Gruber versuchte der Moraltheologe Johann Baptist von Hirscher (1788-1865) den gesamten Katechismusunterricht mit der Heilsgeschichte der Bibel zu verbinden [113]). 1831 erschien die 1. Auflage seiner *Katechetik*, in der er auf Augustins *De cat. rud.* verweist [114]). Ziel der religiösen Erziehung ist « die Bildung der dem Menschen verliehenen Kräfte zu christlichem Glauben, glaubensvoller Liebe, und gläubig-liebender Thätigkeit » (S. 7). Das 1. Buch handelt über die katechetische Verwaltung des Wortes : Auswahl, Anordnung und Darstellung des katechetischen Stoffes und den katechetischen Vortrag selbst. Das 2. Buch gibt Anweisungen über die durch den Katecheten vermittelte Vollziehung des Wortes. Die Katechumenen sollen zur « christlichen Volljährigkeit » herangeführt werden. Das Wort der Wahrheit muss durch den Katecheten umgewandelt werden in das innere religiös-sittliche Leben der Kate-

112) Kreutzwald, *l.c.*, 134/135. — Der Bedeutung Grubers für die Katechetik im 19. Jh. hat Hofinger P. J. höchste Anerkennung gezollt in seiner Geschichte des Katechismus in Oesterreich von Canisius bis zur Gegenwart, Innsbruck-Leipzig 1937.

113) Bläcker F., J. B. Hirscher und seine Katechismen in zeit- und geistesgeschichtlichem Zusammenhang, Freiburg 1953. — Ludochowski Heinz, BiblischeVerkündigung nach Johann Baptist von Hirscher, Regensburg 1970.

114) Katechetik, Tübingen 1834³, 11.

chumenen und in deren äusseres religiös-sittliche Leben durch « Cultur der christlichen Sitte ».

1842 veröffentlichte Hirscher seinen *Katechismus der christ-katholischen Religion*, der in den folgenden Jahrzehnten mehrere Auflagen erlebte. 1845 folgten *Der kleinere Katechismus der christ-katholischen Religion*, 1857 die *Hauptstücke des christlichen Glaubens für Schule und Haus*.

Obwohl Hirschers Katechismen keine weitreichende und andauernde Verbreitung fanden, hat er als Religionspädagoge, wie ebenfalls als einer der geistigen Führer des deutschen Katholizismus im 19. Jahrhundert, grösste Verdienste um die religiöse Bildung des Volkes. Mag auch Dreher von einer « romantisch bestimmten, heilsgeschichtlichen Theologie der Zeit J. B. von Hirschers » sprechen [115]), Katechetik und Theologie der Gegenwart haben am heilsgeschichtlichen Denken Hirschers sich neuorientiert.

In der seelsorglichen Praxis tätig und erfahren, hält sich Ignaz Schuster (1813-1869) in seinem 1844 in Freiburg erschienenen Katechismus an den *Catechismus Romanus*, stellt aber gleichzeitig die Biblische Geschichte stark in den Vordergrund des religiösen Unterrichtes [116]) und « verbindet als Exeget und Katechet in trefflicher Weise heilsgeschichtliche Zusammenschau und Einzelauslegung » [117]).

Ganz im Geist seines Lehrers Hirscher gab Pfarrer Gustav Mey (1822-1877) seine *Vollständigen Katechesen für die unteren Klassen der katholischen Volksschule* heraus (Freiburg 1871) [118]), in denen er die Biblische Geschichte als Grundstoff für den ersten religiösen Schulunterricht ansetzt. Mey veröffentlichte zwei Jahre vor seinem Tode eine überarbeitete Neuausgabe der *Biblischen Geschichte* Schusters, die grosse Verbreitung fand.

Als Vertreter der biblisch-heilsgeschichtlichen Methode muss auch Friedr. Justus Knecht (1839-1921) angesehen werden [119]). Mit ihm

[115]) Dreher, *l.c.*, 37.

[116]) Biblische Geschichte des Alten und Neuen Testaments im Auszuge für kath. Volksschulen, Freiburg 1847.

[117]) Dreher, *l.c.*, 41.

[118]) Bearbeitet von Th. Hoch, erschienen die Katechesen 1952 in 17. Auflage.

[119]) Kommentar zur Biblischen Geschichte, Freiburg 1882. — Kurze Bibl. Geschichte f. d. unteren Schuljahre der kath. Volksschule, Freiburg 1882 (1941 : 74. Abdruck) — Praktischer Kommentar zur Bibl. Geschichte, Freiburg 1882/83; 1925 : 25. Auflage.

« kommt die andere Linie der Bibelunterweisung seit der Mitte des 19. Jh. zur vollen Geltung : die dogmatisch-moralische Bibelkatechese im Dienst des Katechismusunterrichtes » [120]).

Im 19. Jh. blieb in der Evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands das « methodische Bemühen um den richtig gestuften biblischen Unterricht in den einzelnen Klassen (J. Nissen, Ch. Palmer, K. Kehr (1830-1885), K. A. G. v. Zezschwitz) » [121]). Der augustinische Gedankengang über das Reich Gottes, seine Entfaltung in zeitlichen Epochen und über die Wirkkraft des Geistes Gottes wird vor allem sichtbar bei Karl von Buchdrucker (gest. 1899). In seinem Werk *Der christliche Religionsunterricht in der Volksschule, I. Bd. : Der biblische Geschichtsunterricht oder : Wie ist es zur Gemeinschaft Gottes und der Menschheit gekommen* (Nürnberg 1859) möchte er die Bibel in heilsgeschichtlicher Sicht darbieten. Nach Karl Kehr ist das Reich Gottes ein « vom Geiste Gottes und der Liebe regiertes Reich. Das Reich Gottes ist überall, wo sich der Mensch vom Willen Gottes lenken und leiten lässt, es ist überall, wo nicht die Sünde, sondern Gott den Menschen beherrscht » [122]).

Den Ehrentitel « Augustinus redivivus » gab man einem der grössten Theologen des 19.Jahrunderts : John Henry Newman (1801-1890). Er hat nicht nur in den Schriften Augustins und der Kirchenväter das Bild der wahren Catholica gesucht, er hat auch seine Auffassung über den christlichen Glaubenskünder weitgehend nach den Gedanken Augustins gebildet [123]).

Von der Methodenbewegung zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart

Die anfangs unseres Jahrhunderts aufkommende Katechetische Bewegung hatte erkannt, dass nicht nur der Glaubensinhalt dogmatisch richtig sein muss, sondern dass auch geeignete Methoden dem Katechumenen eine existenzbezogene Verarbeitung der Glaubenswahrheiten ermöglichen müssen. Unter Hinweis auf die psycholo-

120) Dreher, *l.c.*, 46.

121) Dreher, *l.c.*, 20.

122) Der christliche Religionsunterricht, I, Gotha 1875[3], 44.

123) Cf. Biemer Günter, Die Berufung des Katecheten. Die Gestalt des christlichen Erziehers und Lehrers nach Kardinal Newman, Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1964.

124) Offele H.-W., Geschichte und Grundanliegen der sogenannten Münchener Katechetischen Methode, München 1961; Goldbrunner J., Katechetische Methoden heute, München 1962, 24-47.

gischen und didaktischen Gesetze geistiger Aneignung suchten die katechetischen Tagungen in Salzburg, Wien und München nach neuen Methoden, um das Glaubensgut durch geeignete Erklärung zur geistigen Durchdringung und zur praktischen Anwendung zu bringen. Neben der Wiener Katechetischen Methode, die letzlich auf Augustins *De catechizandis rudibus* zurückgriff, konnte sich, trotz grossen Widerstandes, die Münchener Methode weitgehend durchsetzen [124]). Vorherrschend blieb jedoch der Katechismusunterricht, dem sich der Bibelunterricht weitgehend unterordnen musste. Wenn es auch nicht an anerkennungswerten Bemühungen fehlt, die Bibelkatechese wieder zur Grundlage des gesamten Religionsunterrichtes zu machen, muss man doch feststellen, dass den meisten Exegeten die « heilsgeschichtliche Zusammenschau » abging (Dreher).

Erst in den vier letzten Jahrzehnten, vor allem nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, wurde eine kerygmatische Besinnung der Katechetik deutlich. Der Katechismus konzentriert sich auf die christliche Heilslehre und bietet die Glaubenslehre in bibelnaher Sprache dar. Dank der wichtigen Vorarbeit, die Bibelbewegung und Liturgische Bewegung geleistet haben, ist die Bibelkatechese und in ihr der heilsgeschichtliche Gehalt wieder zur Grundlage der religiösen Unterweisung geworden. Mag auch die Schaffung einer Einheitsbibel noch ausstehen, Religionsunterricht und Gottesdienst, die innig zusammenhängen, wollen wieder zu den Quellen des Glaubens in der Hl. Schrift hinführen. Sowohl im evangelischen wie im katholischen Religionsunterricht stehen Bibellesung und Bibelexegese wieder im Mittelpunkt. Beide bemühen sich « um das zentrale biblische Kerygma als Hauptaufgabe der biblischen Unterweisung » [125]). Diese Neubesinnung der Katechese führt, wie in der Vergangenheit, wieder zu Augustins *De catechizandis rudibus*. Immer wieder weisen moderne Katechetiker auf Augustins Schrift als wertvolle Vorlage für die heutige Katechese hin [126]). Beson-

[125]) Dreher, *l.c.*, 168. Cf. Klieber Wolfg., Göttliches Wort und menschlicher Weg. Die Einflüsse von evangelischer Theologie und Katechetik auf die katholische Glaubensunterweisung (Schriften zur Religionspädagogik u. Kerygmatik hg. v. Th. Kampmann, VIII), Würzburg 1971.

[126]) Aus der Fülle der Publikationen seien nur erwähnt : La Bible, Histoire du salut, in : *Lumen Vitae* 10 (1955); Bible et Catéchèse, in : *Catéchèse* 3 (1961); de Groot Adrianus, De Bijbel over het heil der volken, Roermond 1964; Metzger Marcel, Pour une catéchèse biblique, in : *Nouvelle revue théologique* 104 (1972), 1065-1088; Audinet J., Bible et catéchèse des adultes, in : *Concilium* 7 (1971), 121-130.

ders eingehend hat sich Jean Daniélou mit *De cat. rud.* beschäftigt, dem er zwei Kapitel seines Buches *La catéchèse aux premiers siècles* widmet [127]). Man kann seinem Urteil nur zustimmen, wenn er schreibt, Augustinus biete in seiner Katechese einen umfassenden Überblick über die ganze Heilsgeschichte und sei « eine Einladung zu einer wirklichen Geschichtstheologie » [128]).

In Missionswissenschaft und Missionskatechetik fehlt es nicht an Hinweisen auf Augustins Handbüchlein. Gonsalvus Walter schreibt : « Die Heidenbekehrung der Gegenwart ist von Augustinus insofern inspiriert, als die katechetische Schulung unserer Priester und Missionare immer noch an der Schrift *De catechizandis rudibus* orientiert ist » [129]). Missionswissenschaftler wie J. Schmidlin [130]) und Thomas Ohm [131]) erwähnen Augustinus und seine praktischen Richtlinien für den Katechumenenunterricht. Auf der Internationalen Studienwoche über Missionskatechese in Eichstätt (21.-28. Juli 1960) wurde wiederholt auf Augustins Regeln als Grundlagen jeder Verkündigung hingewiesen [132]). Katechese in der Form historischer Erzählung empfiehlt sich nicht nur wegen der alten und ehrwürdigen Tradition, sondern wegen seiner theologischen und didaktischen inneren Gründe, stellt P. J. Hofinger fest [133]). Vom 31. Oktober - 3. November 1962 trafen sich, unter Leitung von P. Joh. Hofinger, in Bangkok 40 katechetische Fachleute zu einer Arbeitstagung, in deren Mittelpunkt vor allem die Vorkatechese stand [134]). Ihre Bedeutung, Aufgaben und Prinzipien wurden im Geiste Augustins und seines Büchleins neu umrissen. Eine

[127]) Daniélou J. - du Charlat Régine, La catéchèse aux premiers siècles, Paris 1968.

[128]) *Ibid.*, 262.

[129]) Walter G., Die Heidenmission nach der Lehre des Hl. Augustinus (Mi. wiss. Abh. u. Texte hg. v. J. Schmidlin, 3), Münster i.W. 1921, 7.

[130]) Schmidlin Jos., Katholische Missionslehre im Grundriss, Münster i.W. 1923², 7.

[131]) Ohm Th., Machet zu Jüngern alle Völker, Freiburg 1962, 89; Ohm Th., Das Katechumenat in den katholischen Missionen (Veröff. d. Inst. f. Mi. wi. hg. v. Th.Ohm, 9), Münster i.W. 1959, 11; 54; 85; 89.

[132]) Grasso Dom., Was ist der eigentliche Kern unserer missionarischen Verkündigung ?, in : Hofinger Joh., Katechetik heute, Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1961, 77-80.

[133]) Hofinger J., The art of teaching Christian Doctrine, Notre Dame, Indiana 1957, 24.

[134]) *Katechetische Blätter* 88 (1963), 185-186; Nebreda Alph.-M., Session d'étude asiatique sur la catéchèse missionnaire. Bangkok, 31 octobre - 3 novembre 1962, in : *Lumen Vitae* 17 (1962), 623-637.

Pan-Afrikanische Studienwoche fand vom 26.8.-1.9.1964 in Katigondo (Uganda) statt [135]). Auch hier wurde, im Geiste Augustins, das Praekatechumenat eingehend behandelt. Besonderer Wert wurde der biblischen Katechese zugesprochen. Gerade die Afrikaner, die überwiegend bereits den Glauben an einen persönlichen höchsten Gott haben, sollen zum Glauben an den Gott des Alten und Neuen Testaments hingeführt, zum Verständnis seines Heilsplanes in der Menschheit angeleitet werden. Auffallend war gelegentlich dieser Tagung die Betonung der bedeutenden Rolle der Paten und ihrer besonderen Schulung.

Zitiert wird *De cat. rud.* in der Dogmatischen Konstitution des II. Vaticanums : « Darum will die Synode in Nachfolge des Trienter und des Ersten Vatikanischen Konzils die echte Lehre über die göttliche Offenbarung und deren Weitergabe vorlegen, damit die ganze Welt im Hören auf die Botschaft des Heils glaubt, im Glauben hofft und in der Hoffnung liebet (*De cat. rud.* 4, 8) » (Prooemium, 1).

So bewährt sich auch in unserer Zeit Augustins *De catechizandis rudibus* als « ein wertvolles Juwel, dessen Glanz die Zeit, so unerbittlich sie für das Mittelmässige ist, nicht getrübt hat » [136]).

(*Fortsetzung folgt*) Jean-Pierre Belche.

[135]) Bericht von Exeler Ad., Katechetische Erneuerung in Afrika, in : *Katechetische Blätter* 89 (1964), 503-515.

[136]) Capelle B., Prédication et catéchèse selon saint Augustin, in : *Les Questions Liturgiques et Paroissiales* 32 (1952), 64 : « un joyau de prix dont le temps, inexorable aux valeurs médiocres, n'a pas terni l'éclat ».

St. Augustine's « notitia sui » related to Aristotle and the early neo-Platonists

This essay is essentially a study of the fortunes of one of the most powerful ideas produced by philosophical reflection : the *νόησις νοήσεως* of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* XII, 9.

To the *a fortiori* argument of the dialogue, *The Sophist*, that because they were the most noble and most real of all things the ideas themselves must live and think, Plato had pursued in the *Charmides* a related and complementary idea : that there should be a knowledge which knew itself (*ἐπιστήμης ἐπιστήμη*), and which would therefore be the highest. He proposed it — only to reject it on the grounds that by definition it would be distinct from other kinds of knowledge, and its claim to oversee them would be nullified by its incompetence in their spheres. However, Aristotle's refurnishing of this conception in *Metaphysics* XII, 9 became one of the most respected metaphysical conceptions : thought thinking on thinking. Regardless of its being identified with « the divine », it was a speculative attempt to describe thought at its highest, thought in itself. The description of intellectual knowledge in *De Anima* III was a speculative proposal for how thinking in itself, also still identified with the divine, is exercised in a man.

This study will substantiate an unusual view that this is in fact the background of Saint Augustine's conception of self-knowledge.

I. From Aristotle to Saint Augustine

Aristoteles Redivivus

The fate of the manuscripts of the Aristotellan corpus is a cautionary story for anyone who presupposes that there is an inevitable development in philosophic reflection as it proceeds so to speak by contagion from mind to mind. A few remained in circulation — the

published exoteric Aristotle — but with the possible exception of the *Protrepticus* these were dialogues which were Plato-like in style and content; they all taught the necessity of a philosophic contemplation in the Platonic sense. Perhaps notes taken privately at the lectures of the later more specialised non-Platonist teaching were also in circulation. At any rate there was sufficient information to compile lists of these works, but from secondary sources, not the manuscripts themselves. The manuscripts of these students' notes as well as authentic texts, which had been incorporated into the library of his successor Theophrastus, were hidden in a cave at Skepsis until the beginning of the first century B.C. [1]) Two motives seem to be behind this extraordinary deed. Firstly there was a genuine fear that the kings of Pergamon might seize them for their library. Secondly later Peripatetics seems to have ignored or even attacked Aristotle, and it was felt that « the difficult treatises of the Stagirite did not correspond with the new preoccupations ».[2]) They were then bought up and rather inexpertly repaired by Apellicon a wealthy bibliophile, to be sent after his death to Rome by Sulla as part of the booty of his Greek campaign in 84 B.C. [3]) There they were seen by the scholar Tyrranion (who was interested in proving that Latin was derived from a Greek dialect), and his friend Cicero — able in the last year or two of his life to devote himself to philosophy, but who seems to have derived little profit from his reading. Subsequently they were edited and published by Andronicus of Rhodes. Besides Aristotelian ideas which came to him in Stoic sources Cicero had already encountered the exoteric Aristotle, and in his *Hortensius* had drawn on the ideas about God, and the place of philosophic contemplation which he had found in the *Protrepticus*; [4]) this was later to influence Augustine so much.[5])

[1]) Despite the case made out by F. Grayeff that they could only have been conserved in a library (*Aristotle and his School*, London 1974, p. 75), the original story, whose sources were Strabo (*Γεωγραφία* 13,1,54) and Plutarch (*Συλλας* 26), retains its prima facie plausibility : Strabo was a near-contemporary, and a pupil of Tyrranion.

[2]) P. Moraux, 'Les Listes anciennes des Ouvrages d'Aristote', Louvain 1951, p. 4.

[3]) Article 'Apellikon' in : *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa (Paulys-Wissowa RE) I Stuttgart 1894, col. 2694. Sulla defeated Mithridates who had insinuated himself on the Athenians through an injudicious Peripatetic philosopher, the former slave Aristion (*Cambridge Ancient History*, 1st edition IX, p. 244).

[4]) See *Testimonia*, as in edition of fragments by V. Rose (Leipzig 1886), translated by Ross (Oxford 1952).

[5]) I. Düring, 'Von Aristoteles bis Leibniz', in : *Aristoteles in der neueren Forschung*,

When he first read the *Hortensius* Augustine was able to set on one side the sceptical parts of this dialogue — as also when he returned to it at the time of his conversion and again when he turned to it later in life. Probably he did not realise that the depth and simplicity of the conception of the life of the search for wisdom which moved him so deeply derived from Aristotle. Communication of insight is far more important than familiarity with the words of a text of an established author.

Cicero's identification of Peripatetics with Academics [6]) (which bears all the marks of hasty reading and incomplete understanding) may be the basis of Augustine's statements in *De Civitate Dei* VIII [7]) that Aristotle was a disciple of Plato, and that « the most notable philosophers of recent times have rejected the title of « Peripatetics » or « Academics », and have elected to be called « Platonists'. » Yet with Cicero's interest begins not only the introduction of Aristotle into the Roman world, but the re-introduction of Aristotle back into the Greek world, from which it came.

The period of time of its disappearance from sight, and the development of philosophical reflection during this period into scepticism or systematisation must have presented the reading public with an immense task of familiarisation and assimilation. The rich subtlety of analysis of the wide ranging subject matter of Aristotle was far from the mentality of the later Peripatetics. And what happened then was what so often happens in movements of thought. In many cases perhaps not the immediate followers, but the generation after them, who are not in personal contact with the founder, see in his thought an inheritance, an achievement, of course, but also an object to reduce to its simplest forms and from which to remove anomalies and discrepancies. And so the immense task of commentary and analysis began. Whilst the richness of Aristotelian analysis was unavailable (through incomprehension, lack of interest and the hiding of the manuscripts), and the followers of Plato, concentrating their attention on the negative aspects of Socratic dialectic, drifted into scepticism, the Stoic philosophical school developed : more systematic and less stylistically

ed. P. Moraux, Darmstadt 1968, pp. 254-5; formerly published in *Antike und Abendland*, IV, Hamburg 1954. For Cicero's little profit from his hasty reading of Aristotle v. *ib.* p. 255.

[6]) *Academica*, Prius V, 15 and Post. IV, 17.

[7]) See Chapter 12.

adorned, and more practically orientated than the other schools. The Roman urge to codify had rechannelled Stoicism further in the direction, and so Roman Stoicism provided a style according to which all philosophies were to be subjected. Romanitas put a special insistence on that reduction to simple principles which is the mark of an efficient teacher, and of which the doxographies which Festugière has noted in Cicero himself were the most polished examples, though they were not always very elucidating.[8])

Developments of Aristotle's philosophy through later commentators meant the selection of significant parts, their reduction to simple principles and the abolition of supposed anomalies. The passing of some of its conceptions into Stoicism involved their simplification and preparation for systematisation. In Roman hands the need to re-interpret Aristotle coincided with the appearance of an intention to set about a vast task of hermeneutical transposition of Greek philosophical writers, with the aim of ultimate independence and further development in Cicero, and of philological independence from Greece in Varro. [9])

It must not be overlooked that all his life Cicero had been familiar not only with Stoic and Epicurean writers but with Plato and his known translations of the dialogues span his whole life. [10]) His brief acquaintance with the esoteric Aristotle needs to be understood with that background. He was convinced of the potential superiority of Roman speculation even in Philosophy : « not that philosophy could not be learnt from Greek writers and teachers, but that it has always been my conviction that our countrymen have shown more wisdom everywhere than the Greeks, either in making discoveries for themselves, or else in improving upon what they have received from Greece ».[11]) It would then be possible to give the Romans a philo-

[8]) See A. J. Festugière, O.P., 'La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste', *Études Bibliques*, Paris 1944, II, p. 351.

[9]) For Varro, see J. Collart, 'Analogie et Anomalie', *Fondation Hardt, Entretiens sur l'Antiquité*, IX (September 1962), Varron. Geneva 1963, p. 130.

[10]) T. B. De Graff, 'Plato in Cicero', *Classical Philology*, XXXV, 1940, pp. 143 ff. P. Boyancé ('Le Platonisme à Rome', in : *Études sur l'humanisme cicéronien*, Brussels 1970, p. 233) remarks on the absence of the Parmenides from the list and also to there not being much of Plato's teaching on the theory of ideas.

[11]) *Tusculanarum* I, I, I. A collection of dicta from Cicero asserting Roman superiority over Greek institutions and learning is in A. Tondini, 'Problemi Linguistici

sophical literature which would take of the place the Greek philosophy : « For this reason I encourage all, who have the capacity, to wrest from the now failing grasp of Greece the renown won from this field of study and transfer it to this city... once these studies are transferred to ourselves, we shall have no need even of Greek libraries, to which there is an endless number of books due to the crowd of writers; for the same things are said by many since the day they crammed the world with books ».[12])

It was not translation alone which was intended by the Romans but rather re-embodiment of the ideas of Greek philosophy which would take place through Roman scholars reducing systematically the Greek variety, subtlety and inconsistency to dependable concepts in a language which had taken the measure of its own potentialities. In the conscious intention of re-embodying the thought lay the unconscious presumption that the thought could be so re-embodied, and then developed. The hermeneutical significance of this intended seizure was not a completely conscious one because the Romans had not measured the values of their culture by an external standard. More sensitive modern criticism makes it clear that this enterprise was not one merely of vulgarisation and simplification, and the conclusions of R. Poncelet suggest how the simplifications imposed on the rich philosophical material in its translation into Latin « with the linguistic resources (moyens) which were equivalent to every human consciousness in its infancy » caused it to « exaggerate its own defects » [13]) as it hoisted itself up to the demands of philosophy. The result was that the Latin language became, unlike Greek, not only the form of ideas, but a form within which was the possibility of a rich intellectual experience. « The originality of the Latin mould lies in the fact that it does not give the reader the content of the ideas, but provides him with an outline of the developments which will help him to reconstruct it (des mouvements utiles à la reconstruction de l'idée). The reader of a Latin text is never the passive link in a chain; he is forced into cooperating creatively with the author. The distinctions (discriminations) of Greek, on the other hand convey within themselves the

in Cicerone', in : *Marco Tullio Cicerone, nel Bimillenario della Morte*, Florence 1961, pp. 224-5.

12) *Tusculanarum* II, II, 5-6.

13) 'Cicéron, traducteur de Platon', Paris 1957, p. 369. Parts II and III of his conclusion are relevant here.

meaning; it is a wonderful language for the passing on of a science, but does not necessarily communicate the spirit » (l'esprit).[14])

After five centuries this process reached the term which Cicero and Varro had intended, but by no means in the way in which they had foreseen. The Latin speech and literature gradually prevailed against the predominant Greek. Augustine's lack of Greek is taken as significant of the decline of Greek letters in the West.[15]) Not due to an absolute decline in culture before the barbarian invasions at least, its place was taken by Latin translations from Greek, the classical Roman literature and increasingly by Latin christian writers. Despite the set-back of the invasions amidst which he died the achievement of Augustine of having established a vocabularly and system of ideas was the real beginning of a Latin theological-philosophical culture. He, his near contemporary Saint Leo, the later Saint Gregory (who depended so much on him), to a lesser extent his own contemporary Saint Jerome — the four Latin Fathers — and a host of lesser writers gave the distinct character of Romanitas the importance which Cicero and Varro had tried to create for it : [16]) a quality of mind expressed through a language, prepared for by commentators on Greek philosophy and polished by the rhetor-jurist mentality and a style of education.[17]) Yet this lapidary quality, this profound terseness aptly suited the function of passing the theological conceptions of Christian belief and thought to the west which by then equated « Romanitas » with « Catholica ».

Aristotle as known to the age of Augustine

The esoteric Aristotle passed on to the age of Augustine — or rather the Aristotle passed on with recognisable identity, not involved

[14]) *Ib.* p. 372.

[14]) P. Courcelle, 'Les Lettres grecques en Occident', Paris 1948, especially p. 195. Also, H.-I. Marrou, 'Saint Augustin et la fin de la Culture Antique', 4th edition, Paris 1958, pp. 38-46.

[16]) The difference can be seen if one sets side by side the delicate and profound insights in the individually composed treatments of the virtues in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (II, 7 ; III, 6 - V, 11) with the confident cursory treatment of the 'cardinal virtues' as given by the Latin Fathers in the fifth century. See brief summary by O. Lottin, 'Aristote et la connexion des Vertus' in : *Autour d'Aristote : Receuil d'études de philosophie ancienne et médiévale offert à Mgr A. Mansion*, Louvain 1955, p. 344.

[17]) Marrou, *op. cit.*, chapter 3.

in eclectic combinations, would have been principally the author of the logical treatises. « Scarcely any mention is found of the other treatises or other parts of his teaching. » [18]) Whilst Plato remained in favour, Aristotle was held in disfavour in east and west for teachings which seemed impious (particularly his exclusion of providence from the sublunary world, for his disbelief in personal immortality, and for proposing a conception of ethics which was too worldly) [19]), as also for being the author of excessively verbose dialectic, useless from the point of view of the Christian religion or at least suspect by reason of his use by Arians.[20]) He would have been known through commentators, friendly and otherwise, who (in the west) translated him and interpreted him in terms of a coherent hermeneutical tradition. A rare reference to Aristotle in Augustine witnesses to this : « whoever thought... that the obscure and recondite works of Aristotle should be

[18]) J. DE GHELLINCK, 'Patristique et Moyen Age', III, Brussels-Paris 1948, pp. 278-9. For a brief indication of the intensity of Aristotelian studies in the Christian East, v. F. DVORNIK, 'The Patriarch Photius in the Light of Recent Research', in : *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinischen Kongress* III, 2, p. 8. Munich 1958. It is possible that Augustine knew Porphyry's commentaries on Aristotle which, besides the logical works, are known to include commentaries on the *Physics*, *Metaphysics* XII and the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and the one or perhaps two works relating Aristotle to Plato *Περὶ διαστάσεως Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους* (Bidez 31, Beutler 21) and *Περὶ τοῦ μίαν εἶναι τὴν Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους αἵρεσιν ζ'* (Bidez 32, Beutler 20) v. list in J. BIDEZ, 'Vie de Porphyre', Ghent 1913, nos. 1-9, 31 and 32. V. also article with list in R. BEUTLER's article 'Porphyrios', in : *Paulys-Wissowa RE* XXII, I col. 282 ff. and his judgement : 'The first neo-Platonist to show a deeper interest in Aristotle (excepting the *Organon*) is P. ... Since P. there has been true exegesis of Aristotle's writings (and not only the previous pure criticism) setting Aristotle side by side with Plato in the philosophical schools of the west, and not regarding him as subordinate.' Yet Augustine's idea of Aristotle as a disciple of Plato at the time of writing the *De Civitate Dei* (v. VIII, 12) showed that he was then either unaware of or unconvinced by this Porphyrian exegesis. Cf. COURCELLE, 'Les Lettres...', p. 166. HADOT has proposed that Augustine may have seen the commentary on the *Ethics* ('L'image de la Trinité dans l'Âme chez Victorinus et chez Augustin', Studia Patristica VI, Berlin 1962, p. 440).

[19]) Cf. A. J. FESTUGIÈRE, 'L'Idéal Religieux des Grecs et l'Évangile', Paris 1932, Excursus C : 'Aristote dans la littérature grecque chrétienne jusqu'à Théodoret', especially pp. 259 and 262 : this was the Aristotle as widely known through doxographers by early Christian writers.

[20]) E. VANDENBUSSCHE, 'La Part de la Dialectique dans la Théologie d'Eunomius 'le Technologue' ', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 40, 1944-4, pp. 47 ff, and DE GHELLINCK, *op. cit.* Also eod. auct. 'Quelques appréciations de la dialectique et d'Aristote durant les conflits trinitaires du IVe siècle', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 26, 1930, p. 4 ff.

explained by one who was his enemy ? » [21]) Though Augustine was prepared to be critical of an intemperate valuation of dialectic, as a former rhetor he was very prepared to accept it even as a method in exegesis.[22])

Are we in a position to say how much of Aristotle would have been known to Augustine ? The best-known of the modern historical works are short, even laconic about it. Marrou [23]) thinks only of the *Categories*, known through the translation and Commentary of Victorinus and possibly the (spurious) *De Mundo*, and Courcelle has substantially the same view.[24]) One could suppose that he had information at one remove through doxographies of Cicero [25]) and others including Varro's *Liber de Philosophia*, now unfortunately lost.[26]) While Hadot is prepared to consider that he may have seen a version of Porphyry's commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics*,[27]) the possibility that he knew Porphyry's commentary on *Metaphysics* does not seen to have been proposed.

The quality of the research of Marrou and Courcelle is not difficult to characterise. In its intention to avoid extravagant and fantastic interpretations it insists on establishing unquestionable connections : direct quotations, references to the author by name are the desiderata

21) *De Utilitate Credendi* 6, 13. 'Fathers of the Church' translation by L. MEAGHER. P. COURCELLE does scant justice to this text (« Les Lettres... », p. 156) : 'he judges his theories to be obscure'. But 'reconditos et obscuros' need not be a pejorative judgement. The text expresses the distance he felt between the Aristotle he knew and himself, and also his personal knowledge of friendly and hostile commentators.

22) DE GHELLINCK, 'Quelques appréciations...', pp. 39-40.

23) *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

24) *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

25) G. COMBES thought that Augustine had gained all of his other knowledge of Aristotle through Cicero ('St. Augustin et la Culture Classique', Paris 1927, p. 14). For Cicero's doxographies v. FESTUGIÈRE, 'La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste' II, Paris 1944, p. 351.

26) The beginning of *De Civitate Dei* VIII makes one suppose that he drew on this superior kind of text book for information on the Greek philosophers. G. LANGENBERG, 'M. Terenti Varronis Liber de Philosophia', Cologne dissertation 1959. Varro's calculation that there were two hundred and eighty-eight views on the highest good, which he then reduced to twelve schools and ultimately to three sects is an outstanding example of Romanitas at work in the field of philosophy — but bereft of that inner effort which PONCELET could not claim characterised every reception into Latin.

27) Cf. *supra*, p. 76, n. 18 and *infra*, ch. 4.

of this style. The labour of this kind of scholarship is commendable, but is subject to certain defects.

a) The reconstruction of a relationship between two people by means of a meticulous study and the acceptance only of undoubted referential links is removed from the philosophical creative process in which the later writer, even in his conscious and semi-conscious dependence on another, probably only gives a bare minimum of references. Scholarly skill may itself harm the sympathy for its own subject matter.

b) The later thinker has almost certainly more insight into the earlier thinker than the limited range of the historical scholar can detect. Here good scholarship may set speculative thought at a discount in the cause of objectivity. But equally necessary to objectivity is a sense for continuity in the interior discipline of the subject matter, when that itself is in any sense intellectual, and with that sense must go an awareness of any transmutations. In the subject matter of this thesis we have some Aristotelian ideas coming to Augustine linked with Cicero's and others as part of neo-Platonism. In both ways Aristotelian conceptions came to him not merely as elements of a doxography but as helpful analyses to a very perceptive mind of what thinking is in itself and how self-thinking is related to it.

c) In an understandable wish to make itself more interesting than its self-imposed canons would permit within the subject matter, literal scholarship may resort to oversimplifications of conclusions, and seek to finalise itself in exaggerated contrasts. Thus a philosophy is reduced not to its essential insight as understood by a sympathetic insight, but to an interplay of contrasts, so to be made comprehensible to simpler mentalities at the expense of veracity.

d) An investigation such as this — to establish a link between Aristotle and Augustine, which is dismissed by established historical scholars in five or six lines and a footnote — ought to be an enormous one even on its own presumptive axioms. Once the initial resemblances have been made clear and a plausible linkage between them proposed [28]) the possible mediating authors between the two turn out

[28]) This has been done in a brief but highly satisfactory way in the matter of the ontology of Aristotle and Augustine by R. Schneider.

a) 'Das Wandelbare Sein. Die Hauptthemen der Ontologie Augustins', Philosophischen Abhandlungen VIII, Frankfurt am Main 1938, which picks out numerous

to be so numerous that the conventional scholarly task of interrelating the texts has made only a beginning; and it would probably never be completed in the way in which the current work is orientated. There is no certainty that the seeming discovery of a « source » of an idea will not later be pre-empted by its discovery in an earlier one.

In point of fact there have been other scholars reflecting on the relationship between Aristotle and Augustine. Their works do not appear in the bibliographies of the modern French historical scholars, not only because they are mainly German and from a previous generation but also because they are more speculative philosophers than historians of philosophy. The proposals they put forward may be unhistorical in the sense that they are made mostly regardless of the historical distance, but the absence of an historical point of fixation is a necessity for an awareness of the continuity or discontinuity in the speculative themes which are the most important of philosophical subjects.

Among these scholars there are those who insist on the wide divergence between Aristotle and Augustine, and those who insist on a similarity if broken continuity, between them. Amongst these the former have been the better known and more widely accepted; the historical and religious difference between them seems so great and the negative conclusions of the historical literary approach seems to support them. But the other view, which has never been widely discussed, is worthy of serious examination. While it concedes the lack of certifiable references in the texts it does draw attention to the neo-Platonist themes in Augustine's thought, and is conscious of the Aristotelian element in neo-Platonism. The former stems from the conception of « Aristotle, the empiricist », to whom Augustine was supposed to be, as the advocate of « innerness », the opposite. The latter has more sympathy for a conception of « Augustine, the eclectic » than the other, which wishes to look on him as a kind of innovator : « Augustine, the first modern man ! ».[29]) Certainly, the latter view has more to commend it in that the thinkers whom he mentions with

Aristotelian themes (cf. p. 15, n. 3 (p. 16) 'the Aristotelian element is the most weighty in Augustine's ontology').

b) 'Seele und Sein. Ontologie beu Augustin und Aristoteles', Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte IV, Suttgart 1957.

[29]) A. Harnack derived this expression, which he used frequently, from K. Sell. See 'Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte', 4th edition, Tübingen 1910, p. 106, note.

particular respect were all themselves eclectics — Antiochus of Ascalon, Cicero, Varro, Plotinus, Porphyry. Those for an Aristotelian link tend to look at certain details in common; those against it look at a supposed difference in outlook as exemplified in certain texts. But it is not impossible that Augustine could take an idea which occurs in Aristotle and give it a richness of content which was not in the original, or could call into question a development of an originally Aristotelian idea which had taken place after him? And is not such caution most necessary in the speculative questions about subjectivity where their presence in Aristotle has been so forgotten on the assumption that he is above all an empiricist? In other words, literary scholarship cannot be allowed to canonise its own standards as the only ones, particularly when that formlike quality of Latin words is remembered, and how, in consequence a simple expression may be filled out by a sensitive writer with allusiveness, and passed on to a sensitive reader.[30]) A completer objectivity is gained when the textual links are seen in terms of the hermeneutical changes to Aristotelian themes that undoubtedly occurred.

Augustine as the antitype to Aristotle : a bibliographical review

Probably the view of Augustine as the antitype to Aristotle has a long back history, which must include the conflict in the scholastic period between Thomist-Aristotelian realists and Augustinian illuminists, but it is convenient to look at modern work beginning with that of H. Siebeck. In his *Geschichte der Psychologie*, he drew out some conclusions from Augustine's *De Trinitate* IX, 3 :

> « As the mind itself, therefore, gathers the knowledge of corporeal things through the bodily senses, so it gains the knowledge of incorporeal things through itself. » [31]

He interprets this as meaning that

[30]) As appreciated by R. Poncelet, *op. cit.*, p. 372 : 'The understanding of Latin demands at the same time obedience to the letter and forgetfulness of the letter, unconditional submission to the detail and going beyond the detail'.

[31]) I, II, Gotha 1880, p. 383. The text occurs frequently in this essay : 'Mens ergo ipsa sicut corporearum rerum notitias per sensus corporis colligit, sic incorporearum per semetipsum'. A better text would have been another also frequently quoted : 'item notitia qua se mens novit si esse desinat, simul et illa nosse desinat' (*ib.* IX, 4, 6).

> « the soul has a direct knowledge of itself because in the condition of self-knowledge it is the nearest object of knowledge to itself. Through this it is also possible to know what becomes an object to it through its own activity. »

He thinks it was a mark of superior insight on Augustine's part to have understood that self-knowledge comes before the knowledge of objects. Basing himself on the passage from *Nicomachean Ethics* IX, 9 on self-consciousness, which will be examined in chapter two [32]), he finds Aristotle not so profound in so far as he makes the activity of self-thinking depend on object thinking, « remaining concealed under the activity of the active and passive intellect », and treats sense objects in the same way as intelligible ones.[33]) He made here the mistake of assuming that all the other accounts of subjectivity in Aristotle were in accord with this one, and he is conspicuously unaware that Aristotle's transcendent structures of subjectivity merge object-thinking into self-thinking. He did not realise that the priority of self-thinking in Augustine is the consequence of accepting, in addition to the structure of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, characteristics for *mens* which derive from these transcendent structures.[34])

In a later article [35]) Siebeck developed a full-scale opposition between Augustine as an example of « spiritual reaction » and Aristotle as an example of « naturalism ». Always making the case that Augustine turned his attention inwards, thus making a true psychology possible,[36]) he makes the following comparison :

> « The inner world of soul comes to be recognised and valued (by Aristotle) only in so far as it is activated through intercourse with the outer world and to the extent to which it appears determined with relationship to this involvement. The complete and exclusive problem with Aristotle is the scientific grasp and organisation of the external world of nature and social life. Augustine has the diametrically opposed frame of mind and orientation. For him the outer world only has meaning and value to the extent that it appears to reflect the inner world. The problem with him is

[32]) See *infra*, p. 126-7 : 1170 a 29 - b 11.

[33]) *Op. cit.*, pp. 334-5.

[34]) V. *infra*, p. 189.

[35]) 'Die Anfänge der neueren Psychologie in der Scholastik', *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik*, 93, 1888, pp. 161 ff.

[36]) '... the living inner object of experience as opposed to the Peripatetics' systematic ossification of psychology', *ib.*, p. 176.

> not nature, the state, secular ethics, but those of the most inner needs of the mind and heart, of charity and faith, and of hope and conscience take predominance over all. Not the relationship between inner and outer but that of inner to innermost... » [37]

In so far as this judgement depends on the structure of *Nicomachean Ethics* IX, 9 it fails to take account of the other structures with their conception of pure thinking — whose innerness, as passed on by neo-Platonist writers was to be of such significance to Augustine himself. It also is unaware of Aristotle's exoteric themes of philosophic contemplation, passed on to Augustine through Cicero. And in so far as it may allude to the structure of *De Anima* III, 4 (that mind is able to think itself when it has thought up other intelligible objects) it would be a fundamental misunderstanding, because the thinking objects which are then the occasion of its own self-knowledge are not external and part of the sensible world, but intelligible and created by itself : of a status for which inner is a usual metaphor.

This article was lengthily quoted and given the highest approval by A. Harnack, thus ensuring that its conclusions achieved the widest possible circulation. He wrote of « the process which leads out of the naive objective to the subjective objective... making the inner life the starting point of thinking about the world... the opposite picture to Aristotle's », and that Augustine « did away with all that we take to belong to the ancient classical spirit, the classical life and way of looking at the world ».[38]) It is true that Augustine the Christian was opposed to the way of life of the pagan world, but as a thinker he undertook the task of deliberately assimilating all he could of the most tradition-conscious sect of classical philosophy : neo-Platonism. And if there is some truth in the statement that « Aristotle and Augustine are both rivals who contend with each other in the learning and mentality of the following centuries » [39]), it was because their followers did not perceive what they had in common.

The supposed opposition between Augustine and Aristotle, expressed with the clarity of Siebeck and the power of Harnack, and their joint conclusion, will presently be seen to be historically unwarranted. Siebeck was a scholar, deeply read in Augustine and the

[37]) *Ib.*, pp. 188-9.
[38]) *Op. cit.*, pp. 104-106.
[39]) *Ib.*, p. 106.

scholastics. But like many others he had failed to grasp the wide range of Aristotle's interests; he gave them the conventional characterisation of empirical; he had neither been aware of the diversity of Aristotelian subjectivity structures nor attentive to the importance of his speculation on the problems of mind. Thus has the picture of the formerly esoteric, now exoteric, Aristotle of modern times become the exact opposite of the exoteric Aristotle of classical times, with his search for wisdom and beatitude! Harnack felt that Siebeck's findings could be trusted because they coincided with his own religious pre-conceptions. The heightening of a comparison could be described by the unwary as « speculative » [40]; but it is almost entirely rhetoric.

The repercussions of the Siebeck article still go on. J. M. Le Blond quotes the section above in support of a frankly empty statement about Augustine : « for Physics he shows a certain disdain »; and he comments « on this point Siebeck very justly opposes Aristotle to Augustine » [41] (though Siebeck is not concerned here with natural sciences). Again referring to Siebeck's article J. Guitton stops short at the problem of why Aristotle uses the vocabularly of cosmology to describe the soul, and, oblivious of the activity of νοῦς (which is by Aristotle's own definition « separate » from this world), he asserts that it shows that for him the soul was only a part of nature.

> « Psychology, in the way that Aristotle established the model for centuries, is an impersonal psychology which studies the soul as a thing. Above everything else it likes to distinguish between parts and functions. Just like logic, it is based on its idea of a hierarchy and the interlocking of genera. In such a condition how can it have any inclination to describe the intimate life of souls? The soul is a part of nature as man is a part of the city; it is made to reflect the external reality just like a mirror. And that is why the psychology of Aristotle is at its best in the analyses of the two opposed states in which the soul coincides with nature and is absorbed in it : sensations and intellection. The whole area between where the intelligence is developed, where the will is produced and where we are really ourselves only has meaning in relation to these moments of purity. Thus understood psychology is an appendix to cosmology. » [42]

[40] In the sense of 'conjectural', not in the sense of bearing on the theoretical knowledge of mind as used in this essay.

[41] 'Les Conversions de Saint Augustine', Paris 1950, p. 32 and n. 55.

[42] 'Le Temps et l'Éternité chez Plotin et Saint Augustin', 3rd edition, Paris 1959, p. 272.

Exception could be taken to every idea in this extract as doing injustice to Aristotle's real thoughts. What is extraordinary is that the books quoted from both authors are studies on the relationship between Augustine and neo-Platonism. They ought to have seen that the innerness of Aristotle's conception of thinking and self-knowledge, albeit hermeneutically transformed, became part of the neo-Platonist system which Augustine accepted in a modified way.

It is not difficult to demonstrate that Aristotle had made a far greater analysis of innerness than Siebeck's categorisations would allow for. There is a very probing inner reflection evident in his arrival at the positions taken up about self-knowing without an intermediary [43]) which can be described as the heart of his teaching on epistemology, as also in his subtle and sensitive awarenses that self-consciousness accompanies every conscious act in general, and even every sensation in man and animals [44]). But to spread one's attention wider in Aristotle's writings numerous examples can be found to show his analytical competence over inner processes of mind. Thus, there is the subjectively felt difference between true possession of knowledge and a superficial grasp of it [45]), with a description of how knowledge roots itself in a soul to make a man an expert [46]). From the *Nicomachean Ethics* there is the analysis of « state of character » [47]), the nature of the human act [48]) the variety of virtues [49]), the qualities of different intellectual dispositions [50]), the subjective assessment of pleasures and pains [51]), his very deliberate decision not to break up the unity of desire across the different faculties [52]), and in general his appreciation of human character as being formed by the successful or unsuccessful association of cognition and desire, together with the reasons for this success or lack of success. There is also the innerness in the analysis of memory, and especially the process of reminiscence, in the *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*. There is certainly sufficient in quantity in Aristotle

43) *De Anima* III and *Metaphysics* XII.
44) *De Somno*... 2.
45) *Posterior Analytics* I, 2.
46) *Ib.* II, 19. Cf. *De Anima* II, 5.
47) ἕξις — habit, especially VI, 12.
48) *Ib.* III.
49) *Ib.* Moral virtues IV and V; intellectual virtues VI.
50) *Ib.* VI, 9.
51) *Ib.* VII, 14.
52) *De Anima* III, 9.

to make point by point examination of the topics of innerness as raised by Augustine : in fact the possibility exists for a comparison and interrelationship between the two both with or without the hermeneutic twist which had changed the look of Aristotle since his esoterica hand left the cave at Skepsis. In the case of the latter we should find a contrast between the simplification and desire for comprehension — the Romanitas of Augustine — far removed from the variety which came about from Aristotle's rejection of the position of Plato, in which all problems were supposedly soluble by the application of the distinction between the real world of ideas and the unreal world of sense, and his deliberate tolerance of the resolution of all problems back into the stage of problematic. Yet with the reworked Aristotle, hermeneutically transformed through Roman doxographers and Greek eclectics — especially neo-Platonists, the variety had been brought into one order, and one not too far removed from Augustine's own. Yet the position in Augustine seems to involve a rejection of this later neo-Platonist systematisation with an innerness that was in part transcendent and a return to a conception which did not overdevelop what was also found in Aristotle : the structures of the *Parva Naturalia*, *Nicomachean Ethics* and *De Anima* III, 2, 4 and 7 in which the individual is unmistakably self-master and self-complete, even though it retained the conception of mind's self-immediacy as found in the transcendent structures.

The current to which Siebeck and Harnack belonged is one which believed that the classical world was essentially concerned with objectivity, not with subjectivity. Mondolfo's long study, undertaken to refute this frequently encountered presumption [53]), has proposed what is likely in most general terms, that the current arises with Hegel. But in this particular case Hegel's opinion is worth quoting, for he had a great insight into the speculative problems which Aristotle considered. Commenting on *De Anima* III, 4 he wrote with more discernment than Siebeck and those impressed by his rhetorical contrast : « the self-conscious understanding is not merely implicit, but essentially explicit, since it is within itself all things. That is an idealistic way of expressing it; and yet they say that Aristotle was an empiricist. » [54])

53) 'La Comprensione di Soggetto Umano nell'Antichità Classica, Florence 1958.

54) Geschichte der Philosophie II, SW 18, p. 386 : 'Der νοῦς denkt Alles, ist so

Augustine as the Continuator of Aristotle : a further bibliographical review

We turn now to the approach which is prepared to see a likeness between them based on a far wider, if indirect, knowledge of Aristotle by Augustine. N. Kauffman collected together some of the writings which explored this approach in the last century; [55]) they are mainly brief allusions in longer studies. In three cases the results are disappointing, but in the fourth (Willman) there is much matter for reflection. The interpretation is first noted in J. F. Nourrisson, in a book published in Paris in 1865.[56])

After giving a rather lengthy account of the place of Plato's thinking in Augustine's thought, he proposed a list of nine points where Augustine may have « borrowed, if not completely, at least in part ». These were « his conceptions on the differences between things »; his « celebrated theory of form and matter »; his views on eternity and time — in addition to those of Plato; « his definition of the soul even though he combats Aristotle whom he thought wrongly to have defined the soul as a fifth essence »; his theory on the « évolutions » (sic) of the soul : seminal life, sensible life, intellectual life; « his theory of knowledge, the internal or sixth sense, proper and common sense objects, the memory, imagination and reminiscence »; « the idea of a wisdom, a light superior to the soul, and the necessary faculty which develops in it »; « some of the most lefty maxims on behaviour »; his teaching on the sociability of man and « a number of must apt expressions about the constitution of societies ».

E. Commer used Nourrisson's book and referred readers to it for further guidance (which it hardly provided), and he declared, « (Augustine's) theory of knowledge is essentially Aristotelian ».[57]) C. Baeumker has only two allusions to Augustine's views on matter, but was aware of Plotinus's syncretism of Plato and Aristotle.[58])

But with O. Willman we get a much more knowledgeable proposal of the relationship.[59]) He found far wider Aristotelian elements,

bei sich, er ist bei sich Alles; das ist idealistisch gesprochen, doch soll Aristoteles Empiriker seyn'. English translation (Haldane), II, p. 196.

55) 'Éléments aristotéliciens dans la cosmologie et la psychologie de Saint Augustin', *Revue Néoscolastique de Louvain*, 11, 1904, pp. 141 ff.

56) 'La Philosophie de Saint Augustin'. For the following see II, pp. 126-7.

57) 'Die immerwährende Philosophie : Apologetica Studia' I, 2, Vienna 1899.

58) 'Das Problem der Materie in der griechischen Philosophie', Münster 1890.

59) 'Geschichte der Idealismus II. Der Idealismus der Kirchenväter und der

mediated principally through neo-Platonists and later Peripatetics. He saw points of contact in Augustine's Trinitarian theory in which according to *De Civitate Dei* XI, 25 (though not *De Trinitate*) the division of sciences into physica — logica — ethica, based on the triad of being — knowing — willing, corresponded to Aristotle's division. He saw the analogy between Aristotle's statement of the need of faith before coming by knowledge from a teacher and Augustine's of the need of faith to come by knowledge of God. He also saw points of contact in a relationship between mystical knowledge in Augustine and Aristotle's teaching on the active intellect, the relation of the body to the soul, and the making of happiness as the end of life. It was altogether a collection of most perceptive suggestions. Even when the propositions were hesitantly made it is clear that the writer had an intimate sense of the nature of the speculative question and was disposed to see signs of continuity through neo-Platonism to Augustine, in the way this study takes.

The research into the connection between Aristotle and Augustine continued

In a modest dissertation written at Strasbourg in 1912, a Welsh non-conformist minister, J. H. Parry, supposed there to be a link between Aristotle and Augustine through Stoics and neo-Platonists which was evident in Augustine's treatment of the body-soul relationship and the existence of a « common sense ».[60])

M. Heidegger has revealed that he has attempted to bring Augustine's views on man into relationship with Aristotle's ontology, but he has not published the work to which he refers in a note to his « Sein und Zeit ». He speaks of « his attempt to make an interpretation of Augustinian — that is Graeco-Christian — anthropology with relation to foundation principles which were reached in Aristotle's ontology ».[61])

Realismus der Scholastiker', Braunschweig 1896. Particularly 57 : Aristotelische Elemente in altchristlichen Gedankbildung, in which all the allusions in the text are found.

[60]) 'Augustine's Psychology during his first period of Literary Activity with special reference to his Platonism', Strasbourg dissertation 1912, pp. 9-12, 86-7. He had read SIEBECK's 'Geschichte der Philosophie' (v. p. 75), but kept a creditably open mind on its contents.

[61]) *Op. cit.* 7th edition, Tübingen 1953, p. 199, n. 1.

The works of R. Schneider on the ontological similarities between Aristotle and Augustine have already been referred to.[62]) The foreword to « Seele und Sein » reveals that he had seen two unpublished papers by Heidegger on the rôle of Aristotelian ontology for Augustine [63]), and presumably these embody the attempt to which he refers. But the positive qualities of this same modest, brief and unfortunately incomplete work make it of exceptional interest for this study. In a few short pages, uncluttered by references, Schneider lists and briefly comments on the sources of information about Aristotle which would have been available to Augustine [64]) : contact with Stoic-Aristotelian popular philosophy while studying rhetoric at Carthage; contact with Stoic-Aristotelian popular philosophy through the Pelagians [65]); and the wider sources — Cicero and neo-Platonism. Whereas previous writers had shown themselves hesitant in going further than identifying connections at a textual level, Schneider was aware of the way in which neo-Platonism had changed the Aristotelian conceptions which it had absorbed and mediated. But he does not say in the introductory section how it did this, only that neo-Platonism was « dynamisch ».[66]) And the book only completes the study of the ontology at the level of vegetative and sensitive life. One wishes that he had either started with or lived to complete the section of the intellect and so worked out in detail (what is intended in the first part of this study) the remarkable insight, that

> « this consideration (of how much ontology Augustine had learnt from neo-Platonism) shows again how significantly Stoic-Aristotelian popular philosophy must have influenced Augustine. This impression made on him in his youth, so affected him that Augustine did not accept neo-Platonism without reservations but gave it from the beginning a modified form — basically because of the powerful philosophical influence he had had in his youth » [67]).

[62]) V. p. 72, n. 28.

[63]) *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

[64]) *Ib.* ch. 1, pp. 20-26.

[65]) That Augustine was in controversy with Stoic-minded Pelagians and neo-Platonist minded Arians, as well as with pagan neo-Platonists, indicates how much of his life was taken up with philosophical matters.

[66]) Hermeneutical philosophy has performed the service of stimulating an awareness of the transformation in the way in which words are taken, as also of producing dissatisfaction with the historian-archivist approach of finding certifiable textual links.

[67]) *Op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

The theory has to be extended, for Augustine did not make at least his final criticisms of neo-Platonism from his store of memory, but from a deeper and more up to date knowledge of at least the Cicero texts, and perhaps others.[68]) More importantly, the scope of the book and its grasp of neo-Platonism do not seem to have taken in fully the scale of the hermeneutical twist which had already given Aristotle's conception of self-thinking a religious and total binding force to the whole neo-Platonic system. Nor does it take in the full significance of the philosophical eclecticism that both influenced Augustine through its exponents and was the model of the superior eclecticism in his lucid anti-neo-Platonist apologetic of the *De Trinitate*. But at least the problem as grasped by Schneider is more in sympathy with the speculative content of the subject matter of Aristotle and Augustine than the scholarly literalism of Courcelle and Marrou.

Certainly the proposal that Augustine always remained a neo-Platonist [69]) *tout court* cannot stand when their writings are compared in detail, yet that Augustine may have contributed to this impression by using neo-Platonist idioms with an apologetic intent will be one of the themes of this study. But Augustine's subjectivity structure has features very much like the common-sense centred structure of Aristotle; his view of the memory has something in common with Aristotle's; the conception of time as a subjective medium of experience also has something in common. Through the examination of the subjectivity structure in Aristotle we can draw the two Aristotelian parts of Schneider's perceptive hypothesis into a closer relationship and justifiable contrast. It was in terms of the unequivocally individual-centred structure that Augustine criticised the transcendent structure of thought in itself. Whilst he himself had derived some valuable insights into the human mind from the legacy of *νόησις νοήσεως*,, without necessarily being aware of it he was applying himself to the

[68]) Cf. I. Düring, « Von Aristoteles bis Leibniz », in : *Aristoteles in der neueren Forschung*, Darmstadt 1968, p. 270. 'What is known to him of Aristotelian thought in addition (to the *Categories*) comes principally from Cicero, Apuleius and the Latin commentary on the *Timaeus* by Chalcidius.'

[69]) Expressed in its most unqualified form in : P. Alfaric, « L'évolution intellectuelle de Saint Augustin », Paris 1918 v. especially its final words « his first works have been interpreted according to the later and it has been falsely believed that his neo-Platonism was simply a cover to his Catholic faith » (p. 527). The proposal in a less extreme form has a long history.

reconciliation of the divided inheritance which Aristotle had bequeathed to philosophy. The issues involved and their consequences were greater than the busy bishop could have conceived, for in so far as such metaphors are meaningful, Aristotle, rather than Plato, was the real « Father » of idealism as well as of empiricism.

To demonstrate this paradoxical proposal — that the hermeneutically transformed Aristotelianism of the neo-Platonic synthesis was acceptable to Augustine only as modified in accordance with a position that has some similarities to the original Aristotle, we have to undertake two investigations : to examine the intervening period of philosophy; and to look even more closely at the hermeneutical transformation of the ideas.

Eclectic Philosophics between Aristotle and Augustine

The principal philosophies which were found in Greece in the third and second centuries B.C. were Academy-derived (early Platonist) scepticism, Stoicism (against which the scepticism was often directed) and Epicureanism. For the moment authentic Aristotelianism had disappeared. Particularly from the headship of the Academy of Antiochus of Ascalon (c. 132-20 - c. 68), who brought back a return to dogmatism of Plato, and who also thought that the consensus of men should produce the same philosophical wisdom, an eclectic development began which provided a further option, and in time the majority option. Neo-Platonism was a later eclecticism,[70] but it was not the last.

The negative attitude to this eclecticism which E. Zeller took [71]

[70]) According to Professor A. H. Armstrong's view neo-Platonism is not an eclecticism, if by that is meant a compilation of ideas without inner unity. He insists that Plotinus's structure of the cosmos 'though it is static and eternal is no dead mechanical pattern, but living and organic'. 'An Introduction to Ancient Philosophy', 4th ed., London 1965, p. 178.

[71]) 'Scepticism forms the bridge from the one-sided dogmatism of the Stoics and the Epicurean philosophy to Eclecticism', Die Philosophie des Griechen, III, I, 3rd edition, Leipzig 1880, p. 531. Also, 'Justifiable, however, as the renewal of scepticism appears in relation to the uncritical treatment of philosophy, it would no longer attain the importance which it had in the school of the new academy. The exhaustion of thought, which can be shown even in this late scepticism, made a positive conviction too necessary to allow many to return to pure doubt. If, therefore, the belief in the truth of the systems hitherto in vogue was shaken, and even if their eclectic combination could not entirely satisfy, whilst strength was wanting for the independent production of a new system, the general result was only that thought began to long more and more

is now seen to be unjust. Firstly, because there was a conscientious attempt to reconcile the different teachings at the detailed level : not just an unsystematic conflation of irreconcilables. The eclecticisms were selective with a reasoned justification of what was rejected, and the amount of intellectual effort involved in this must have been very considerable. Festugière constructs a link between scepticism and eclecticism which is not a consequence of intellectual exhaustion. According to him the process followed the course : doxographic reduction of philosophical themes forming a spiritual κοινῆ (who were not professional philosophers) — the reawakening of philosophical reflection in an « infinitely subtle critical approach which spared no doctrine » — the arising of an eclectic dogmatism.[72] Secondly, and particularly in the later period, there emerged from eclecticism a source of communion in a self-conscious tradition of philosophy, and here H. Dörrie shows, in a very suggestive paper to which further reference will have to be made,[73] a very explicit consciousness of this tradition in Porphyry.

Once the esoteric Aristotle was available it presented not an occasion of intellectual escapism but a difficult intellectual problem of how to bring it together with the newly redogmatised Platonism, with Stoicism, as also with the renewed Pythagoreanism which came forward in the same period.[74]

for a source of knowledge lying outside itself and science as hitherto existing, which was sought partly in the inner revelation of the Deity, partly in religious tradition. Thus the way was entered on which neo-Platonism in the next period more definitely pursed, and so opened the last epoch of Greek philosophy' (*ib.*, p. 544-5. Translation by S. F. Alleyne, as in : '*A History of Eclecticism in Greek Philosophy*', London 1883, pp. 5, 22-23).

However he is more indulgent in his 'Grundriss der Griechischen Philosophie', 11th edition, Leipzig 1914, p. 286, where he saw the need of the Greeks to adapt themselves to the practical needs and mentality of the Romans. This contact with a more practical mentality, a sense of the existence of humanity and of a consensus gentium were powerful conceptions in the clarification of a single philosophy (cf. p. 246 in : L. R. Palmer's translation of the 13th edition. London 1931).

72) « La Révélation... » II, Paris 1949, Part 4, Ch. XII especially pp. 368-9. The movement to dogmatism is said to be evident in Cicero, the pseudo-Aristotelian *De Mundo*, Philo and Hermetism.

73) 'Die Schultradition in Mittelplatonismus und Porphyrios', in : *Fondation Hardt, Entretiens XII : 'Porphyre'*, Geneva 1966, pp. 3-25.

74) It seems appropriate here to point out the eclectic background and probable inspiration of Augustine's *cogito*. No more than Descartes' *cogito* is Augustine's absolutely

To this Greek eclectic exchange should be added the Roman contribution to the debate from Cicero and Varro (who both had known Antiochus) and later that from Plutarch. Another stream which mingled with it came from Judaism through Philo. Then increasingly came the contribution from Christian thinkers : at first the Greek-speaking, but increasingly the Latins.

without precedent. (For the prehistory of Descartes', see R. H. POPKIN, 'The History of Scepticism from Erasmus to Descartes' (Assen 1960), passim; also, B. M. BONANSEA, 'Tommasio Campanella' (Washington 1969), especially pp. 63-70).

The following are the loci in Augustine.

De Beata Vita 2, 7 : « Scisne, inquam, saltem te vivere ? Scio, inquit » (PL 32.963). *Soliloquium* II, 1, 1 : « Cogitare te scis ? Scio. Ergo verum est cogitare te. Verum » (PL 32.885). *De Vera Religione* 39, 73 : « Omnia qui se dubitantem intelligit, verum intelligit » (PL 34,154). *De Vera Religione* 39, 73 : « Omnis qui se dubitantem intelligit, verum intelligit » (PL 34.154). *De Trinitate* XV, 12, 21 : « Numquam ergo falli nec mentiri potest qui se vivere dixerit scire ». *De Civitate Dei* XI, 26 : « Si enim fallor, sum » (PL 41.340).

For these texts, cf. E. GILSON, 'Introduction à l'Étude de St. Augustin', 2nd edition, Paris 1943, pp. 53-55.

E. BICKEL has maintained that Augustine derived his version of the cogito from neo-Pythagorean literature (v. 'Inlocalitas. Zur neu-pythagoreischen Metaphysik' in : *Immanuel Kant. Festschrift zur Zweiten Jahrhundertfeier seines Geburtstages*, Leipzig 1924. p. 21 (5), n. 4).

It is an indication of the breadth of eclectic tradition that M. TESTARD can argue from reported passages in Augustine's lost work *De Bono et Apto*, that Cicero may have mediated pythagorean notions to Augustine ('Saint Augustin et Ciceron' I, Paris 1958, p. 46). But we are on more certain ground when we suppose Cicero to be the mediator of the views of Antiochus of Ascalon to Augustine, particularly the version of the *cogito* which, as also in Descartes, was based on certainty of doubting : he had certainly read Cicero's *Academica* in which it occurs : 'Hoc igitur modo potius erat ab his postulandum ut hoc unum saltem, percipi nihil posse, perceptum esse dicerent' (*Academica* II, IX, 29).

A similar argument of Antipater is also produced there : 'qui adfirmaret nihil posse percipi unum tamen illud dicere percipi posse consentaneum esse, ut alia non possent' (*ib.* II, IX, 28).

The 'Scio me scire me vivere' of *De Trinitate* XI, 12, 2, could also be based on a dictum found in the *Academica* : 'Scit se nihil se scire' (said of Socrates, II, 23, 74). The *Academica* of Cicero presented great problems to Augustine. Its conclusions are sceptical, though they do not fully plumb the depths of the later Academy itself : all that the wise man may do is to reach an opinion, not certainty (II, 48, 147), and what is probable is good enough (II, 31, 99).

Augustine is prepared — after his great crisis of doubt to which the *Academica* may have led him — to think that Cicero is speaking ironically, as the Academics had the custom of concealing their real teaching (v. *Contra Academicos* III, 20, 43 (PL 32.857). Cf. M. TESTARD, *op. cit.* I, p. 233).

So the philosophical eclecticism did not prevent the continuance of very lively discussion; the search for a complete system of thought in fact stimulated it.[75] Converts like Marius Victorinus and Augustine enthusiastically entered into the controversy, which went on to embrace philosophical and Christian writings — both orthodox and heretical, arguing against the position they had abandoned with their religious conversion and offering their reinterpretation of their former neo-Platonism as a stepping-stone to belief in a heavenly revelation.

The eclectic philosophies had significant features in common. Usually they professed a virtual monotheism, into which a pagan pantheon was, not altogether unaltered, loosely fitted. Sometimes they saw the ultimate principle or group of ultimate principles as hierarchically triadic. Thus the neo-Pythagorean Numenius of Apamea of the 2nd century A.D., possibly using the authority of a very obscure passage in Plato's second letter,[76] argues that there are three Gods :

> « a first God who is in and through himself Spirit; he is pure activity of thinking (νοῦς) and source of being (οὐσιας αρχή) and King (βασιλεύς), free from all labour... The second God is good through his participation in the first; he contemplates the supra-sensible forms, acts on matter to bring about the world, since he is the principle of becoming. The world, the product of the demiurge, is the third God » [77]).

If the title « King » does come from the passage in Plato's second letter (which happens to be the locus classicus for triadic emanations) we should have here, even if it is little more than verbal, a conflation of Aristotelian νοῦς and Platonic βασιλεύς..

P. Merlan notes that Plotinus was accused of plagiarising Numenius.[78] Merlan himself brings forward a passage from ps.-Archytas,

75) Augustine speaks as if there were a large literature on the Trinity (v. *De Trinitate* III, 1, 1), but it seems that while including Christian treaties he would also have included non-Christian works which had a triad of first principles — as Plotinus's *Enneads*.

76) *Epistle* 2, 312 E.

77) *Überweg-Praechter*, 'Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie', 12th edition, Berlin 1926, I, p. 521.

78) V. article 'Greek Philosophy from Plato to Plotinus' in the *Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*, ed. A. H. Armstrong, Cambridge 1967 ('Cambridge Philosophy'), p. 96. The question is of first importance for the development of neo-Platonism within the eclectic tradition.

also a neo-Pythagorean,[79] which shows that the syncretism at which the eclectic movement aimed did not only deal at the transcendent and remote level, but also the detailed and immediate.

> « First, Ps.-Archytas introduces as two opposite principles matter, which he also calls ousia, and form (morphé). He proceeds to state that there must be, then, a third principle which is self-moved and will bring the two together, so that we have three principles. This third principle must be not merely intelligence, but something superior to intelligence — and it is obvious that that which is superior to intelligence is precisely what we call God [80]).
>
> It is difficult to imagine a syncretistic passage in so small a compass. The two principles of form and matter are Aristotelian; to call the latter ousia is Stoic; to teach that form and matter must be brought together by another principle is Aristotelian again; to call this principle self-moved is Platonic; it is also Aristotelian... »

Merlan also shows that although he was familiar with (Plato's) two-opposite-principles theory Plutarch also expressed himself in the same triadic conception : « He obviously prefers to interpret Plato in terms of the triad 'artificer-ideas-matter' » [81]. Not too distant is a triadic conception of Philo whose cosmology was of a transcendent God with intermediary powers between himself and the world.

These passages all have in common the solution of a problem : how it is possible to relate ontologically opposite, or at least the most disparate, factors. The same problem will be found later on in Augustine's assertion of the need of the « intentio » of the will to apply the cognitive faculty to its object, and also in complaisance in the object through love. Like the neo-Pythagoreans he saw the triadic principle present both at the transcendent divine level and at the level of the human mind.[82]

[79]) *Ib.*, pp. 84-5.

[80]) There is no need for hesitation. In a parallel passage in his commentary on Aristotle's *Categories*, Ps.-Archytas makes this principle plainly God : *οἷον ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς ποιοῦν μὲν ὁ Θεός*... T. A. Szlezak, 'Pseudo-Archytas über die Kategorien', Berlin and New York 1972, p. 42 (Thesleff edn., p. 26, 1, 9).

[81]) Merlan, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-1.

[82]) That he realised he could not draw the analogy too closely and attribute all knowing to the Son, all loving to the Holy Spirit, and all remembering to the Father, caused him to utter a crie de cœur of failure in *De Trinitate* XV, 25, 45.

Whenever it was accepted that there should be a union of dissimilars there was often an instinctive search for an intermediary third factor which brought them together. This is true of knowledge as of physics. True, no third factor was necessary in the analysis of intellectual knowledge in *De Anima* III as the νοητόν was produced by νοῦς and was of an identical nature. But this was a special case : the object did not pre-exist for it. However there are examples of this instinctive triad-making in Aristotle. Hence the search for a « medium » (μεταξύ : in the midst) in the case of sensation [83]; and the sense powers bring opposites together.[84] For the wider division between contradictories, for example to say of something that it is at the same time white and non-white, Aristotle postulates the power of mind.[85] In *Metaphysics* XII the intelligible objects exist before they are thought, and Aristotle posited the intermediate force of desire. This proclivity to triadicity can express itself in the epistemological union of similars. Thus in his commentary on the *Timaeus*, Calcidius, while thinking that light from the eye meets light from an object in an act of vision, has to suppose a third element in which the two may come together : the light of the sun.[86] It is not surprising to discover the triadic positions of Numenius and ps.-Archytas arising in a neo-Pythagorean context, with its doctrine of the One and the infinite Dyad, the consciousness of the width of the distinction between the greatest opposites. But the implicit need to think triadically in order to bind opposites together goes back to Plato's teaching on the One and the Other in the Parmenides, and original Pythagoreanism wherein the conscious was

[83]) *De Anima* II, 7 ff.

[84]) *Ib.* II, 11 : '(the sense power) becomes an extreme to each of the extremes in turn...', it is 'actually neither but potentially both' (424 a 6-9). The sight is also concerned with visible and invisible (*ib.*).

[85]) *Ib.* III, 6, 430 b 1-6 : '... for if a man calls white not-white, he has combined the notion not-white. It is equally possible to say that all these cases involve division... The principle which unifies is in every case mind. This proposition that mind allowed the most disparate to remain divided, yet united them together, was given the fullest exploitation by Hegel as the basic conception of the dialectical process. His free translation of the passage substitutes 'everything' for 'in every case' ('... was *jedes* zu einem macht, ist der νοῦς 'Geschichte der Philosophie II, SW 18, p. 392). Stated thus it gives to an important conception of Hegel a support from Aristotle which is not warranted : 'Näher liegt diess darin, dass der νοῦς Alles ist; dass er an sich Totalität ist, das Wahrhafte überhaupt...' (*ib.*, p. 391). The illegitimacy of this step will be discussed later.

[86]) V. 'Timaeus, a Calcidio Translatus Commentarioque Instructus', ed. J. H. Waszink, London and Leiden 1962, CCXLV, p. 256.

made up of the limited within the unlimited. The presence of this sense of deep diversity postulated some kind of unifier. Eclecticism would not allow any doubts in its desire for comprehensiveness and order : in those contexts which demanded it, it instinctively searched for triadicity in physics and in epistemology, as we shall have occasion to see.

Another theme of eclectic philosophy was the search for a way by which νοῦς might know the highest object which was possible for it. Here the contemplation of the Good as understood by Plato [87] was relatable to Aristotle's teaching in the *Nicomachean Ethics* that contemplation was the highest and most divine activity.[88] And in the period when only the exoteric Aristotle was known his closeness to Plato in his teaching on the goal of philosophic contemplation had long been a locus for the unity of their teaching. *Metaphysics* XII gave a deeply reflected account of the nature of thought, unambiguously seen as present in the divine nature. *De Anima* III may have been ambiguous about the transcendent nature of thought as it described the creativity of the intellect in making its own objects. It did however propose that in thinking there was such a union between them that the intellect thereby became its object. And as Aristotle said that the νοῦς was divine, there was every persuasion to ignore the problematic that existed and to conclude that Aristotle thought it to be divine in itself. Given time for collective reflection and systematic development, not only did this lead to the commentators like Alexander of Aphrodisias deciding to interpret Aristotle's teaching without qualification in the sense of the mortality of the individual soul and the immortality of the unchangeable intelligence in itself, but to integrate it with the personal striving and living for ecstasy, acknowledged in diverse but relatable ways by Philo, Plutarch and the Hermetic literature. Stoic doctrine had extolled the state of immovability — ἀπάθεια, and it could be improved on by supposing this state of fixity to be one of inward union with the divine. The world-soul in Plato's Timaeus [89]) could be given a similar place, related to νοῦς given an ambivalent one-in-manyness, and a place found in it for the λόγοι σπερματικοὶ of the Stoics as the principles

87) E.g. *Republic* VI, 19. 508 E.
88) *Op. cit.* X, 7.
89) 41 D.

of development of the world of movement and change. These in outline are the principal elements brought together by Plotinus into the eclectic unity known as neo-Platonism.

Merlan's account of this development [90]) contains a vast amount of information about the thinkers and a great amount about recent scholarly disagreements. But his method is wrongly conceived. In an attempt to simplify the story he proposed to demonstrate the joint Platonic-Aristotelian quality of neo-Platonism by trying to show that Aristotle was a neo-Platonist — 500 years shead of his time.[91]) He does this by demonstrating in great detail that a distinction of theoretical philosophy into theology, mathematics and physics and « an equation soul = mathematicals » in Iamblichus and Proclus was originally to be found in Aristotle and attributed to Plato, and, in addition, that the neo-Platonist doctrine of not-being can be found in Aristotle. There is a presumption here typical of the kind of historical scholarship of which Merlan was so expert — that through the period of eclecticism there was no modification or development between Aristotle and the neo-Platonists : no hermeneutical twist; a literary and literal inheritance in which the thought-content suffered no modification. That is not to say that the existence of this hermeneutical twist would have been apparent at the time. Historicism of a highly critical and sensitive kind alone would have been aware of this change. In point of fact Augustine found the philosophers whom he knew of too historically orientated : « Nor have these philosophers, who are better than others in their understanding of those sublime and eternal exemplars, gazed upon them; otherwise they would not, like historians, be investigating whatever past events of this same kind that they could ».[92]) This historicism was not critical enough; in its energetic ransacking of the past for the sake of the present it did not reflect on what it was making available again, and what it was changing in re-presenting. But historicism alone cannot prevent such a hermeneutical change from taking place. Not only is the effort of literal-historical research unlike the original creative process and thus produces a distinct genre of

90) 'From Platonism to Neoplatonism', 3rd ed., The Hague 1968.

91) V. pp. 3, 230-1.

92) *De Trinitate* IV, 16, 21 : 'Nec isti philosophi caeteris meliores in illis summis aeternisque rationibus intellectu talia contemplati sunt : alioquin non eiusdem generis praeterita quae potuerunt historici inquirerent'.

writing, but the degree to which themes get reflected on and developed is proportional to their power, not to their place in the whole.

Having in mind the same end as this study — the reception by Augustine of classical Greek thought — M. Grabmann briefly summed up the change which took place between Plato and Plotinus, which must not be overlooked in treating the relationship between Aristotle and Plotinus. He took a minimalist view of the possibility of Augustine's having read even Latin translations of Plato.[93] « Augustine would only have learnt these neo-Platonist versions of Plato's teaching on ideas; he would not have seen the actual texts in which Plato developed his theory. So it is understandable that he was not aware of the difference between Plato's teaching on ideas and his own ».[94]

The Characteristics of the hermeneutical transformation of Aristotelianism in Neo-Platonism

But our concern is principally with Aristotle. It will be as well to describe the features of the hermeneutical twist in so far as Plotinus, not by himself alone but as the product of an eclectical tradition of three centuries, had modified the Aristotelian elements which were incorporated into his thinking.

i) In Aristotle the teaching on contemplation was a part, even if it were the sublimest part, of the assemblage of wide-ranging topics which he treated. In Plotinus it is also the sublimest activity, but it is absolutely central and dominates everything else. For man it is the only worth-while activity. In *Metaphysics* XII the divine self-contemplative thought is distinct and self-contained; in *De Anima* III thought is ambiguously divine and timeless in itself but temporarily and individually embodied. Plotinus united these positions together in an unambiguous sense : a man must strive to unite his own thought into divine self-thinking and be absorbed into it. It is appropriate that he should seek for this union in ecstasy. Thus he should make himself conform with what is noblest in him. The divergence in nature

[93] A knowledge limited by COURCELLE to a part of the Timaeus translated by Cicero, « Les Lettres... », p. 159.

[94] 'Des heiligen Augustinus Quaestio de Ideis (de Diversis Questionibus LXXXIII, Qu. 46) in ihrer inhaltlichen Bedeutung und mittelaltlicher Weiterwirkung' in : *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben, Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Scholastik und Mystik* II, Munich 1936, p. 29.

between thought in itself and human thinking was thus made the basis of a moral orientation which ignored, out of a desire for consistency, all other human concerns thought to be natural by Aristotle. And just as the providence of the God of Aristotle did not extend to the sublunary world, so, correspondingly, the contemplative gaze of Gods and men was to be fixed on the One, quite oblivious to lower concerns.[95])

ii) In the *Nicomachean Ethics*, as in the *Enneads*, the moral virtues are seen as a precondition for the activity of contemplation; but whilst for Aristotle the other virtues still remain important because of the human involvement in non-contemplative activity, with Plotinus their importance fades away in relationship to contemplation which in the only worth-while end for man.

iii) Thus, Plotinus unites the transcendent-immanent teaching on contemplation of the *Metaphysics* and the *De Anima* together with the teaching on the moral virtues derivable from the *Nicomachean Ethics* (but not representative of it). Contemplation — in fact all thought — remain immanent in so far as it is « within » but it is really a turning to something that is higher and transcendent : to νοῦς„ which in its changelessness and full knowledge, is the beauty of ψυχή, and is « ours when we use it ».

iv) As such it is a simplification and systematisation of Aristotle. The bringing together of the contemplation of the Good and other ideas from Plato, and the conception of the ideas as the thoughts of God (anticipated by Albinus) [96]) together with an extension of the Stoic virtue of ἀπαθεια, gave to the Aristotelian philosophy alongside this structuring a quality of immobility which derives from the search for unity and immobility in ecstasy. The original Aristotelian conception was of a philosophy of the variety of life. Plotinus may have expressed satisfactorily in their Aristotelian re-formulation the original Platonist values, but Aristotle was nearer to Plato than he in expressing the necessary variety of interests.

v) Plotinus gave the self-knowledge of νοῦς in Aristotle a striking development. The ability of νοῦς to know itself, the fact that in knowing its objects it would also be knowing itself, the characterisation of the divine as self-thinking thought : all these ideas are in Aristotle.

95) Cf. *Ennead* III, 2, 9.

96) Who did little more than juxtapose Aristotle's ideas of divine self-thinking and the absolute unity of νοῦς and νοητά.

But with him they are not rigorously thought out as the realities that necessarily both embrace and support everything else. Plotinus made Aristotle's epistemology into an all embracing cosmology. But νοῦς is intermediary between two other members of a triad of ultimate hypostases : the One; derived from Pythagoras and Plato, and ψυχή derived from Plato. The One is usually said to be « above knowing » but is described in one passage as having self awareness of a kind.[97]) ψυχή also is characterised by self-knowing. Whilst νοῦς never fails from knowing itself transcendently in the One, in its individual embodiments ψυχή is capable of an independent and false self-knowledge : it should be knowing itself in its contemplation of νοῦς.. Thus an interconnected self-knowing is at the centre of the Plotinian conception, and this self-knowing is clearly looked upon as the basic reality and the basis for any other reality. But quā self-knowing it approximates to Aristotle's intermittent self-knowing at the human level and detached self-knowing at a transcendent level even if a contextual change has made necessary a hermeneutical alteration of the original meanings.

vi) The material world, with its time and space, is generated from the imperfect, pluralising contemplation by ψυχή of νοῦς, which has some analogies with νοῦς's purer pluralising contemplation — the production by νοῦς of its many-in-oneness — of the One. Ψυχή in turn presides over the material world, the lowest grade of reality, beyond which is non-being. Attraction to the One is therefore the bond which holds everything together from a dispersion which from some points of view comes from an overflow of creative power, but more fundamentally from an increasing cosmic fault.

vii) The resultant system was more religious in character than Aristotle's. The appetite for inclusion made a place for the pagan deities, « for Philosophers should defend the Gods »,[98]) who were « generated » by the contemplation by ψυχή of the One.[99]) There is an occasional enmythologisation — for example equating Zeus or Chronus with νοῦς [100]) and Ouranos with the One. [101])

[97]) *Ennead* V, 4, 2.

[98]) *Ennead* IV, 4, 30.

[99]) *Ib.* VI, 9, 9.

[100]) For Zeus as νοῦς, *ib.* III, 5, 8 — following Philebus 30 D. For Chronos as νοῦς, and Zeus as ψυχή, v. *ib.* V, 1, 4; V, 1, 7.

[101]) *Ib.* V, 8, 13 — with Chronos as νοῦς and Zeus as ψυχή..

In all there was in Plotinus :

a) A consistent critique of Aristotle. This included a rejection of his conception of potential knowledge of any kind (all cognition was active, and the effect of the material world on ψυχή was seen in terms of a « shock »), as also of his conception of the soul as ἐντελέχεια. On the positive side there was the extension of his conception of self-thinking into the fundamental principle of all reality.

b) Through the drawing out of the contemplative element in Aristotle's thought by its association with authentic Platonism, the original Aristotelian element was knowingly or unknowingly transformed. Perhaps the same words remained in use, but in Aristotle they were in the context of a busy and universal investigation of every field of study; in Plotinus they were charged with religious meaning, their content to be deeply savoured in religious meditation.

Eclecticism had considered the original teachings comparable and relatable : had not Aristotle been a Platonist ? [102]) Was there not even in his own work the beginnings of this unification in so far as he had treated the same matters as Plato — and offered a critique of him operating on the same phenomena ? Were not Stoicism and Aristotelianism able to cross-fertilise each other from the beginning, particularly in their teaching on virtue ? A greater strength was found in eclectic combination, but also a changed content — agreed to by analysis and deliberate aggregation, not by compromise and indifference. In the effort of simplification we can see the work of the Greek commentators to set in order what particularly Aristotle had left in problematic disorder, as also the effort of Romanitas to express Greek philosophy to itself not only in its own language but also in its own spirit.[103])

[102]) Cf. Augustine's later testimony to this enterprise : 'non defuerunt acutissimi et solertissimi viri, qui docerent disputationibus suis Aristotelem ac Platonem ita sibi concinere, ut imperitis minusque attentis dissentire videantur; multis quidem saeculis multisque contentionibus, sed tamen eliquata est, ut opinor, una verissimae philosopiae disciplina' (*Contra Academicos* III, 19, 42) (PL 32.956). For Porphyry's works, v. *supra*, p. 76, n. 18.

[103]) Despite PONCELET's appreciation of the spiritualisation of the concepts of Greek philosophy as they passed into Latin (v. *supra*, p. 74), this was not necessarily always the case. Consider Varro's reduction to a syllogism of the purpose of contemplative philosophy. One feels that he has writing about something of which he had heard, not of something which he knew intimately himself. « Quando quidem nulla est hominis causa philosophandi nisi ut beatus sit; quod autem beatum facit est finis boni; nulla

The eclectic contemplative philosophies, with their triple ultimate beings, and their doctrines of salvation, were the background against which Christian Trinitarianism entered the classical world, which contributed in turn to evoke from neo-Platonism a new triadic, and anti-Christian response. That the second of these beings was a middle link between the higher, first principle and the world, and that there was a need for salvation — purification of some kind to reach the goal of beatitude — was a conception which disposed a man to understand the Christian teachings on Christ as the Logos, Wisdom, the mind-element of the Trinity, and also the reconciler of this world with the principle from which it came. Arianism was a premature attempt to bring the two conceptions together, but it meant — against the Christian Trinitarian conception — a hierarchical sub-ordinationism within the ultimate triad. Converts from neo-Platonism — like Marius Victorinus and Augustine himself — were exercised to show the logical coherence of Christian Trinitarianism in terms of the neo-Platonist thought – world. It is possible that Plotinus — the fellow student with Origen of Ammonius Saccas, himself a lapsed Christian, « the Socrates of neo-Platonism » [104]) — had intended to construct a system with a code of behaviour which offered a substitute for Christianity, and through it an attack on it. This was the explicit intention of Porphyry, who had very likely been a Christian for a while himself.

Hermeneutically transformed Aristotelianism and Augustine

The hermeneutically developed Aristotelian conception of self-thinking alongside the Aristotelian-Platonist notions of beatitude and contemplation and the Platonist conception of gradations of reality — the results of the mutations by style of commentary and the spirit of Romanitas — were the objects to which Augustine applied his mind particularly when he wrote his *De Trinitate.* The reflections on this area of philosophy which lie scattered through his other works are concentrated in this work which cost him so much effort and took him so much time.

Particularly in its second part it needs to be read as a strong and deep, yet not unfriendly apologetic for the Christian conception of

est igitur causa philosophandi nisi finis boni » (fr. 4 as reconstructed by G. LANGENBERG, *op. cit.*).

[104]) See article on Ammonias Saccas by E. R. DODDS in *Oxford Classical Dictionary.*

three hypostases, which were yet One οὐσία, not only against Arianist subordinationism (as which it is usually taken) but more against the neo-Platonist triad of three hypostases which had provided the intellectual framework for the heresy.[105]) Even the place of scriptural quotations can be read as having in mind Porphyry, who had claimed that the Christian scriptures were a mass of contradictions : from them was deduced a philosophical system which showed up the inade-

[105]) P. Brown dates the *De Trinitate* as covering the years 399-419 (v. Augustine of Hippo, London 1967, Chronological Table C).

The hypothesis that Augustine changed his principle intention in the second part from an anti-Arian work to an anti-neo-Platonist apologetic after the arrival of Roman refugees in Africa in 410 is an obvious one. If the theory advanced here is correct it will mean jettisoning the view of I. Chevalier, that the sources of the second part are purely speculative on Augustine's part ('Le théologien fait ici œuvre d'intelligence proprement dite, de Sagesse' in : 'St. Augustin et la Pensée Grecque. Les Relations Trinitaires', Collectanea Friburgensia, Fasc. 33, N.S. 24, Fribourg 1940, pp. 85-6), and that his judgement on the doctrinal question, that Aristotelian influence (in the matter of relation) takes precedence over neo-Platonism (*ib.*, p. 168), could be placed in a far wider context. Without denying at all the inspiration of Augustine, this essay proposes that he had, in the neo-Platonist texts, a more concrete object on which to work than the writer supposes. In his 'La théorie augustinienne des relations Trinitaires ; analyses explicatives des textes' (*ib.*, fasc. 2 and 3, Divus Thomas 1940), Chevalier goes not further than Book VII and supposes no further relationship with neo-Platonism.

O. du Roy ('L'Intelligence de la Foi en la Trinité selon Saint Augustin, Genèse de sa théologie trinitaire jusqu'en 391', Paris 1966) can see the place of Plotinus and Porphyry in Augustine's earlier speculation but sees him always under the *influence* of neo-Platonist structures, particularly triadic-emanation ones. Though he sees that he would have corrected the philosophical influence of neo-Platonism in a personalist sense (p. 456), eliminating any sense of difference of level between the hypostases (p. 454), his analysis of the *De Trinitate* (pp. 437 ff.) presumes the presence in it of neo-Platonist structures. The possibility that an apologist should have to adopt some of the language of his adversaries does not occur to him, and so he can conclude that 'L'Intelligence d'Augustin n'est qu'à moitié évangélisée par la foi'. As we shall see, there are numerous neo-Platonist allusions throughout the second part of the *De Trinitate*, but the mode of their utilisation indicates the intervention of a very searching critique. It is impossible to agree with the same writer's description of the work out of which the *De Trinitate* grew as Augustine's 'jaillissement original et dans sa genèse tâtonnante, riche de bien plus de virtualités que n'en développera l'avenir'.

Augustine's genius here lay so much in the originality of what he wrote but rather in his grasp and masterly displacement of neo-Platonist and other ideas, in the convincing force of his eclectic solution, and in the interrelationship of this with the data of Scripture : eclectic-apologetic rather than original (contra eiusdem auct. 'L'expérience de k'amour et l'intelligence de la foi trinitaire selon saint Augustin', *Recherches Augustiniennes* II, 1962, p. 415 ff. ; though his book goes some way to undo this impression).

quacies of neo-Platonism, even while it used its ideas. It needs to be seen as another example of the eclectic philosophical tradition of writing, working not only at the transcendent level but also analogously, at the level of the human mind. It makes a critical re-conciliation of diverse positions in which may be seen Plotinian, Porphyrian, Platonist, Stoic, neo-Pythagorean, and probably Aristotelian in the authentic sense. Hermeneutically and contextually it is an example of Romanitas : the seeking of a pithy and adequately solid summary statement in a balanced cadence : style felicitously and instinctively joined to thought, as rhythm to melody. Greek contemplative thought had inspired Roman thought and Romanised formulations of it — as the Protrepticus-inspired *Hortensius* — had inspired Augustine and continued to inspire him. If Augustine the *mere* rhetor is spoken of it is as well to remember the full background ; he did not think in terms of style alone. The philosophical culture of his classical background, with its religious transcendence, was through numerous intermediaries translated and transmuted into a vision relatable to Christianity without excessive difficulty. Augustine, the rhetor-doctor, embodied a great amount of Christian belief in terms of a Romanitas that after him was increasingly identified as « Catholica ». The anti-neo-Platonist apologetic of the *De Trinitate*, with its persuasively established relationships within the tradition of philosophical eclecticism, was so stylistically like the rest of his writings that generations of readers have overlooked not only the difference in its contents and orientation but also the immediate significance of the distinction he frequently made in the work between faith and knowledge, and his implication that parts, at least, were written for non-believers.[106])

II. Structures of Subjectivity in Aristotle

Intellectual and Sense Knowledge

Contrary to what some writers have been content to point out, Aristotle's intention in giving an account of the process of knowing was not just to assert a parallelism between intellectual knowledge

[106]) V. XV, 27, 48. He gives a long quotation from his tractate on St. John's gospel (*In Jn.* XCIX, 8-9) and adds : 'Haec de illo sermone in hunc librum transtuli, sed fidelibus, non infidelibus loquens'.

and the more evident sensation. It is true that he does give some parallels. For example he writes in *De Anima* II, 5 [1]) « The sentient subject, as we have said, is potentially such as the object of sense is actually. Thus during the process of being acted upon it is unlike, but at the end of the process it has become like that object, and shares its quality » (ὡμοίωται καὶ ἐστιν οἷον ἐκεῖνο). This account of sensation can be seen of the same form as the account of thinking at, for example, *De Anima* III, 4 : [2]) « For in the case of things without matter that which thinks and that which is thought are the same » (τὸ αὐτό). The difference between ὡμοίωται and τό αὐτό is an assurance that the analogy between sense and intellectual knowledge, which occurs between these statements [3]) is not a complete account : « as the sensitive is to the sensible, so must mind be to the thinkable ». That Aristotle should draw such analogies is not surprising, given his rehabilitation of the world of matter and sensation after Plato's disdain for it. In addition his language indicates his awareness of a cosmos internally ordered and inter-related.[4])

Discontinuous with the physical world, yet understood from the imagination's phantasms of it, was the intellectual world of νοῦς and νοητά ; but different texts can be found showing at one place that νοητά were said to be created by the power of mind, at another that they seem to be eternal and primary, as Plato's world of ideas.

Within the empiricism of Aristotle was a speculative content which emphasised the difference of the intellectual nature from the sensitive. An understanding of Aristotle is directly related to the degree of importance one accords to the speculative as contrasted with the empirical.[5]) The empirical interpretation in the matter of

[1]) 418 a 3-6 (The Loeb translation is used for classical texts).

[2]) 430 a 4-5.

[3]) *De Anima* III, 4, 429 a 17-18.

[4]) Cf. F. Nuyens, 'L'Évolution de la Psychologie d'Aristote', Louvain 1948, p. 182, and E. Barbotin, 'La Théorie Aristotélicienne de l'Intellect d'après Théophraste', Louvain-Paris 1954, p. 104 (cf. p. 118-119) on Aristotle's use of physical terminology to describe mental phenomena. But note also J. M. Le Blond, 'Aristote, I. Parties des Animaux', Paris 1945, p. 10-11 on the use of biological analyses in Logic, and a biological definition of 'nature' in Physics.

[5]) How unlike the general impression of Aristotle is to the speculative thinker, analysing the nature of thought and striving to relate it to other human experience, and failing, as we shall see, to give a final account of their connection. Aristotle, elegantly though incautiously, described by David Knowles as possessing 'the philosophy of

epistemology arises from a concentration of the attention on the likenesses between sensation and thinking to the disregard of their differences. Yet those differences are there and demand attention — though the situation is not as simple as the interpretation of Hamelin, that Aristote (despite himself) found himself returning to the Platonism he rejected.[6]) There is no doubt that the activity of νοῦς is transcendently different from that of sensation, and the study of subjectivity cannot by-pass the problems posed in the divergence between them and take refuge in a conventional Aristotelianism.

For Aristotle the differences between thinking and sensation are evident even at an observable level. « ... it lies in man's power to use his mind whenever he chooses, but it is not in his power to experience sensation. » [7]) And « ... the sense loses sensation under the stimulus of a too violent sensible object; ... but when mind thinks the highly intelligible, it is not less able to think of slighter things, but even more able; for the faculty of sense is not apart from the body, whereas the mind is separable. » [8])

Within the *De Anima* a coherent doctrine is developed within the conception of knowledge being a movement from potentiality into actuality, and (notwithstanding the difference between identity and likeness) both intellectual and sense knowledge are analysed in that way. In sense knowledge, external objects become the activating principle of sensations. As the subject in intellectual knowledge is also in potency with regard to its object, it is necessary to establish whence comes the activation.[9]) Yet though there may be difficulties

common sense' and producing 'dazzling glimpses of the obvious' found the answers to the speculative problems he put to his undoubted common sense far from obvious (v. auct. cit., 'The Evolution of Medieval Thought', London 1962, p. 15).

[6]) « When pressed, Peripateticism comes to be absorbed into Platonism... The system of Aristotle is a hardly concealed idealism », pp. 88 and 89 of 'La Théorie de l'Intellect d'après Aristote et ses commentateurs', Paris 1953.

[7]) *De Anima* II, 5, 417 b 24-25.

[8]) *Ib.* III, 4, 429 a 31 - b 5.

[9]) The interpretation of NUYENS must be set on one side, resting on an exaggerated concentration on the analogy between intellectual and sense knowledge, that « it is essential that knowledge develops under an influence coming from outside : it consists for (Aristotle) in a use of our *power* (puissance) of knowing, to which no limits are placed » (*op. cit.*, p. 283). But then, forgetting the complete union of νοητά in νοῦς according to the *De Anima*, he holds the curious view that according to Aristotle 'νοητά... universal concepts or essences... do not exist by (en) themselves, but *only* as substantial forms united to matter' (*ib.*, p. 296).

in explaining this and differences between the teaching of *De Anima* and *Metaphysics* XII, there is no doubt that Aristotle's teaching about the final state of activated intellectual knowledge is that mind and object are identified.[10])

The specifically different character of intellectual knowledge, that one can exercise it when one wills, refers to knowledge already gained. The real problem, not only of interpretation of Aristotle but also the problem to which he brought no definitive explanation or solution, was how we first come by an intellectual object. And frankly we shall have to conclude that the best solution to the problem of interpretation is to accept an incompatibility between the view of the *De Anima* which makes intelligible realities the creation of νοῦς, and does not designate a place for will or desire in this creation nor have them exert an attractive force over νοῦς before νοῦς makes them, and the view of *Metaphysics* XII, 7 and 9 which makes intelligible realities initially attract νοῦς, thus putting the coming by intellectual knowledge from its beginning into a context of desire and will. Even though the account in *Metaphysics* is more designed to answer the ontological questions « what is thought ? », « how does it fit into the cosmos ? » and to find, in consequence, the presence of value in the goodness of its objects, than its more limited subjective account of the *De Anima*, the difference of intention will not completely explain the difference. For by making the potentiality of νοῦς actualisable by already existing νοητά rather than by νοητά created for it by itself, the *Methaphysics* account cannot be completely interrelated with the *De Anima* account, nor the place of desire and will which it raises be inserted into it.

There is no doubt that will does play an important rôle in the different accounts of knowing which Aristotle gives. And even in sensation (in man as in animals) the process is not purely passive; desire — whose human counterpart is will — comes into it. Perhaps the distinction between the primacy of the intellect and the primacy of the will — a mind or a will metaphysic — rests in a finer and more elusive distinction than is usually supposed.

[10]) As Barbotin writes (*op. cit.*, p. 99, n. 2), bringing together *De Anima* I, 3, 407 a 7-8 ἡ δὲ νόησις τά νοήματα and *Metaphysics* XII, 9, 1074 b 38 - 1075 a 5, noting particularly οὐχ ἑτέρου οὖν ὄντος τοῦ νοουμένου καὶ νοῦ, ὅσα μὴ ὕλην ἔχει : 'unlike the senses, the intellect is completely identified with its object, for in this case it is a question of forms without matter'.

Certainly the view of *Metaphysics* XII brings mind and will together at the final end of knowing and willing.[11]) A pure will will ultimately coincide with knowledge, because the ultimate desirable object is the ultimate intelligible.[12]) In his conception of ὄρεξις, Aristotle took over the Plato's notion of ἐπιθυμία, but with him it is not isolated in the sensitive faculties (which prevented Plato from having a place for will, and therefore having to make virtue equal knowledge). ὄρεξις still is attracted to the apparent good, but in its intellectual extension it becomes rational desire : βούλησις, which is superior to simple ὄρεξις ; and its object — τό ὀρεκτόν is the real and not seeming good : τό ὄν καλόν[13]). It is through the interdependence of the faculties in the body-soul unity which he wished to maintain that Aristotle can give a place for will in intellection ; and for the same reason of continuity he can (in the *De Anima*) give to the sense powers themselves a kind of judgement over their proper objects,[14]) and suppose the existence of a power for the coordination of diverse sense experiences.

Here one must notice in the *De Anima* III the existence of a theme not in keeping with the rest, of which it remains an open question whether we have the bringing together of chronologically diverse reflections, an indecisiveness on the part of Aristotle himself or manuscript modifications made with the presumptions of a later heremeneutic. It lies around the question of the systematic centralisation of experiences. In chapter I the power of co-ordination of diverse sensations is attributed to their working together. « The senses perceive each other's proper objects incidentally, not in their own identity, but acting together as one, (ἦ μία) when sensations occur simul-

11) *Metaphysics* XII, 7, 1072 a 26-27. 'The object of desire and the object of thought move without being moved. The primary objects of desire and thought are the same.'

12) Cf. J. Tricot's commentary ('Aristote, la Métaphysique', new edition, Paris 1964, II, p. 676, n. 2) : 'the immaterial substance is at the same time πρῶτον νοητόν and πρῶτον ὀρεκτόν.'. This is no doubt the origin of the position of Plotinus that 'if the will attains this object it becomes thought' (*Ennead* VI, 8, 6, following Bréhier translation).

13) Based on *Metaphysics* XII, 7, 1072 a 27-28. In the *De Anima*, Aristotle is unwilling to divide ὄρεξις into different parts, and so βούλησις is desire in the calculative part (το λογιστικόν) : III, 9, 432 b 6-7.

14) *De Anima* III, 2, 426 b 8-12.

taneously in the case of the same object ».[16]) In chapter II, on the grounds of avoiding an infinite regress he located self awareness in each sense power : « if there is a separate sense power perceiving sight, either the process will go on *ad infinitum* or a sense must perceive itself. » [17]) However, scattered throughout this chapter are a number of references to a principal of unity, which conflicts with the quasi-autonomy given to sense powers. Whereas chapter I will only give the co-ordinating functions to the senses acting together, chapter II will say « That which asserts the differences must be one; for sweet differs from white. It is the same faculty then that assists this; hence as it asserts *so it thinks and perceives.* Evidently, therefore it its impossible to pass judgement on separate objects by separate faculties; and it is also obvious from the following considerations that they are not judged at separate times. » [18]) And the faculty which makes the judgement is both divided and undivided at the same time [19]) « ... as a point is ... both one and two » (i.e. capable of being used in a place of reference more than once) « in this sense divisible, so too in so far as the judging faculty is indivisible, it is one and simultaneous in action, but in so far as it is divisible, it uses the same symbol twice at the same time ».[20]) (The significance of simultaneity here will be taken up when the *Parva Naturalia* structures are examined.[21]) The interpretation of « so it *thinks* and perceives », taken at its fullest meaning, would give to νοῦς a co-ordinating function which the transcendent structure of chapters 4 and 5 would deny. The manuscript position is that two texts read φρονεῖ for νοεῖ [22]), and φρονεῖ less precisely involves the activity of mind. But if νοεῖ were the correct reading it could be as in chapter 4 the cursive dianoetic activity of embodied νοῦς [23]). Yet even if in this way the difficulty over the fact

16) *Ib.* 425 a 30 - b 1.

17) *Ib.* 425 b 15-16.

18) *Ib.* 426 b 20-24.

19) *Ib.* 426 b 29, 427 a 2.

20) 427 a 9-12.

21) Cf. *infra*, p. 125 ff. especially note 73.

22) D. Ross, 'Aristotle's de Anima', Oxford 1961, note to 426 b 22 amplifying the Bekker tally of Mss.

23) V. *De Anima* III, 4, 429 a 23 : 'by mind I mean that part by which the soul thinks and forms judgements'.

A later passage, in *De Anima* III, 7, also belongs to this abberrant structure, « now in the thinking soul (τῇ δὲ διανοητικῇ ψυχῇ) images take the place of direct per-

of intellectual activity were resolved, there remains a further problem that the previous position that the senses need no special co-ordinating power does not coincide with what comes here. That there is a co-ordinating power is, as we shall presently see, the characteristic of the subjectivity structures of the *Parva Naturalia* and the *Nicomachean Ethics*; in the *De Anima* it is an aberrant structure,[24]) and which of the three explanations given above would be correct cannot be said. If it were not in fact an innocent revision by later systematisers, the presence of this idea would have been interpreted by them according to their own preconceptions without the consciousness of the problematic that characterised Aristotle himself.

One side of the problematic was Aristotle's insistence on the transcendent nature of thought; the other side was the bringing together of thinking with other living processes, and in consequence his speculation about a co-ordinating power of sense and mind was the place where his difficulty most appeared. R. Mondolfo has explained the reasons which lay behind this other side of his problematic : « this faculty of distinction located in the sense powers, constitutes for Aristotle the motive and the means of passing over the division which Plato introduced among the spiritual activities when he distributed them between the different and separate parts of the soul. Thus Aristotle comes to affirm the continuity or reciprocal compenetration of the faculties necessary to the unity of the subject. » [25]) Aristotle's psychology should be seen as an investigation which proceeds not from the philosopher's study alone, but from the anatomical-biologist's work-room. It is related, as well to the study of *νοῦς*, to Aristotle's

ceptions; and when it asserts or denies that they are good or bad, it avoids or pursues them. Hence the soul never thinks without a mental image. The process is just like that in which air affects the eye in a particular way, and the eye again affects something else; and similarly with hearing. The last thing to be affected is a single entity and a single mean, although it has more than one aspect (*τὸ δὲ ἔσχατον ἕν, καὶ μία μεσότης τὸ δ'εἶναι αὐτῇ πλείω.* » (431 a 14-20). Here the dianoetic activity is specified as non-transcendent. The principle at the end is not tied to the dianoetic or to sense activity. Its generality would lend it to system-building, but with its original context in Aristotle its application to pure noetic as by Porphyry, would be questionable.

[24]) Editors of the text seem unaware of the problem. As the structure suggested in *De Anima* III, 2, 4 and 7 is an aberrant one, the transcendent one will be designated as that of '*De Anima* III, 4 and 5'.

[25]) 'L'Unité du sujet dans la gnoséologie d'Aristote', *Revue Philosophique* (*de la France et de l'Étranger*) 143, 1953, pp. 364-5.

interest in the way in which sensations are transmitted — whether by the blood or not — to and from the heart (which was for him the abode of the nutritive and sensitive soul). His proposal of a body-soul unity set up a problem which led to the discovery of nerves.[26]) The account of the search for a centre of unity in the personality which was also a centre of consciousness and self-consciousness will turn out to be a principle theme in this essay. Once Aristotle had proposed the existence of a co-ordinating sense, the way opened for an analogous treatment of mind without reference to the bodily aide of human nature. Except for Hegel [27]), none of the writers covered by this essay gave a place to the body comparable to that given by Aristotle : they felt themselves absolved from probing as deeply as he the question of its relationship to mind.

a) *How thinking comes about.*

Sensation cannot be ignored, but the principle concern in the study of subjectivity is with thinking. Besides the *loci classici* for Aristotle's accounts of thinking (*De Anima* III, 4 and 5; *Metaphysics* XII, 7 and 9-10) there are shorter but significant passages elsewhere. The account in the *De Anima* is not meant in the first place to give a complete account of every aspect of thinking together. *De Anima* III poses a single dilemma [28]) in two ways, and it is in terms of it that the account is given : firstly, if, as Anaxagoras said, the mind needs to dominate in order to know, how can there be a continuity between subject and object such that they may enter into unity with each other and thus the object be known; secondly, if, when an intelligible object is known the interaction of subject and object demands their being like, how does mind's special property operate. The second expression of the dilemma carries with it a suggestion that if community of nature is necessary, mind will belong to the object in some way, perhaps by being mixed with it. Expressed simply, the question behind both forms of the dilemma is whether in thinking subject and object are like or unlike.

Perhaps we can see here an allusion to a passage in Plato's *Sophist.* Not only would we find a relation of likeness between subject and

26) V. F. Solmsen, 'Greek Philosophy and the Discovery of the Nerves', *Museum Helveticum* 18, 1961, pp. 150-197.

27) Principally in the second part of his *Encyclopedia.*

28) Ch. 4, 429 a 13 ff.

object if intelligible objects themselves « had mind and lived and thought » [29]); the stranger's assertion that « to know is active, to be known must in turn be passive » [30]) would imply that subject and object were of the same kind. In the *De Anima* Aristotle's critique of of the dilemma, and through it of the position of Plato, is to agree that with intelligible objects and mind there is indeed a likeness of nature. But there is no passivity of object to subject : the mind makes its intelligible object by its own power and then is passive to it, uniting it to itself completely.

The critique of Plato in these chapters of *De Anima* goes wider and deeper still in the same direction. Aristotle sees thinking not as a reminiscence of pre-existing intelligible forms but a creative and active self-extension of mind. The process is described as the realising of a capacity instead of the reminiscence of what has always been known. True, he is, like Plato, more interested in the knowledge of a man who draws on what he already knows (though not through anamnesis), as it is through what a man already knows that thinking reaches its full significance in organised, related scientific knowledge (ἐπιστήμη) rather than in the acquiring of isolated elements of information. The conception that thinking is an activity demands that knowing be potential to an object. And this is true of different degrees of knowing : before something is learnt — like a sheet of paper ready to receive some writing; when something is learnt, identifying thinker and νοητόν for the first time [31]); and when from his habit-like possession of knowledge he recalls it and uses it.

But if mind is characterised by the active production of intelligible objects and their absorption to the degree of identification is it able to know itself? For Plato the quest for self knowledge had spread itself through the limitless possibilities of inner and outer experience; knowledge of the nature of the soul might require knowledge of the nature of the whole man [32]), but it seemed possible to

[29]) *Sophist* 248 E - 249 A.

[30]) *Ib.* 248 D-E. 'Passive' translates πάσχειν.

[31]) Though 'That which produces development from potential to actual in the matter of understanding and thought ought not to be called teaching, but needs some other name' (*De Anima* II, V, 410 b 10-12). Perhaps this is because more than receptivity is involved : by his creative reception of knowledge from someone who actually knows, the learner is developing himself.

[32]) *Phaedrus* 270 C.

arrive at. Aristotle turned against this conception of self-knowledge. Perhaps not without a reminiscence of the *Phaedo*, where the soul is described as « most like the divine and immortal and intellectual and uniform and indissoluble and ever unchanging » [33]), he took a significantly different orientation from which so much future thinking was to derive, regardless of the difficulties, not always grasped by his followers, in which he found himself by regarding νοῦς as a single changeless essence. His difficulty arose from the fact that in human thinking νοῦς would have to be involved in mutability, and in numerous embodiments. Quite apart from the fact that νοῦς had lost the familiar self-evidence which it had for Plato the creativity of its active side made it a more difficult object to know in itself.

In the course of treating the dilemma of whether intellectual knowledge is through likeness or unlikeness he twice refers to the possibility of νοῦς knowing itself. The first of these passages [34]) that « when mind has become the several groups of its objects... the mind is then capable of thinking itself », is a notorious aporia [35]). The second is less difficult to understand : νοῦς can think itself as an object without thinking up any νοητόν : its immateriality and openness to itself allows this direct knowledge.[36]) But this self-knowledge is only one case of intellectual knowledge, and the two allusions are no more than asides : for Aristotle's followers they proved tantalisingly difficult to interpret; for eclectic and neo-Platonist thinkers of the future, very pregnant suggestions.

Aristotle's resolution of the dilemma is in two parts. Firstly that there must be in intellectual knowing a continuity and identity between thinker and object of thought, which alone makes thinking of an object possible. So νοῦς, in knowing its proper objects, transcends the distinguishability of itself from its object. It does this by itself making the intelligibility, creating the νοητόν. This intelligibility, this νοητόν, is then « received » by a passive part of mind which then becomes the object through the unification which is made possible by their likeness; and so « speculative knowledge is the same as its

[33]) *Phaedo* 80 B : Professor ARMSTRONG has translated ἀεὶ ὡσαύτος as 'always in the same relation to itself' ('Studies in Traditional Anthropology I Plato', *Downside Review* 201, Vol. 65, July 1947, p. 238).

[34]) 429 b 5-10.

[35]) Cf. BARBOTIN, *op. cit.*, p. 142 ff.

[36]) 430 a 2-4.

object ».[37]) Secondly, in this process the dominating power of mind is also preserved : without the process of creating the νοητόν, the subsequent identification would not be possible. The dilemma is given a solution — though further dillemmas are created.

The key passage is in chapter V. Here the process of knowing is described in the languages of physics and craftsmanship. The receptivity of mind is likened to the potentiality of matter to receive form, under the influence of a cause. In this case the creativity of the agent intellect is the cause (τὸ ἄιτιον καὶ ποιητικόν), which is also described as an art (τέχνη) [38]). Here the account produced the problem which harassed future commentators, not less than Aristotle himself. He wished to develop his insight that νοῦς created its intelligible objects. That and the use of physical analogy would mean that unless mind and knowledge were identical and self-causing, there would have to be a division in νοῦς itself. νοῦς then would be imperfectly united with the rest of the human personality. He goes on to opt for this separate existence [39]), and thereby creates a division in the personality.

Following the precedent of Plato, but with a much more scientific precision, he makes another physical analogy in terms of a composite image drawn from light.[40]) Careful physicist as he was Aristotle knew that light did not reveal objects in their true colours, but was really the condition of their being any colours in the object : no light, no colour. So with the power of mind : no intellectual creativity, no intelligibility. Whatever things are in themselves, they *become intelligible* and graspable only by a thinker. And as the colour lasts only as long as the light, so the intelligibility only whilst the activity of the mind is given to the objects (or to a remembered phantasm of them). The mind has to make its object first in order to become it; there is no question here about how the intelligible object begins the process of thinking. No sense-experience is said to prompt the creativity of νοῦς.

We turn to the teaching of *Metaphysics* XII and particularly

[37]) 430 a 4-5.

[38]) 430 a 12.

[39]) « When isolated it is its true self and nothing more, and this alone is immortal and everlasting », 430 a 22-23.

[40]) « Mind... is a kind of positive state like light; for in a sense light makes potential into actual colours », 430 a 15-17.

chapter 9. It should be noted that the well known early dating of this work by W. Jaeger [41]) is no longer uncritically accepted; it is even dated as late and contemporary with the *De Anima.*[42])

Some of the teaching of this book is parallel to that of the *De* Anima. In chapter 7 there is the same conception of the union of thinker and object in a passage which includes a section on self-thinking relatable to the first allusion of *De Anima* 4 : « And thought thinks on itself through participation in the object of thought; for it becomes an object of thought by the act of apprehension and thinking, so that thought and the object of thought are the same » [43]). It goes on, in different language, to make the same distinction of *De Anima* III, 5 between νοῦς as actualising and as potential : « that which is receptive of the objects of thought, i.e. essence, is thought (νοῦς). And it actually functions (ἐνεργεῖ) when it possesses this object. Hence it is actuality rather than potentiality that is held to be the divine possession of rational thought » [44]).

But *Metaphysics* sees the activity of thinking set in the context of a cosmos in which everything is moved by a desire for an eternal,

41) In 'Aristoteles, Grundlegung einer Geschichte seiner Entwicklung', Berlin 1923, translated as 'Aristotle, Fundamentals of the History of his Development' by R. Robinson (Oxford 1948), pp. 220 ff. and 342 ff. (chapter XIV).

42) Chronological considerations would no doubt assist the unravelment of textual differences. On the scholarly investigation of chronology the most recent accounts are two by R. A. Gauthier.

i) Chapter I of volume I of 'L'Éthique à Nicomaque, Introduction, Traduction et Commentaire' by E. A. Gauthier and J. Y. Jolif, Aristote : Traductions et Études, Louvain and Paris, 2nd edition 1970. Note 90 (pp. 36-7) gives the position on the dating of the *Metaphysics*, and p. 37 gives a special bibliography on the dating of Book XII 'the nerve point of the chronology of the *Metaphysics*'.

This is in some respects surpassed by

ii) the first chapter of the brief 'La Morale d'Aristote' (Paris 1973).

It would be a mistake to think that all of the discrepancies in Aristotle can be reduced to chronological considerations. Even if the texts are completely authentic there remains the possibility of a later modification of an earlier text.

I. Düring cautiously remarks that he is no longer certain that a chronology can be worked out for the psychological writings : 'The deeper the psychological writings are gone into, the more clearly can traces of working over (Überarbeitung) be seen'. ('Aristoteles, Darstellung und Interpretation seines Denkens', Heidelberg 1965, p. 561). However he commits himself to the view that the *De Anima* in its present version is 'the latest and most mature'.

43) XII, 7, 1072 b 20-21.

44) *Ib.* 1072 b 21-24.

first unmoved mover, and thought and human desire are no less subject to that condition. « The object of desire and the object of thought (τὸ ὀρεκτὸν καὶ τὸ νοητόν) move without being moved... thought (νοῦς) is moved by the intelligible (ὑπὸ τοῦ νοητοῦ) » [45]). The *De Anima* account was not interested in the arousal of thinking by desire or any application of a power of willing — except perhaps when a knowledgeable man chose to use the knowledge he already had. It is possible to read an aspect of willing into the conception of mind as dominant, but it would be sufficient to see this dominance as being an aspect of mind's transcendence.

The more ontological account of *Metaphysics* does not coincide with the subjective account of *De Anima* in the area where they overlap : the inner motivation of thinking. The *De Anima* leaves the impression that thinking was a dynamic spontaneously creative process which creates the object of thought, like itself and thereby absorbable. *Metaphysics* makes it appear that the object of the mind is already made for it, and that it moves towards the intelligible object under its desire. Commentators are therefore faced with a task of locating the desirability of the νοητόν within the *De Anima* analysis. A text in *De Anima* I which attributes the power of thought in itself to a separable and more divine mind, and « thinking, loving and hating » to the « individual which possesses the mind » does not help us, because the activity of love (φιλεῖν) does not belong to the divine, creative mind.[46]) Perhaps — though it is not explicitly said — the supra-temporal and divine transcendence of νοῦς is such that it can timelessly call the νοητά into being and yet, being also immanent in man subject to time, allow it to appear that the νοητόν attracts the νοῦς. But if we take the texts in the way in which they stand now the later dating of *Metaphysics* XII actually highlights the inconsistency.

b) *The relationship of thinking to willing.*

We see then that the question of the priority of intellect or will arises in Aristotle himself : in different works, but in the same epistemological question and in writings which modern research has supposed to be quite contemporary. But this should not be regarded as historically the first emergence of a will metaphysic. Nor is it appropriate to the age or the spirit of Aristotle to press for a complete

[45]) *Ib.* 1072 a 26-27, 30.

[46]) 408 b 18-30.

schematic and systematic reconciliation of the phenomena of thinking and desire. There is a much discrepancy in the two accounts as there is between the place of thinking and the more transcendent aspects of ἔρως in Plato : indeed the similarity is very striking. The phenomenon of will was well-known even before the time of Plato and Aristotle. Mondolfo has written on the place of the will in ancient philosophy.[47]) He relates the ὄρεξις in Aristotle to ἔρως in Plato; and he finds the element of will in the presence of judging, and (a common place of Greek thought known to go back to Xenophanes) the need of a will to overcome difficulties in order to come by knowledge. Hamelin has also examined the place of the will in Aristotle in whose moral teaching he points out that to live virtuously means having a will to keep the mean.[48]) And he suggests that there is a radical difference with Aristotle from the position of Socrates (and Plato) that virtue was knowledge alone.[49])

Commentators today who try to reconcile the *De Anima* III account with the *Metaphysics* XII account are the successors of the early commentators who found the same problem. Theophrastus, Aristotle's successor, wrote that « to submit the act of νοῦς to a different mover is absurd (ἄτοπον)... unless the mover is another νοῦς » [50]), and he aligns himself with the position of the *De Anima* : « it is in the soul (ψυχή) (that these movements have) their source (ἀρχή), their activity and their end » [51]). From this it appears that the difficulty of reconciling the positions was seen from the earliest times, and the tone of the first quotation suggests that Theophrastus had assumed the mantle of Aristotelian orthodoxy against Platonist deviationism. Hamelin quotes Themistius as making the will prior to the intellect in the sense that, as Aristotle himself said, thought accompanies willing.[52])

47) In the second chapter of his 'La Comprensione di Soggetto Umano nell'Antichità Classica', Florence 1958 : 'The Will as a Condition of Consciousness and the Actual Conception of the Cognitive Processes'. It is abundantly clear from this book that it is quite out of the question that a will metaphysic begins with Augustine, as is sometimes supposed.

48) 'La Morale d'Aristote', *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale* 30 (1923), p.499.

49) *Ib.*, p. 503. His proposal that will is necessary so that νοῦς παθητικός can conform to the pure thought of the νοῦς ποιητικός (*ib.*) is very questionable.

50) Fragment VI in Barbotin, *op. cit.*, p. 258. 'Absurde' is Barbotin's translation.

51) Fragment XIII, *ib.*, p. 272.

52) 'La Théorie de l'Intellect d'après Aristote et ses Commentateurs', Paris 1953, p. 41.

What lies behind the divergences of these two texts is more than the relative priority of νοῦς or will in coming by intellectual knowledge for the first time. Later systematisers were concerned with this question of course but with wider ones : how would will and knowledge be interrelated together in any human action ? Would this take place consecutively, or would they interpenetrate ? Aristotle gave attention to these matters but he did not draw the lines with the sharpness which eclectics, neo-Platonists and even Augustine and later Christian writers thought necessary. For the boundaries they drew with firm, though not necessarily rough, hands had little in common with those tentative but penetrating perceptions of the elusive interplay of mind and will in deliberation and choice in *Nicomachean Ethics* III, 2 and 3. Neo-Platonists derived their teaching on the relations of will and νοῦς rather from the hypothesis that ultimately they would coincide than from what they found as the supposedly illusory world of sense experiences. Augustine found it necessary to bind together coincidently *intellectus* and *amor* or *voluntas* in the substance of the human *mens*, which neo-Platonism had bound together only in transcendent νοῦς. This was not only stylistically far from the view of Aristotle with his awareness of the problematic of their distinctness. But so great was his esteem for the sheer creative power of νοῦς, that it is difficult to be certain that it was against his spirit to pursue to the limit his insights on its nature and activity and its irradiation over everything else.

The Divisions used by Aristotle and their significance

It is impossible to describe the invisible νοῦς in words which are not primarily designed for material objects. The advantage of meaningful communication must override the disadvantage of limited application. Aristotle's position has been well expressed by Barbotin : [53])

> « At the bottom of all of these discussions the same fundamental difficulty is found : how to express with the help of terms borrowed from physics — passion, alteration, movement — realities of a quite different order : that of thought. Already the notions of natural science are so elaborate that they have to be severely corrected to be able to be transposed and correspond to the demands of their new objects. Of course, some such necessity

[53]) *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

exists for whoever takes up the problem of knowledge : unless concepts are employed which belong to common experience, it is impossible to begin the metaphysics of mind (*esprit*). Aristotle's method reveals in a striking way the continuity of the real and at the same time the very strong feeling for the difference of thinking. »

The break in style with Plato in its description of the soul could not be more striking. The use of terminology from Physics, and the rejection of the resources of myth was meant to shock the readers both by the unusualness of the notions and the pureness of the resulting conceptions. Later neo-Platonists took the point of the spiritualisation of these conceptions rather than their materialisation. The choice of a new way was in every sense deliberate.

Nuyens and Mondolfo have both examined the critique of Plato implicit in this choice and offered differing judgements on its success. So Nuyens writes :

« It has been seen that (Aristotle) had adopted on his own account the Platonic theory of the parts of the soul... In the passage which concerns us he tries to combine this theory with the new conception of the soul-entelechy, even in the case of man ».[54])

But to Nuyens it was impossible to have the whole soul as ἐντελέχεια and νοῦς with a transcendent function.

« If the soul is in its entirety substantial form, even in man, what then is νοῦς ? This question arises in many places in the *De Anima*. Related to the origin of man, it brings Aristotle to a dilemma without any way out. » [55])

Mondolfo sees the problem in a more sanguine way. The categories to which Aristotle turned enabled him to solve problems which Plato could not solve :

« The critique of the tri-partite division of the soul made by Plato led Aristotle to substitute the concept of faculty for that of part, that is to say, to relate it to a unitary idea of the soul, by interpreting its different activities as degrees of a progressive development ». [56])

[54]) *Op. cit.*, p. 214.
[55]) *Op. cit.*, p. 236.
[56]) 'L'Unité...', p. 359.

A faculty of judging, found in the more empirical structure [57]), is a « rudimentary form of the mediation between sense and intelligence which provides a means of surmounting the difficulties which arose in Plato's psychology, whose rigid divisions did not explain how the soul could apply to sensations the categories of existence, identity, distinction ».[58])

Mondolfo proposed to relate the sense-power involved in judgement with the interior sense of Augustine.[59]) As we shall see, Aristotle's account of this sense, subsequently known as the « common sense », provided Porphyry in particular with a model for an integrated subjectivity structure at the level of the highest hypostases.[60])

Some of the problems which go with these divisions have already been pointed out : in *De Anima* III, 5, the receptivity of νοῦς is made analogous with matter, and its certainty compared with a technique. The Platonic notion of ἔρως has been transferred into the more sense-based ὄρεξις.

Yet the distinction within νοῦς between what makes and is impassive and eternal, and what becomes its object and is mortal, does not stay as a purely formal division. As in the material world an efficient cause is distinct from that on which it operates, it is hardened into a division which is perplexing; not how the two can yet be one, but how the one νοῦς can yet be two. We have here the age-old problem of the transcendence or immanence of νοῦς; and to anticipate, it is both.[61])

[57]) I.e. the aberrant structure of *De Anima* III discussed above, p. 108 ff. and the *Parva Naturalia* structures below, p. 125 ff.

[58]) 'L'Unité...', p. 365.

[59]) These relationships are discussed later.

[60]) Porphyry explicitly models his noetic on the common sense. *Commentary on the Parmenides* fr. XIII, 23 ff. V. P. Hadot, Porphyre et Victorinus II, Paris 1968, pp. 108 and 109.

[61]) It should be possible to distinguish between νοῦς in its human embodiments which needs to make all things, and νοῦς in its separate existence where the need to create νοητά presumably does not exist. But the content of the separate divine νοῦς is not clear : even in the *Metaphysics* XII account there is room for a divergence of views. The νοητά already exist and attract the desire of embodied νοῦς. Whilst the ultimate principle — νόησις νοήσεως νόησις (1074 b 34-35) — is normally taken as a divine thinking, intent on nothing but itself, the identification of νοητά with νοῦς (ἡ νόησις τῷ νοουμένῳ μία : 1075 a 4-5) could allow the complete incorporation of all intelligibles into the divine, which Albinus made. (Though it should be noted that Plotinus later made this incorporation as a *critique* of νοῦς's self-thinking. Cf. *Ennead*

The divisions of Aristotle serve his opposition to Plato's epistemology of reminiscence-innateness; he insists on the fact of learning anew and on the creativity of intelligence. The problems which have been discussed so far are principally concerned with the question « how is νοῦς prompted to produce from sense experience the means of knowing things in their intelligible universality? » While both of Aristotle's theories concur in the fact that νοῦς and νοητόν are identical in act, the Plato-like perspective of *Metaphysics* gives a place to will through the place of the desire, while νοῦς in *De Anima* seems to move under its own creative spontaneity. Both fall in with the view that knowledge is to be created, not to be found in the soul, innate and ready made. But the distinctions between νοῦς and ψυχή, between νοῦς that makes all things and νοῦς that becomes all things, even between νοῦς immanent and νοῦς transcendent, are only impressionistically transcended in the interest of maintaining the unity of the human personality. So we are left with divisions and unity : not out of the desire to propose a paradoxical unity in diversity, but because of the insolubility of the questions posed.

a) *Subjectivity. How the mind knows itself?*

It is now necessary to look more closely at the two ways described in *De Anima* III, 4 [62]) in which mind may know itself.

The first refers to the possibility of self-thinking in the context of becoming learned : « But when the mind has become the several groups of its objects... the mind is then capable of knowing itself. » [63])

There is no reference here to the preceding scattered sentences to what has been described as an aberrant structure [64]) : it refers

V, 1, 9 where he proposed that Aristotle ought to have extended the noetic cosmos to embrace the lower movers and indeed everything; also *ib.* 5, 2 : the νοητά must not be sought for outside νοῦς.) The content of the divine νοῦς in *De Anima* III is less easy to discern. As making all intelligibles, how would it not know them ? Yet, « when isolated it is its true self and nothing more », without memory (430 a 22-24). PLOTINUS's conception that in contemplating the One and itself, νοῦς produced the νοητά by a kind of overflowing is a formula of reconciliation of self-thinking with the creation of intelligibles, yet the timeless union of νοῦς with νοητά keeps the thought within Aristotelian orthodoxy.

62) Cf. above, p. 113.

63) 429 b 5-10. W. D. Ross does not entertain the need to consider the question of self-knowledge here : 'there would be no point here in a reference to self-knowledge' ('Aristotle de Anima', Oxford 1961, p. 292).

64) Cf. above, p. 109.

purely to intellectual knowledge, to knowing in itself. As the passage identifies thinking with the divine activity it is certainly necessary to keep in mind its transcendence. Though the context is of the embodied νοῦς which comes to know « the several groups of its objects », in this at least something like, perhaps something identical with, the divine state of full self-knowing arises. That intellectual activity is always of its nature self-conscious is not exactly stated, but is the presumption. The creation of intelligibilities is the condition of mind's awakening to itself, quite apart from the fact that there are inferior forms of self-awareness, which are not properly intellectual. The general principle is given in the context of the attainment of learned knowledge as the achievment of a stable and coherent area of knowledge gives a man a sense of the extending of his own capacity and is the best experience for an understanding of the power which has has made that extension possible. How far the « then » (τότε) should be taken is not clear from the text : the flow of argument as it stands is that in exercising acquired, habitual knowledge, νοῦς is able to think itself, because it has become its potential objects, and these have become mind itself. In thinking its νοητά which it has created it is in fact thinking itself because of its identity with them. It is not knowledge of itself as the contemplation of an essence. νοῦς is an intensely pure activity which becomes completely identified with the objects which it itself makes. But in reducing its nature to such a vanishing point, at which self-knowing and object-knowing are identified, paradoxically the spiritual transcendence of this existent is enhanced, not tainted.

The second case of self-thinking is when mind deliberately turns its attention on itself; here its timeless transcendence must to some extent be lost, because of the need of deliberation. It might be argued that the principle stated here could extend to the case of νοῦς thinking of another νοῦς, which might be the divine νοῦς :

« (νοῦς) is also itself thinkable, just like other objects of thought ».

Its objects are νοητά, and are known because they are made identifiable with itself. « For in the case of things without matter that which thinks and that which is thought are the same, for speculative knowledge (ἐπιστήμη ἡ θεωρητική) is the same as its objects. » [65])

[65]) 430 a 2-5. Again Ross's commentary has no reference to the question of self-knowledge.

The mode of identity is described a little later in a way from which exact parallels with sense knowledge are a long way away :

> « The soul, then, acts like a hand ; for the hand is an instrument which employs instruments, and in the same way the mind is a form which uses forms, and the sense is a form which employs the forms of sensible objects. » (Literally, « ... the forms of forms... the form of sensible objects' » : εἶδος εἰδῶν ...εἶδος αἰσθητῶν [66]).

There is a substantial identity of conception between the first of these passages in the *De Anima* with a passage in *Metaphysics* : « And thought (νοῦς) thinks itself through participation in the object of thought (αὐτὸν δὲ νοεῖ ὁ νοῦς κατὰ μετάληψιν τοῦ νοητοῦ) ; for it becomes an object of thought by the act of apprehension and thinking, so that thought and the object of thought are the same, because that which is receptive of the object of thought, i.e. essence (οὐσίας), is thought (νοῦς). » [67]) The first sentence states unequivocally what we had supposed in *De Anima* III, 5 : that object-thinking is at the same time self-thinking.

And the text continues with an expression which seems nearest to the *De Anima* account : « Hence it is actuality (ἐνεργεῖ) rather than potentiality (το δεκτικὸν) that is held to be the divine possession of rational thought » [68]). Activity is the characteristic of thinking in itself, but the exteriority of its object (in the *Metaphysics*) introduces the place of desire and potentiality in what is not divine.

But to return with this parallel idea to the *De Anima* account. Self-knowledge, as an activity of νοῦς and supposedly a perception of its unity with itself, would fall foul of the division between actualising and receptivity : though it does not create its own intelligibility anew, as it is already intelligible and open to itself, it has to be received « just like other objects of thought » ; and if so, as the neo-Platonists suggested, the unity would be lost, and the absolute unity of thought with itself in self-knowing would exist only on the divine side of a noetic divide. But let us accept the impressionistic surmounting of this divide and assume that thought and self-thinking can at least be the intermittent activities of their human embodiments. A man may

[66]) III 8, 432 a 1-3.

[67]) 1072 b 20-23. In his notes on lines 18-21 and 18 Ross regards this thinking as being 'of the divine νοῦς itself' only : Aristotle's Metaphysics, Oxford 1924, II, p. 379.

[68]) 1072 b 23.

think of himself in two ways : as the thinker whose consciousness of intelligible objects coincides with his own consciousness — because it is his consciousness which creates them and he knows his thinking in the same creative act; and in turning his thought upon himself, and here he knows his thinking directly because his mind is an immaterial object and present to itself in a way like the unity of νοητόν with νοῦς. The first may be said to be a normal feature of subjectivity; the second a more occasional one. The first discloses the basic quality of thought's own self-reflection, the second, by being more direct is fittingly more divine, but of its human embodiment Aristotle's analysis could not reach the simple unity he sought.

The aberrant subjectivity structure of *De Anima* III, 2, 4 and 7 [69]) has qualities in it which are more fully detailed in three other texts, where they are not in conflict with other reflections on the nature of sensitive self-consciousness or, excepting the *Nicomachean Ethics* [70]), of the transcendent quality of thought in itself. Passages in the *De Sensu et Sensibilibus* 7 and *De Somno et Vigilio* 2 have a much more clearly drawn-up statement on the existence of a centre of sense self-consciousness which is also a coordinator of sensations than the scattered references in the *De Anima*. The first of these, like that in *De Anima* III, 2 involves awareness of time, though as a concomitant of continuous sensation, not in the fact of simultaneity. The other text, in *Nicomachean Ethics* IX, 9, brings thinking together with sensation in this centre of self-consciousness, inviting comparison again with the passage in *De Anima* II [71]) which links thinking with sensation in the co-ordinating sense.

[69]) Cf. *supra*, p. 109 and n. 23. The texts are here listed after the *De Anima* in such a way that if this arrangement were taken as chronological it would agree with the line of reasoning of I. Block in his 'Order of Aristotle's Psychological Writings' for the priority of the *De Anima* against Ross and Nuyens (*American Journal of Philology*, 1961, Vol. 82, p. 50 ff.). And the text from the Ethics has been added as a culmination. (Though the aberrant structure in the *De Anima* adds complications which would have to be faced in a study of chronology based on the conception of the emergence of a teaching into clarity and into a systematic form.) He makes his case from a principle of supposed progressivity, and a common sense inspection of the texts. But that Aristotle did have a 'regression' in his thinking is often supposed : e.g. to his earlier Platonism (by Hamelin throughout 'La théorie de l'Intellect d'après Aristote et ses Commentateurs', Paris 1953) and to an earlier scepticism about the immortality of the soul in his middle years (by Gauthier, 'Introduction...', p. 49).

[70]) V. *infra*, p. 127 and the significance of 1177 b 26-28.

[71]) 426 b 23.

In the *De Sensu et Sensibilibus* 7 there is a continuous centre of self-consciousness, not focussed on to the simultaneous discernment of identity between diverse impressions at a point in time, but on the continuity of self-awareness through the passage of time. This text goes so far as to associate self-consciousness with time-consciousness that any objective criteria for time are for the moment forgotten. « For if, when a man perceives himself or anything else in continuous time, it is impossible for him to be unaware of his existence, and if again in continuous time there can be a time so short as to be quite imperceptible, it is clear that during that time he would be unaware of his existence, and of the fact of his seeing or perceiving » [72]). So there is an inner sense which is together self-conscious, object-perceiving and *pari passu* time-conscious; and time is the medium, the element, without which any knowledge is impossible.[73]) The text then goes on to make this inner sense responsible for the inter-relation of diverse simultaneous perceptions : « the general faculty of perception

[72]) 448 a 26-30.

[73]) Time in Aristotle is not purely 'the number of motion' (ἀριθμὸς κινήσεως : *De Coelo* I, 279 a 15), nor can it be completely accounted for by the fact that we explain time and uniform motion by each other (*Physics* IV, 220 b 22-24). According to A. J. Festugière, the *Physics* makes a distinction between the before- and afterness of time and time itself, and makes the numberability of bodies moving in time depend on the existence of a numberer ('Le Temps de l'Ame selon Aristote', in *Études de Philosophie Grecque*, Paris 1971, p. 205. This formally appeared in the *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, 1934, part I). A text of *Physics* IV would justify him in thus making a distinction between physical and psychic time : 'if nothing can count except consciousness (ψυχή), and consciousness only as intellect (not as sensation merely), it is impossible that time should exist if consciousness did not' (223 a 25-27). According to Aristotle, all experience under the 'first heaven' must involve place, void and time (*De Coelo* I, 279 a 11-12), and if that is related to the fact that the whole of nature so constituted, moves with the desire of God and mind tries to relate itself to all nature in order to know it and also to number it, it is possible to see that time for Aristotle involved a 'distension of the soul'. The idea of Augustine, deriving from Plotinus's conception of ψυχή's government of the material world, may, in turn go back to Aristotle. The duration of time is thus exposed as the element in which human activity must take place. J. M. Dubois ('Le Temps et l'Instant selon Aristote', Paris 1967) more lengthily expounds a thesis near to that of Festugière : '(Aristotle's idea) puts the concept of time between movement and the soul, the balance is delicate' (p. 8). The effort of R. Jordan to contravert Bertrand Russell's view that Augustine's conception of time was subjective and solipsistic would more profitably have drawn from Aristotle than opposed him (v. 'Time and Contingency in St. Augustine', in *Review of Metaphysics* 8, 1955, p. 414).

is one and the same numerically but one in its being... So that simultaneous perceptions would be possible with a part which is one and the same, but not the same in conceptional relation (λόγῳ) » [74]). The text is a degree clearer and more satisfactory system-wise than the *De Anima* texts, and it goes a considerable way towards drawing up a total subjectivity structure of man in his sensitive powers. Mondolfo makes this comment on it :

> « Aristotle considers self-consciousness or consciousness of one's own existence always present and continuous in the subject; and it is in the constant and indefatigable presence of self-consciousness, which is quite unique and identical, that he finds the solution to problems concerning the possibility of cognitive relations between different impressions, without having to fuse them into a unique sensation which would make comparison and distinction impossible. » [75])

In the *De Sommo et Vigilio* II Aristotle makes in stronger terms the formal identity between the inner sense which is self-conscious and the inner sense which correlates different sensations. It should be noted that though this work refers to *De Anima* III as to a work completed, its assertion of the existence of a « common » sensitive power which has the further characteristic of self-consciousness is at variances with the denial in *De Anima* III, 2 of the existence of a power distinct from the external senses in which self-consciousness arises. « There is also a common faculty associated with (all the senses) whereby one is conscious that one sees and hears (for it is not by sight that one is aware that one sees; and one judges and is capable of judging that sweet is different from white not by the taste, nor by sight, nor by a combination of the two, but by some part which is common to all the sense organs; for there is one sense faculty and one paramount sense organ...), and this is closely associated with the sense of touch » [76]).

One would like to say that a text in the *Nicomachean Ethics* IX, 9 is the logical development of Aristotle's theory of the common sense anticipated in *De Anima* III, 2, 4 and 7, as here he brings thinking specifically into a subjectivity structure much like that of the *De*

[74]) 449 a 16-20.

[75]) 'L'Unité...', pp. 361-2.

[76]) 455 a 15-20.

De Sensu et Sensibilibus 7 and *De Somno et Vigilio* 2... « and if one who sees is conscious that he sees, one who hears that he hears, one who walks that he walks, and similarly for all the other human activities there is a faculty that is conscious of their exercises, so that whenever we perceive, we are conscious that we perceive, and whenever we think we are conscious that we think, and to be conscious that we are perceiving or thinking is to be conscious that we exist (for existence, as we say, is sense perception or thought (*αἰσθάνεσθαι ἢ νοεῖν*)... (then)... is (a man's) friend's existence also desirable. ... Therefore a man ought also to share his friend's consciousness of his existence » [77]).

Mondolfo comments that not only does Aristotle assert here « the identity between human existence (i.e. the fact of being alive) and the consciousness of sensing and thinking... still more he identifies enjoyment and love of life with the enjoyment and love of knowledge, that is of feeling and thinking which are sensations of feeling and the intention of thinking, in other words of self-consciousness » [78]) But in the absence of indications to the contrary we are not justified in saying any more that the *Ethics* IX puts forward here a theory of human cognition unambiguously individual. One is not justified in presuming that here we have a final view of the relationship between thinking and consciousness any more of the *De Anima* III, 4 and 5 and the *Metaphysics* XII. The coincidence of the descriptions here with the subjectivity structures nucleating on the common sense merely emphasises the differences between the two series of opinions, for the question of the nature of thought does not arise at this point. It does so later and in a way which coincides with the teaching of the other series : « (the life of *Θεωρία*) will be higher than the human level : not in virtue of his humanity will a man achieve it, but in virtue of something within him which is divine. » [79]) The texts of the *De Anima* and the *Nicomachean Ethics* in their existing state, the former seeing thinking primarily from its transcendent standpoint, the latter primarily from a human standpoint, both witness through the diverse subjectivity structures they contain, to the impossibility which Aristotle found in relating the distinct quality of mind to its embodiment.

[77]) 1170 a 29 - b 11.

[78]) 'L'Unité...' p. 377-8.

[79]) X, 8, 1177 b 26-28.

Mondolfo sees the connections between this interior common sense in Aristotle and the « sensus interior » in St. Augustine, and also the views of both on self-awareness.[80]) His proposal that there is a neo-Platonist mediation of Aristotelian ideas to Augustine's is the same as that which will be examined in detail in this study; and we shall find that Augustine did achieve a coherent structure of subjectivity which critically subdued Aristotelian transcendent ideas on νοῦς, rigorously developed regardless of his empirical views by neo-Platonists, to an unequivocally individual structure which included sense and intellectual knowledge.

b) *The different structures of self-knowing in Aristotle.*

It is striking that we have here not one structure of subjectivity, but at least four. And the possibility of discovering others should not be ruled out.

i) From *De Anima* III (and *Metaphysics* XII) in which it is claimed that the thinking of intelligible objects is the condition of self-knowing in the sense that the self is thus opened up to itself. From the *Metaphysics* comes the clarification that all thinking is at the same time self-thinking. In the form in which it occurs in *De Anima* it contributes to the answering of the dilemma : how can mind have at the same time dominance over and continuity with the object of thought? If we wished to find an element of will here we would have to look at the fact of mind's dominance, though that could be seen as no more than the speculative power of mind. This structure looks upon νοῦς as having the creative power of bringing intelligible reality into existence, and a passive power of absorbing this creation completely into itself. The distinct, divine nature of νοῦς and its « return » to the separated state of its existence on the death of the person raises the problem of the unity of personality (as well as personal immortality).

[80]) 'L'Unité...', pp. 365, 378. For the 'sensus interior', v. *De Libero Arbitrio* II, 3, 8 : 'ad quem ab istis quinque notissimis cuncta referantur'. As a parallel for self-awareness Mondolfo gives *De Civitate Dei* XI, 26 : 'nam et sumus et nos esse novimus, et nostrum esse novimus, et nostrum esse ac nosse diligimus'. Better texts would have been 'se sentire sentiret' (*De Libero Arbitrio* II, 4, 10) for sense knowledge, and 'notitia qua se mens novit, si esse desinat, simul et illa nosse (aliorum) desinat' (*De Trinitate* IX, 4, 6) for intellectual knowledge. It is in terms of this last statement concerning intellectual knowledge that the mediation of Aristotelian ideas via neo-Platonists to Augustine is most evident.

ii) From *De Anima* III when νοῦς chooses deliberately to think itself. It needs no material object as an intermediary — that is from which to create its intelligibility, for this is itself an act. A will element may be seen in the choice to think of the self, perhaps even in complaisance in this self-thinking. However, the will is not made a part of a triadic or polyadic structure. This kind of self-thinking is really an answer to a subsidiary question in the *De Anima* : « how is self-thinking possible ? »

These analyses are not mutually exclusive, but they are not identical, being different approaches to the same activity.

iii) The noetic structure of *Metaphysics* XII which can not be accomodated to them. It suppose νοῦς to be moved by desire and not by its creative spontaneity. In giving this formal place to the will a loosely triadic structure of object — will — understanding is proposed.

Together, these three structures refer only to νοῦς. They are to differing degrees triadic in so far as the will plays a part in them.

iv) From the *De Sensu et Sensibilibus* 7 and *De Somno et Vigilio* 2 comes the proposal of a continuous self-consciousness, arising together with time-consciousness in the common sense. In the *Nicomachean Ethics* IX, 9 thinking is proposed as also existing within this continuous self-consciousness ; and these positions seem to be the fulfilment of themes in *De Anima* III, 2, 4 and 7. The resulting structure is complete at the cost of omitting to include the activity of thought as it is in itself. An order of systematic development of these positions can be worked out, but not much confirmed from the point of view of chronological study.

So in addition to the irreconcilability of the structures of *De Anima* and *Metaphysics*, supposed by some commentators to be approximately contemporary, we have further irreconcilabilities between them and the *Parva Naturalia* and *Nicomachean Ethics*. It would be expecting too much of chronological research to distinguish finely between the *Parva Naturalia* treatises themselves ; indeed the differences over the nature of common sense would normally be taken as the means of making out the chronological relationship between them. Quite possibly chronology does not enter into the question, but only the intractability of material being handled. On the present state of the evidence it does not seem possible to say with certainty whether Aristotle moved forwards or backwards between the positions of a separate self-consciousness for each sense and a central self-conscious-

ness. That thinking was of its nature self-conscious and timelessly transcendent (as in *De Anima* and *Metaphysics*), but that the human-embodied νοῦς was only exercised intermittently and only intermittently engaged in self-contemplation, would prevent it from being the centre of a personal self-consciousness, in which the common sense relates to each other experiences *in time* of either temporally simultaneous or successive sensations and, in the structure of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, of thinking as well. Torn between the nature of thought in itself which Aristotle supposed to be timeless [81]) and the need of a centre of consciousness, somehow coincident with man's essence, what suffered was the unity of mind and body. For how could timeless thought satisfactorily integrate the temporal succession of experience; how could it even necessitate — as only time could — the unity of different perceptions of the same object, which came with the different sense powers? For Aristotle saw time as the necessary medium of sense experience. True, the sight would see and the ear hear an exterior regularity by which time could be measured, and there would be no measuring — the act of ψυχή not νοῦς — unless an interior sense supposed the temporal instantaneity of diverse sensations. But this subjectivism of time and the timeless nature of thought itself and its declared unlikeness to sensations made the desired structure elusive.

If we may look ahead we can find that the subjectivity structure of Augustine's *De Trinitate* had a counterpart to the timeless self-thinking of pure thought in its continuity of intellectual self-consciousness (in the inner « se nosse » : always present, and having to be adverted to, rather than arising when the creativity of mind awakes). Probably Augustine's conception came from a conflation of the division thinking-sensation with a division of inner and outer [82]), in which continuous self-knowing, self-loving and self-remembering were thought of as being at the inner centre of intellectual life. The rest of sense experience was interrelated in the *memoria*, which took over the integrating functions of the common sense, and in which, perhaps untidily but convincingly, intellectual and sense elements co-existed.

Before and after Augustine Aristotelians have tried to bring these four possible subjectivity structures into a coherent whole.

[81]) *De Anima* III, 5, 430 a 23.

[82]) Known to him as found in St. Paul as well as in Plotinus, but also see below (chapter IV) on this psychology.

This is probably an impossible task. The pre-occupations of each are different. The co-presence of each gives a better, if not final, account of the human subject which, bafflingly, has some functions proper to mind itself and others which belong to body and soul together. Hylemorphism is primarily a philosophy of unities not dualities ; of informed matter not of matter *and* form, and, in intention, of embodied soul, not body and soul. The incentive which led Aristotle with his theory of soul as ἐντελέχεια to assert such a complete unity of soul and body was his failure to relate human noetic structures with all the others. It seemed to him that nothing but the most rigorous unity would save his analysis of the human subject from dividing into two unrelatable parts, but this only heightened the incongruity between the characteristic noetic activity of νοῦς and its presence in a human body. As Nuyens writes :

> « In the final period, the soul is considered as the entelecheia of the body and is united in this capacity in the closest way possible to matter ; thence the possible consideration of it as soul or as mind (*esprit*) is brought forcibly to the attention of the philosopher, who makes this the principle problem of his psychology. The soul is inseparably united to the body ; it is born with it and perishes with it, or to be precise : it is not the soul, nor the body which is born and perishes, but the living being, whose form (or soul) and matter (or body) are the principle constituents of the substantial order. But the mind itself is immaterial and eternal, that is, unengendered and imperishable. Aristotle did not reach a satisfactory synthesis of the soul and the mind in the human personality. νοῦς for him is a « residual phenomenon » whose reality he always recognises ; but which he will not succeed in linking with the other principles of his psychology. He asked the question about νοῦς ; he did not answer it. » [83])

The confession of failure which Aristotle himself expressed in the *De Generatione Animalium* makes it impossible not to accept Nuyens' interpretation of the texts :

> « That is why it is a very great puzzle to answer another question, concerning νοῦς. At what moment, and in what manner, do those creatures which have this principle of νοῦς acquire their share in it, and where does it come from ? This is a very difficult problem which we must endeavour to solve, so far as it may be solved, to the best of our power. » [84])

[83]) *Op. cit.*, p. 58-9, cf. p. 313.

[84]) 736 b 5-8 : it is considered a late work.

Contrary to what is often taken for granted, Aristotle did not draw up a simple and all-embracing subjectivity structure, and in consequence not only is the self of self-knowledge a disunited subject : the ways to self-knowledge have to follow its unfortunate division.

(to be continued)

EDWARD BOOTH

Augustine's « Visio Intellectus » and Perceptual Error

Any well-drawn epistemology has to come to grips with error sooner or later [1]). St. Augustine attempts a well-drawn epistemology, but there is something peculiar about his analysis of perceptual error. On one hand it looks as though the five "well-known messengers of the body" — the senses — are passive faculties and, thus, are not the sources of error (for they are not engaged in active judgment). On the other hand, the active faculty which judges — *visio intellectus* — seems to be incorrigible [2]) and, thus, cannot be the source of error. Since this eliminates two obvious candidates it is difficult to determine what Augustine thinks the source of perceptual error is. My central purpose in this paper is to trace Augustine's analysis of error and to argue that, contrary to the generally accepted view, Augustine must have thought that *visio intellectus* is the source of error.

Augustine's Analysis of Error : Augustine's most mature discussion of error is found in *De Genesi ad Litteram* Book XII.

> However, the soul is deceived by the similarities of things, not through any fault of things, but through fault of the soul's supposition when, because of a deficiency of the intellect, it takes things which are similar (i.e., it so takes things which are similar to *other* things). The soul is deceived in bodily vision when it supposes that what actually arises only in the bodily senses arises in things themselves, or when it supposes one thing to be some (other) thing which is of similar color, or which sounds or tastes or feels similar, or when the soul, having been disturbed by sudden and unanticipated bodily sights, supposes that it is dreaming or supposes that it is affected by a spiritual vision in another way [3]).

[1]) One important element in Augustine's positive account of perception is memory. I discuss error in memory in "Augustine's Theory of Factual Memory" forthcoming in *Augustinian Studies*.

[2]) See, for example, Vernon Bourke, *Augustine's Quest of Wisdom*, Bruce Publishing Company (Milwaukee, 1945) p. 244.

[3]) *De Genesi ad Litteram*, XII, 25, 52.

Augustine begins his discussion of error with a general statement of what he takes error to be. Mistaken belief seems to be exclusively the fault of the believer, rather than the fault of whatever the objects of belief are. Augustine anticipates Descartes in maintaining that we are not deceived by objects when we err but, rather, that we are deceived in our judgment of objects in that we judge in terms of a standard of which we have inadequate knowledge. We judge inadequately when we take one object to be another object because of a similarity between the two. The simple formula for error, on Augustine's account, is : Taking one thing for another [4]).

Augustine considers specific conditions that would serve to generate error in judgment based upon the testimony of the senses) His examples will be familiar to contemporary readers. There are stationary objects which appear to move when viewed from moving vehicles and oars in water which appear to be bent. According to Augustine we make such errors in judgment because we suppose that the things we are seeing have all of the qualities that they *seem* to have. For example, a bent oar is *similar* to an oar in water.

There is a second source of error in such judgments that is, again, familiar to contemporary readers. In this second case I suppose that I am seeing one object when, in fact, I am seeing a different object, not because the object seen lacks a property which I think it has, but because it has a property which is similar to a property that a different object has. Identifying the properties leads me to suppose that the *object* is something other than it is. Again, Augustine's examples are familiar : Thinking that a pot of wax is a pot of beans; Hearing the rumble of a cart and supposing it to be thunder. This kind of error highlights Augustine's assertion that the perceiver is the sole source of error [5]).

Augustine's third source of error is not commonly discussed by modern writers. In this case I see something that is so strange that

[4]) Presumably, the similarity in terms of which the error is made may be a real or an imagined one. However, if it is only an imagined similarity it looks as though error may be explained in terms of a further error — mistakenly thinking that there is a similarity between two objects when there is none.

[5]) In his earliest discussion of error, in *Contra Academicos* and in *Soliloquia*, Augustine's analysis depended upon false objects as the source of mistaken. He soon came to recognize the difficulties of this view, particularly as an analysis of perceptual error. (For example, it seems clear that when I see a false object I am seeing something and I am attributing correct properties to that thing.)

I suppose I am dreaming or hallucinating. We are more accustomed to dealing with the problem just the other way around. — as when I dream and suppose that I am awake. However, although the contemporary epistemologist may be concerned with Macbeth's dagger, which is seen even though it is not there, Augustine is concerned with Siegmund's sword, which is not seen even though it is there.

Augustine's analysis of hallucinations and dreams centers on *visio spiritualis* rather than *visio corporis*. Again, we see that error is the taking of one thing for another, but this time it is taking an image of an object to be an object. "Bodies themselves are not in the mind at all when we conceive them, but only their likenesses; thus when we take the latter for the former we err. ..." [6]) "In animal vision, that is, among the likenesses which the mind sees, the mind is deceived when it judges those things seen in this way to be bodies themselves. ..." [7])

Augustine's Problem : But this is where the problem for our understanding of Augustine arises, for we may wonder just what it is that errs in these latter kinds of error. Since error is explained in terms of some inadequacy on the part of the perceiver, the source of error in corporeal matters (taken very broadly so as to include supposing that a dream demon is a real demon, for example) ought to be bodily sight, animal vision or intellectual vision. One or some combination of these would be the likely candidate for the source of error in perception because one or a combination of these is the source of veridical experience.

Consider each sort of error in bodily sight first. In the bent-oar case what the bodily sight reports to the animal vision is a bent-oar-appearance. It reports a bent-oar-appearance when the oar is bent or (obviously) when the oar only seems to be bent. Animal vision is required to generate an image. However, all that animal vision has to work with *vis a vis* the *content* of the image it generates is what the bodily sight reports. So, when the bodily sight reports a bent-oar-appearance a bent-oar-image is produced. When a cart rumbles past, the bodily hearing reports an uninterpreted rumble-seeming to *visio spiritualis* [8]). In the animal sight an image of rumbling is

[6]) *De Trinitate* IX, 11, 16.

[7]) *De Gen. ad Lit.* XII, 25, 52.

[8]) One must remember that *visio spiritualis* is not restricted to the treatment of visual sensations for Augustine; it plays a role in the other bodily senses as well.

generated but it is, again, uninterpreted. It is presented to the intellectual vision as rumbling, not as cart-rumbling or thunder-rumbling. The third case (supposing that a genuine experience is a dream) is similar to the first two cases, since a report of the body is again generated into an image in animal vision. Here, however, there is no quality of the image to be mistaken. This example indicates that neither the bodily sight nor animal vision is the source of error. The bodily sight accurately reports the state of the corporeal world. The animal vision accurately represents the report. The mistake is in our judging that this accurate representation of the world is, in fact, an hallucination or a dream. The judging faculty is *visio intellectus.*

The second kind of error discussed above further establishes intellectual vision as the source of error. When I dream or hallucinate, bodily sight plays no role at all. Images are generated in animal vision which are not the result of reports from the bodily senses. These images are taken to be reports about the corporeal world — but they are not so taken by animal vision, since animal vision does not take anything to be anything — they are so taken by *visio intellectus.* It is this highest faculty, then, that *must* be the source of error in judging.

Non-Perceptual Error : It is not only in judging the corporeal world that we make mistakes. We also err when we judge whether an act is just or a thing is beautiful or what the sum of two and two is. Augustine discusses this kind of error as well, error which involves those realities which are *supra mentem.*

> ... In intellectual vision this [the soul] is not deceived; either it understands and ... [what it understands] is true; or else if ... [what it understands] is not true, it does not understand; thus, it is one thing to err in what the soul sees, and another thing to err because it does not see [9]).

One way to take this passage is to suppose that intellectual vision is in some sense incorrigible. It cannot be incorrigible when judging corporeal states of affairs since it is the source of mistaken judgments in corporeal matters. Augustine might hold that when *visio intellectus* is attending to its proper objects (eternal truths) it either sees them or it does not see them, understanding when it sees, failing to understand when it fails to see (rather than when it sees poorly).

[9]) *De Gen. ad Lit.* XII, 25, 52.

There is reason to suppose that Augustine was prepared to grant incorrigibility to *visio intellectus* in making some judgments: That I exist, for example, or that I will to be happy. However, incorrigibility for *visio intellectus* would seem to be ruled out by the recognition that intellectual vision is the source of errors in judging the corporeal world and by the recognition that we can be mistaken in what we take to be justice, beauty and so on. These sorts of knowledge claims are independent of experience of the material world. Unfortunately, this raises a problem for Augustine. The analysis thus far, — that we err with *visio intellectus* when we do not see what we think we see — does not tell us *why* we think we see what we think we see.

Augustine suggests a solution to this difficulty in *De Magistro*. He considers the process of learning eternal truths, "Things ... which we perceive through the mind ...." [10]) Such things are inner and their understanding is essentially inner. Thus, the person who learns does so through his own efforts of contemplation, rather than through anything he is told, for he "... knows of that which I speak by means of his own contemplation, not through my words." [11]) This analysis is adequate for positive cases, when both teacher and student agree immediately about what an eternal truth is. But what happens when two people disagree about an eternal truth? At least one of them will be wrong, and it is in dealing with this sort of case that we would expect Augustine to come to grips with the problem of error in our knowledge of eternal truths.

> Now if it often happens that the person questioned denies something, and is forced by other questions to affirm what he denies, this arises because of a defect in his vision in so far as he cannot consult that light about the whole affair. He is advised to do it part by part when he is questioned by one step after another about those very parts of which the whole consists, which he is unable to see as a whole [12]).

Visio intellectus errs in contemplating eternal truths, then, when it takes a part of the truth to be the whole truth. One need not put too much weight upon the notion of "part of the truth" in order to see Augustine's point. His doctrine of illumination helps us to see that

[10]) *De Magistro*, 12, 40.
[11]) *De Mag.* 12, 40.
[12]) *De Mag.* 12, 40.

the parts of eternal truths that are seen by the erring inner-man are not portions of eternal truth but, rather, are qualities which eternal truths exhibit.

I think that what Augustine intends here can best be understood by considering an analogous case for seeing material objects with the physical sight. A poorly illumined object will be seen, perhaps, as only an outline. As the illumination either increases in intensity or improves in quality (for example, lighting the front surface of the object rather than the top) more of its qualities become apparent. To return to intellectual vision, the mistake made when we have an incorrect notion of an eternal truth is to suppose that partially apprehending an eternal truth is apprehending a whole eternal truth, and that apprehending an eternal truth wholly is to apprehend all of its properties clearly.

We can see, then, that for Augustine error as well as understanding are essentially inner [13]), that the analysis he offers for error (the taking of one thing for another) applies to all cases, and that the seat of judgment, *visio intellectus*, is the source of error.

Bruce S. Bubacz.

13) For a treatment of the inner nature of understanding for Augustine see Bruce Bubacz, "Augustine's Dualism and the Inner Man" forthcoming in *The Modern Schoolman.*

Halley's Comet of 374 AD

New Light upon Augustine's Conversion to Manicheism*

From ancient records we know that a large, luminous shape suddenly made its appearance in the heavens early in the year 374 of the present era. Undoubtedly this eerie apparition caused widespread apprehension, as well as all kinds of speculation as to the possible significance of so unprecedented a phenomenon. However, as a result of Edmund Halley's work in the eighteenth century, we now know that that particular celestial apparition of 374 was but another visit by what has come to be known as Halley's comet. Yet it is noteworthy that even with the periodic nature of comets thus established to the satisfaction of the modern mind, their impact upon human speculations continues to be great nonetheless. In this regard, it is necessary only to recall the veritable ferment of predictions fostered by the sighting, late in 1973, of the comet, Kohoutek. How much greater therefore would have been the impact of such phenomena in antiquity, long before electric lights had blinded man to the majestic grandeur of the starry vault and in an age when the entire cosmos was permeated with awe and mystery.

Though the great Augustine of Hippo (354-430) was twenty years of age when the comet of 374 appeared in the heavens, he makes no explicit mention of this awesome apparition in such of his writings as are extant. Nevertheless, it is quite impossible that the phenomenon

* The author wishes to express his indebtedness to Dr. Bryan Andrew of the Astrophysics Branch of the National Research Council of Canada, whose invaluable assistance and enduring interest have made possible the present study. He was also assisted by Dr. Lorne Avery who attended to the appropriate intricacies of the computer programming. Je tiens aussi à remercier mon collègue, M. Guy-H. Allard, et l'Institut d'études médiévales de l'Université de Montréal pour le chaleureux accueil qu'il m'a accordé et pour toutes les ressources qu'il a mises à ma disposition durant mon année sabbatique. Finally, by the oddest of coincidences (as I realised only in retrospect), it is noteworthy that the present study was begun in 1974, or the sixteenth centenary of the appearance of the comet in question.

escaped his personal attention. Indeed, as the present study testifies, the unprecedented event was an important ingredient in his serious decision to abandon the Catholic beliefs in which he had been raised, and to adopt the religion of the Manichees [1]). Appropriately enough, this sect was especially concerned with the heavens and even worshipped the sun and moon as divine envoys from a Kingdom of Light [2]). It can therefore be appreciated that the members of this religion, far more than any of their contemporaries, would have imputed supreme significance to the sudden, unheralded appearance of a large luminous body in the heavens.

In its own way the present study is the converse of evidence presented elsewhere [3]) for Augustine's final break with the Manichees. There, the appearance of darkness (through the fulfilment of predicted solar eclipses) was seen as an important ingredient in Augustine's growing disillusionment with Manicheism. Here, it is the appearance of light (in the form of Halley's comet of 374), which is portrayed as having led him into that religion in the first place. Not only therefore, does the present study also complement the first, but there is seen to be a certain inexorable logic involved, considering that Manicheism was concerned above all with the worship of Light.

To the modern mind, it may seem rather far-fetched that Augustine's involvement with Manicheism was so dependent upon what transpired in the heavens. Part of the reason for such puzzlement is that the modern mind has little appreciation of the all-pervasive influence of the stars upon human conduct in former ages. Particularly through the widespread art of astrology, the tyranny of the stars extended down to the most trivial details of people's lives [4]). Such influence was all the more pronounced in the case of Augustine in that his temperament inclined him to consider the beauties of the heavens as being of their very nature, far beyond comparison with any earthly beauties [5]).

[1]) *Confessions* (hereafter : *Conf.*) 3.6-12.

[2]) *Contra Faustum* 14.11-12 & 20.1-4. *Cf. Conf.* 3.6.10.

[3]) Leo C. Ferrari, *Astronomy and Augustine's Break with the Manichees*, — *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 19 (1973) 263-276.

[4]) *Cf.* Franz Cumont, *L'astrologie et la magie*, chapter 7 in his *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, Paris, 1906. As Cumont points out in that chapter, the tyranny of the stars extended even to such mundane matters as decisions about taking a bath or going to the hair-dresser.

[5]) Thus, in the *Soliloquies* he has Reason address him as follows : "You are not

Comets, of all the heavenly bodies, were especially recommended to the attention of the ancients, both by reason of their eerie appearance and because they seemed to obey none of the cyclic laws which governed the various other denizens of the starry vault [6]). Their sudden, unheralded appearance in the sky was therefore a source of widespread solicitude. Thus, Manilius, in his *Astronomicon*, sees comets as presaging plagues and war [7]). Again, Seneca remarks ironically that the particular comet which appeared during the reign of Nero did much to take away the bad reputation associated with comets [8]).

However, while the general populace regarded comets as omens of impending evil, it is pertinent to present considerations that the Manichees would have had good reason for rejoicing over the sudden appearance of a comet in the sky. They regarded the sun and moon as divine beings and worshipped them as envoys from the Kingdom of Light [9]). We can suppose therefore that they would have had a similar attitude to the unannounced appearance of a luminous comet in the sky. A special envoy was being sent from the Kingdom of Light, thus confirming the faith of the believers. Rather than being apprehensive, they had every reason to be jubilant. We may suppose that it was this rejoicing that brought them to the attention of the inquiring Augustine at the time of the appearance of the comet of 374.

Now the first requirement of such a hypothesis involving Halley's comet of 374 concerns chronological accord. In this regard, it is required that Augustine's conversion to Manicheism would have followed soon after the appearance of the comet. The second requirement of the hypothesis would be significant details in Augustine's own description of his conversion. Such details would at least intimate that the apparition of the comet had been an important factor in his decision to embrace the religion which worshipped light.

The first factor in the matter of chronological accord is the

so much delighted by the earth and her beauty, as by the beauty and magnificence of heaven." (*op. cit.* 1.11). *Cf. Conf.* 4.3.5.

[6]) It is noteworthy however, that certain of the ancients ventured so far as to speculate upon the possible cyclic recurrence of the comets. Such seems to have been the case with SENECA, *Naturales Quaestiones* 7.3.1 and PLINY, *Naturalis Historia* 2.23.94.

[7]) *Op. cit.* 1. 809 ff.

[8]) SENECA, *op. cit.*, 7.17.2.

[9]) See footnote 2.

question of the precise dates of the year 374 when Halley's comet would have been visible to the naked eye of an observer at Carthage (where Augustine was then living). Regarding these and other characteristics of that visitation by Halley's comet, I can do no better than quote from the description so kindly provided by Dr. Bryan Andrew, with the assistance of Dr. Lorne Avery at the console of the computer :

> It was first visible to the naked eye from Carthage about March 1 (Julian time), reached maximum brightness April 1 and had faded from view around the end of April.... The Chinese first spotted it on March 4 and saw it as late as May 2. ... At its brightest, it was at transit (*i.e.* due south) around midnight, and was moving from lower left to upper right across the sky at about 12 or 13 degrees per day (looking due south at midnight). ... Between March 29 and April 4 the tail swung from being horizontally to the right (west) through vertical to horizontally left (east). The tail could have extended 40 or 50 degrees. At brightest the comet-head was about as bright as the brightest planets (*i.e.*-3^m). [10])

The second factor in chronological accord is that of the precise date of Augustine's conversion to Manicheism. Here, the question of importance is whether that conversion followed soon after the previously described visitation of Halley's comet. In qualifying this last statement (and at the risk of appearing somewhat arbitrary) it can be said that in terms of human time-reaction, the term "soon" would seem to imply a period of less than one year after the comet. With increased passage of time, the impact made by the celestial visitor would have inevitably faded from consciousness.

Regarding next the date of Augustine's conversion to Manicheism, we do at least have his own account of that event as recorded in the

[10]) Dr. Bryan Andrew, Radio Astronomy Section, Astrophysics Branch of the National Research Council of Canada (Ottawa), in a personal letter dated 23 September, 1974 (file : 3103-1). According to the same source, the comet facts are based on the work of T. Kiang (*Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society* 76 (1972) 27-66), who computed the orbits from Chinese records. Likewise with gratitude to Dr. Andrew, the brightness data are from S. K. Vsekhsvyatskii, *Physical Characteristics of Comets*, translated by NASA and the Israel Program for Scientific Translations, 1964, NASATTF-80, OTS 62-11031, IPST Cat. No. 808 (available from Office of Technical Services, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, 25, D.C.). Dr Lorne Avery (also of the Astrophysics Branch of the NRC of Canada) ran the computer program which turned the numbers from Kiang into usable data.

pages of the *Confessions*. There, it appears as the outcome of an intense desire for an other-worldly wisdom — a desire which was inspired by the reading of Cicero's book: *Hortensius*. As Augustine informs the reader, the discovery of that important book occurred in his nineteenth year [11]). Since Augustine was born on November 13, 354, by present methods of reckoning age, that information means that he discovered Cicero's book between November 372 and November 373 [12]). Now recalling the information presented above, Halley's comet would have been visible from Carthage about March 1, 374. The two significant events therefore possess an impressive proximity to one another.

However, while Augustine informs the reader of the *Confessions* that the discovery of Cicero's *Hortensius* occurred in his nineteenth year, he does not indicate just how long after that event he embraced the Manichean religion. In this regard, that distinguished Augustinian scholar, John J. O'Meara sees the intervening period as merely a few days [13]). However, concrete evidence for so short an interval does not seem available. Indeed, the sequence of events in the *Confessions* would seem to indicate otherwise. In working from such indications however, it is well to bear in mind Courcelle's well-founded warning that the chronology of the *Confessions* is neither linear nor uniform [14]). Nevertheless, an examination of the text would seem to provide some idea of the time-interval between the Hortensius episode and the conversion of Augustine to Manicheism.

In the first place, it is noteworthy that that conversion is portrayed

[11]) *Conf.* 3.4.7, *De beata vita* 4 and *Soliloquia* 1.17. It is also noteworthy that the *Hortensius* may have contained some significant reference to comets. However, since the text is not extant, this aspect cannot be investigated. Again, influence in the same direction from other works of the Cicero (who was so much admired by the young Augustine) is not to be excluded. Thus, in another work (*De natura deorum* 2.5.14), CICERO points to comets as one of the four principal reasons for the formation of the idea of the gods in the minds of men. However, as yet we do not know whether Augustine had already read this work by the time of the appearance of the comet in 374 AD.

[12]) In his *Recherches sur les Confessions de saint Augustin* (Paris, 1950) Pierre COURCELLE reckons the interval as extending from November 373 to November 374 (*op. cit.*, p. 78). This would have been even more convenient for the purposes of the present paper. However present methods of computing age would indicate the time-interval in my text.

[13]) John J. O'MEARA, *The Young Augustine*; *The Growth of Augustine's Mind up to his Conversion* (Longmans) 1954, p. 61.

[14]) COURCELLE, *op. cit.* pp. 43-6.

by Augustine as the outcome of a movement initiated by the reading of the *Hortensius*. Thus, that book awoke in Augustine's ardent young soul an intense desire for wisdom. Here however, Augustine's earlier religious training manifested itself, for the only thing that restrained him from being content with Cicero's notion of wisdom was that the name of Christ had no place there [15]). Next therefore, he turned to the Scriptures in an effort to satisfy his newly-awakened yearning for wisdom [16]). Being of too proud a disposition at that stage, he did not profit from such reading in the way that he should have, but looked further for some means of honouring Christ and simultaneously satisfying his thirst for wisdom. At that stage the Manichees trapped him (as Augustine puts it) by pretending to cater to both of his needs of that time [17]).

As far as present considerations are concerned, the question of importance is how long did that intervening study of the Scriptures last. Considering that Augustine wrote the *Confessions* at about the age of forty-three, or a little later, this would mean that he was writing of his first venture into scriptural studies about a quarter of a century after the event. To have been significant in such a perspective, and at such a range, the interval would seem to have involved at least some months, rather than a few days. Somewhat the same conclusion would seem to be indicated by Augustine's own choice of words in describing the abortive venture : "Itaque institui animum intendere in scripturas sanctas" [18]).

On the other extreme, there is the possibility that that first venture into scriptural studies lasted more than one year. This would seem to be excluded however, by another place in the *Confessions* where Augustine seems to be saying that he was already a Manichee at the age of nineteen, or that very same year in which he discovered Cicero's *Hortensius* [19]). However, as far as the present hypothesis

[15]) *Conf.* 3.4.8.

[16]) *Conf.* 3.5.9.

[17]) *Conf.* 3.6.10. *De utilitate credendi* 1.2., where Augustine likens himself to a bird who had been trapped by the Manichees.

[18]) *Conf.* 3.5.9. It is noteworthy that Augustine uses similar words on another occasion where it would seem to have been question of more than a mere few days inquiry. Thus he says (*Conf.* 5.14.25) of his attempts to disprove the beliefs of the Manichees : "Tunc vero fortiter *intendi animum*, si quo modo possem ... manichaeos convincere falsitatis." *Cf. Sermo* 51.4-5.

[19]) *Conf.* 4.1.1.

is concerned, this possesses the unfortunate implication that Augustine would have already been converted to Manicheism *before* the arrival of the comet of 374.

One way of dealing with this difficulty would be to point out that Augustine would have been a mere four months into his twentieth year when he first witnessed the comet of 374. Writing of the event a quarter of a century later, it would have been legitimate to say that he was more nineteen than he was twenty at the time. Then again, as has been already pointed out by Courcelle, Augustine is not always consistent with the known facts in designating the length of time during which he was a Manichee [20]). One other way of dealing with the difficulty is by an examination of the language with which Augustine describes his own conversion to Manicheism, with a view to detecting any possible effects of the comet of 374. The next step is therefore to examine Augustine's own accounts of his conversion.

Interestingly enough, one does not have to read far in his account of that event in the *Confessions* before the celestial ingredients become manifest. Thus, writing of what the Manichees offered him he says :

> On these dishes there was set before me, in my hunger for you, the sun and the moon, beautiful creations of yours, but nevertheless creations of yours and not you yourself, nor indeed the first of your creations. For your spiritual creations are before these physical creations, heavenly and shining (*lucida et caelestia*) as they are [21]).

One can only conclude that the young Augustine was quite impressed by the Manichees' preoccupations with the heavens. Indeed, a little further along, the description contains yet more of the same :

> But they in those dishes of theirs kept on putting before me glittering fantasies (*phantasmata splendida*), and it would be better to love the actual sun, which is real to our sight at least, than those false fantasies which make use of the sight to deceive the mind [22]).

Significantly too, much earlier in life, when describing the effects of the *Hortensius* upon him, Augustine again alludes to his venture into Manicheism with more celestial imagery :

[20]) Courcelle, *op. cit.* p. 78. See also, Leo Charles Ferrari, *Augustine's 'Nine Years' as a Manichee*, — *Augustiniana* 25 (1975), 210-216.

[21]) *Conf.* 3.6.10.

[22]) *Ibid.*

> I was inflamed [by the *Hortensius*] by such a great love of philosophy that I considered devoting myself to it at once. Yet I was not free of those mists (*nebulae*) which could confuse my course, and I confess that for a while I was led astray (*in errorem*), with my eyes fixed upon those stars that sink into the ocean (*labentia in oceanum astra*) [23]).

This remarkable extract states quite literally that Augustine considered himself to have fallen into the error of Manicheism because he had paid too much attention to the stars in the heavens. The explanation acquires factual veracity if he had in mind the comet of 374 and its impact upon his search for wisdom.

Apart from such extracts which bear explicitly upon his conversion to Manicheism, there are many other passages in Augustine's writings which emphasise his preoccupation with what transpired in the heavens [24]). To list all such references would be a vast undertaking indeed and beyond the scope of the present study. Suffice it merely to draw attention to Augustine's own acknowledgement in one of his earliest works that he himself practised daily contemplation of the stars [25]). Furthermore, much later on in life, by the time that he had come to the writing of one of his mature works, he had become convinced that the unique upright stature of the human animal was a sign that it was divinely ordained to frequent contemplation of the heavens [26]).

There can be no doubt that the Augustine who was thus so profoundly impressed with the grandeur of the heavens must have imputed a singular significance to the unheralded arrival of the eerie apparition embodied in the comet of 374. Indeed, as has been seen, both chronological accord of that event with his conversion to Manicheism, as well as certain allusions in his own descriptions of that conversion all constitute circumstantial evidence that it was that unprecedented event in the heavens which led him into the Manichean religion.

Admittedly, evidence so far adduced for this hypothesis is at

[23]) *De beata vita* 1.4. (dates from 386, about 14 years before the *Confessions*.)

[24]) Thus, "I was an eager student of the books of those who make horoscopes" (*Conf.* 4.3.5.). *Cf. Soliloquia* 1.4.

[25]) *Contra academicos* 1.22. *Cf.* Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* 11.27.

[26]) *City of God* 14.4, 11 & 27; 22.24. The image is apparently derived (with some word-play upon "rectus") from *Ecclesiastes* 7.29.

best circumstantial. Essentially, it has been a matter of bringing together evidence which would seem to substantiate the hypothesis. This process is what the ancients would probably have termed the *via inventionis*. Evidence of another kind could be provided by use of the complementary process of what is known as the *via judicii*. In this, the hypothesis is assumed to be true and becomes a means of explanation. If it is found that the hypothesis explains certain facts which cannot be explained, or cannot be so well explained, without the hypothesis, then as an improved medium of explanation it must be accorded a higher level of respect.

In the case of what may here be termed my "Halley's Comet Hypothesis," such is indeed seen to the case with respect to two mysterious allusions which have hitherto disquieted certain Augustinian scholars. The enigmatical allusions make sense in the light of the above hypothesis.

The first such allusion is found in the continuation of a previously cited text (from the early *De beata vita*), concerned with the Hortensius episode and its aftermath. Because of its importance to present considerations, the extract will be quoted at length :

> From the age of nineteen, having read in the school of rhetoric that book of Cicero's called *Hortensius*, I was inflamed by such a great love of philosophy that I considered devoting myself to it at once. Yet I was not free of those mists which could confuse my course, and I confess that for quite a while I was led astray, with my eyes fixed on those stars that sink in the ocean. A childish superstition (*superstitio quaedam puerilis*) deterred me from thorough investigation, and, as soon as I was more courageous, I threw off the darkness and learned to trust more in men that taught than in those that ordained obedience, having myself encountered persons to whom the very light, seen by their eyes, apparently was an object of highest and even divine veneration [27]).

The enigmatical allusion to "a childish superstition" which deterred Augustine has caused scholars quite some concern. As R. Jolivet puts it : "on a hésité sur le sens de ces mots" [28]). Jolivet then proceeds to explain the strange allusion through the influence

[27]) *De beata vita* 1.4.

[28]) *Œuvres de Saint Augustin*; *IV Dialogues Philosophiques* (Bibliothèque Augustinienne) Paris, 1948, p. 289.

of the blind faith of Augustine's Catholic childhood- a faith which later terrified him and tore him away from the study of philosophy. A somewhat similar explanation is proposed by Alfaric [29]).

It might have been possible to discount those few enigmatical words of Augustine's, except for the fact that they recur in the same context (of his induction to Manicheism) in Augustine's later work : *De utilitate credendi* :

> For, what else forced me for almost nine years, during which time I rejected the religion which my parents had implanted in me as a child, to follow these men [i.e. the Manichees] and diligently to listen to them, save that I was terrified by superstition (*superstitioni terreri*) [30]).

Courcelle sees this second allusion to superstitious terror in the above context as throwing light upon the first one in the *De beata vita*. As the very initial wording of Courcelle's explanation suggests, however, it is again an explanation involving an arbitrary assumption, and which for all that still fails to remove the disturbing quality from Augustine's strange allusions. Thus, Courcelle's explanation proceeds as follows :

> Il faut croire que, dans l'entourage d'Augustin, certains catholiques s'étaient inquiétés de sa curiosité intellectuelle à l'égard des livres saints qu'il venait d'ouvrir; ils avaient jugé comme un irrespect à l'égard de l'autorité religieuse l'éveil de son esprit critique [31]).

Again, in this explanation Courcelle has made use of Augustine's first attempt at studying the Scriptures, as mentioned in the *Confessions* [32]). Though this study does intervene between the Hortensius episode and Augustine's conversion to Manicheism in the previously mentioned context, it hardly seems justified in attempting to explain Augustine's enigmatical allusions to "superstitious terror". On neither occasion when Augustine makes this strange allusion is there any reference to scriptural studies to be found in the same context. Again,

[29]) Prosper Alfaric, *L'évolution intellectuelle de Saint Augustin*, I, Paris, p. 70, note.

[30]) *De utilitate credendi* 1.2. This work dates from 391, which is five years after the reference to "terror" in the *De beata vita*.

[31]) Pierre Courcelle, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[32]) *Conf.* 3.5.9.

it is difficult to see how Courcelle's explanation accounts for the fact that that same "superstitious terror" induced Augustine to follow the Manichees for some nine years, as his previously cited extract informs us that it did.

Finally, all the previous attempted explanations are very tame ones compared with the violence implied in Augustine's allusions to "superstitious terror". It is obviously question of some unique event which seized Augustine with a consuming fear and dread, which inspired the enigmatical allusions well over a decade later. So much then for the attempts at explaining these mysterious allusions of Augustine. The explanations are based upon certain assumptions which do not seem to be warranted either on the basis of the context or on the language employed by Augustine himself.

On the other hand, the mysterious allusions to "superstitious terror" would seem to be much more satisfactorally explainable (and together lose their enigmatical character) in the light of the "Halley's Comet Hypothesis." It would appear that the unannounced arrival of that eerie apparition in the sky over Carthage in March, 374, struck terror in the heart of the young Augustine. The Manichees claimed not only to be able to explain that unprecedented phenomenon, but also to be able to account for it as an envoy of hope rather than of impending doom. It seems that it was this claim which was a powerful factor in the young Augustine's decision to join that sect of which he remained a member for some nine years.

Such being the presumed course of events, then the sudden arrival of the comet would have intruded upon the young Augustine's search for wisdom — a search initiated only a little earlier by the reading of Cicero's *Hortensius*. Augustine's resulting terror from the comet's eerie intrusion upon the accustomed order of the heavens would have jolted him into another line of inquiry which was to lead him into Manicheism, or the religion which (appropriately enough) worshipped Light. And all this transpired because of the young Augustine's fascination with the heavens; a fascination which was to accompany him through life.

The above postulated chain of events would seem to be clearly implied by Augustine's own words in the description of his interrupted quest of wisdom in the aftermath of the Hortensius episode :

> Sed neque mihi nebulae defuerunt, quibus confunderetur cursus meus; et diu fateor, quibus in errorem ducebar labentia in

> oceanum astra suspexi. Nam et superstitio quaedam puerilis me ab ipsa inquisitione terrebar [33]).

Finally, granted the validity of the "Halley's Comet Hypothesis", there is a certain fittingness to the initiation and to the termination of Augustine's Manichean sojourn. It seems that he was led into the sect in the first place by its claim to be able to explain an unprecedented eerie apparition in the heavens over Carthage in 374. In the end, it appears that he became disillusioned with the same religion when it could not compete with the science of his times in predicting the solar eclipses of 378 and 381 [34]). Augustine's fascination with the heavens therefore appears to have been a decisive factor in his relations with the Manichees.

Leo Charles Ferrari.

[33]) *De beata vita* 1.4.

[34]) Leo Ferrari, *Astronomy and Augustine's Break with the Manichees, — Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 19 (1973) 263-276.

Augustine and Ambrose

The Loyalty and Singlemindedness of a Disciple

It is relatively easy, and not unimportant, to assess the influence of one man on another by pointing to quotation or allusion in the works of the younger or dependent writer. No less important, but much harder to discover, are the ways in which one man can affect the habits of mind in another, and influence the course of his career. Augustine read and recycled the written statements of his master Ambrose, certainly; but that cannot describe exhaustively the relationship between them [1]). It persisted in deeper ways throughout Augustine's life, and did much to give it purpose and coherence.

They lived in an age when the experience of discipleship and patronage was central to the lives of educated men. What Ambrose may have thought of Augustine is almost impossible to tell; but Augustine regarded Ambrose, without a doubt, as master. Such a relationship had to develop within a setting, of which a variety was available — public duty, rhetorical training, the pursuit of philosophy (and in all these both Ambrose and Augustine had gained experience) —; but it is the possibility of relationship (between master and disciple) within the setting of the ascetic life that prompts the argument suggested here. Ambrose and Augustine were both ascetics; and the younger bishop averted specifically to the asceticism of his senior [2]). I have argued already, in a preliminary way, that the episcopal authority of both men owed something to the authority exercised by ascetic masters [3]). Hence they became involved, as bishops, in two important developments of the time: the gradual assertion of that authority over ascetic communities (as opposed to individuals); and the creation of an ascetic literature — apophthegmatic, legislative

[1]) Peter BROWN, *Augustine of Hippo* (London, 1967), pp. 86-7; see also F. VAN DER MEER, *Augustine the Bishop*, trans. BATTERSHAW and LAMB (London, 1961), pp. 570f.

[2]) AUGUSTINE, *Confessions*, VIII, vi; probably also *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae*, xxxiii (70).

[3]) 'The Spiritual Authority of the "Monk-Bishop" ', *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. xxii (1971), pp. 380-419.

and hagiographic (authority in documented form). The further questions now to be pursued are whether the relationship between them can be seen as part of those developments, and what enduring effect it had on Augustine himself.

To begin, a look at some clues that arouse interest and suspicion : take first the *Confessions*. A chief reason why Augustine became disillusioned with the Manichees (so he suggests himself) was their failure to establish a convincing hierarchy of authority; a failure on the part of older men to initiate a constructive tradition of teaching that would satisfy and persuade those who sought their advice. Augustine saw himself trapped by the social habits of discipleship. He says of one leading Manichee, 'I was prepared to trust rather in his authority on account of his reputation for sanctity' [4]). He persisted in his hope, when the opportunity occurred to hear the great Faustus (a hope frustrated) : 'I was disappointed that, with his flock thronging round him, I was not allowed to address him and put the questions that troubled me and discuss them as man to man and with comment back and forth' [5]).

This intimate dialogue was precisely that enjoyed by many a desert ascetic in Egypt. Equally striking, the *Confessions* present Ambrose in exactly the same way. He is God's 'holy oracle' (although Augustine could extract from him only the briefest statements). There is the same desire for access, and the same frustration. Augustine 'could not ask of him what I wish as I wished' : throngs of people who had business with Ambrose separated Augustine 'ab eius aure atque ore' [6]).

Evocations recur when Augustine approaches Simplicianus : 'He was now grown old; and it seemed to me that from a long lifetime spent in so firm a following of Your way he must have experienced much and learned much. And truly so it was. I hoped that if I conferred with him about my problems he might from that experience and learning show me the best way for one affected as I was to walk in Your path' [7]). Such a statement, perhaps less polished, would not have been out of place in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. Note, however,

[4]) *Conf.* V, v. All quotatious from the *Confessions* are in the translation of F. J. Sheed (London, 1948).

[5]) *Ibid.* vi.

[6]) *Ibid.* VI, iii.

[7]) *Ibid.* VIII, i.

the context of his remarks. Simplicianus recounts in reply the conversion of the rhetor Victorinus, with its emphasis on (among other things) the need to discover and express religious faith within a public ritual ('I shall not believe it nor count you among Christians unless I see you in the Church of Christ'). [8]) It was precisely within such a setting that Ambrose, preaching to assembled Christians in Milan, first impressed Augustine — a reminder (and more must be said below) that authority was to be sought for and responded to within a community [9]).

So much for the *Confessions*. Given the parallels here to the world of desert hermits, it is interesting to examine one of the ways, at least, in which Ambrose's influence appears to have persisted in Augustine's life. There is an important reference, in the *Vita* by Possidius, to the way in which Augustine used to repeat sayings of Ambrose (the apophthegmata of a master preserved by his disciple) [10]). His anxiety to safeguard the memory of the Bishop of Milan went further : he virtually commissioned Paulinus to write his biography [11]). Bearing in mind these loyal desires (so traditionally expressed), it is fascinating to catch Augustine sometimes thinking of Ambrose. Look, for example, at his Letter xxxi, to Paulinus of Nola. He refers to the 'loquacissimae quaestiones' of pagans, to which Paulinus was able, he says, to offer (like many a sound hermit) 'explicatissima ... responsa'; and he describes the 'pectus' of Paulinus as a 'Domini oraculum', echoing exactly the phrase he had used about Ambrose in the *Confessions* ('de tam sancto oraculo tuo pectore illius') [12]). Letter xxxi and the *Confessions* are certainly near-contemporary texts; and the serious question arises whether these two passages might not have been written on the very same day, for Augustine, in Lettre xxxi, prompted as it were by his own allusion, immediately goes on to speak of Ambrose [13]). A slightly different example of

[8]) *Ibid.* ii.

[9]) *Ibid.* V, xiii; VI, iv.

[10]) Possidius, *Vita Augustini*, xxiv recalls an oral statement of Ambrose ('Ambrosium se praesente in ecclesia tractavisse'), although it is documented also, in *De Officiis*, I, xxviii. See also *Vita*, xxvii, recounting the dying words of Ambrose (together with Augustine's comments, and several other recorded sayings) : Possidius did not copy them from Paulinus of Milan, *Vita Ambrosii*, xlv.

[11]) Paulinus, *Vita*, i; see Brown, pp. 480f.

[12]) Augustine, *Con.* VI, iii.

[13]) *Ep.* xxxi 8.

loyalty occurs in Letter liv, to Januarius, where Augustine repeats a dictum of Ambrose originally intended for his mother Monica (using again the word 'oraculum') [14]). In the matter of fasting, the bishop had said, one should always follow local custom. What matters most is that in this letter (and in that following) Ambrose's particular and succinct statement is raised to the level of an ecclesiological principle [15]). It has taken on a persistent, 'hardened' form in Augustine's mind; and indeed even his earlier reference to the event comes at the end of the letter, after the principle had been enunciated in more general, impersonal terms [16]).

These references provide, as admitted, no more than clues; but they make investigation worthwhile. They recall the link between Augustine and the ascetic movement (particularly in the matters of discipleship and authority); but they suggest that his relationship with Ambrose may have developed as part of that tradition, acquiring thereby the same persistence. It is not just a question, therefore, of whether Augustine's life was dominated, and in some ways drawn together, by a tradition of authority, but also of whether it was Ambrose who initiated him into that tradition, and imposed that coherence.

Here the matter of method becomes important. One must look most at the context, the social setting, in which Augustine first met Ambrose. The formality of the period is a familiar feature, affecting Christians no less than anyone. For most converts (there are pagan parallels) religious initiation took place within a ritual — broadly speaking, that of catechesis and liturgy: two skills that Ambrose had particularly at heart (one has only to read his *De Mysteriis*, or recall the success of his hymns and the carefully staged discovery of martyrs' relics — matters of public relations as much as theology !) [17]).

[14]) The exchange is first mentioned in an earlier letter, xxxvi. 32.

[15]) *Ep.* liv. 3; lv, especially 18f.

[16]) *Ep.* xxxvi. 1 : 'In his enim rebus de quibus nihil certi statuit scriptura divina, mos populi Dei, vel instituta majorum pro lege tenenda sunt'. Something similar may have happened in Augustine's use of the scriptural tag quoted by Ambrose (*De Paenitentia*, i. 13), 'Omnes homines sub peccato nascimur' : see A. Paredi, 'Paulinus of Milan', *Sacris Erudiri*, xiv (1963), pp. 208-9.

[17]) On baptismal initiation and Augustine's experience of it, F. Homes Dudden, *The Life and Times of St Ambrose* (Oxford, 1935), i, pp. 336f.; Brown, pp. 123f.; van der Meer, pp. 347f. On Ambrose's hymns, and liturgy generally, Homes Dudden, i,

There are incidental points to notice. A ritual framework did not preclude intensity, either of religious experience or of relationship with mentors. This was an age that successfully combined formality and emotion. The conversion of Victorinus, as recounted by Augustine, tells us much in this regard. So also his account of his own experiences in Milan : 'I wept at the beauty of Your hymns and canticles, and was powerfully moved at the sweet sound of Your Church's singing' [18]). Ascetics of the period were developing the same skill, building up spiritual relationships within the regular framework of monastic communities. One should note also that Augustine's experiences in Milan — his acquaintance with the Christian community there, and his own conversion and baptism — represented (in forms personified by Ambrose and Monica) the successful reassertion of traditional pressures upon him — the Catholicism of his own childhood (so strangely present throughout the *Confessions*), and what was by this time a cultural heritage, the external cultus of the western church.

Bearing in mind, then, this question of setting, the *Confessions* reveal two main influences on Augustine (both mediated, in part at least, through Ambrose); one philosophical, the other biblical. Philosophy in this period was something pursued in the company of others (a setting) [19]). One can see in Augustine's experience at Cassiciacum not only the Christianized Neoplatonism that would recur, albeit differently, in the *Confessions* themselves, but also the other more social elements connected with the philosophical tradition — 'otium', dialogue, the sense of secluded community, the master-disciple relationship between Augustine and some of his companions (Licentius, for example). As for the exposition and study of Scripture, that too could encourage a 'school tradition' (more, perhaps, elsewhere than in Milan [20]) — a link here with the world of

pp. 293f.; ii, pp. 442f. On Gervasius and Protasius, AMBROSE, *Ep.* xxii; AUGUSTINE, *Con.* IX, vii; PAULINUS, *Vita*, xiv-xvii; HOMES DUDDEN, i, pp. 298f.

[18]) AUGUSTINE, *Conf.* IX, vi.

[19]) H.-I. MARROU, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1948), pp. 283f. He suggests quite clearly (although not, perhaps, intentionally) a parallel with monastic experience : 'l'essentiel de son [*sc.* le philosophe] enseignement n'était pas donné du haut de la chaire, mais au sein de la vie commune qui l'unissait à ses disciples : plus que sa parole important son exemple, le spectacle édifiant de sa sagesse pratique et de ses vertus' (p. 287). More specifically on Augustine's experience in Milan, see *Brown*, pp. 101-14, 125-6.

[20]) But see R. LORENZ, 'Die Anfänge des abendländischen Mönchtums im 4. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, lxxvii (1966), p. 41.

the philosophers : one thinks of Origen and Clement in the previous century (not to mention Plotinus) ; but also, nearer home, of Victorinus (exegete, as well as rhetorician). There was also a link with the monastic world (not so remote, in any case, from Cassiciacum, as concerned with virtue as with truth) : ascetic communities were becoming, perhaps more than all else, places where one studied Scripture ; and the tradition of discipleship within those communities was increasingly interwoven with the concerns of the commentator and the exegete. Jerome is the outstanding example ; but Ambrose, himself involved in the ascetic movement, linked that enthusiasm with an understanding of biblical texts [21]).

Such were the social traditions impinging upon Ambrose and Augustine at the time, and in the circumstance, of their first acquaintance. The Bishop of Milan was a philosopher in very real senses ; he was also a catechist, an ascetic and an exegete — all roles with social as well as intellectual connotations. When we come to assess, therefore, the meaning, the total force, of Ambrose's influence upon Augustine, we should be trying to discover how persistently conjoined in his own life these various elements were : the poses, so to speak, and social settings ; the intellectual concern with Scripture and asceticism in particular ; and the sense of discipleship and loyalty.

Clearly, one could embark at this stage on a comparative biography of the two bishops. Let us rest content for the moment with examples of an approach that others might document further at varying levels of detail. The task is to follow a path from Ambrose. We start, therefore, with the *Confessions* — Augustine's restatement, in a different key, of what he discovered at Milan : Plato and the Bible. Having reached (in Books VIII and IX) the moment of his conversion and of his mother's death, Augustine is forced by the sacred centrality of those events to reflect upon the very possibility and purpose of recollection and continuity in his life (Book X) ; and then he leans forward, as it were, to his own fresh commentary on Scripture. This was his third engagement with Genesis, pervaded by a clear anxiety to "get it right this time". These last three books echo a little the earlier *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, and anticipate the *De Genesi ad Litteram* ; but, in spite of their truncated reference, they are more perfect ; a fragment that captured light from the whole

[21]) Paulinus, *Vita*, xlix ; Homes Dudden, i, pp. 147f.

Bible — only in the *City of God* did Augustine unravel all their implications. The care and the achievement stem, undoubtedly, from Augustine's personal involvement, his need to connect his past experience with his own understanding of the sacred text — to recapture in maturer form the exhilaration that Ambrose had aroused, as he preached in his cathedral.

We should concentrate for our purpose on the moment of transition, from memory to exegesis. Towards the end of Book X, Augustine asks how he may be reconciled to God. Some place their faith in angels, others in visions. No, says Augustine (now in the final chapter of the Book) : only Christ, who has, as it were, a foot in both words, can really achieve reconciliation between men and God. The temptation of 'flight to the desert' is there; but then comes the final affirmation : 'See, Lord, I cast my care upon Thee, that I may live : and I will consider the wondrous things of Thy law'. It is from this point that Augustine proceeds to his analysis of Scripture : Scripture, the 'law', is the mediating voice, the word, of God; and so begins Book XI.

Therefore Scripture and mediation (the point will recur) are closely linked. The key phrase is 'doce me et sana me'. Wider implications of this facet in Augustine's thought have been excellently described by his biographer [22]). The *Confessions* mark a stage between the confidence of Cassiciacum (where for Augustine 'veritas' was still perceptible, described as 'Dei facies' [23]) and a phrase in one of his sermons, 'For the meantime, let the Scriptures be the countenance of God' [24]). In the *Confessions* themselves, the point is made with moving clarity. The Scriptures are like the firmament of heaven spread out between God and men. Only by death does one pass through to see God's face, to 'read without syllables spoken in time what is willed by Your eternal will'. 'I know no books so destructive of pride, so destructive of the enemy who stands up in the justification of his sins, resisting reconciliation with You. ... Grant me in my subjection to understand these words, O good Father, because it is for those in subjection that You have established them' [25]). The intensity of the passage is not isolated : Augustine had already said, a year or so before, 'Let those rail against you who do not know how

22) Brown, pp. 259f.

23) Augustine, *De Ordine*, i. 23.

24) *Sermo* xxii. 7.

25) *Conf.* XIII, xv.

difficult it is to cleanse the eye of the inner man, so that he may gaze upon his sun' [26]).

He who seeks for the truth, therefore, must be submissive, must acknowledge a master — this is one of the basic assertions of the *Confessions* —; and the very text of Scripture itself comes to aqcuire this teaching and cleansing role. The point takes on further meaning if we look at other statements of Augustine's early career, such as those of the *De Moribus* (begun in Rome, shortly before his return to Africa). This is where Augustine begins to look back at former errors from the new basis of his Catholicism. He appears to take up already something of his stance in the *Confessions* — authority, he says, comes before reason —; [27]) but the point is made only after an opening statement of some importance : a man must find an interpreter of the Scriptures (here is the element of authority) equal to his capacity for inquiry (the sphere of reason). This was precisely the conviction that had led him, in ways discussed, to Faustus and to Ambrose [28]). Augustine goes further : since we are addressing Manichees, we must start on the side of reason, and lead the rational inquirer (already aware of God's existence) to submit to an authority that can mediate between him and the unseen God [29]). Augustine uses the phrase 'opacitas auctoritatis' (anticipating the clouds of the firmament at the end of the *Confessions*); and he refers, among other things, to the way in which the written text of Scripture moves between the inquirer and God. What distinguishes Catholics from Manichees is that, while the latter parade their 'stultae atque impiae disputationes', the former depend on 'piorum doctissimorumque hominum sermones' (evoking a legitimate tradition of authority, marked by sanctity and erudition, and declared within a social context of liturgy and catechesis) [30]).

The threads of allusion hold together. Augustine is a questioner, rational, approaching authorities : men who will teach partly as philosophers, more especially as exegetes within the public rituals of the Christian community. Augustine inquires above all of the

[26]) *Contra Ep. Fund.* 2. One may take, perhaps, as another intermediate text *De Doctrina Christiana*, I, x (10), linking 'purgatio' with 'navigatio ad patriam'.

[27]) *De Mor. Eccles.* ii (3); iii (4); xxv (47).

[28]) *Ibid.* i (1).

[29]) *Ibid.* vii (11).

[30]) *Ibid.* x (16); see also xxiii (72).

scriptural text itself, which still retains its link with the mediating authority of the teacher. But attention must be maintained upon that other thread, the monastic tradition : one with which both Ambrose and Augustine were associated, and one which was itself connected with the exegesis of Scripture within a religious community.

A useful starting place is Sermon ccclv. Augustine describes how the clergy in Hippo lead a corporate, ascetic life; and yet they have a very public function [31]). In his own words, they have to attend as much to 'fama' as to 'conscientia'; as much to their reputation with others as to their judgement on themselves [32]). This is not an idea without a past for Augustine. As early as the *Confessions* he had faced such a problem : how to relate usefully his own sense of guilt and his obligation to encourage others [33]). Another point is made in this later sermon : the clergy are imitators — they imitate the early Christian community described in the Acts [34]); and they imitate Augustine himself (here cast as master, rather than disciple) [35]). This remark too has a place within the general framework of Augustine's writings. Clergy and monks represent an *élite*, who mediate by their example, and by its invitation to imitation, between God and those less perfect. They are the 'spiritales', faced with the 'carnales' — a type of distinction that occurs for Augustine also in the context of interpreting Scripture; most famously, perhaps, in the *De Doctrina Christiana*, which also discusses the inquirer's need for a master (and for rules) [36]).

To hint at so wide a context is a vague and easy gesture, and one sermon may seem an arbitrary starting point; but, once the theme is identified, precise examples reveal how links were forged in a chain, once again, of allusion and memory. Letter xli (to a bishop, Aurelius) suggests that the people should imitate the clergy, just as the clergy imitate Christ [37]). In a contemporary work, the *De Agone Christiano*, Augustine makes the same point (with even clearer reference to Paul —

31). Van der Meer, pp. 199f. This in itself represents a certain dependence on Ambrose : see the views expressed in his *Ep.* lxiii, especially 66 and 71.

32) Augustine, *Sermo* ccclv. 1.

33) See especially *Conf.* II, iii.

34) Particularly Acts, ii. 42-7; iv. 32-5.

35) Augustine, *Sermo* ccclv. 2.

36) *De Doctrina Christiana*, Prologue, especially 1, 3 and 5. See the implications of II, vi (18), and compare *Conf.* VI, v; *City of God*, XVI, ii.

37) *Ep.* xli. 1.

'Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ'). But one is led, in the *De Agone*, to much more than an echo of this one point. According to Augustine there, God cares directly for those who 'serve him with their whole will'; but his providence is mediated to those less perfect through these 'holy souls' [38]). And if men feel unable to accept that authority, then they should accept the authority that is mediated to them through the Scriptures [39]). We are still in the world of social relationships and authority, and of exegesis.

We are still in the world also of the *Confessions*, and the tension between guilt and encouragement. Augustine had become aware that not only did he need an authority himself, but that he occupied a position of authority over others. The book marks, in some ways, the moment at which he took on the role of master in a new and important sense: 'To whom am I telling this? Not to Thee, O my God, but in Thy presence I am telling it to my own kind' [40]).

One takes too much for granted Augustine's candour, a skill combined with humility by very few with any great success. Even more remarkable is that candour should have later become an authoritative habit. In his *Obiurgatio* (traditionally linked — as Letter ccxi — with an adaptation of his monastic *Rule*) Augustine writes, 'And rather than show my face to you, I have chosen to pour out my heart to God on your behalf, and to handle this matter, involving you in so much danger, not by addressing you on your own ground, but by weeping in the presence of God' [41]). The important thing was to do it loudly, and in written form. In exactly the same way, in what was probably a contemporary text, Paulinus of Milan immortalized the skill of Ambrose, who wept that others might repent [42].)

Ascetics achieved, therefore, a practical impact on the life of others; an impact that went in tandem with an understanding of Scripture, and demanded the acknowledgement of masters. But there were structural as well as moral implications in Augustine's asceticism. His reference, in that Sermon ccclv, to the early Christian

[38]) *De Agone Christiano*, 9.

[39]) *Ibid.* 11.

[40]) *Conf.* II, iii.

[41]) *Obiurgatio*, 2, ed. Luc Verheijen, *La Règle de saint Augustin* (Paris, 1967), i, p. 105; for authenticity and date, see ii, pp. 202-5. My thanks to Dr. Verheijen for further guidance on these texts.

[42]) Paulinus, *Vita*, xxxix.

community of the Acts is one that recurs regularly; and he alludes to it also in the all-important Letter ccxi [43]). Another text of Scripture he regarded as useful (and already one begins to see the connection between his asceticism and his exegesis) was Psalm cxxxii — especially the opening verse, 'Behold how good and pleasant it is when brothers dwell in unity'. His *enarratio* on this psalm he takes precisely as an opportunity to offer a portrait of the monastic life; and in this context also, as well as in the clerical, he refers to the Acts [44]).

It is at this stage, with his link between an image of the church and an image of the monastery (and the associated discussion of the importance of unity), that we can begin to see a correlation between lines of thought in Augustine's head and his public experience as Bishop of Hippo. The threads that have run from Ambrose through the *Confessions* to these later texts are immediately relevant to Augustine's handling of the Donatist controversy. Here was a dispute over the meaning of the church, and over the meaning of unity; but it was also (as we shall see more in a moment) a dispute over the role of teachers in the church, of persuasion and authority.

The *enarratio* on Psalm cxxxii, however, introduces us to another field of experience for Augustine. He says that the monastic life represents the change from Judaism to the early Christian community : it is from this movement that monasticism is born — 'de illo pariete circumcisionis prius nata est ista benedictio' [45]). The ascetic brotherhood represents, in other words, a transition from law to grace : 'invicem onera vestra portate, et sic implebitis legem Christi' [46]). And Augustine adds, 'The psalmist, dearest brothers, wishes you to understand that for brethren to dwell in unity is a gift of God. It is achieved not by their own efforts, or because of their merits : it is his gift, his grace, like dew from heaven' [47]). At once we face Pelagius.

That preoccupation is reflected in other ascetic references. An aspect of the monastic life that Augustine felt important was poverty : he presents frequent and carefully balanced arguments in its defence, one of the best texts on the subject being his Letter clvii to Hilarius. Followers of Pelagius were equally concerned with the dangers and

[43]) Lorenz, 'Anfänge', p. 57.

[44]) *Enarr. in Ps.* cxxxii. 1.

[45]) *Ibid.* 2.

[46]) *Ibid.* 9, quoting Gal. vi. 2.

[47]) *Ibid.* 10.

responsibilities of wealth, as well as with the issue of freedom and grace : so it is no surprise to find Augustine moving in this letter towards full reference to the Pelagian issue, and to problems other than those of wealth itself. The first question raised brings us back to his comments on Psalm cxxxii (and so to our immediate thread) : it concerns the purpose of law. Law, he says, tells you no more than where you stand. Once you know that, you should be led to thank God and to seek for his help — entering, in other words, into a relationship with God [48]). Law can lead a man to a relationship; but it does not by itself establish that relationship. This is a distinction, clearly, of some importance in the context of the monastic life also — touching the relationship between masters and their disciples, or between the leader of an ascetic community and its members —; and it offers some comment on the place of rules in such communities [49]).

Augustine then goes on to talk about the connection between law and grace, in exactly the terms that had horrified Pelagius in the *Confessions* : 'jubet ergo Deus continentiam, et dat continentiam' [50]). 'Jubet' refers, of course, to the realm of law; 'dat' to that of grace. He adds, 'Jubet per litteram, dat per Spiritum' : first one reads; and then the subsequent alchemy of grace transforms insight into action. This was exactly the task that faced the disciple, and not least the disciple of the scriptural text (especially one released from the letter of that text by a master such as Ambrose — although here, as in the *Confessions*, the text itself is referred to as a mediator) [51]).

Another point of interest in this letter concerns the rich young man of the gospel : he had fulfilled the highest legal ideal of the Jewish people — 'All these things have I observed from my youth'. Augustine's point is that life can indeed come from obedience; but perfection comes from following (in this case, Jesus) — again, the emphasis on discipleship [52]).

[48]) *Ep.* clvii. 6. Augustine had thought along these lines before Pelagius became a problem to him personally : see *De Spiritu et Littera*, x (16).

[49]) For Lorenz, this represented *the* contribution made by Augustine to monastic development : 'Anfänge', p. 39.

[50]) Augustine, *Ep.* clvii. 9; see *De Dono Perseverantiae*, 53, referring to *Conf.* X, xxxi.

[51]) See *Conf.* V, xiv : 'Especially after I had heard explained figuratively ['spiritaliter'] several passages of the Old Testament which had been a cause of death for me when taken literally ['ubi, cum ad litteram acciperem, occidebar']'.

[52]) *Ep.* clvii. 25, referring to Mark, x. 20.

Asceticism, ecclesiology, discipleship and exegesis, together with reference to Donatism and Pelagius : all are involved in this network of related quotations. But the thread runs on still, leading us back from Pelagius to the Donatists again, and to the *De Moribus* (where Augustine discusses the question of 'disciplina', distinguishing between 'coercitio' and 'instructio' — both of them examples of 'disciplina', and both central to an understanding of his handling of the Donatist controversy). This particular twist in the inquiry is forced upon us by that same Letter clvii : for there Augustine also says, 'Coercion achieves its end through fear, instruction through love' (obviously linked with the discussion of law and grace); [53]) and he goes on to connect that distinction with Scripture, saying that fear is typical of the Old Testament, love of the New. Exactly the same emphasis is made in the monastic context, in Augustine's *Rule* (the *Praeceptum*), where he says to superiors, 'Although both are necessary, you should seek more to be loved than to be feared' [54]); and he wished ascetics to be 'not like slaves under the law, but like freeborn men under grace' [55]).

Turning back, then, to the *De Moribus* with these later statements in mind, one is struck not only by relevance to Donatism but also by anticipation of the *City of God* (Augustine's third great practical enterprise as bishop). Talking of ascetics in community, he discusses the virtue of obedience, and sees it as a pact between a superior and his charges : the 'pater' commands with 'auctoritas'; his subjects obey with 'voluntas' — for Augustine, an essential element in submission [56]). This emphasis on agreement as a basis of ordered society, the 'concordissima vita', is a prelude to much in the later work — not only the 'pactum societatis' of robber bands, but also the 'concors communio' of more general definitions [57]). And in the earlier description of ascetic society, bound together in religion, Augustine displays his clear sense of the manifold relationships within such a community — relationships understood by everybody; each member knowing how to respond to all the others [58]). Hierarchy and order were valued still

[53]) *Ibid.* 56.

[54]) *Praeceptum*, vii. 3 (ed. VERHEIJEN, i, p. 436).

[55]) *Ibid.*, viii. 1 (VERHEIJEN, i, p. 437). For links with the Donatist controversy, See BROWN, *Religion and Society in the Age of St Augustine* (London, 1972). pp. 260-78.

[56]) *De Mor. Eccles.* xxxi (67).

[57]) *City of God*, IV, iv; XIX, xiv and xxiv.

[58]) *De Mor. Eccles.* xxxii (69).

in his later analyses [59]). Finally he alludes to the phrase of Paul, 'Those who deal with the world as though they had no dealings with it', which anticipates his teaching in the *City of God* on 'making use of earthly and temporal things like a pilgrim in a foreign land', but also looks forward, once again, to Letter clvii [60]).

These circuits through Augustine's writings may appear inconclusive. The purpose (let it be said again) is not to establish the dependence of one text upon another, nor to document fully the growth of argument : it is to identify habits of mind, the constant reiteration of basic themes; and to link these with Augustine's relationship to Ambrose. So the move from text to text is not chronological but associative, dependent on Augustine's own willingness to combine allusions and memories. We have chanced, at different stages, upon different facets of his mind; but they are facets joined in one man's sense of loyalty to his religious past, and in an abiding sense of direction to his episcopal career. The crucial feature of the argument is that we pursue through Augustine's writings not ideas as such, but his persistent concern with the social settings in which those ideas could become applicable. These were those situations in which Augustine found himself as disciple, exegete and ascetic — situations (all three) that he experienced most vividly in his first meetings with Ambrose. Our chief discovery is that, by plotting this persistence in what may appear the byways of the Augustinian corpus — letters, sermons, minor *ad hoc* treatises —, we come across ideas, again and again, essential to the main concerns of his public career : the Donatist schism, the conflict with Pelagius, asceticism, and the *City of God*.

It is easy to present Augustine as a man harried by circumstance, compelled to keep pace with opponents, offering to the crisis of the moment an argument not necessarily consistent with former or subsequent statements. There is room for such a judgement; but it cannot be more than half the story. Beneath the great outcrops of theology and polemic there lay a continuous bed of principle and reflection. Whenever Augustine "rose to an occasion", he did so armed with convictions linked to an understanding of these three themes at least : authority (together with associated concepts of discipleship, teaching

[59]) E.g. *City of God*, XIX, xiv; XXII, xxx.

[60]) *De Mor. Eccles.* xxiv (75). The allusion is to I Cor. vii. 31. See *City of God*, XIX, xvii; *Ep.* clvii. 30-35; and also the *locus classicus* on the gold of the Egyptians, *De Doctrina Christiana*, II, xl (60).

and imitation); the relationship between religious inquiry and the text of Scripture; and the ascetic life. All three themes acquired full meaning only within a social context — the church, the liturgy, the religious community —; all were linked; and all pointed back to Augustine's experience in Milan.

Clearly, this is not to say everything about his relationship to Ambrose, nor indeed about his career as a whole. It is to suggest how one should explore that relationship, and that career; to nag a little at the issue, rather than to unravel it. We must be sure that our methods are adequate, before we become too greedy for results!

PHILIP ROUSSEAU

'Without Councils we cannot be saved...'

Giles of Viterbo addresses the Fifth Lateran Council*

Universally acclaimed in its own day, Giles's *oratio* was later the subject of commentaries as numerous as they were contradictory. Traditionalists, reformists, counter-reformists, each in turn made use, or misuse, of phrases from the text to support their opposing theses. Thus writes Signorelli [1]) of the discourse delivered by Giles of Viterbo [2]) at the opening of the Fifth Lateran Council on 3 May 1512.

*) I should like to express my gratitude to Professor Ludwig Bieler for his critical reading of my transcription of the *oratio* and for his valuable advice. I should also like to express my gratitude to Reverend F. X. Martin, o.s.a., to whom I am especially indebted for advice and assistance in preparing this paper.

[1]) Giuseppe Signorelli, *Il Cardinale Egidio da Viterbo: Agostiniano, umanista e riformatore, 1469-1532*, Florence 1929, p. 52, 'I commenti furono infiniti e contraddittorî. Tradizionalisti, riformisti, controriformisti ne citarono qualche brano a sostegno delle loro tesi, alterando talora il senso di talune frasi, e perfino inventandone altre mai pronunciate dall'oratore'.

[2]) Aegidius Viterbiensis, Egidio da Viterbo (1469-1532). His family name, although sometimes given as Canisio, was Antonini. For Giles, see Francis X. Martin, o.s.a., 'Egidio da Viterbo, 1469-1518: a study in Renaissance and Reform history', an unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cambridge University 1958; John W. O'Malley, s.j., *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform: a study in Renaissance thought*, Leiden 1968; Giuseppe Signorelli, op. cit.; Eugenio Massa, 'Egidio da Viterbo e la metodologia del sapere nel Cinquecento', in *Pensée humaniste et tradition chrétienne aux XV et XVI siècles*, ed. H. Bédarida, Paris 1950. For a critical edition of one of Giles's major works, see Egidio da Viterbo, *Scechina e Libellus de litteris Hebraicis*, ed. François Secret, 2 vols, Rome 1959. For critical editions of discourses of Giles, see Francis X. Martin, o.s.a., 'Giles of Viterbo and the Monastery of Lecceto: the making of a reformer', in *Analecta Augustiniana* XXV (1962) 225-53 at 247-53; John W. O'Malley, s.j., 'Fulfillment of the Christian Golden Age under Pope Julius II: Text of a Discourse of Giles of Viterbo, 1507', in *Traditio* XXV (1969) 265-338; Clare O'Reilly, '"Maximus Caesar et Pontifex Maximus": Giles of Viterbo proclaims the alliance between Emperor Maximilian I and Pope Julius II', in *Augustiniana* XXII (1972) Fasc. 1-2, 80-117; John W. O'Malley, s.j., 'Man's Dignity, God's Love, and the Destiny of Rome: A Text of Giles of Viterbo', in *Viator* vol. 3 (1972) 389-416. For an excellent survey of studies on Giles, see Francis X. Martin, o.s.a., 'The problem of Giles of Viterbo: a Historiographical Survey', in *Augustiniana* IX (1959) 357-79; X (1960) 43-60. For a selective

The discourse was committed to print in pamphlet form, probably in 1512, by Ioannis Beplin at Rome. This edition by Beplin was reprinted by him at least once, while a similar pamphlet edition was printed — again probably in 1512 — by Ioannis Stuchs at Nürenberg. In 1521 the discourse, with some variations and in expanded form, was included in the edition of the official acts of the Lateran Council compiled by Cardinal del Monte and printed at Rome by Mazochius.

It is the del Monte version or rather the del Monte version as republished, with very minor changes, in Mansi's *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, which is generally referred to by modern writers on the Fifth Lateran Council or by scholars dealing with the works of Giles of Viterbo. It is, too, the version which was used in 1969 by John C. Olin and Charles W. Lockyer for their translation of the discourse — the first ever published English translation [3]). But while the del Monte edition is fuller than the original pamphlet form and while it is the version which has appeared as 'official', there are yet two further versions. One, published at Antwerp in 1636, is merely a synopsis of the discourse, although it is not specified as such by the editor, F. Cornelius Curtius [4]). The other, however, is by no means either a paraphrase or a synopsis. It does omit some passages of the del Monte version but it includes phrases from the original pamphlet version which were omitted in del Monte, and it has several long passages which did not appear either in the pamphlet edition or in del Monte. This version is found in the work by Arnoul le Ferron [5]),

bibliography and a listing of studies on Giles published since Father Martin's survey appeared, see O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform*, cit. pp. 11-12, 192-206. In recent years several further studies on Giles have been published. Father Martin is now preparing another survey of all studies that have appeared since 1959.

[3]) John C. Olin, *The Catholic Reformation : Savonarola to Ignatius Loyola : Reform in the Church 1495-1540*, New York, Evanston, and London 1969, pp. 40-53.

[4]) F. Cornelius Curtius, *Virorum Illustrium ex Ordine Eremitarum D. Augustini Elogia*, Antwerp 1636, pp. 95-99. D. A. Gandolfo, *Dissertatio Historica*, Rome 1704, p. 20, states that this version 'non est integra nec sincera oratio Aegidii'.

[5]) Arnoul le Ferron, 1515-1563, magistrate and historian. Born at Bordeaux he became, at 21 years of age, *conseiller* at the *parlement* there and had as colleague Estienne de la Boëtie, who died in the same year as le Ferron. Le Ferron had a wide knowledge and deep understanding of jurisprudence and of history. His continuation of the history begun by Paul Emile was written with elegance and obtained such success that Scaliger was to entitle him *Atticus*. His published works include *In consuetudines Burdigalensium commentariorum libri duo*, Lyons 1540; *De rebus gestis Gallorum libri IX ad historiam Pauli Aemilii additi, perducta historia usque ad adventum Henrici II Francorum regis*, Paris 1550, revised Paris 1554. Both these works were reprinted several times. For le

De Rebus Gestis Gallorum, printed at Paris in 1550, and revised and enlarged in 1554.

Apart from its appearing, at length, among the official acts of the Council, the importance given to Giles's discourse can be deduced from its various printings at a time when printing was only in its infancy, a published work still an event rather than a commonplace. Perhaps even more striking is the fact that le Ferron should give over almost ten pages of his history of the French to the reproduction of a discourse delivered by an Italian prior general at Rome — albeit a discourse at the opening of a Council. Giles's contemporaries and near-contemporaries, were clearly sensible to the significance and consequence of his discourse.

The chroniclers, too, are in agreement, or at the very least take the trouble to record the report of Paris de Grassis [6]), that the discourse had a profound effect on all who heard it. And the Master of Ceremonies was not a man given to generosity in praise [7]). Further, on this occasion, which was for him an event of great concern and much importance, he was likely to have been even more demanding and critical than usual, more intolerant of any weakness or failure. He had spent long, painstaking, hours on the arrangements for the ceremony. Letters had been dispatched to friends at sites of earlier Councils commissioning them to collect, from writings, plans, even from wall-paintings, every scrap of evidence available on the structure and lay out of the places

Ferron see, de Lurbe, *Chronique Bourdeloise*, Bordeaux 1594-5; De Thou, *Hist. Univ.*, London 1734, Tome IV, livre 35.

[6]) Paris de Grassis, 1470-1528. Master of ceremonies for Julius II and later for Leo X, prelate of the pontifical palace, bishop of Pesaro (1515). On the occasion of the opening of the Lateran Council he was promised a bishopric by Julius II for the admirable way in which he had organized and conducted the function. He had, however, to wait until 1515 for the fulfilment of this promise by Julius's successor, Leo X. The diary of de Grassis provides an invaluable source for a day to day account of the lives of Julius II and Leo X from 1506 to 1521. For copies of the diary see Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, codices Lat. 12269, 12273, 12274. For de Grassis see L. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, ed. F. I. Antrobus and R. F. Kerr, vols VI-VIII, London 1950, passim.

[7]) Of a sermon of Giles on Trinity Sunday 1509, de Grassis said, 'Et duravit illa praedicatio per horas tres integras cum omnium fastidio', Vat. Lat. 12273, fol. 225r. His comment on Giles's discourse at St Peter's in 1507 was that it was 'nimis longa' and he also criticized the giving of the sermon in the vernacular as well as in Latin, '... habuit sermonem, primo Latinum, deinde contra bonas caerimonias uulgarem'. Vat. Lat. 12268 fols 143v-144r.

of assembly [8]). A list of procedural problems had been compiled and meticulously resolved [9]). No detail, however mundane, was overlooked [10]). At last, the great day arrived, de Grassis had no fault to find with the chosen orator; no complaint of an over-long discourse, no criticism of an inappropriate address. The audience, he declares, were moved to tears, or left in wonder, at such learning, eloquence, and piety [11]).

Nor was the effect confined to an immediate and emotional reaction, to a restricted gathering in the basilica of St John Lateran. As Signorelli points out, the discourse was to re-echo down the ages, but the message that was received depended on the ear and the inclination of the listener. By one a phrase regarding the supremacy of the pope was emphasized while others highlighted the insistence on a Council. For many the dominant note was the ringing call for reform in the Church; to the opponents of Julius reverberated the mention of Ravenna [12]. But without doubt the phrase most oft repeated was the famous 'Men must be changed by religion, not religion by men' [13].

This incisive dictum was indeed a summary of Giles's own ideal,

[8]) See de Grassis, Vat. Lat. 12268 fol. 363v, 'Cum ego undequaque antiqua in similibus exemplaria, et vetustissimas formas explorauerim, siquidem ego prius hac re, quae euenire prefigurabatur intellecta ad Constantiam, et Basileam, Pisasque, et Florentiam, necnon Senas, et denique Ferrariam litteras ad amicos destinaueram cum commissionibus, ut loca ipsa ubi huiusmodi concilia habita fuerant, dimetirentur, et si quas locorum reliquias, mensurarumque figuras, aut in scriptis, aut in structuris, aut etiam in picturis, ut quandoque talia in parietibus pingi solent, intelligerent, et quicquid inuenirent, omni cum diligentia notarent, et referrent.'

[9]) *Ibid.* fols 366v-371r. Thirty one different problems are noted — from the date of the opening ceremony to the ritual for the processions, from the colour of the vestments to be worn to the nature and number of prayers to be said, from the seating arrangements to the security precautions.

[10]) *Ibid.* fol. 365r, '... inde erat parua janua, per quam Pontifex si opus habuerit naturae euacuandae posset ad latrinae cellulam, quam praedixi, accedere'.

[11]) *Ibid.* fols 374r-v, '... habitus est sermo latinus per R.P.D. Egidium generalem ordinis Sancti Augustini faciens ad rem, ita eleganter et pientissime dicentem, ut partem audientium ad lachrimas, partem ad stuporem conuerterit prae doctrina et facundia ac pietate eorum, quae dixerit ...'

[12]) See Signorelli, op. cit. pp. 52-3, 169.

[13]) '... homines per sacra immutari fas est, non sacra per homines'. Almost without exception, when Giles's discourse is mentioned this phrase from it is quoted. Pastor, in his *History of the Popes*, cit., Vol. VII, p. xli uses it as a caption for one section of his introduction and says, too, that it 'simply and succinctly summed up the theory of true Catholic reformation', ibid. p. 10.

of his concept of reform. But it was so basic to his thinking, to his whole outlook that he does not make it — as many writers, concentrating on its pronouncement, would lead us to believe — the argument of his address. It is, in the *oratio*, more a remark *en passant*, a throw-away phrase in the introduction, rather than the central theme to be expanded, explained, and emphasized.

Giles commences his discourse with a reference to his years of active ministry in preaching [14]), to his task of bringing the Gospel to the people, of interpreting the Scriptures which foreshadow the secrets of the future and through which God intimates to his people the advent of all important events [15]). But, he assures his listeners, for the disturbance and destruction in the Church, of which he had warned them and of which they were the witnesses, a sure remedy will be found [16]). Celestial and human things, unlike the divine, are subject to movement and to change; indeed in the human order, things either perish in a quick destruction or are restored in a continual renewal. So in the Church, without the attention of the Councils, evils accumulate — and their list is long. Christ withdraws from his people and sleeps while the ship is buffeted by storms. The light of the Holy Spirit is extinguished. But with the help of Councils order is restored, Christ is again seen by his people, the light of the Spirit is recovered and shines forth just as a new fire is struck from flint. 'Without Councils, faith cannot stand firm. Without Councils, therefore, we cannot be saved' [17]).

To prove this point, Giles first of all shows how attacks on the

[14]) Giles's fame as a preacher dates from the late 1490s. In fact he was in such demand that Julius II appears to have reserved to himself the right to decide where the friar might preach. See F. X. Martin, 'The Problem of Giles of Viterbo', in *Augustiniana*, IX (1959) 363. See also Tomas de Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, I (Madrid 1644) 42. For an assessment of Giles as a preacher and an account of his preaching career from 1502 to 1505, see Martin, 'Egidio da Viterbo', cit. pp. 99-150.

[15]) For the importance to Giles of Scripture, of elucidating Scripture through the office of preaching, and for his conception of the function of Scripture to foretell the future, see O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo*, cit. pp. 67-99, particularly at pp. 66-69, 96. A frequent charge of Giles against the Peripatetics was that they denied the oracles their proper place and that in doing so the Peripatetics rendered their own philosophy impious and arrogant in its implied self-sufficiency.

[16]) *Oratio*, p. 185.

[17]) *Oratio*, p. 186-8.

fundamental issues of faith were repelled by conciliar action [18]). And it is not only, he claims, the tenets of faith which the Councils of the Church have defended. The whole fabric of life is affected by a Council — vice is uncovered, recognised and rejected; virtue is courageously and tenaciously pursued. And in this course the people must be led forward steadfastly by their shepherds, who themselves look to the example and teaching of the Prince of Shepherds [19]).

It is, in the eyes of Giles, this role of the fathers that is of paramount importance. That it has been neglected, is in need of reform, he makes urgently clear. And it is on this very point that additional passages of the *oratio*, recorded only in le Ferron, are enlightening and significant.

To the general list of evils besetting the Church are added, in the Ferron edition, that of a sacred calling prostituted on the one hand to the activity of war, on the other to the pleasures of the body, that of wasted intellects grown listless or, when busied, feverishly immersed in unworthy occupation [20]). In long passages, also in le Ferron, Giles elaborates the failings found among the shepherds of the people, the teachers who have turned their minds to other things. And he admonishes them to imitate the early fathers of the Church — their virtue, their frugality, their moderation. Particularly, they must ensure that wealth does not become a cause of corruption. Further, they must take care that, by their very actions, they do not drive away those whom they should wish to convert. Indeed their task is to show that they are waging war on vice and on evil, not struggling for possessions and their own advantage [21]).

And so Giles comes to the representative of the Prince of Shepherds, to the supreme pontiff and the role which he must play. It is Julius who must defend the Church, the queen of heaven and

[18]) Giles specifies the three mysteries, each attacked by heretics, of the divine unity, the Trinity, and the Incarnation.

[19]) *Oratio*, pp. 188-92.

[20]) See below, passage from Le Ferron, p. 187 On many occasions Giles, in his writings, makes strong charges against the fathers, particularly those of the city of Rome. In the *Scechina* we read '... ut intelligas [Charles V] quanto tua saecula in errore versentur, quibus cogitare non posses, quanto cum stomacho e caelo aspiciamus passim admitti ad excelsum sacerdotii munus vulgus, ignavos, imperitos, incompositos, incontinentes, lusores, adolescentes, mercatores, trapezitas, plerumque milites et gladiatores, ne usurarios dixerim et lenones'. *Schecina*, ed. Secret, cit., vol. 1, p. 136.

[21]) See below, passages from Le Ferron, p. 196, also pp. 192, 194-5, 203.

earth, from the plundering attacks of princes. In no better way can he do just that than by the action which he has now taken, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, in calling a Council. The decrees of a Council will not be disregarded; supported by the authority of the Council, the Pope, no longer alone and defenceless but respected and feared, will accomplish his task [22]).

Once again, Giles has recourse to examples — from the time of Melchiades to Eugenius IV. Whatever was worthy of glory in the Church found its origin in a Council. Justice returned from heaven to earth; God returned to his people. Then leaving historical records, Giles turns to biblical parallels. From the book of Genesis to the gospels of the evangelists, from the Apocalypse, the letters of Paul, Giles draws his allegories, highlights the reflections. Thus, the benefits of former Councils summarily enumerated and the pontifical protagonists acknowledged, the scene reverts to the Lateran and to Julius II [23]).

Reminding the pontiff of the gifts and blessings already bestowed on him by God and of the good which he has so far been enabled to accomplish, Giles calls on Julius to fulfil the two remaining tasks — of convening the Council, of initiating a Crusade. These two objectives, to which Julius has been pledged from the very beginning of his pontificate, should no longer be delayed. But the exhortation of Giles is no repetition of the accusation levelled by the enemies of Julius [24]). On the contrary, Giles holds that Julius's failure to call a Council or prosecute a Crusade was not due to culpable neglect, as the followers of the Council of Pisa would insist, but was made inevitable by the circumstances of the times, by the necessity for the pontiff to defend the Church and its territories against the greed and injustice of the usurper [25]). He does warn Julius, however, as recorded in le Ferron, that the pontiff should beware of appearing, in his use

[22]) *Oratio*, pp. 192-3.

[23]) *Oratio*, pp. 193-6.

[24]) On his election in 1503 Julius had confirmed the Election-capitulation which, in its conditions, required the prosecution of the war against the Turks and the restoration of discipline in the Church, this to be effected by the summoning of a General Council within two years. When Louis XII of France decided to add, to his attack on the temporal supremacy of Julius, an attack also on the spiritual supremacy, he justified the calling of the schismatic Council of Pisa in 1511 on the grounds of Julius's neglect to fulfil his commitments. The ostensible objects of the Pisan council were the pacification of Christendom, a crusade against the Turk, and the reform of the Church.

[25]) *Oratio*, pp. 196-8

of arms, to have dealt with a lesser evil — the aggressor at home — while overlooking a greater — the threat from the Turk. The defeat of Mohammed must be the goal [26]). Nor is Giles's justification a blind commendation or unqualified approval of the act of war in the life of the Church. Indeed, on this solemn occasion and in the presence of the *papa terribile*, the warrior pope so often found at the head of his men and whose determination and iron will had galvanised even the most demoralised of troops, Giles quite bluntly and unequivocably rejects the reliance of the Church on arms. The golden cloak of the burning spirit should not be exchanged for the iron weapons of a mad Ajax. And the acts of divine Providence have even very recently made this manifest.

The waging of war may on occasion be necessary but the true weapons of the Church are piety, devotion, honesty, prayers, offerings, the shield of faith and the arms of light. Julius should see that God, in twice miraculously restoring the pope to life, wishes him in turn, with these weapons, to restore life to the Church. Indeed, the loss of the army at Ravenna is a further reminder from divine Providence that, when she relies on alien arms, the Church may well suffer disastrous defeat. It must be an inspiration to the Church now to seek victory over her enemies with the appropriate arms. And that this would be no vain undertaking, no fanciful aspiration, is borne out by biblical and historical fact. Trusting in the sword, God's chosen people were driven back; when Moses raised his hands in prayer then Joshua triumphed over Amalec. The widespread conquests of the Church — in Europe, Asia, Africa — were made not under warlike banners but with the spirit of religion and of sanctity. When religion exchanged that piety for the sword, the possessions of the Church were lost to her one by one. Nor have the depths been plumbed, the possible dangers been exhausted, for as the Church is weakened and impoverished the power and dominion of Mohammed is increased, and unless the strength, the true values, of the Church are recovered the whole world will fall [27]).

With this grave warning Giles calls on the pontiff to face the disorders of the day, to appreciate the necessity for a Council, to initiate an assault upon the Turk. For never has the picture of cor-

[26]) See below, passages from Le Ferron, pp. 197, 199.

[27]) *Oratio*, pp. 198-201.

ruption been so grim — life has become effeminate, ambition and greed are unrestrained, piety is attacked with temerity, the sacraments are neglected, the commandments held in contempt. The Church is split by dissension [28]). Destruction and slaughter have become a commonplace; grief is without parallel [29]). Through the calamities of the day, divine Providence is manifesting the need for a Council, for a reform of the Church, a restoration of moral values, a return to peace between men. It is the Council that will prove the one sure remedy for evil, the safe harbour in distress [30]). And as conclusion to this long list of general disorders Giles again marks out — in a passage found in le Ferron — the faults specific to the fathers, their ineffectiveness as leaders of the flock. The bleary eyes that should be watchful, the elected ones who cannot comprehend the sacred writings, the vigilantes who are sunk in sleep, Giles dubs them as town criers without voice, as orators grown hoarse, as navigators unworthy even of a place on board, as runners without breath [31]).

The *oratio* is brought to a close with a supplication to 'the heads, protectors and defenders of the city of Rome' — to Peter and to Paul — a prayer which Giles makes in company with the fathers of the Church, the senate of the state, the supreme pontiff, with the assembled congregation, and with the entire world. It is a plea that the Lateran Council may be made strong, may be indeed the remedy for evil, the safe port in a raging storm; that peace may reign between the Christian princes, action be taken against the Turk; and that the fire of charity in the Church may be restored and once more find its ancient purity and splendour [32]).

This restoration of an ancient purity, this return to basic principles — principles rid of the false or distorting accretions of time — is for Giles at once the kernel of the problem and the solution of the difficulty. Morals and discipline must be reformed. In this men must, indeed, be changed by religion not religion by men.

[28]) In particular by the schismatic council of Pisa which had opened on 5 November 1511.

[29]) A bloody battle at Ravenna, just four weeks earlier, on Easter Sunday 3 April, was the climax to months of warfare. There ten thousand had been killed and the papal army almost annihilated.

[30]) *Oratio*, pp. 201-3.

[31]) See below, passage from Le Ferron, p. 203.

[32]) *Oratio*, pp. 203-4.

It has been said that Giles was very weak in practical suggestions on the specific remedies to be taken and he has been accused of covering up with generalities his lack of a constructive, detailed program of renewal [33]). This judgement would appear to me to be, if not inaccurate or even unfair, at least subject to reasonable question.

Certainly, it must be agreed that Giles does not here elaborate specific procedures to be taken, does not unfold details of a plan of action. But would this have been appropriate to the occasion? Might not one expect that the working details be reserved for the actual sessions of the Council; that rather, at the opening ceremony, the stage be set, the tenor and the atmosphere established, the initial impetus given? And, in fact, Giles is at pains to do just that. Although convinced of the essential role of a Council in the Church, he was not blind to the possible defects. He knew very well that a Council could quickly become the instrument of the secular princes; he noted, correctly, that the very word 'Council' was feared and suspected by the popes of his day [34]). In his Lateran address Giles tries to make clear — as we see in le Ferron — what this Council must be, where its sights must be set. He warns that its model should be the assemblies held in earlier ages, those determined on authentic correction of error, not the false imitations where morals and doctrine were scarcely considered. He insists, on the one hand, on liberty in speaking, on the other, on avoidance of raucous or worthless dispute; the fathers must be led by sincerity of purpose not by desire for esteem [35]).

While the reason for Giles's lack of precise suggestions may be open to speculation, his ability to formulate constructive and detailed reform programs cannot be denied [36]). When Julius appointed him vicar general of the Augustinian order in 1506 it was because he believed that Giles would be effective in carrying out a reform program. Even before his election as prior general in 1507, Giles had laboured, successfully, for reforms within the order, for the spread of the ob-

33) See Nelson H. Minnich, 'Concepts of reform proposed at the Fifth Lateran Council', in *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 7 (1969) 163-251 at 173.

34) See Biblioteca Angelica, Lat. 502, fol. 225v, '... unicam, ut diximus, principibus turbandarum rerum viam ...'; ibid. fols 222r, 240r, '... semper suspectum pontificibus fuerit et reformidatum concilii nomen'.

35) See below, passage from Le Ferron, pp. 198-9, also p. 194.

36) For a study of Giles's reform programs, see Martin, 'Egidio da Viterbo', cit., pp. 174-388; O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo*, cit., particularly pp. 139-78.

servance. From the moment that he assumed office he gave himself entirely to the task [37]). Apart from the evidence to be found in his registers, the copies of his letters in the Biblioteca Comunale at Siena [38]) confirm his determination, his power of decision, and his attention not only to the outlines of reform but to the minutest details of that reform. And on the broader issue of reform in the Church as a whole, Giles's concept of the measures and norms to be taken may be seen in many ways as an extension of the examples and principles to be found in the more specific instance of the Augustinian order [39]).

Two further points may be noted in connection with the pattern of reform as envisaged by Giles. Although fully aware of the accumulating evils, he did not advocate, as did Savonarola, that reform be forced on what Savonarola called 'a prostitute Church'. Giles firmly believed that it was from within that a lasting reform would be effected. And his zeal for reform, while in no way lacking in drive or in urgency, did not degenerate into fanaticism and excess. Again, it had nothing of the uncompromising harshness of the preacher at San Marco.

Perhaps it was this very union of a sincere and deep concern for reform with a conviction that that reform should be accomplished in a spirit of charity and patience, in a manner which gave proof of the source of the reform [40]) — God and the Holy Spirit — that enabled Giles to win over a critical, even hostile, representative of the Observants in Saxony, Martin Luther. In the winter of 1510 Luther had come to Rome with another member of the community

[37]) Almost every page of the surviving registers of Giles, as general of the order, contains the word 'reformatio'. In his letters to members of the order Giles speaks of his continuous work for reform. To the prior at Florence he writes 'Sumus die noctuque in labore reformandi', Biblioteca Comunale Siena, Cod. GX 26, p. 123. See also ibid. p. 79, a letter to the prior at Naples, '... et quamquam dies noctesque non aliud agendo conteramus, quam ut Augustinensem religionem moribus componendis emendemus ...'

[38]) Cod. GX 26. This is the only surviving collection of Giles's correspondence as prior general. It has some 246 letters, and fragments of letters, from Giles during the years 1506-17.

[39]) See O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo*, cit. pp. 160-78.

[40]) In a letter to Antonio Pulcri, visitor of the Paris convent which was one of the most refractory of the houses, Giles says, 'Cupimus et uolumus ut primo ista reformatio fiat non cum impetu, non cum imperio uerborum, non cum clamore aut ullo tumultu, sed in charitate, in patientia, in spiritu humilitatis, ut omnes sentiant hanc rem esse a Deo et Spiritu Sancto', Siena GX 26 p. 260.

to discuss the position of the Observant Congregation of Saxony, which was then in sharp conflict with the conservative Augustinian Conventual friars [41]). When he left the city, Luther did so as a converted supporter of the vicar general and of his policy of reform for the whole order, Conventuals and Observants alike [42]).

Looking back on the years of Giles's generalate, Jedin, the German historian, discusses the meeting of Luther with Giles [43]), and deduces that it took place at Sant'Agostino, the central house near the Campo Marzio, and not at Santa Maria del Popolo as is popularly supposed. And he notes that at Sant'Agostino at that time was, also, the young Neapolitan Augustinian friar, Girolamo Seripando. What a fateful moment in religious history is conjured up by the picture of these exponents of reform together in the same Augustinian house — Giles of Viterbo a prominent leader of the late medieval reform movement, Martin Luther the German friar who was to unloose a revolution within the Church, Girolamo Seripando the subtle theologian who was to figure as perhaps the greatest of the cardinal legates at the Council of Trent. How much agreement could be found in their convictions! How differently were they to be led in the pursuit of their beliefs!

The *oratio* of Giles, delivered at the opening of the Lateran Council, just over one year after Luther's visit to Rome, expressed much that would have found support with that future rebel in Germany. And, at the height of his public career as a Protestant reformer, Luther did recall with approbation the words of Giles in the Lateran basilica [44]). In fact, in 1512 Giles's address to the conciliar fathers could speak for many in that impatient group of reformers to be found within the Church — men such as Erasmus in the Low Countries, Colet in England, Ximenes in Spain, Staupitz in Germany, men who warned that this might well be the eleventh hour before disaster struck, were urging that now might be the last opportunity to put the house of God in order before it was assailed by the storm.

41) See R. Weijenborg, 'Neuentdeckte Dokumente im Zusammenhang mit Luthers Romreise', in *Antonianum*, XXXII (1957) 147-202.

42) Ibid. pp. 185-97.

43) H. Jedin, 'Die römischen Augustiner-Quellen zu Luthers Frühzeit', in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 25 (1928)) 256-69, at pp. 265-9.

44) See *D. Martini Luthers Werke*: *Tischreden*, II, Weimar 1913, p. 348; ibid. III, Weimar 1914, p. 345.

This vivid expression of reform thought on the eve of the Reformation, this reflection of reform movement within the Church, is of considerable importance to the modern historian. That the value of the address was appreciated also at the time of its delivery is revealed by the reception it was given by the audience, by the acclaim it was accorded by the contemporaries of Giles. And the reaction of the pontiff confirms the effect, underlines the appreciation. Julius can scarcely have been overjoyed at some of Giles's statements. Few concessions were made by the preacher to the warrior pope. Yet Julius, who had chosen the prior general to speak on this the most important occasion of the pontificate, barely six months later again chose the Augustinian to deliver an address. This time the occasion, another of crucial importance to the papacy, was the proclamation of an alliance between the emperor and the pope [45]).

These two discourses of Giles — the one in the Lateran basilica, the other in Santa Maria del Popolo — have much in common, one with the other. Two of only five sermons of Giles's to appear in print [46]), these were published during the lifetime of the friar [47]). While much of his writing has been described — and by Giles himself — as 'tumultuous', both these discourses are carefully formulated. There is a definite progression in form and in idea — more distinct, perhaps, in the *oratio* at Santa Maria del Popolo — and in each case cohesion is given to the whole by a dominant theme. In both, the biblical references abound and, although in these two discourses of his Giles makes less use than he normally does of authors from pagan antiquity, the classical allusions are there. The style is ciceronian; the cultured mastery of language undeniable. In the Lateran *oratio* — particularly

[45]) 25 November 1512 in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo at Rome. See O'Reilly, cit., *Augustiniana* XXII, 80-117.

[46]) For the other three sermons see O'Malley, cit. *Traditio* XXV, 265-338, a sermon on the christian Golden Age delivered in St Peter's at Rome, 21 December 1507; O'Malley, cit. *Viator* vol. 3 (1972) 389-416, a discourse on man's dignity presented in the form of a letter addressed to 'Antonio Zoccoli and the Romans' and probably written between 1503 and 1508; Martin, cit. *Analecta Augustiniana* XXV, 225-53 at 247-53, another sermon in the form of a letter, addressed to the Observant Congregation of the friars of Lecceto and, although undated, probably written before 1506.

[47]) Both, for the first time, probably in 1512 or 1513. Neither of the discourses, in the pamphlet printings, were dated. However, both the pamphlets were similar in format and printing to the copies of discourses, delivered at sessions of the Lateran Council, which were published during 1512-13.

when read with the passages recorded in le Ferron — are seen the same effective literary devices, the same oratorical patterns, to be found again in the *oratio* at Santa Maria. The long passages building up in a richness of images; the terse juxtaposition of opposites; the measured balance in idea, in picture, in phrase. But the discourses are not merely polished oratorical exercises. On these two important occasions Julius required more than a facile display of learning, a scintillating eloquence, and in choosing Giles as preacher he indeed chose well. The *oratio* at the opening of the Lateran Council is a clear indication of the understanding Giles had of the need for reform, of his genuine desire that this reform be effected, and of his realisation of the urgency of the problem. It is an appeal for the effective use of the potential of the Council, a statement of the basis for reform.

It is because of its importance as an indication of the reform movement within the Church in the period leading up to the Reformation that it seemed of value to make available, in a modern edition, the text of Giles's *oratio*. Of scarcely less importance, from the point of view of the historian, is the fact that — as became apparent in the preparation of this edition — the normally accepted 'official' text is not in fact complete. The version of the discourse, as recorded in le Ferron, has hitherto been neglected by historians, but the additional substantial passages it contains are not only a development, an expansion, of the 'official' version but have their own peculiar emphases, reveal further facets of Giles's thought. And while it is undoubtedly essential, for any balanced study, to see the work in its entirety, the 'uncovering' of the le Ferron text is of some further import. In his article on concepts of reform at the Lateran Council an American scholar, Nelson Minnich, pointed out that, as recorded in the official documents compiled by Cardinal del Monte and later reproduced by Mansi and by Hardouin, the text of the important *oratio* of Cajetan at the Council's second session was incomplete [48]). Taken in conjunction with this evidence the lacunae in the official text of Giles's discourse give us pause for thought. For whatever may have been the cause of these omissions — those in the Giles address or those in Cajetan's [49]) — the fact remains and forces us to

[48]) See MINNICH, cit. *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 7 (1969) 177 n. 52, 239.

[49]) Minnich suggests that the omission of the passage of Cajetan's speech from the official acts may be explained by a mistake in the printed binder's signature for this section and he assumes that del Monte, when editing the official acts of the Council,

query to just what extent the official and normally accepted acts and documents of the Council may be regarded as completely reliable. And this consideration must weigh heavily with those writing on the Council.

Texts of the discourse

For this edition of Giles's *oratio* I have used as the principal text that found in the official volume of acts and documents of the Council, commissioned by Pope Leo X, compiled and edited by Cardinal Antonio del Monte, and published at Rome in 1521 by Iacobus Mazochius with the title, *Sa. Lateranen. Concilium nouissimum, sub Iulio II et Leone X celebratum.* In transcribing the *oratio* an effort has been made to reproduce the del Monte text as closely as possible. However, contractions and abbreviations have been silently expanded, and for punctuation, paragraphing, and the use of capital letters, normal modern usage has been followed. As in del Monte the *oratio* is not paginated I have, for the purposes of this present edition, numbered the pages of del Monte commencing with the first page of the prefatory letter as page 1.

Four other editions of the text have been compared with del Monte.

The first is in *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, cujus Joannes Dominicus Mansi et, post ipsius mortem, florentinus et venetianus editores, ab anno 1758 ad annum 1798, priores triginta unum tomos ediderunt, nunc autem continuata...* [curantibus D. D. Ludovico Petit et Joanne Baptista Martin], 1759-1798, reprinted Paris 1901-1927, Tom. 32, cols. 667-676. Here in Mansi the text would appear to be a reproduction of del Monte though in fact there are some variations.

The second is a pamphlet edition, *Oratio prima synodi Lateranensis habita per Egidium Viterbiensem Augustiniani ordinis Generalem,* Romae — Impressa apud sanctum Eustachium per Ioannem Bepliñ

must have had an uncorrected and perhaps defective edition of the speech, see ibid. 239-40. Giles's address could, conceivably, have been expanded later as was, apparently, his sermon on the Golden Age, see O'Malley, cit. *Traditio* XXV, 267, 269. However in that case Giles was complying, after the event, with the pope's request that the sermon be put into writing and he was also planning to send a copy of the sermon to Manuel of Portugal. We have no knowledge of any such 'presentation' copies of the Lateran *oratio.*

Alemanum. This pamphlet is not dated but was probably published in 1512 or 1513. It resembles in format and printing other pamphlet editions of the Lateran discourses published in these years. And it is clear that it was reprinted by Beplin at least twice. A copy in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, (45 J 78), while superficially identical with a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Réserve B 1930 (12) 267-86), shows itself, on examination, to vary from the Paris copy in some small ways. Letters misprinted are not the same in the two copies; the first few lines of the prefatory letter are differently spaced and divided; the date of the *oratio* on the final page of the Paris copy is given as 'Quinto Nonas Maias MDXIII' instead of, as correctly in the Vienna copy, 'MDXII'. Further, one of the Beplin copies in a collection in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (R.I. IV 1734 fols 191r-200v), while differing from the Vienna copy and while having in general the same peculiarities of the Paris copy, does however have the correct date on the final page. Thus we have three Beplin printings.

The third edition of the text compared with the del Monte is another pamphlet, *Oratio prima synodi Lateranensis habita per Egidium Viterbiensem Augustiniani ordinis Generalem*, printed at Nürenberg by Ioannis Stuchs. Although undated it is generally believed, like the Beplin pamphlet, to have been published in 1512 or 1513. And the differences between the two pamphlet editions — the Beplin and the Stuchs — are very slight indeed.

The last version of the text to be considered, and the one which brings to light several interesting variations, is that which appeared in Arnoul le Ferron's *De rebus gestis Gallorum libri IX ad historiam P. Aemilii additi*, Paris 1550, fols 92r-98r; revised and enlarged, Paris 1554, fols 55v-60r. This work by le Ferron was again reprinted in 1569 and 1601 at Basle. I have used the 1550 edition but have shown within angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ any additional phrases or passages which appear in the revised edition of 1554. Other slight variations between the 1550 edition and the 1554 edition — the spelling of some words and the substitution in some places in the 1554 edition of *conuentum* or *coetus* for *synodus* — have not been noted.

Apparatus

In showing the differences which exist between the del Monte edition and the four other editions of the text, I have not indicated

orthographical variations such as *j* replacing *i*; *i* replacing *y*; *ct* in place of *th* as in *auctoritas*; *caritas* and *litera* instead of *charitas* and *littera*; *d* instead of *c* as in *quidquam*; *m* instead of *n* as in *quanquam*. I have not noted where simple vowels occur in the other texts in place of the diphthongs of the del Monte nor have I shown varying spellings of proper names such as *Moses* and *Moyses*, *Maumethe* and *Mahumete*, *Brisciana* and *Brixiana*.

A printing error which occurs several times in the different editions, particularly in the pamphlets, is the inversion of the letter *u*: *nirtutem* for *uirtutem*. I have made the necessary correction in transcribing the del Monte text and noted the change in the *apparatus*. I have not shown the occurrence of this printing error in the other editions.

In the *apparatus* the editions are indicated as follows — del Monte : *Mon*; Mansi : *M*; Beplin : *B*; Stuchs : *S*; le Ferron : *F*

Clare O'Reilly.

p. 1

IACOBUS SADOLETUS [1]) PETRO BEMBO [2]) S. P. D.

Habes, Bembe, Orationem Egidii Viterbiensis, quam tanta ope expetiuisti, dignam illam quidem propter elegantiam, quae ab iis potissimum legatur, qui iudicare aliquid de praestantibus ingeniis possunt; sed et aliis quoque commendationibus praelucentem, tum

1 Iacobus — 51 Vale *om. F*
6 et *om. M*

[1]) Jacopo Sadoleto, 1477-1547. Classical scholar, accomplished latinist, poet, prominent member of the Roman Academy. Bishop of Carpentras (1517), cardinal (1536). *Omnia opera*, 4 vols, Verona 1737-38. For Sadoleto, see S. Ritter, *Un umanista teologo : Jacopo Sadoleto*, Rome 1912; R. M. Douglas, *Jacopo Sadoleto 1477-1547 : humanist and reformer*, Cambridge, Mass., 1959.

[2]) Pietro Bembo, 1470-1547. Philologist, poet, master of Italian letters. He was an illustrious member of a brilliant circle of humanists at Urbino. Cardinal (1538), Bishop of Gubbio (1541) and of Bergamo (1544). *Opere*, 12 vols, Venice 1729, reprinted Milan 1808-10. For Bembo, see V. Cian, *Un decennio della vita di M. Pietro Bembo, 1521-1531*, Turin 1885; M. Santoro, *Pietro Bembo*, Naples 1937; G. Meneghetti, *La vita avventurosa di Pietro Bembo, umanista, poeta e cortigiano*, Venice 1961.

quod magna authoritate Lateranensis principia Concilii auspicata est, quod a Iulio Secundo Pontifice Maximo paulo ante institutum sanctae Christianae reipublicae optamus fore salutare : tum quod ab eo uiro est, quem ego et tu saepe soliti sumus in sermonibus nostris clarissimum huius saeculi, tanquam obscurascentis, lumen appellare Et quidem quae in communibus hominum sensibus posita sunt, ea nemo est qui in Egidio summa esse non agnoscat. Sumus enim experti pluries illam huius uiri mulcentem omnium auris atque animos eximiam eloquentiam, uernacula quidem lingua Hetruscorum, quae illi patria est, abundantem, sed ex uberrimis et Graecae et Latinae eruditionis fontibus deductam. Magno enim hic studio theologiae ac philosophiae altissimis artibus comites litteras politiores adiunxit [3]). Ergo illa in sacris concionibus diuina semper, at admiranda, flectere arbitrio suo hominum mentes, refrenare incitatas, languentis accendere, uel inflammare potius ad uirtutis, iustitiae, temperantiae studium, summi Dei uenerationem, sanctae religionis obseruantiam. Nec uero quicquam interfuit illo dicente, inter doctos homines et idiotas, non senex ab adolescente, uir a muliere, princeps ab infimo homine potuit dignosci, sed omnes pariter uidimus praecipites ferri impetu animos audientium, quocunque eos oratori impellere libuisset; tanta uis orationis, tantum flumen lectissimorum uerborum, pondus optimarum sententiarum ex eo ferebatur. Ex quo, quod semper euenire cernimus, iam plane ⟨i⟩ntelligimus necessitate euenire, non casu, ut quotiescunque dicturus est, concursus maximi omnibus ex locis audiendi causa fiant. Sed nos haec popularia cum multis, illa secretiora cum
*p. 2 paucis cognoscimus. Soleo * enim mirari te Bembi, uehementerque probare iudicium tuum, cum ita dicas. Humanitatem ipsam, et eas

14 ominum *Mon* omnium *scripsi*; auris] aures *M*
20 languentis] languentes *M*
22 *post* obseruantiam *add.* nouit *M*
24 *ante* princeps *add.* non *M*
29 aut *Mon* ut *scripsi*

[3]) This respect for Giles, and high opinion of him as a man of letters, is expressed in several of the letters of Bembo and of Sadoleto. See Sadoleto to Giles, Carpentras, in SADOLETO, *Epistolarum libri sexdecim*, Lyons 1554, pp. 115-17. See letters from Bembo to Giles during years 1523-31, in BEMBO, *Lettere*, I, Rome 1548, pp. 115-24. On the death of Giles Bembo wrote to Della Volta at Padua, '... nostro Signor Cardinal Egidio, il quale era e dotto e amico dei dotti e letterati, e grato e gentile, e sopra tutto pieno di soavissima facundia che addolciva gli animi di chiunque usava con lui', ibid. pp. 382-3.

artes quae humanitatis propriae et affines sint, si malo hominum fato amissae intereant, ab hoc uno homine exprimi et representari posse, nec adumbrata in eo simulacra, sed totam effigiem uirtutis agnosci. Quod uero addis grandiorem tibi etiam in cubiculo uideri Egidium quam in pulpito, ubi certe est maximus, facile tibi assentior. Sed haec alias. Nunc, orationem leges, de qua testatum esse apud omnes uolo, quicunque eam in manus sument, redempturos eos non Hectorem, sed Hectoris corpus : quod ipsum tamen tanti praecii est, ut iure optimo rependi auro queat. Certe non aderit calor ille et uis in dicendo oratoria, spiritusque ζώσας ut aiunt φωνάς, quo tantum potuit Egidius, ut omnium adstantium animos primum suauissime demulserit, deinde ad extremum uehementissime commouerit. Verum quid opus haec ad te scribere, qui amore quidem et beneuolentia erga Egidium mihi par, iudicio omnibus antecellis. Ego quod egi, ut elucubratio optimi et religiosissimi uiri non lateret in tenebris suppressa, sed in populum exiret, spero me bonis omnibus gratum fecisse : tibi quidem certe scio.

VALE [4]) *

p. 3

ORATIO PRIMA SYNODI LATERANENSIS HABITA PER EGIDIVM VITERBIENSEM AVGVSTINIANI ORDINIS GENERALEM

Neminem hoc loco non mirari existimo, cum tot in urbe uiri sint

34 sint] sunt *M*
43 ξῶσκσ *Mon* ζώσας *scripsi*; *om. S*
43 φωνκσ *Mon* φωνάς *scripsi*; *om S*
48 lateret] latere *S*
49 *post* me *add.* in *S*
1 Oratio — 4 Generalem *om. F*
5 Neminem — 9 facere] Si quis est qui admiretur, quod cum tot magni Pontifices eruditissimi sanctissimique uiri sedeant, ego potissimum coetui huic hortando praepositus sim, qui neque prudentia, neque eruditione, neque dignitate sim cum aliis conferendus : is si prudentissimi Pontificis meique consilii rationem cognouerit, una et illud quod imperauit probabit, et in his profecto laboribus uoluntatem nostram minime reprehendendam putabit. *F*
5 hoc loco] hic *B S*

[4]) This prefatory letter from Sadoleto to Bembo was reprinted in Sadoleto, *Epistolae Familiares*, I, Rome 1760, pp. 18-20.

grauiter copioseque dicendi facultate clarissimi, cur ipse unus, qui cum luminibus his nulla sim ratione comparandus, et pro rostris appearem, et in tanta praesertim re, tantoque consessu, quo spectatius sacratiusque nihil habet terrarum orbis, audeam uerba facere. Dicam sane aliquid intercessisse, quamobrem ego non uirtute ulla aliis praepositus, sed quadam superiorum tum temporum tum actionum ratione; et tanquam a causa ipsa inuitatus uidear, qui primus hoc conflictu telum iaciam, et sacrosancti Lateranensis Concilii auspicia capiam.

Nam cum annis ab hinc circiter uiginti, quantum in me fuit, et perexiguae uires tulere, euangelia populis interpraetatus sim, prophetarum uaticinia aperuerim, Ioannis Apocalypsim de successu Ecclesiae uniuersae ferme Italiae enarrauerim, ac saepenumero affirmauerim, eos qui tunc audiebant, ingentes Ecclesiae et agitationes et clades uisuros, illiusque emendationem aliquando conspecturos. Nunc par esse uisum est, ut qui haec dixerat uentura, idem uenisse testetur, et qui toties exclamauerat, Videbunt oculi mei salutaria tempora, iam tandem exclamet, Viderunt oculi mei salutare sanctumque principium expectatae instaurationis [5]). Modo adsis orbis instaurator, diuini parentis proles, seruator sospitatorque mortalium, desque uim mihi dicendi, orationi commouendi, patribus non uerbis, sed ipsa re, ueri, sancti, exacti Concilii celebrandi, extirpandi uitia, uirtutes excitandi, uulpes quae ad sanctam demoliendam uineam [6]) hac tempestate scatent capiendi; ac denique collapsam religionem, in ueterem puritatem, in antiquam lucem, in natiuum splendorem, atque in suos fontes reuocari. Dicam itaque de Synodo, et quam

7 rostris] nostris *M*
9 Dicam — 10 intercessisse] Multum sane interfuit *F*
13 sacrosancti — Concilii] sacrosanctae Lateranensis synodi *B S*; sacrosancti Lateranensis coetus *F*
16 *post* uires *add* fultae diuina ope *F*
17 Apocalypsim] uisionem *F*
20 *post* emendationem *add.* forte tandem *F*
23 salutare sanctumque] salutem, aut certe sanctum piumque *F*
24 Modo — 31 reuocari *om. B S F*
28 uulpes — sanctam] ad uulpes quae sanctam *M*
31 reuocari] reuocandi *M*; *post* de *add.* coetu ac *F*

5) Cf. Luc. 2:30
6) Cf. Cant. 2:15

*p. 4 Ecclesiae commoda semper * sit et quam nostris temporibus necessaria, praefatus oraculorum stilum me inuertere non ausurum esse, sed integra (ut legi solent) uerba atque orationes usurpaturum, tum quod homines per sacra immutari fas est, non sacra per homines, tum quod ἁπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφν [7]) Simplex sermo ueritatis est.

Atque a principio partitio illa in mentem uenit, rerum alias diuinas esse, caelestes alias, alias humanas. Diuinae quippe, quod sunt motus ac mutationis expertes, emendatione non egent; caelestes uero, atque humanae, agitationi obnoxiae instaurationem desiderant. Nam luna cum ad solis commertia uenerit, sol cum a cancro in brumam descenderit, quasi magno mortalium dispendio, damna ab integro reponunt, cogunturque praescribente natura, lucis iacturam rependere, et quicquid cadendo abstulerint ascendendo mortalibus restituere. Quod si caelestia siderum itinera quanquam perpetua, immortalia, sempiterna, redeunt tamen restituunturque, quidnam tertium hoc faciet rerum genus, utpote fluxum, caducum, mortale? Profecto aut interitu cito pereat necesse est, aut continua innouatione reficiatur. Quod enim est cibus corporibus ut uiuant, quod genitura generibus ut perpetua sint, id praestat humanis animis sua pro tempore emendatio, cultura, disciplina. Quanque absque ciborum alimentis animantia diu uiuere, tam humanae animae, tam Ecclesia, absque cura Synodorum probe agere non potest.

Ac quemadmodum si pratis hymbres, si hortulis riuos, si agris cultum, si uineis putationem, si denique uiuentibus alimenta subduxeris, illa arescent breui, siluescentque, haec uiuere desinent, atque emorientur. Ita ferme post Constantini tempora, quae ut sacris

33 praefatus — 37 est *om. F*
36 *αωλὸσ ὁ μύθοσ τ̄κ̄σ ἀλκθιασ ἔφν Mon ἁπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφν scripsi; om. S*
38 Atque — uenit] Principio quis non uidet *F*
39 Diuinae quippe] Ac diuinae quidem *F*
44 reponunt] reponit *F*
47 *post* sempiterna, *add.* quandiu architecto Deo huius fabricae terrenae placuerit *F*
48 rerum *om. F*
50 genitura] semen *F*
52 Quanque — 54 potest *om. F*
55 si hortulis riuos] si hortis aquam aut puteos *F*
58 *post* Constantini *add.* magni *F*

[7]) Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 469

rebus multum adiecere splendoris et ornamenti, ita morum et uitae seueritatem non parum eneruarunt. Quoties a Synodis habendis cessatum est, toties uidimus diuinam sponsam a sponso derelictam, illudque euangelii factum, quod heri recitabatur, Iam modicum et non uidebitis me [8]). Vidimus Christum in nauicula obdormientem, uidimus uentorum rabiem [9]), hereticorum furorem in candida ueritatis uela irruentem. Vidimus malas cupiditates, diram auri atque habendi sitim. Vidimus perditam malorum audaciam aduersus iura, authoritatem, maiestatem Ecclesiae saeuientem. Vidimus, inquam, uim, rapinas, adulteria, incestus, omnem denique scelerum pestem ita sacra profanaque miscere omnia, ita in sanctam nauiculam impetum facere, ut pene scelerum fluctibus illa latus dederit, ac prope mersa, et pessundata sit.

Rursus cum eo monente Spiritu, cui hodie supplicationes decretae
*p. 5 sunt, patres * ad Synodum confugerunt, quamprimum emendauere composuereque omnia, uentis turbinibusque imperauere, et quasi in tutissimum portum delati, impetum rationi, iniuriam iustitiae, uitia uirtuti, tempestates ac fluctus serenitati tranquillitatique cedere compulerunt. Hymnumque cecinerunt Sancto Spiritui, piscatorum, maris, atque aquarum Deo, Aquae multae non potuerunt extinguere charitatem [10]), et illud, Iam hyems transiit, hymber abiit, et recessit, surge amica mea [11]). Iacet enim sponsa, ut hyeme frondes arborum,

60 seueritatem] sanctitatem *F*

61 *post* sponso *add.* ad tempus *F*; derelictam] relictam *F*

62 illudque — 63 me *om F*

63 *post* Christum *add.* paululum *F*; — 64 hereticorum] factiosorum *F*

66 *post* sitim *add* Vidimus multos adeo ad functiones sacras uocatos partim bella et serentes et alentes, partim deditos corporis gaudiis, per luxum atque ignauiam aetatem agere. Vidimus summa homines solertia, ingenium, quo neque aliud in natura mortalium melius ampliusque, aut incultu atque socordia torpescere sinere (cf SALLUST, *Jugurtha*, 2.4 *ed.*), aut prophanis curis, quum dominico gregi essent praepositi, intentos occupari. *F*

65-67 Vidimus perditam — saeuientem *ante* Vidimus malas — sitim *M*

69 sanctam nauiculam] sanctum nauigiolum *F*

76 fluctus] fluxus *F*

78 non] haud *F*

79 illud] illum *F*; et recessit *om. F*; — 80 amica mea *om. F*

8) Joan. 16:16

9) Cf. Luc. 8:23

10) Cant. 8:7

11) Cant. 2:11, 2:13

surgit reuirescitque Synodorum studio, ut syluae ueris tempore reuocato sole frondescunt. Ad solis redeuntis radios, et foecundi spirant zephyri et laeta plantaria germinant; ad Synodorum lumen et diuini Spiritus flant aurae, et emortui Ecclesiae oculi reuiuiscunt ac recipiunt lucem, ubi pars altera impletur oraculi, Iterum modicum et uidebitis me [12]). Quod quidem nihil aliud sibi uult, nisi quod Sancti Spiritus lux, quae Synodis omissis extinguitur, tanquam excussus e silice nouus ignis iterum accenditur et recuperatur in Synodis. Ad haec Paulus, apostolorum decus, cum salutis caput ostenderet, Absque fide, inquit, Deo placere nullo modo possumus [13]). Atqui sine Synodis stare non potest fides, absque Synodis igitur salui esse non possumus.

Verum quod ratione dicimus, ut etiam experimento probemus, cogitandum nobis est tres esse credendarum rerum radices, e quibus uniuersa Ecclesiae fides manat. Prima diuinae naturae unitas est; altera eadem in natura parentis, sobolis, amoris felicissima Trinitas; tertia in Virginis utero prolis diuinae conceptio. In quibus, ueluti in altissimis apicibus ac sanctissimis montibus, et reliquae fidei partes nouem et pietas uniuersa fundata est. Fundamenta enim eius in montibus sanctis [14]). Vnitas nempe mons Dei nuncupatur, quod in una dumtaxat Dei essentia sit atque natura, et ut unitatem illam non solitariam, non sterilem, sed uberrima foecunditate praeditam cogitemus, ideo mons pinguis [15]) adiicitur. Corpus uero in Virgine Verbo iunctum montem coagulatum [16]) uocat uates.

82 foecundi] secundi *M*
85 modicum] pusillum *F*
86 et *om. M*; quod *om. ante* Sancti *F*
87 lux] lucem *F*
87 excussus — recuperatur] excusso e silice nouo igne iterum accendi et recuperari *F*
88 Ad — 3 uates] Fide plane ⟨perfecta⟩ Deo placemus; haec labans fulcitur synodis, haec uerum cultum diuini numinis proponit, sacrosanctaeque fidei fundamenta tuetur. ⟨Hac incensi, qui recte expectant certa illa diuinaque praemia in eius anchoris decet, atque interdum in salo expectare fati uadimonium. Eo fit ut deterius de se mereantur, qui abiectis illis anchoris cupiditatibus uela pandunt, rursus altum rursus pelagi naufragia spectantes.⟩ *F*
98 enim *om. M*

12) Joan. 16:16
13) Cf. Hebr. 11:6
14) Psal. 86:1
15) Cf. Psal. 67:16
16) idem

Haec itaque tripartita illa uinea est, super uertices montium sita, quam et futuram cecinere oracula, et praesentem euangelia indicauere [17]). Sed iam perierat uinea, nam (ut testis est Dauid) illam aper e silua depopulatus erat [18]), illam tumor philosophiae uastauerat[19]) Arrius [20]) primum montem auellere conatus est, qui unitatem discerpsit. Sabellius [21]) secundum, qui personas confudit. Photinus [22]) tertium, qui partum uirgineum impura temeritate labefactauit. Tres ueluti impiissimi gigantes qui gloriae cupiditate de rerum nouarum
*p. 6 studio illecti montes * loco mouere ausi sunt, ut uiam sibi facerent ad coelum oppugnandum rescindendumque, et erant iam uoti compotes, nam quae ipsi philosophia persuadebant, armis ea recipi principes imperabant. Philosophia nos argumentis urgebat, arma collatis signis oppugnabant; illa praestigiis, haec ui fidem euertere conabantur; illa inuertere quae credebantur, haec eos qui credebant perdere contendebant, illa in pietatem et animas, haec in corpora uitamque saeuiebant. Quid faceret diuina sponsa iamiam peritura? Quo se uerteret? Quo confugeret? Cuius fidem, cuius opem, cuius auxilium imploraret? Exhorrescebat tempestas, nauicula mergebatur. Denique (ne multis morer) nulla effugiendi, nulla euadendi inuenta

4 Haec — 5 sita] Ex ea fide et unitate trinitatis misteriisque diuini sermonis mortale hoc corpus induente sata est illa uinea *F*
6 testis est] testatur *F*
7 e silua depopulatus] de silua depastus *F*
8 *post* montem *add.* super cuius uertices consita erat uinea *F*; discerpsit] dispersit *M*
11 impiissimi] impii *F*; de] et *B S F*
12 illecti] caelestes *F*

17) Cf. Psal. 79:9-13; cf. Matth. 21:33-41

18) Cf. Psal. 79:14

19) Giles, in his writings, frequently emphasizes the corrupting influence of false philosophy. And he continuously opposed teachings of his own day which were contrary to the *pia philosophia*. He attacked in particular the Averroist school of Aristotelianism. See O'Malley, Giles of Viterbo, cit. pp. 40-49, 188-9.

20) Arius, b. Libya c. 250, d. 336. Alexandrian priest and heresiarch. The teaching of Arius reduced the Trinity to a descending triad of whom the Father alone was God.

21) Sabellius, fl. c. 220. Possibly of Cyrenaica. Proponent of a trinitarian heresy which so emphasized the unity of the Divine Being as to deny that the Son has a subsistence distinct from that of the Father.

22) Photinus of Sirmium, 4 th century heretic. Knowledge of the heretical teachings of Photinus comes indirectly either from conciliar condemnations or from later resumés. It was held — but possibly incorrectly — that, for Photinus, Jesus was born of the natural union of Joseph and Mary.

uia est, nisi Nicena Synodus [23]), ubi Siluestro [24]) ad clauum sedenti, et iamiam naufragium facienti, e coelo sese ostendens Deus, Modicae, inquit, fidei quare dubitasti [25])? Ac statim diuinis fulminibus, et fidei montes restituit et gigantum temeritatem disiecit. Ubi erepta puella experimento didicit, cum quicquam sibi aduersi imminere uideat, nullum omnino praesidium ad se uel tuendam firmius, uel liberandam accommodatius, uel uindicandam efficatius habere, quam Synodum, qua sola fit ut nullae aquae Ecclesiae charitatem extinguant [26]) utque Diuinus Spiritus in nostris animis mansionem efficiat [27]) qui unicus uelut aquarum uictor tempestatumque potens, teste Mose, fertur super aquas [28]).

Iam uero quod de fide dixi, quae utique nulla esset si Synodi institutio non fuisset, idem ferme de temperantia, iustitia, sapientia, caeterisque uirtutibus existimari uelim. Omnes enim desidiam pro labore, ocium pro negocio, uoluptatem pro sollicitudine expetimus; uerum cum animaduertimus quandoque fore, quod in Synodis fit, ut census habeatur, ut morum et uitae exploretur ratio, ut improbi deprehendantur, iudicentur, plectantur, contra probi alliciantur, foueantur, attollantur, incredibiles stimuli appetendae uirtutis iniiciuntur, ut homines colligant sese, ut meliora deliberent, ut ad uitia relinquenda

23 ubi *om. F*; Siluestrum *Mon* Siluestro *scripsi*
24 *post* facienti *add.* adstitisset *F*
24 e coelo — 25 dubitasti *om. F*
26 restituit] restituisset *F*; disiecit] disiecisset *F*
26 Ubi — 28 uideat] Ubi Deus erepta puella ignotos atque impudentes procos repudiauit, septamque liberali custodia adultam iam uirginem caste, et ab armatorum impetu defendit, edoctaque est sponsa aduersis rebus *F*
28 uel tuendam — 29 accommodatius *om. M*
30 sola] una *F*; aequae *Mon* aquae *scripsi*
32 qui *om. M*
32 potens — 33 aquas] domitor fertur, teste Mose, atque excubat super aquas *F*
34 nulla — 35 fuisset] parua esset sine synodis *F*
35 iustitia *ante* temperantia *F*
40 plectantur] plectentur *B S*

23) In 325, at which the heresy of Arius was condemned.
24) Pope Silvester I, pontificate 314-335
25) Matth. 14:31
26) Cf. Cant. 8:7
27) Cf. Joan. 14:23
28) Cf. Gen. 1:2

et ad uirtutem capessendam accendantur, nihilque non honestum nihil non magnificum moliantur. Illud illud Synodi discerniculum fuit, unde ueluti ex equo Troiano, tot clarissima ingeniorum lumina emicuere. Illa uirtutum approbatio, illa detestatio uitiorum Basilios, Chrysostomos, Damascenos Graeciae, Hieronymos, Ambrosios, Augustinos, Graegorios Italiae peperit, qui cum magna similium turba, bone Deus, quos libros, quae scripta, quae monumenta, quod doctrinarum, quod disciplinarum, quod diuini uel auri uel argenti genus in Christianum aerarium non congesserunt.

Rem praetereo (nisi tempus obsisteret) minime praetereundam de Ecclesiarum rectoribus, de pastoribus populorum, in quibus quidem uniuersa rei Christianae sita est et summa et salus. Vt enim inferior
*p. 7 hic mundus coeli tum motu tum lumine regitur, ita Christianae * gentes a rectoribus suis, uelut a coelestibus pastoribus, gubernantur, qui si boni futuri sint necesse est ut et lumine disciplinarum fulgentes alios doceant et, motum sanctarum actionum exercentes quae docuerint, ipsi in primis et maxime agendo praeeant. Haec duo illa sunt quae et docuit pastorum princeps Christus, cum et lucernas ardentes gestare ad clare instituendum et ad sancte agendum praecinctos esse iussit [29]). Simul ipse mirifice exercuit, cum et lux mundi [30]) et diuini patris sapientia [31]) fuerit, et sanctus sanctorum [32]) appellatus sit, quod probos omnes uitae sanctimonia antecesserit, atque eas ob res, Ego, inquit, sum Pastor bonus [33]). Quod uero ob utrunque bonum

43 ad *om. ante* uirtutem *F*; nirtutem *Mon* uirtutem *scripsi*
44 nihil non magnificum] nihil liberali homine indignum *F*
44 post Synodi *add.* ⟨euerriculum fuit maliciarum,⟩ *F*
46 *post* uitiorum *add.* ⟨Dionysios, Eusebios, Origenes,⟩ *F*
47 *post* Damascenos *add.* Cyrillos, Athanasios *F*
47 *post* Graeciae *add.* ⟨Hilarios, Arnobios, Cyprianos, Lactantios, Ireneos, Iustinos, Clementes, Africanos, Victorinos, Prudentios, Cassianos,⟩ *F*
49 bone Deus *om. F*
50 quod disciplinarum *ante* quod doctrinarum *F*
60 cum et] et cum *M*
62 *ante* simul *add.* Et *B S*
64-65 atque — bonus] atque ob eas res pastorem se bonum dixerit *F*

[29]) Cf. Luc. 12:35
[30]) Joan. 8:12
[31]) Cf. Matth. 13:54; cf. Marc. 6:2
[32]) Cf. 2. Mac. 14:36
[33]) Joan. 10:11,14

se dixerit testatur euangelista, qui caepisse eum scribit tum facere, tum docere [34]). Quin et duodecim illi duces, qui super omnem terram constituti sunt principes, spiritus afflati numine completique, ita utranque caeli uim sunt assecuti, ut etiam caeli appellationem promeruerint [35]), ut uulgatissimum iactatur oraculum, Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei [36]). Quo monemur eorum rectorum celebrandam esse gloriam qui coeli tum lucem sapientia tum conuersiones sanctimonia imitati consecutique sint. Huius itaque rei, quae omnium longe maxima est, quanta cura Synodis fuerit historia memorat. Nam qui praestanti doctrinae sanctum uitae institutum adiunxerint a Synodorum patribus ex uniuerso terrarum orbe conquisiti, euecti, exornatique sunt, summa cum eligentium laude, ecclesiarum fructu, commodo, laetitia, plausu populorum.

Quid illud omnium grauissimum ac periculosissimum loquar, quod nemo tempestate nostra non deplorat? Iniurias principum dico, legionum insolentiam, armatorum minas; quid enim miserius uel audiri uel cogitari potest, quam ut coeli terrarumque regina Eccelsia, aut ui seruire, aut manus dare, aut crassantium tela perti-

66 euangelista] praeco diuinus *F*

67 Quin — 74 memorat] Idem nobis enitendum, nisi tantam dignitatem tabescere uetustate, et per socordiam dilabi uolumus : ⟨non eos imitari qui cum uni et alteri praefecturae sacerdotioque desponsi sint, in alia mox animum adiiciunt, ac ueluti priores sponsas funere extulerint, rursus proci, rursus candidati uisuntur : quasi professi sint eam religionem quae aere demum numerato, professores auctorare didicerit, non etiam annonis mentis sibi optime consciae, quae stipendia sunt et emerita mentium ingenuarum : ac primus quidem prudentiae gradus fuerit ab iis abstinere : quod si more humani ingenii impegerimus, redeundum in uiam, neque uero rationis freni excutiendi, et peccata peccatis cumulanda; id uero indignissimum est, diserteque sacro retinendae interdicto maiestatis, metusque diuini aduersatur. Haec si semel impegerimus, in gradum nos restituunt. Interdicto eiusdem recuperandae, unde scilicet pertubatio nos animi deiecit. Itaque⟩ ea in re debemus animum maxime exercere, ut exemplo prius a nobis praeposito colantur boni mores, concordia Christiana in unum omnes coalescamus. Huius rei, quae omnium longe maxima est, multa praecipuaque semper fuit cura synodis. *F*

73 imitati] imitanti *S*

76 euecti] euocati *F*

81 dico-insolentiam] dicam, an militum, legionum inconstantiam *F*

83 crassantium] grassantium *M F*

34) Cf. Act. 1:1

35) Cf. Psal. 44:17; cf. Matth. 19:28; cf. Luc. 22:29-30

36) Psal. 18:2

mescere cogatur! Quae quidem pestis adeo serpit [37]) hoc tempore, adeo insurgit, adeo inualescit, ut omnis illa Ecclesiae authoritas, atque a Deo tradita libertas euersa, profligata, et plane extincta esse uideatur. Quamobrem caue, Iuli Secunde Pontifex Maxime [38]), caue credas ullum mortalium quicquam melius salubriusue cogitasse unquam, quam ipse Spiritu Sancto monente cogitaueris in Synodo instituenda, cuius quidem nulli reges, nulli principes possunt uel decreta contemnere, uel iussa negligere, uel authoritatem detrectare. Si qui enim forte Pontificem ipsum per se inermem parui pendere ausi sunt, Synodi authoritate, principumque et nationum consensu ac studiis instructum, metuere ac uereri consueuerunt.

Nam si Synodorum res gestas repetamus, nihil illis potentius, *p. 8 nihil maius, nihil munitius esse * intelligemus. Synodo namque in Ioannem Hispanum et Alphonsum Lusitanum, Rodulphum imperatorem designat Graegorius X [39]). Synodo Martinus IIII in Petrum Aragonensem animaduertit [40]). Synodo VIII Bonifacius in Philippum regem decernit [41]). Synodo et olim Graegorius alter, et patrum memoria

84 Quae — pestis *om. F*
86 a Deo] adeo *F*
88 salubriusue] salubriusque *F*
89 monente] mouente *B S*
90 *post* reges *add.* nulli Caesares *F*
96 munitius] muntius *B* mundius *S*
97 Hispanum] Hispaniae *F*; Lusitanum] Lutisanum *B S*
98 designat] designatum *F*; Synodo *om. F*
99 Aragonensem] Aragonium *F*
99-00 Synodo — decernit] Synodo Alexander V Ladislaum exauctoratum fecit *F*; *post* decernit *add.* Synodo Alexander V Ladislaum exauctoratum facit *B S*
00 alter *om. F*

[37]) Cf. 2 Tim. 2:17

[38]) Giuliano della Rovere 1443-1513, Pope Julius II (pontificate 1507-13).

[39]) The election of Rudolph I was confirmed at the Second Council of Lyons, 1274.

[40]) After the "Sicilian Vespers", Martin IV took legal proceedings against Peter of Aragon and in a papal bull issued at Montefiascone, 18 November 1282, proclaimed Peter's deposition and excommunication. Peter had already incurred excommunication, *ipso facto*, by his transgression of the veto against aiding Sicily, decreed by MartinIV on Ascension Thursday, 7 May 1282.

[41]) At a council in the Lateran, 1302. The famous bull *Unam Sanctam* — a document of world theocracy, asserting the supremacy of spiritual power over temporal power — was promulgated on 18 November 1302.

Eugenius, Graecam Ecclesiam Latinae coniungit [42]). Synodo in Federicum imperatorem agit et IIII Innocentius et Graegorius VIII⟨I⟩ [43]). Quin in hac eadem aede omnium principe, et quae uincere semper hostes solita est uinci nunquam, non nisi Synodo et secundus Innocentius aduersarios deiecit, et tertius Alexander Victorem sociosque superauit, et tertius Innocentius Othonem imperio submouit, et Martinus V hostilia tyrannorum arma dissipauit [44]). Et (ne omnia persequar), quicquid laude, quicquid gloria dignum a Melchiadis [45]) aetate in Ecclesia gestum est, aut ad hostem arcendum, aut ad rempublicam componendam id omne de Synodis originem sumpsit, et proinde Synodis referendum acceptum est.

Quid enim aliud sancta Synodus est, nisi malorum metus, proborum

1 coniungit] coniunxit *F*
1 Synodo — 2 VIII *om. F*
6 tertius *om. F*
10 de] ad *M* e *F*
11 referendum — est] acceptum ferendum *F*
12 *ante* Quid *add.* Vnde ueterum decretis constitutum uidemus, ut quotannis bis habeantur conuentus docentium in Ecclesiis; credo haud aliam ob causam nisi ut et sordes abluantur, et ne si qua dissensio orta est, latius uagetur. Et simulachrum huius moris retinent passim Ecclesiae dum conueniunt quotannis singularum dioecesium sacerdotes, ubi de moribus et doctrina pauca, multa passim alia inculcantur, nullo ueterum exemplo, qui hunc conuentum ueluti morum aliam censuram instituere. ⟨At nos nunquam ne tandem post undique qua sacra, qua prophana, interuersas opes, haustas uoluptates, ullum tempus, in accerrima et attentissima cogitatione ponemus: qua perspiciamus quo pacto

[42]) Gregory X at the Second Council of Lyons, 1274 (Giles says *Gregorius alter* but it is in fact the same Gregory mentioned above); Eugenius IV at the Council of Florence, 1439.

[43]) Innocent IV excommunicated and solemnly deposed Frederick II at the First Council of Lyons, 1245; at a council in Rome, Gregory IX, on Holy Thursday 23 March 1228, renewed the sentence of excommunication on Frederick pronounced on 29 September 1227.

[44]) Innocent II at the Second Lateran Council, 1139, when the last traces of the schism of Anacletus II were wiped out; Alexander III at the Third Lateran Council, 1179, at which the peace between the pope and the emperor Frederick I — who had set up first the anti-pope Victor IV and, subsequently, the anti-popes Pascal III, Callistus III, Innocent III — was ratified; Innocent III, during the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215, had Otto IV deposed and Frederick II elected emperor in his stead. With regard to Martin V, Giles would appear to refer to the return of the pope to Rome on 28 September 1420, which marked the end of the anarchy of the great schism.

[45]) Pontificate 311-14

spes, errorum eiectio, seges et restitutio uirtutum? Qua demonum fallacia uincitur, sensus illecebrae auferuntur, ratio amissam arcem recipit, terris e coelo iustitia restituitur, redit siquidem ad mortales Deus, nam si dixerat, Vbi duo uel tres meo nomine conuenerint, ad eos uenio interque eos sum [46]), quanto huc libentius se conferet, quo non duo tantum uel tres sed tot Ecclesiae capita proficiscuntur. Nam si angelos Ioannes appellat Ecclesiarum pastores [47]), quid est quod uel uotis petere uel precibus a Deo consequi non possit tanta simul frequentia angelorum? Hic Eua ab exilio reuocatur, hic serpentis caput talo praemitur puellae sanctioris [48]); Abraham educitur e Caldeorum terris [49]), Agar ancilla obtemperat dominae [50]); foedus cum Deo rursus feritur [51]), animorum circumcisio introducitur [52]).

rationes huiusce sacerdotii ad aerarium illud diuinum referamus, ubi sestertia innumera expensa cum acceptis conferenda sunt? Quousque tandem pergemus fastigium ita nostrum tollere, ut luminibus regum et principum obstruere conemur? Quotus quisque nostrum fidei initia et ipsa primordia religionis, quae a cruce, et morte, non fastu et magnificentia profecta sunt, intuetur? Quotus quisque diuini praeconis uoce edoctus, in simplicitate animi magnitudinem, in procuranda aliorum utilitate, post habita sua ultimum finem assequendae felicitatis constituit; non sunt sacra, non, inquam, augusti isti ritus nostri ad caeterarum disciplinarum uiam et rationem dirigendi. Quippe illae uario multiplicique ingenio hominem exigunt: ii nisi simplicibus et credulis se non credunt. Nouo genere et instituendi et docendi, prius persuasos esse uolunt sectatores suos, quam aliquid illis persuadeant: elatos, laudis cupidos a limine arcent, calliditatem, confidentiam, magnificasque istas ostentationes ne admittunt quidem. Nunquamne imitabimur tot culmina fidei; tantas copias testium lectissimorum, qui pomoeria prorogauerunt sacri dogmatis usque quaque gentium? Aut hoc restituet piorum coetus, aut iam deplorata omnia.› Iam uero *F*

12 enim *om. F*; est *om. B S F*
13 eiectio] correctio *F*
14 sensus *om. F*; amissam] amissa *F*
15 restituitur] redditur *F*
18 tantum *om. F*
18 Ecclesiae] ecclesiarum *B S*
19 Ioannes appellat] uocat Ioannes *F*
23 dominae] herae *F*

46) Cf. Matth. 18:20
47) Cf. Apoc. 1:3
48) Cf. Gen. 3:15
49) Cf. Gen. 11:31, 15:7
50) Cf. Gen. 16:1-16
51) Cf. Deut. 29:1
52) Cf. Deut. 30:6

Hic scalam figens patriarcharum pater in coelum aditum pandit [53]), Deo iungitur in palestrae ludo et aud⟨i⟩endo Deo accipit nomen [54]). Hic populi uelut in solitudine fame oppressi diuinitus suppetias impetrant, coeli angelorumque panem recipiunt [55]), et suauitate uescuntur coelestium epularum. Hic cum hominum pectora tanquam saxea euaserint, Mosis uirga percussa aquarum fontes effundunt [56]). Hic thesaurus in agro abditus effoditur [57]), margarita emitur [58]), lampades accenduntur [59]), semen in bonam seritur terram [60]), sinapis granum surgit in arborem [61]), et feraci olea oleaster inseritur [62]). O beata itaque illa tempora, quae Synodos susceperunt, haec stulta si non agnouerint, misera si [non] omiserint.

*p. 9 Et quam uetera Synodo- * rum commoda strictim attigimus nunc quam breuissime nostra delibemus. Appello ergo te Iuli Secunde Pontifex Maxime, summus ille te appellat Deus, qui suam te gerere

26 aud⟨i⟩endo Deo] a uidendo Deo *M* audendo a Deo *F* audendo Deo *B S*
27 oppressi *ante* fame *F*
27 suppetias] auxilium *F*
31 in *om. F*
32 in bonam seritur terram] in agrum fertilem seritur *F*
33 olea] oleae *M F*
34 tempora *ante* illa *F*
35 si [non] omiserint] si non admiserint *M* si omiserint *B S F*
36 quam] quoniam *M* quando *F*
37 *ante* Appello *add.* ⟨Tantas ne uirtutes, Dii boni, tantam frugalitatem, modestiam, maiorum nostrorum non imitabimur, qui cum omnia sibi subesse uiderent nihil sibi arrogarunt; et tamen ita cupio ueteres imitemur, aspera ut omnia et inculta, ambitionem potius quam pietatem redolentia uitemus, ne plebem dum emendare uolumus, a nobis auertamus. Frugalitatem exigit pietas, non poenam; utamur argento, non capiamur; ita quidem ut non auro a nobis et munditiae, sed uitiis et illecebris indictum bellum uideatur.⟩ *F*

53) Cf. Gen. 28:12-13
54) Cf. Gen. 32:24-30
55) Cf. Deut. 8:16; Psal. 77:24-25
56) Cf. Exod. 17:6; cf. Num. 20:7-11; cf. Psal. 77:16
57) Cf. Matth. 13:44
58) Cf. Matth. 13:45-6
59) Cf. Matth. 25:1-13
60) Cf. Matth. 13:3-9; Cf. Marc. 4:3-9; cf. Luc. 8:5-8
61) Cf. Matth. 13:31-2; cf. Marc. 4:31-2; cf. Luc. 13:19
62) Cf. Rom. 11:17

in terris uicem uoluit, qui e tanto iampridem senatu te unum delegit, qui nonum usque in annum Ecclesiae suae te sponsum defendit, qui et bonam cogitando mentem et magnam agendo facultatem dedit, quantam nulli maiorum unquam praestitit, ut scilicet praedones abigeres, uias purgares, seditiones tolleres, domi templum omnium quae usquam uisa sunt magnificentissimum excitares [63]), militiae (quod nemo antehac potuit) Ecclesiae arma magnis regibus metuenda faceres, ut denique imperium propagares, ut Ariminum, Fauentiam, Rauennam [64]), et alia permulta recuperares. Quae etsi eripere tibi hostis potest, quin tamen primus Pontificum haec omnia gesseris efficere non potest. Magnorum enim principum uirtus non ex casu, aut ex euentu, sed ex consiliis, actionibusque censenda est. Nunc rebus gestis, haec duo deerant, ut Synodum uocares et communi Christianorum hosti bellum indiceres. Et quae ab initio semper cogitasti, spopondisti, decreuisti, iam Deo, iam Christiano gregi, iam tuae praestes, tum pietati, tum fidei. Ac scias te bonos omnes in magnam spem erexisse, quippe qui bellorum et malorum temporum

39 uicem *ante* in terris *F*
42 quantam] quantum *F*; scilicet *om. F*
43 domi] domini *M* Dei *F*
44-45 militiae — arma] militiae arma Ecclesiae (quod nemo antea aut potuit aut curauit) *F*
47 permolta *Mon* permulta *scripsi*
46-47 Rauennam *ante* Fauentiam *F*
47 tibi *ante* eripere *F*
48 omnia *om. F*
49 non ex casu — 50 actionibusque] non casu aut euentu, sed ex consiliis atque actionibus *F*
50 *post* est *add.* ⟨Tibi uero etiam atque etiam uidendum, ne dum capiti mederi pares, reduuiam curasse uideare. (cf. Cicero, *Oratio pro Roscio Amerino*, 44.128 *ed.*) Caput uero illud fuerit tuarum actionum, si Christi hostem Maumetem fregeris : reliqua tibi adempta, alio tempore reddentur.⟩ *F*

[63]) Time and again, in his writings, Giles mentions the new basilica of St Peter's. To him it was not only the most artistic project of the time but it had a special symbolism in the repetitive pattern in sacred history — Saul, David, and Solomon building the old Temple at Jerusalem, the popes of the Renaissance building the new basilica on the hill of the Vatican. See O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo*, cit., pp. 113, 122, 125, 136.

[64]) After an exceedingly bloody battle Ravenna had fallen, on Easter Sunday 11 April 1512, to the French, who were aided by German and Italian soldiers and were led by Gaston de Foix, nephew of Louis XII. Within days the whole of the papal state of the Romagna was in the hands of the French.

iniuria ad haec differenda coactus quidem fueris, ad negligenda uero et deserenda non minis, non telis, non cladibus adduci potueris. Quin animum ea constantia firmaueris ut hii fluctus, haeae aquae, quamquam multae, firmam tamen charitatem tuam extinguere non potuerint [65]). Ille itaque idem Deus, qui praeter haec omnia quae ad animum excitandum enumeraui immortalia beneficia, bis superioribus annis tum Bononiae, tum Romae, cum etiam intra aedes tuas extinctus habereris, in uitam reuocauit [66]), et ad haec maxima opera gerenda reseruauit, ut et ipse Deus extincto Pontifici manifestissimo miraculo et Pontifex extinctae Ecclesiae sanctissima Synodo uitam restitueret, atque una cum reuiuiscente Pontifice, etiam Ecclesia moribus reuiuisceret. Ille, inquam, Deus petit mandatque, ut duo illa animo uolutes, cures, peragas, et (quemadmodum propheta iubet) destruas, euellas, eruas, errores, luxum, uitia, instituas, aedifices, plantes, moderationem, uirtutem, sanctimoniam [67]).

56 quidem *ante* coactus *F*
58 animam *Mon* animum *scripsi*
58 *post* aquae *add.* hi turbines, hae procellae, *F*
61 excitandum] exercendum *F*; bis] his *M*
62 tum Romae *ante* tum Bononiae *F*
63 *ante* in *add.* te *F*
64 miraculo] mirabilique exemplo *F*; — 65 extiuctae *Mon* extinctae *scripsi*
68 (quemadmodum — destruas *om. F*
70 uirtutem] temperantiam *F*; *post* sanctimoniam *add.* ⟨In te uno id situm quod ueterum decretis sancitum est, iubeas exerceri hoc loco. Primum, si quis nouum quid proponit, si quid quod pertinet ad quantumuis magnae potentiae emenda-

[65]) Cf. Cant. 8:7

[66]) During the siege of Bologna by the French in 1510, Julius fell seriously ill of a fever and it was thought that his death was imminent. He himself, on 19 October, was on the point of coming to terms with the French. However, on the morning of 20 October the fever had subsided. The Pope had himself carried to a balcony of the palace where he gave his blessing to the armed citizens who promised to stand against the foe. 'Now', declared Julius, 'we have conquered the French'. See Pastor, *History of the Popes*, cit. VI, pp. 336-8. In August 1512, his health neglected during months of ceaseless work and complicated negotiations, Julius was again struck down by a violent attack of fever. On 23 August the Venetian Ambassador reported that 'the Pope is passing away' and Paris de Grassis wrote 'the Pope's life is coming to an end'. Arrangements were being made for the funeral obsequies and the Conclave. However, Julius was persuaded to take some food, and the fruit and liquids which he chose were to prove his salvation. By 28 August the fever had completely cleared. See idem pp. 368-72.

[67]) Cf. Jer. 1:10

Ad haec uero agenda cum alia permulta, tum praecipue amissus exercitus excitare nos debet, quod quidem putem diuina prouidentia factum, quo armis Ecclesiae alienis freti cederemus, ut ad nostra redeuntes uictores euaderemus [68]). Nostra autem arma sunt pietas,
*p. 10 religio, probitas, supplicationes, uota, lorica * fidei, atque arma lucis, ut apostoli uerbis utar [69]). Ad quae si Synodi opera redibimus, ut armis non nostris inferiores aliquo hoste fuimus, ita nostris erimus omni hoste superiores. Veniat queso in mentem Mosis bellum, quod aduersus Amalech regem gessit, uidebis populum Deo charum gladiis fidentem uinci semper, contra semper uincere precibus supplicantem. Iosue exercitum in praelium ducebat. Aaron sacerdos cum Hur ac Mose montem ascendebant. Illi armato corpore ferebantur in hostem, hii Deum purgato animo praecabantur. Illi ensibus, hii uotis agebant; illi ferro hii pietate pugnabant. Vidimus utraque arma, militiae

tionem instaurationemue, huic ne id fraudi sit: Deinde, ne qui praecidamus ueterem licentiam libertatemque dicendi: Tum ne immodestis uocibus perstrepamus, aut uanis tumultibus coetum perturbemus: Vt denique ii deligantur, qui grauissimis de rebus disputent, non qui diuitiis solum et gratia apud magnos polleant: at singulis maximisque ex urbibus qui iudicio proborum, et in studiis liberalissimis grauissimisque uersati sunt, et opinione probitatis passim commendentur.〉 *F*

71-72 exercitus *ante* amissus *M*
72 excitare] exercitare *B S*
72 quod — 73 cederemus] quod equidem diuina prouidentia factum putem, quo armis demum Ecclesiae freti, alienis cederemus *F*
76 ut — utar] ut ait Paulus *F*
78 *ante* Veniat *add.* 〈Nos quidem paulo antea occupata a Francis Italiae parte nobilissima, sic orbem reipublicae conuersum uidebamus, ut uix audire sonitum, uix impressam orbitam intueri possemus, minore omnino sonitu quam putaramus lapsa erant omnia: spes iniecta nulli uenturum ea potestate hominem, qui labefactatas has partes aut suscipere posset, aut tueri. Ecce autem extitisti tu Iuli, uindex libertatis nostrae, conuertisti arma in florentissimum regem: qua in re in summam gloriam uenisti: quae tamen si in ueros fidei hostes conuertisses, hominum credo admiratione in caelo esses.〉 *F*
80 semper *ante* uinci *F*
80 precibus supplicantem *ante* sempere uincere *F*
81 Aur *Mon* Hur *scripsi*; ac] ad *S*
83 Deum] demum *F*

[68]) The crushing defeat suffered by the Spanish and papal forces at Ravenna had taken place only three weeks earlier, on 11 April.

[69]) Cf. Eph. 6:13-17; cf. Rom. 13:12

scilicet ac religionis, sed iam quae nostra sint Deo rem ostendente cognoscamus. Dum Moses, inquit, manus attollebat noster uincebat exercitus, dum manus remittebat exercitus inclinabat [70]). Ac (ne casu id factum suspicemur) in calce sermonis illius scribitur aduersus Amalech, hoc est, in Ecclesiae hostem, Dei manum ac bellum esse in generatione et generationem [71]). Quibus quidem uerbis monet Deus utranque generationem, atque utranque Ecclesiam, et Mosis et Christi, militiae armis uinci; pietatis studio uincere; superati telis decertando, sacra faciendo superare.

Freta initio suis armis Ecclesia Africam coepit, Europam obtinuit, Asiam occupauit; non ui, non bello, non ferro, sed religionis actionibus, et sanctitatis opinione per uniuersum orbem Christiana signa circumtulit. At ubi sponsa quae tunc undique uocabatur, accersebatur, expetebatur in uestitu deaurato [72]), aureum paludamentum ardentis spiritum, ferreis Aiacis insania armis commutauit, imperium duodecim ducum [73]) partum sanguine amisit; Asiam et Hierusalem perdidit; Africam Aegyptumque relinquere coacta est; Europae cum Bizantino imperio et Graecia bonam eripi sibi partem uidit. Vox Dei est dicentis, lassis Mosis manibus, uotis praecibusque cessantibus, Iosue uinci,

85 scilicet *om. F*
85 sint] sunt *F*
85 ostendentem *Mon* ostendente *scripsi*; Deo rem ostendente *om. F*
88 in — illius] extremo sermone illo *F*
89 in *om. ante* Ecclesiae *F*
89-90 in — generationem] a generatione in generationem *F*; quidem *om. F*
91 atque utranque Ecclesiam *om. F*
92 superati] superari *M B S F*; telis] manu *F*
94 Freta — 19 inueniatur om. *B S F*; *in loco* Freta — inueniatur *add.* ⟨At quo nos tandem perduxit praeceps ambitio; ut cum Christi mandato pacem cum hominibus sancte colere, cum uitiis demum bellum gerere debeamus, Italiam tamen ipsi totam armis nostris concutiamus? An uero finem nunquam inueniet dominandi illa apud nos ambitio, ut non contenti potestate illa eximia, ad raptos dominatus animum adiiciamus?⟩ *F*
95 non ui *om. M*
99 spiritum] spiritus *M*
99 insania] insani *M*

70) Cf. Exod. 17:8-13
71) Cf. Exod. 17:16
72) Psal. 44:10
73) The apostles

uincere Amalech [74]). Ita et nos uidimus, cum religio uota ferro commutauit, toto fere orbe pulsam, eiectam, explosam Ecclesiam, aucto in immensum Maumethe qui, nisi ferro relicto rursum in pietatis sinum ad aras et Dei puluinaria redeamus, crescet in dies magis, subiget imperio omnia, orbem uniuersum nostrae impietatis ultor impiissimus occupabit.

Video uideo, nisi uel hoc concilio, uel alia ratione nostris moribus modum imponamus, nisi nostram humanarum rerum cupiditatem, malorum fontem, cedere diuinarum amori compellamus, actum de republica esse Christiana, actum de religione, actum de pietate, actum etiam de iis ipsis opibus, quas patres diuino cultu
*p. 11 aucto peperere, nos * contra neglecto amisuri sumus. Haeae enim ita ex extrema pauperie peruenere ad summum, ut non ita multo post interiturae esse uideantur, ac nisi receptui canamus, nisi rationibus nostris consulamus, infula illa ditissima [75]), cuius ad ornanda sacerdotis tempora usus fuit, uix ad operienda inueniatur.

Audite diuinas uoces undique sonantes, undique Synodum, pacem, sanctam illam expeditionem [76]) efflagitantes. Quando enim uita nostra mollior? Quando ambitio petulantior? Quando cupiditas inflammatior? Quando peccandi licentia impudentior? Quando audacia aduersus pietatem loquendi, disputandi, scribendi, aut frequentior aut securior fuit? Quando in populis rerum sacrarum, quando sacramentorum, quando et clauium et sanctorum praeceptorum non modo negligentia sed et contemptus maior? Quando apertius religio et fides nostra ludibrio (uel tenui plebeculae) fuit? Quando (proh dolor) scisma in Ecclesia perniciosius? Quando bellum periculosius? Quando hostis

13-14 actum de pietate *om. M*
20 Audite] Audi *B S*
20 Audite — sonantes] Audire operae pretium fuerit diuinas uoces undique personantes *F*
25-26 quando sacramentorum *om. F*
28 nostra *om. F*
28-29 scisma — perniciosius] sectiones in Ecclesia perniciosiores *F*
29 Quando bellum periculosius *om. F*

74) Cf. Exod. 17:11

75) Olin points out that this term is used by extension and in a classical sense to signify the wealth and possessions of the Church, see *The Catholic Reformation*, cit. p. 52 n. 23

76) Crusade against the Turks

potentior? Quando exercitus truculentior? Quando obiter monstra, portenta, prodigia, tum caeli minitantis, tum terrae expauescentis, aut crebriora aut horribiliora apparuere? Quando (heu fletus me impedit) caedes, quando clades, uel prius Brisciana [77]), uel postea Rauennate [78]), cruentior? Quando, inquam, ullus inter infaustos dies, quam sanctissima illa resurgentis Christi lux aut luctuosior aut calamitosior illuxit?

Quae quidem omnia (nisi ferrei simus) quidnam aliud quam caelitus missae uoces sunt? Voces namque Dei (ut Proclus [79]) ait) facta sunt, de quo uno aiunt oraculo, quod dixit et facta sunt [80]). Et in arcanis Hebreorum legimus, decem dictis quae in Genesi leguntur [81]), orbem uniuersum esse conditum. Voces igitur sunt quae fieri cernimus, uoces monentis Dei ac praecipientis ut Synodum habeas, ut Ecclesiam emendes ut utriusque hominis bellum tollas, ut sponsae tuae undique lacessitae [82]) pacem utranque restituas, ut gladios auertas, urbis et Italiae iugulis imminentes [83]), ut nostram frenes uiuendi licentiam, Ecclesiae uiscera maioribus uulneribus ferientem.

Non enim multi refert, quantum agri possideamus, sed quam iusti, quam pii, quam diuinarum rerum studiosi simus, ut denique post tot mala, tot incommoda, tot calamitates, principem Christum

33 aut post Brisciana *Mon* uel prius Brisciana *scripsi B S F*
36 *post* illuxit? *add.* ⟨scilicet, ut expleant illi uindicta feroces animos nos uiles animae mactamur; inutilis turba, nos cui nullae eiulationes flebiles debentur, uexamur?⟩ *F*
37 simus] sumus *F*
38 missae — 42 cernimus, uoces] missae uoces sunt *B S* missae sunt uoces *F*
39 oraculo] oracula *M*
43 ut utriusque — tollas *om. F*
47 multi] multum *F*

[77]) Brescia was taken by Gaston de Foix, after a fierce battle in the streets, on 18 February 1512.

[78]) Battle of Ravenna, 11 April 1512.

[79]) Proclus, 410-485, neoplatonist.

[80]) Psal. 148:5

[81]) Cf. Gen. 1, ten parts commencing *Dixit ... Deus* or *ait.*

[82]) The Church assailed internally by the schismatic council at Pisa and by a deterioration in morals, externally by war with the French and by the threat from the Turk.

[83]) When Ravenna — which had contained the magazines for supplying the papal army — had fallen, the consequences promised to be disastrous. It had been feared that Rome would be sacked, the prelates murdered, and a new pope elected. See Pastor, op. cit., VI, pp. 399-402

audias Petro posterisque Synodum ostendentem ut unicam omnium malorum medicinam, singularem periclitantis nauiculae portum, solam reipublicae confirmandae rationem. Tu, inquit, Petre, aliquando conuersus confirma fratres tuos [84]). Audis Petre? audis Paule? Auditis augustissima semper capita, tutela ac praesidium urbis Romae? *p. 12 Auditis in quem malorum cumulum Ecclesia uestro * fundata sanguine deducta sit? Videtis acies utrinque profligatas, uidetis cedes, uidetis clades, uidetis campos occisorum aceruis opertos, uidetis terram hoc anno plus cruoris hausisse quam pluuiae, minus hymbrium bibisse quam sanguinis? Videtis tantum occubuisse Christiani roboris, quantum fuerat ad fidei hostem debellandum satis? Nihil nobis nisi exitium, nihil nisi interitum superesse? Ferte opem, iuuate, succurrite, et quam de Iudeorum et tyrannorum faucibus eruistis Ecclesiam, nunc domesticis cladibus occumbentem eripite.

51 singularem] tutum *F*

52-53 Tu — tuos] Iubet enim Petro, conuersus aliquando confirmet fratres suos *F*

53 *ante* Audis *add.* ⟨Imperat aliis ab ingrata Deo uita, ad gratam piamque lapsos deducant: uult is ea pares, mediteris, cogites, (cf. Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares*, 1,7,9 *ed.*) quae esse in eo Pontifice ac uiro debeant, qui sit piorum coetum afflictum et oppressum miseris temporibus ac perditis moribus, in ueterem pietatem ac religionem uindicaturus. Ille abs te etiam atque etiam petit, ut ea quae initio ostendisti, in sanandis hisce tumultibus, deinceps fecisti, etiam ad exitum augeri et cumulari per te uelis. Quando enim unquam magis uidimus lippitudine praepeditos, praeponi diuinae sponsae arcibus pro speculatoribus; pro antistitibus eos qui oracula intelligere nequeant; pro uigilibus, uiros somno languidos: pro praeconibus, qui exiguae sint uocis: pro concionatoribus (ut de me aliquid dicam) qui raucedinem contraxerunt: pro nauarchis quique clauum teneant, quibus in sentina locus esse uix debeat (cf. Cicero, *Fam.* cit. 9, 15,3 *ed.*) in iactatione et aestu maris; pro praecursoribus, quibus anhelitus sit impeditus.⟩ *F*

55 uestro] Christi *F*

59 Videtis — roboris] Videtis tantum Christiani nominis *F*

60 nobis *om. F*

61 Ferte opem] Ferte sacris uestris ad Deum precibus opem *F*

63 eripite] erigite *M*; *post* eripite *add.* ⟨Videtis eo rem peruenisse, nemo ut iam inueniatur qui sacram nauem, quae fertur in scopulos retro, inhibeat, cum remiges obsurduerint; ac nec uectores quidem iactura facta reliquias colligant. Videtis flare atque reflare hinc atque illinc uentos contrarios, scindi uela, frangi prope sacrae nauis malum, carinam dehiscere. Videtis ui uentorum nauim ita impulsam in funes anchorarum, aliarum nauium uix ut praecisis funibus nautae se explicare possint. Videtis nihil aliud superesse, quam ut leuandae nauis gratia, iactus mercium fiat diuinarum, qui necquiquam postea omnium contributione sarciri

[84]) Luc. 22:32

Orat populus, uiri, foeminaeque, omnis aetas, omnis sexus, omnis orbis. Rogant patres, obsecrat senatus, obtestatur ipse denique supplex Pontifex, ut se, ut Ecclesiam, ut urbem Romam, haec templa, has aras, haec sacra, haec uestra ipsorum capita seruetis, ac Synodum Lateranensem, hodie ante ora uestra a Iulio Secundo Pontifice Maximo indictam, quod faustum, felix, fortunatumque si⟨e⟩t, nobis, Ecclesiae uestrae, totique reipublicae Christianae, in orbis terrae certissimam salutem, Sancti Spiritus numine firmetis. Curetisque et pacari Christianos principes, et in publicum Christi hostem Maumethem nostrorum regum arma conuerti, atque his fluctibus, his tempestatibus, his aquis, non modo non extingui Ecclesiae charitatem [85]), sed almae crucis meritis et diuini Spiritus ductu, quibus iunctim hodie sacra fiunt [86]), ablui potius ab omnibus conceptis maculis, et in antiquum splendorem munditiamque restitui.

Dixi

Habita fuit oratio in aede Lateranensi quinto nonas Maias M.D.XII.

possit. Videtis ab ipsismet Italis accersi ferocissimos hostes in Italiam : qui cum cogantur exire de naui abiectis gubernaculis, cupiunt reliquorum naufragia ex terra intueri. (Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum*, 2,7,4 *ed.*) Malunt uehi male et superbe Turcis gubernantibus, quam iuncti nostris uectoribus obtemperare. Tales obsecro pestes auertite.⟩ *F*

64 *post* Orat *add.* id a Deo *F*
64-65 omnis orbis *om. F*
65 orbis] ordo *B S*
66 ut se *om. F*; Romam *om. F*
67 seruetis] seruet *F*
68 hodie — 69 indictam] a Iulio indictum hodie *F*
69 si⟨e⟩t] sit *M F* siet *B S*
69 nobis — 70 Christianae] et nobis, et Ecclesiae, et toti reipublicae Christianae *F*
71 Sancti — Curetisque] diuini spiritus numine firmet, curetque : iubeat imperet, *F*
73 tempestatibus] procellis *F*
75 iunctim] coniunctim *F*
78 Dixi — 80 M.D.XII *om. F*

85) Cf. Cant. 8:7

86) 3 May 1512, the date of the opening ceremony of the Lateran Council, was the feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross; the Mass at the opening ceremony was that of the Holy Spirit under whose guidance the Council would be held.

Notes sur Egidio da Viterbo

I. *Egidio da Viterbo et Giovanni Pico della Mirandola.*

Plusieurs historiens d'Egidio da Viterbo [1]) ont évoqué l'attitude de l'augustin envers celui qui le premier avait parlé de la kabbale en domaine latin, mais on n'avait pas signalé que les deux hommes se connurent et discutèrent tant de l'astrologie, que Pontano, l'auteur de l'*Aegidius* aimait, que de la kabbale. Egidio da Viterbo a fait mention de ces discussions à la fin de son *Historia XX saeculorum*, telle que la conserve le manuscrit autographe de Naples [2]),

Il s'agit d'abord de la kabbale : [3])

> « Nam cum philosophia altera omnem in divina vestiganda aciem fixerit : altera in elementis persequendis occupata semper sit : eorumque materia : agitatione : coitu, divortio : divinae archanaeque sapientiae consultissimus Paulus : qui hanc non a Chaldaeis et Magis ut Pythagoras; sed quam Chaldaei in Asia hominibus ostendebat : a Deo O.M. accepit in caelo : nihil esse huic sapientiae adversantius : nihil pugnantius quam philosophiam ionicam : quam accomodatissimis definiens verbis ait : *Ne vos decipiant per philosophiam* : et ne ab omni philosophia eum abhorrere cogitares; adjecit : quae est per *elementa* multa [4]) : ubi alteram philosophiam fallacem mendacem : deceptoriam : alteram etsi non undique consentientem : non tamen undique oppugnantem et obsistentem verae sapientiae docuit : probavit tamen ut magna ex parte (ut ostendemus) arcana vestigantem : et veritatem majestatemque divinorum non undique oppugnantem Haec diffusius forte dicta esse quis dixerit quam institutum postulet :

[1]) Cf. John W. O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform, A Study in Renaissance Thought*, Leyde, 1968, p. 8; H. de Lubac, *Pic de la Mirandole*, Paris, 1974, p. 102 citant E. Massa et F. Secret. La référence de Massa Ms Ang. 1253 est évidemment une erreur.

[2]) Il ne semble pas que la copie de l'Angelica, habituellement consultée, comporte ces passages. L. G. Pelissier, *De opere historico Aegidii Cardinalis Viterbiensis*, Montpellier, 1896, qui a signalé avec soin toutes les allusions aux contemporains n'en parle pas, pas plus que J. W. O'Malley.

[3]) *Ms Naples Cod IX.B.14*, fol. 221.

[4]) *Col.* II,8 « Videte ne quis vos decipiat ... secundum elementa mundi ».

sed magnis opibus nulla unquam munitio satis est : et magnis : potentibus : audacibus cum hostibus : manum conserturis : non parvo apparatu opus esse intelligo. Sed cum exposuerimus hujus divinae facultatis : hic amicos, hinc hostes : rem jam cominus agenda nobis est : si prius tamen gentem quandam horum mediam esse aperiemus : quae etsi initio quidem amicissime atque familiarissime huic luci vixit : multaque hac divina facultate exercuit : quae humanas longe vires exuperabant : atque iccirco una haec gens : ob magna insuetaque facinora quae divinitus gessit : universo orbi miraculo fuit : hebraeam gentem dico : Habraam namque gentis princeps : non alia ex natione vocatus est quam ex Caldaea : ubi magorum archanis assuetus : non difficile crederet : divinam vim participare posse mortales : sic postea Moses : non nisi Aegyptiorum sapientia praeditus est delectus : qui efficacissima hac luce plenus : aegyptiacae sapientiae vires fregit : maria aperuit : diem in noctem lucida columna prorogavit : Deus in montem traxit : scribere illum Legem compulit : et per omnem aetatem : nihil nisi divina parte dignum exercuit : scripsit Moses historiam Habrae : et patrum eorum qui Deo familiares (221v) effecti : hujus luminis gloria floruere : sed scribi a Mose historiam : et miracula decuit : rem divinam in vulgus prodere : et scelestis irridendam relinquere non oportuit : quare sicut oraculo postea aperte cautum est : ne suibus uniones : neque canibus sacra exponerentur [5] : cavere prioribus saeculis sapientissimi patres : ut non cartis sed mentibus : non librorum voluminibus : sed bonis filiorum animis inscribentes tantam tamque divinam rem : hoc tuto arcano aeterno scribendi genere : posteris tradidere argumento est : cum sacra studia duo contemplentur et res et voces : voces libris : res animis tradendas existimavere. Si quid tamen etiam vocum esset quod ad divinas res propius accedere putari posset : id etiam : non omnino neque universum vulgaribus fragilibusque libris credendum esse arbitrabantur. Nomen enim illud quatuor sacrarum litterarum : omnium consensu sacratissimum ac maxime arcanum : ubi altissima hujus facultatis secreta clauduntur : prorsus tenuibus cartis exprimi prohibuere : quartamque litteram non nisi mutilatam ac mancam scribendam procuravere. Antequam Abraam haec nosset : divinis vacabat rebus Etruria Beroso teste [6] : sicuti

[5] *Mat.* VII,6.

[6] *Berosi sacerdotis chaldaici Antiquitatum libri quinque*, ed. Lyon 1554, II, fol. 298 : « aera et priscae monetae Viterbenses excisae litteris sacris F.A.U.L quaedam habent, et quaedam F.A.U.P. quae idem ut supra exprimunt exceptis ultimis litteris L et P. quia aramee omnes primae notant fanum Arbanae Volturnae Lucmon, secundae vero fanum Arbanae Volturnae Panos aut Panon et hoc est quod restituit Desyderius in decreto exciso litteris longobardicis ».

ubi *de Etruscis* agimus [7]) late demonstramus. Qui rem divinam eodem litterarum numero conscripsere : ut et marmora antiqua significant et numismata : initio namque cum res in observatione summa esset : ultimam litteram habuere variam ut postea secuti Hebraei sunt : nam firma stabilique materia L. infirma et minime stabili P pro L scribere consuevere : hinc factum postea rebus a prima accuratione cadentibus : ut vulgo utrumvis videre liceat : interim enim Faul [8]) : interim Faup : inscriptum legere est : hoc eo tendit : ut nemo in dubium revocetur : sapientes patres res sacras cartis inscribi passos non esse : qui in ipsis etiam vocibus scribendis leges ponendas esse statuere. Gens itaque hebraea partim nobiscum fuit cum Deo adhaeserunt : partim abfuit cum ingenti sacrilegio : Dei se et divinorum hostes reddiderunt : quae divinae hujus facultatis numeros arcanos : et quasi instrumenta et materiam habent : vim afficaciamque non habent : similesque evasere nautis : quibus (222) est quidem navis : et alia omnia navi navigationique necessaria : anima tantum illis abest ac spiritus : quo acta : navis secet maria : et sese in portum ferat : carent enim recta pietate : quae quidem sapientum consensu : hoc in negotio praecipuum est. Duae namque cum rei partes sint : veluti interna principia : quod materiae : et quod formae locum habent : materiae quidem ut anima quae in divinis pro campo et terra est : ab omni corporearum rerum contagione vindicet sese : quam quidem rem terrae renovationem culturamque vocamus : formae vero : veluti in novali probe subacto cultoque : segetes divini luminis : et creentur et crescant : quae quidem non absque divino spiritu esse possunt : ita etenim David : qui divina hac facultate praeditus : hoc ipso plenus spiritu : rem descripsit : *Emitte*, inquit, *spiritum tuum* : *et creabuntur* : *et renovabis faciem terrae* : [9]) ubi quod est praecipuum preposuit : divinorum radiorum lucem : quod vero praecipuum non est : sed praecipuum veluti necessarium additum : id secundo posuit loco : animae tellurisve rodeis : cultura ac renovatio : neutrum omnino Hebraeus absolutum obtinet : quando utrique

[7]) Egidio da Viterbo dès le *De Ecclesiae incremento* de 1507 se proposait d'écrire « in rebus Hetruscis », cf. texte in *Traditio* 25 (1969), p. 265 s. J. W. O'Malley, *Fulfillment of the christian golden Age under Pope Julius II. Text of a discourse of Giles of Viterbo* 1507. On sait qu'Egidio da Viterbo ne réalisa jamais ce projet, dont bien des matériaux sont réunis dans les dictionnaires qu'il entreprit : cf. Paris Bib. Nat. *F. Lat. 596, 597.* Egidio da Viterbo promettait comme Annius de Viterbe, cf. *Antiquitat.* ed. Anvers 1552, fol. 237 : « Reliqua tractavimus in *Historia Hetrusca pontificia* quam idcirco Pontificiam dicimus, quod a Pontefice Maximo Noa qui et Janus in Vaticano coepta; iterato ad Pontificem Maximum et sedem apostolicam subjecta rediit. » Projet qui ressemble beaucoup à l'*Historia XX saeculorum.*

[8]) cf. infra.

[9]) Ps CIII/IV,30 : « Emittes spiritum... ».

rei perficiendae divinus assit spiritus oportet : qui non nisi pietatis actione comparatur : hanc neque Hebraeus habet : neque eorum ullus qui in tenebris agit : agunt autem in tenebris velut caeci illi omnes Platone teste sexto de *Rep.* libro [10] : qui Boni filium : uti divinum non suspiciunt solem. Verum cum habeant : et sacrorum nominum : et arcanorum numerorum notitiam non exiguam : quae ad animae sejunctionem accommodatissima est : non nihil obtinent ; quod ad aptandam pertinet : excolendamque materiam : Cabalam vocant eam disciplinam : in qua de iis late agitur : ne quod nomen : eorum et Aramaea Ethruscorum lingua : receptionem significat : ut quae non libris : sed veluti per manus : in filios a parentibus recepta sit : ut Picus noster ait : [11] sed nos ei Patavii ostendimus : rem nonnullis qui rem scripsere interpretationem non placere. Nam praeter id quod nomen electionem significat : quemadmodum in libro *Paralippomenon* [12] legitur : omnium enim eruditionum nihil melius nihil elegibilius ea una esse credidere (222v) qua animam humanam : et ab humanis assurgere : et divinis se inserere arbitrabantur : ipsam quoque receptionem longe alia ratione plerique intelligunt : non ea duntaxat causa : quod arcano quodam modo per manus recepta sit : sed quod ea facultate radii lumenque divinum excipiatur. Nam etsi Arabs Aristotelis interpres ubi de mente atque intelligentia agit [13] : nosse illam similitudine ac receptione statuit : in eo tamen libro : quae in Algazelem pietatis et theologiae assertorem scribit [14] : demonstrat illam utpote immotam atque constantem : nihil plane novi in se suscipere : sed notiones secum habentem omnium : hinc excitante sensu : inde meliore luce affulgente : efficere uti noscamus omnia : hactenus una intelligendi ratio : cum dicta est : quae non rebus sed similitudinibus rerum constat : alteram idem interpres altiorem ac diviniorem intelligendi fatetur esse viam : quae non imaginibus similitudinibusque : sed re ipsa atque essentia fit : videt virille ratione duce divinam quam quaerimus : cognoscendi formam : videt sublimem animae in hac vita statum : videt summum mentis in hoc corpore dari pronum : ut morituro homini fas est : sed veneno falsorum principiorum imbutus : falsisque habitudinibus longa consuetudine confirmatis : irretitus : in via vestiganda : qua in sacrum illud

[10] *Repub.* 508 a

[11] cf. *Apologia*, ed. Paris, 1532, p. 44 « scientia cabalae, quod idem est, quod scientia receptionis... » p. 47 « doctrinam per manus »

[12] *I Chron.* XXI, II selon la Vulgate : « Haec dicit Dominus : Elige... »

[13] peut-être dans le commentaire sur le *De anima*, ed. Venise 1562, Lib. III cap. 5

[14] Il y a quelque chose de parent, mais rien de vraiment proche dans la *Destructio destructionis* ; cf. *Tahafut al-Tahafut*, ed. S. Van den Bergh, Londres, 1954 I, p. 200, et 308-310 (VI[e] et XVI[e] discussion)

animorum culmen proficiscitur : hallucinatur et caecutit. In eo et veritati et praesenti negocio astipulatur non parum : quod duas intelligendi testatus est vias : alteram qua similitudines atque simulachra contemplamur : alteram qua aliquid simulacris altius : rem videlicet : essentiamque recipimus. Nam cum divina quaerimus : ubi omnes fere summum statuunt bonum : illa priore ratione : quibusdam adumbratis imaginibus : tanquam aquis aut speculo conjectamus venamurque : at meliore hac via : non spectra : non simulacra insectamur : sed divina ipsa recipimus : nam cum universa pene res affectu atque amore conficiatur : diversum longe accidit : quam disciplinarum humanarum usui accidere soleat : ut enim vulgo aiunt : cum contemplamur : rerum similitudines nostra in mente vel insitas vel effinctas intuemur : cum amamus non imagines sed res ipsas adimus : contemplando novimus ac cognoscimus : amando assequimur atque possidemus : adipiscimur intelligentia rerum notiones : amore rerum vel esse vel essentias haurimus. Quanti itaque refert : in aestiva siti aquam de putei spectare procul : atque aquam e fonte cominus haurire : tanti refert : rem intelligentia assequi et illam illiusque partem comparare. Norat divinarum rerum Ethruscarumque disciplinarum scriptor Maro : utriusque rei discrimen : quamobrem alterum philosophandi genus pinxit : cum ait : *Oculos pictura pascit inani* [15]) : ubi nihil nisi inanes imagines invenire est : et rursus id studium attingendum non perpetuo tenendum monet in brevissima hominis vita : cum ait : Non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscunt [16]) : cum vero Pythagoricum dogma : atque altam philosophandi rationem commendat : non picturam : non simulacra : non spectacula commemorat (223) Quamobrem amor Platoni *Γοής καὶ φαρμακεὺς* [17]) incantator veneficusque et quodamodo Magus nominatur (*Symp.* 4) amore enim e caelo divina rapiuntur : ad homines traducuntur : in hominum animas : amore introducente ingrediuntur : hanc amoris vim oraculum monstravit : *Si quis*, inquit. *Deus, me diligit : ad eum veniemus : in eoque domicilium faciemus* : [18]) quo quidem se amore ad homines rapi : haud obscure fassus est deus : cum ejus beneficio atque haustu fiat : ut non divina vestigia errabundi quaeramus : sed ut divinos radios : Deumque ipsum mente recipiamus. Receptionis itaque facultas Cabala vocitata est : non modo traditionis causa : sed etiam finis : ut altiorem intelligendi rationem conciperes : quam ariolatus in tenebris palpabat Averoes : divinorum non similitudine sed receptione constantem. Scribit Rabi David Chimhi in libro

15) *Aeneid.* I, 464 « animam pictura pascit inani ».

16) *ibid.*, VI, 37 « Non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit ».

17) *Banquet*, 203 d

18) Jean, XIV, 23

quem *de radicibus* [19]) inscriptum passim legendum dedit : vocabuli ininitium esse verbum Chibel : quod receptionem significat : a quo et Cybeli Jasii Tyrrhenorum regis uxori : impositum invenio esse nomen, quippe quae usque adeo sua tempestate floruerit hoc munere : ut ad ejus nuptias magna Isis ex Aegypto : ingenti fama illecta profecta sit : sicut et epigrammata : et monumenta vetustissima e Cybellariis [20]) eruta prediis manifestant. Nihil enim Aegyptiis antiquius fuit : quam huic rei operam navare : doctrinasque alias iccirco pueriles dicebant : quod hanc unam : ut omnium antiquissimam : potentissimam : optimam in primis deligendam exercendamque curabant : quod aliae quarundam expositarum et vulgarium rerum aperiant naturas : haec una : quod optimam nobis asciscat : scientia et optimi et optima nominatur : ideam Boni sexto *de Republica* libro Plato vocat : eamque (223v) nominat maximam disciplinam : quam non studio litterarum : sed sacro usu comparari : in *Epistolis* [21]) docet : hinc Aegyptus Ethruriaque antiquae huic deditae scien-

[19]) Cf. trad. in S. Pagina, *Thesaurus linguae sandae*, s.v.

[20]) Annius de Viterbe, *Antiquitates*, ed. 1554, II, 395 « Satis aperte omnes concedunt Isidem venisse a finitima Aegypto Libya in Libyssum Latii campum, et interfuisse nuptiis Iasii et Cybles, uti etiam veracissimus Berosus Chaldaeus exprimit. », cf. I, 301 « ut tam Berosus quam excisa Cybelaria marmora et veraces Latini referunt. » Sur Cybèle, dans *l'Historia*, fol. 4 « bis justitiae nomen commemoravit (Ps. IV) : Exaudivit, inquit, me Deus justitiae meae (v. 2) ac rursus : Sacrificate sacrificium justiciae (v. 6) quod dixit hominibus : qui inter utramque Legis tradicionem vitulo aegyptio sacra fecerant : paslmus hic religionis est : atque votorum proprius : et quum uterque locus utraque gens quae veterem Legem expectabant Judaea et quae novam : Tyrrhenas suo utraque ab angelo secundum eandem divini luminis praeceptionem regebatur : utraque religioni cultui ritibus operam dedit : Judaea per Mosem et Aaron sacra Deo dictante constituit Ethruria per Corinthum : Jasium Corybantem sua sacra instauravit : per Cybelem archanas Tuscorum disciplinas : quibus nomen ascivit : renovavit per Dardanum Samotraciae Graeciae Phrygiae mysteriorum scientiam communicavit : quae postea fabulosa temeritas corrupit, labefactavit, evertit » et f. 5 : « uterque ritibus vacans : uterque instructus sacris : hic a Mose ille a Cybele : hic utramque legem ferebat et scriptam : Mosi per tabulas assignatam : ille non scriptam cujus Cybele sibi nomen asciverat : Graecis Phrygiisque sacris initiatis clam credebat : quae cum de Ethrusca agetur : tum historia : tum disciplina : si ita agi jusseris : latius persequemur. »; f. 243 : « Hinc habitum : divini Deique sponsum Spiritum nostra vocant oracula : quae et nos : ita et id nomen in sacris usitatum post hoc usurpabimus quem spondet quidem Hebraeis Cabala : Cybele Hetruscis reposuit ».

[21]) Cf. *Lettres*, ed. J. Souillé, let. XI,359b (cf. *Lexique* du P. E. des Places, Paris, 1964 p. 228 s.v. Euchestai. Sur ce thème cf. *Historia*, fol. 225v : « rem hanc homini inprimis necessariam non prateriit intactam Plato : qui divini luminis cupidus docet omnem curam mentem studium : mortalium esse opportere : et ut solis divini lucem exhauriat sed supplicandi colendique modum : non homini notum esse : docet in Alcibiade sed a Deo et Dei filiis qui divina norint : esse requirendum ».

tiae : sacrorum studiosissimi fuere : at Graeciam sacra quidem suscipientem : sed novorum commentorum gloria captam : nunquam antiqua hujus rei secreta attingentem : irridet Aegyptius autore Platone (*Tim.*) [22] : cum enim dixisset sacerdos : O Solon, Solon vos Graeci pueri semper estis : adjecit statim : percontante Solone cur id diceret Quoniam, inquit, juvenis vobis semper est animus : in quo nulla ex vetustatis commemoratione : prisca opinio vobis nulla cana [23] scientia : ubi eos taxat : quod neque antiquas historias : neque antiquam venerandamque doctrinam : Aegyptiorum Etruscorumve suscepit. »

Le second passage sur l'astrologie se situe dans un développement sur les mathématiques : [24]

« Mathematicas consulto praetermisimus : nam aliae : numeri simplicitati : aliae quanti spaciis metiendis ita cogitatione haerent : ut neque humana sensilia : quae inferius jacent : animadvertant : neque divina impartibilia : quae sunt superiora suspiciant : quin usque adeo earum rerum quae substantiam circunstant : et accidunt : occupationi sese dedunt : ut decem generum principem substantiam : atque ea quae sese offerunt nobis sensibilia : ne meminerint quidem. Aliae sensilium quidem quorundam motus : rationesque dijudicant : sed nihil supra fides et cytharas : aliae et multa de syderibus caelique conversionibus : orbium tamen caelestium naturas : firmissima constantissimaque gignendi gignendorumque principia : ecentricis epiciclisque (ut eorum verbis utar) labefactant : et ubi aequabilia omnia natura parens Deusque constituit : illi inaequalia et a recto oberrantia esse putavere, quod tam probabile philosophiae est : quam si quis solem oscurum: ac luce cassum esse predicaret : jam vero ea pars mathematicae (si vere mathematica dicenda sit : quae ne scientia quidem dici potest) quae in futurarum rerum predictionibus versatur : adeo nostri Pici opera deprehensa est : ut in angulis mussitare forte audeat : palam publicisque conventibus effutire non audeant : is cum nobiscum Patavii esset : atque in divinatricum artium mentionem incidissemus : Faxo, inquit, ut malae artes : aut in posterum fallant neminem : aut mortuos pictosque homines solos capiant : ita iis enim nominibus : aut perditos homines : (aut) Evangelii : aut philosophiae expertes : Averois more [25] : vocitabat: quod postea tam feliciter prestitit : ut duo postea qui se Pici musam lacerasse : atque perdomuisse jactabant [26] : picarum

[22] *Timée* 22b

[23] cf. infra

[24] *Historia*, fol. 233

[25] nous n'avons pas su retrouver dans Averroes l'allusion.

[26] Cf. F. Secret, *Paulus de Middelburg* in *Rinascimento* XVIII (1967), p. 281.

fabulam omnium cum risu egisse videantur. Scientiam namque omnium principiis constare opus est : quae omnium aut plurium sensu comprobari possint : at ut quae lunae defectu : de solis motu philosophus verusque mathematicus disputant : quae aut semper aut majori ex parte succedere omnes vident : at judicia qui observant non modo non omnia vel semper : vel magna ex parte non vera esse comperiunt : sed ne quam paucissima quidem. Sed Picus late omnia : ac praeter sacrorum principem Augustinum: quem qui non recipiunt : sciant se pietatem quam ille defendendit : non recipere : praeter Aristotelem opinatissimum naturae judicem passim habitum : rei hujus tanquam nihil ad scientiae rationem pertinentis negocium posthabentem : accedit hujus rei censor non poenitendus Plato qui libro de *Republica* septimo (Rep. 23-24) (233v) eam astronomiam veram facit : quae ubi nostros oculos in caelum erexerit : in caeli artificem contemplandum ducit : eam vero non probat : quae rursus ad humana dijudicanda nos trahit. Mathematicas itaque duximus curandas minus esse hoc loco : non quod a sensu ad divina surgentibus conducibilia non sint : tanquam enim praeludia animorum ad divina tendentium : libro eodem (7 *Rep.* 15-10) commendavit Plato : de ea loquor : quae quantum atque in primis numerum disquirit : non quae divinationem profesia : plus fallaciae quam scientiae continet. »

Pico della Mirandola étant mort en 1494, et Egidio da Viterbo ayant fait ses études à Padoue de 1490 à 1493, on peut penser que c'est lors du voyage de Pico à Venise, à la fin de 1491, ou lors de son séjour à Ferrare en 1492, que se fit la rencontre à Padoue.

II. *Egidio da Viterbo et le cardinal Grimani*

Un autre passage de l'*Historia XX saeculorum*, non signalé évoque une rencontre d'Egidio da Viterbo avec le cardinal Grimani à Rome : [1])

[1]) *Cod. Napol.*, fol. 246 : dans un exposé sur Epicure qui « primo itaque atomos statuit : secundo inane subdit in quo agitentur : tertio satas dicit ut rerum semina esse significet : quarto concreta ex eis fieri corpora : quinto eisdem et anima constare : eadem exacte : latine philosophiae assertor unicus Maro nostris hominibus legenda dedit. Pingit enim in Sileno mollem hominem : cum pueris puellisque ludentem : et non sine cantaro hanc philosophiae haeresim puerilibus auribus interpretantem. Namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta semina terrarumque animaeque marisque fuissent : ubi ea quinque tam eleganter quam docte exposita sunt : quod enim animae dixit semina : qui pro solo vere dictum volunt : iccirco venia digniores habendi sunt : quod vel philosophiae expertes sunt aut quod non longo intervallo praestat : unius addicti

« Memini cum Romae Platonis vacuum : ideas et animorum supplicia ad inferos : atque ad superos foelicitatem publico conventu defenderem : ac viri quidam facto agmine multo cum risu haec confutaturi : dicerent se capere non posse : qui nam natura ferre queat vacuum : singulari eruditione praeditum Grimanum cardinalem : eos ridiculos esse ostendisse : qui consuetudine atque affectu suarum rerum capti : impetu ac factione non judicio : non ratione philosophentur : nam qui vacuum intra caelum ponunt : et si dissentiunt verbis ab Aristotele : re tamen sensuque consentiunt : nam quod materia formis excipiendis : id vacuum qui locus dicitur : praestat recipiendis corporibus : ac quam sine materia generatio : tam desineret sine vacuo motus : solvere putant se : qui dicunt corpora sibi cedere : cum tamen id cum dicunt non confutent vacuum sed confirment : ut enim cedunt sibi in genitura formae : neque etiam eorum sententia : cedere ita possent : nisi unum esset de se forma privatum quod utrumque subinde susciperet : ita in loci agitatione : corpus non cederet corpori : nisi aliquod esset spacium sua natura corpore privatum : quod utrumque vicissim hospitaretur : ut tamen prima illa materia nusquam est forma vacans : non tamen materiam primam esse negandum est : ita et si spacium illud nusquam vacat corpore : non tamen iccirco minus esse dicendum est : non enim ex accessione extranea sed sua quodque de natura pensandum appellandumque est. Paulus etiam insignis medicus Florentinus inter peripateticos clarus : rem et veram et Aristoteli sententiae consentientem fatetur : idem Marius Antonius Veronensis : idem et Mantuanus Perettus et Tosettus meus Charrariensis [2] : philosophi nostra aetate consummatissimi sentant : defendi tuto non modo posse sed etiam debere. Verum haec forte longius quam par sit : ut moneam bonorum ingenia (alii sua ipsi viderint) aut divinis tantum rebus uti firmissimis et minime fluentibus : dent operam : aut si hominum inventa nosse placeat : nulli se uni mancipent : sed omnem ut in proverbio est : jactant aleam. »

legibus non aliam philosophiam esse putant praeter eam quam a preceptore pueri acceperunt (246) Qui vero non facile aut credere : aut enunciare voluere atque iccirco : putarunt ne fallerentur omnes audiendos et cognoscendos esse : et quid veteres voluerint : et quam non ridicule senserunt : plane intelligunt ».

[2]) Nous n'avons rien trouvé dans D. A. Perini, *Bibliotheca Augustiniana.*

III. *Aegidius Palaeologus et P. Valerianus*

On sait assez que Pierio Valeriano fut un protégé du cardinal Egidio da Viterbo [1]), qui dans les *Hieroglyphica* reçut la dédicace de la Ciconia [2]). Il répondait ainsi à Valeriano :

> « Ego non ad Corytianas [3]) coenas, ubi quandoque, quasi digliadatum pugna plusquam centaurea, sed velut in arcanum Corytium specum qui, ut Pomponii verbis utar, mirificus et pulcher, ac paulo post totus augustus et vere sacer, habitarique a Diis et dignus et creditus. Nam si datores ἐάων Dii, quis neget antrum Musae tuae a diis inhabitari, qui eodem tempore Aegypti gloriam instauras, quo Turca [4]) evertit ... Hinc te Diis comitibus non caementa, non saxa, non vanas pyramides, sed sapientiae veteris, sed divinae eruditionis, sed arcanarum sacrarumque literarum sepulta monumenta reponere, ignota mortalibus arcana instaurare, lucem canae [5]) doctrinae, quam a Graecis abesse audivit Solon, post tot secula ab inferis revocare. »

[1]) G. Signorelli, *Il card. Egidio da Viterbo Agostiniano, umanista e riformatore*, Florence, 1929, pp. 107, 209, 261.

[2]) *Hieroglyphica*, ed. Bâle, 1567, fol. 123.

[3]) Valeriano avait dit : « Putes vero invitatum te ad Coritianas coenas, in quibus discumbent tecum Bembus, Sadoletus, Sanazarius, et plerique alii... » Egidio dans l'*Historia*, fol. 148v, après avoir évoqué l'elegantia du siècle chez Baptista Carmelita, Pontanus, Sanazarus : « quid dicam Romae his ipsis annis : ad divae Annae aram meo in Templo per Gorycium erectam : certamen poetarum visum : in sacris celebrandis : quale olim in turpi carmine duit : in oscenis scriptitandis, in scrivendi flore fere eodem : cessit Venus Virgini : impudicitia sanctimoniae : luxuria castitati. Taceo scriptores hymnorum sacrorum : Stephani, Laurentii, Francisci, Johannis, Gabrilis et aliorum divorum : quorum in scribendo felicitate tu usus Leo decime : fecisti aetatem tuam : disertis temporibus : non Cicerones, non Antonios : non Cottas : non Hortensios invidere : ...

[4]) Cf. *Historia*, fol. 215v : « flectens deinde in Asiam Syriam Fenicem Palestinam Judaeam Arabiam Nili ostia : et universam Aegyptum invasit : vicit : coepit ».

[5]) *Historia*, fol. 189v : « His de principiis divinis locuti sunt, non de vulgaribus in luto jacentibus : in quo se volutant garrulorum scholae : quodque oculos tenet vulgarium animarum : quae miserae puerilia Graecorum posteriorum admirantes : canae arcanaeque doctrinae ineptae sunt » ; fol. 223v : « irridet Aegyptius autore Platone (*Tim.*) : cum enim dixisset sacerdos : O Solo, Solon, vos Graeci pueri semper estis : adjectit statim : percontante Solone cur id diceret : quoniam inquit juvenis vobis semper est animus : in quo nulla ex vetustatis commemoratione : prisca opinio nulla cana scientia : ubi eos taxat : quod neque antiquas historias : neque antiquam venerandamque doctrinam : Aegyptiorum Etruscorumve suscepit. »

Il semble bien qu' Egidio da Viterbo, qui signa un de ses traités restés manuscrits, Aegidius Palaeologus [6]), l'équivalent grec de Lucumon ait influé sur le goût de Valeriano pour les mystères des Egyptiens, déjà mêlés par Annius à ceux des Etrusques, comme en témoignent les peintures du Pinturrichio pour Alexandre VI [7]). L'invité aux séances humanistes de Jean de Goritz se souvint de certains développements particulièrement chers au cardinal. Il écrit au livre XLVIII de ses *Hieroglyphica* à propos de la Divina Majestas [8]).

> « ... invehitur curru, non eo inquam platonico [9]), in quo ὁ μεν μεγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεύς, ἐλαύνων πῖηνον ἅρμα, πρῶτος πορευέται sed de curru loquor quem Hetruscorum monumenta observanda nobis vetustate ostendere, quem ex Aramaeorum arcanis profundissimae doctrinae vir Aegidius Viterbinesis in Circum aetate nostra primus induxit. Verum super hoc quaedam altius repetenda sunt. Aramei unum eundemque librum duas esse leges dixerunt : alteram scriptam, alteram a Deo Moysi traditam : illam populis, hanc sapientibus : illam proverbii rerum humanarum, hanc lucis rerum divinarum formam gerentem : in illa historiam orbis conditi atque administrandi, in hac formulam adumbratae atque ad effigiem expressae divinitatis ostendi. Duo itidem Plato regna commemorat, Jovis et Saturni, regnumque Saturni regno Jovis tanquam felicius anteponit ... Sed ut ad rem nostram convertamur, utrumque duobus nominibus appellat Hebreus, illud opus BRESCIT, ac creationis, hoc opus CURRUS, et arcanae intellectionis. Legis igitur secundae hujus, quae arcana est, per Messiam et suos aperienda per speciem currus apud eos conscribitur ἱερογλυφικῶς. Currum hunc Ezechiel quatuor ex imaginibus excogitavit ... ».

[6]) Bibl. Nat. Paris, *Lat. 6589* : « Fratis Egidii Palaeologi monumenta et index de Aristotelis erroribus. » Egidio da Viterbo suit Annius, op. cit., ed. 1552, II, 309 : « Lucumo cum sit nomen dignitatis pertinentis ad principatum simul et religionem, dicimus quod lingua Lucumo est nomen compositum, et significat idem quod in compositione graeca Palaeologos, et latine Viterbus et eadem sunt Lucumonum Palaeologum Viterbum. Nam ut diximus Luca significat apud Aramaeos vetus, senem senatum, apud Graecos vetus Palaeos et senescens dicitur, apud Latinos quoque vetus senem et senium significat ».

[7]) Cf. J. Baltrusaitis, *Essai sur la légende d'un mythe, la quête d'Isis*, Paris, 1967 p. 157 s. reproduisant les peintures, et citant les textes d'Annius. Alexandre VI assista en effet à des fouilles, cf. Annius, op. cit., p. 397 « sacrae statuae de more ad memoriam suffosae, nuper astante S P. Alexandro VI cum tota Curia inventa indicio leporis, effosae sint ».

[8]) *Hierog.* fol. 322

[9]) *Phèdre*, 246a

Si Valeriano a eu d'autres sources pour la kabbale qu'Egidio da Viterbo [10]), son développement sur le Char ne s'entend que par l'œuvre du cardinal. L'image dans le traité de la *Scechina* apparaît, mais presque effacée : [11])

> « Haec quam ego nunc monstro sapientia : Maase Mercava denominatur : opus currule : vos diceretis cumque illam pingunt Aramaei curra aureo pingunt : quo Ethruriae sapientis insigne : ad te unum pertinet : quem tui ex Ethruria Romani usurpavere.

Par contre dans l'*Historia XX saeculorum*, le rapport entre Etrusques et Kabbale est souligné : [12])

> « Mentio fit octavo loco de equis, et curribus : currus nomine, tam Ezechiel quam David : eas apellant mentes : quas a praecipua actione Aristoteles intelligentias vocat : describit et in Deo intelligentiae fonte rotas Ezechiel : easque deinde mentibus tribuit quos nuncios angelosque nominamus : in psalmo vero canitur : *Currus Dei decem millibus* [13]) : Plato in *Phedro* divina haec a veteribus mutuatus : multa de curru nostrae intelligentiae : multa de equis voluntatis et appetitionis : in curru virtutes sunt contemplatrices : in equis : quae ad mores vitamque pertinent actuose : ut gemina initia et facultates : altera agendi : altera contemplandi. Video primum ad decimi saeculi pontificem alludi egregia eruditione summo ingenio tam graece quam latine scientissimum : et cui in utriusque linguae facundia : accerrimum

[10]) Valeriano cite Tedacus Levi d'après le *De arte cabalistica*, et propose un développement qui n'est pas chez Egidio sur l'Argaman du *Cant.* III, 10 « prima litera fit Uriel : per A enim illi scribunt. Sequenti R, Raphael. Tertia G, Gabriel. Quarta M, Michael. Quinta N, Nuriel. Neque sum nescius, Hebraeorum quorundam juniorum super angelis planetisque et signis, quibus imperitent, commenationes longe diversas esse, aliterque tradi in diurnis illis supplicationibus, quae secundum doctrinam cabalisticam institutae dicuntur » (M. G. Vajda nous a indiqué la source : *Tiqquney Zohar*, ed. Margulies, 144b, lig. 3-4, et 127b, lig. 1-2) Le thème se retrouvera chez Bart. Valverdius, *Salomonis de forti muliere alphabetum*, Rome, 1589, p. 64 : « Purpuram Regis Salomonis, de qua scriptum est (Cant. III,10) Ferculum sibi fecit Rex Salomon de lignis Libani, stratum ejus aureum, quadrigam ejus, ita enim habraice legimus, purpuram : Ezechielis esse quadrigam, et quatuor alati et volucris currus animalia, quatuor esse angelicas potestates Gabrielem, Michaelem, Raphaelem Nurielem, ARGAMAN, sive purpurae nomine occulte designatas ». et enregistré par A. Ricciardus, *Commentaria symbolica...* Venise, 1591, I, p. 84v, et par L. Alcazar *Vestigatio arcani sensus in Apoc.*, 1618, p. 108.

[11]) *Scechina*, Rome, 1959, I, p. 97

[12]) *Historia*, fol. 208v

[13]) *Ps.* LXVII, 18

esset judicium futurum. Equos cuique binos inesse Phedrus docet : pravum alterum : alterum studiosum : virum praeterea optimum : in quo studiosum audit pravus : contra improbum : cum non modo non audit : sed huc illuc reluctans, et calcitrans : et propellit et trahit : cujus calamitatem ex Platone latinis tradidit Maro : cum ait : *Fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas* [14]). Hinc Tyrrheni tui olim Italiae, et utriusque maris principes : archanae sapientiae consultissimi : cum quatuor virtutum genera statuissent : sicut Platonici deinde prodiderunt : italicam philosophiam Pythagorae Tyrrhenorumque consectati : purgatricem honorabant laudibus tantum : purgati animi statua : heroicam equestri : divinam curruli sella donabant. Cumque primi Tyrrhenorum animo excelso et erecto : contemnerent res humanas : aurum : opes cultum spernerent : et divinae contemplationi se dederent : domos urbesque aspernantes curru contenti vitam traducebant : ut curru semper inspecto : ad decus currulis contemplationis : allicerentur semper, atque inflamarentur. Quare Chabala quae de divinis agit : a Talmudistis doctoribus : et veterum sapientibus Maase Mercava : opus currule assidue nuncupatur. Statuas vero tam equestres : quam currules ab Ethruscis [15]) accepisse Romanos : memoriae scriptores latini prodiderunt (209) Porro alii velut manchi uni incumbunt rei : aut currui, et contemplatrici aut equis atque actionibus : utrique perperam : alteri ad divina cognoscenda : alteri ad humana peragenda inepti. Te excepere decimi saeculi exordia : quo si graece, latineve loquendum : nemo doctior : si consilium quavis in re capiendum : nemo omnium judicio solertior, prudentior, accuratior. Sane sapientes Aramaeorum decem illos divinarum rerum numeros statuentes : quosdam currulis sedis pedes vocant : quosdam alios insertos volunt : quos vel jugales, vel equos licebit apellare ».

[14]) *Georg.* I, 514

[15]) Cf. fol. 219 : « Hanc patres Tyrrheni aureo primum saeculo sub Jano exercuere : qui ne arborum aut concarum more loco affixi haererent : curru pro domibus : glande pro epulis : rivis fontibusque pro poculis : caelo denique pro laquearibus utebantur : idem mutatis saeculis tantum hujus rei contemplatione sub sexaginta ferme regibus floruere : ut non modo Romani qui juncti agro erant : juvenes erudiendos in Ethruriam mitterent : sed rerum divinarum intelligentia Diodoro teste : universo orbi administrationis Ethruria esset : ultimi omnium hanc exceperunt Graeci : quos Aegypti sacerdotes cum ad eos audiendos Solon navigasset : teste Platone pueros appellabat : nam cum archanae doctrinae mysteria Orpheus ex Aegypto primus in Graeciam invexisset : primus divinae hujus rei fundamenta jecit : quem postea haud sane multi ut Musaeus, Linus, Hesiodus : Homerus : Pindarus imitati sunt... »

IV. *Virgile de Viterbe.*

Nous avions eu l'occasion de signaler l'importance des rapports entre Egidio da Viterbo et son compatriote, le Dominicain Annius de Viterbe [1]). Depuis, la publication par le P. John W. O'Malley Du *De Ecclesiae incremento* [2]) envoyé au Roi Manuel de Portugal en 1507 nous a invité à examiner de plus près l'emploi de Virgile dans l'œuvre d'Egidio da Viterbo.

Le très beau travail de Vladimiro Zabughin, *Vergilio nel Rinascimento italiano*, s'il a bien mis en valeur l'importance du trop oublié *De vita et gestis Christi* de Giacomo Bona da Ragusa, que Clément VII confia au cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, [3]) n'a pas connu une des interprétations les plus originales, celle qu'en proposa Egidio da Viterbo, célèbre pour avoir recommandé le *De partu Virginis* de Sannazaro.

Sans prétendre faire l'étude complète de cette interprétation, qui devrait en particulier utiliser les copieuses notes réunies dans ses Dictionnaires par Egidio da Viterbo [4]), nous voudrions montrer comment, à partir de l'œuvre d'Annius de Viterbe, qui avait trouvé la clef des choses étrusques dans l'araméen, Egidio découvrit un Virgile kabbaliste fort au courant des mystères traités par les Araméens. Alors que chez un contemporain aussi friand que lui de kabbale, le Franciscain Franciscus Georgius Venetus, ce sont les « Chaldaei » qui révèlent les « arcana », chez Egidio ce sont les Aramaei, et tandis que chez Annius de Viterbe la notion de kabbale est encore floue,

[1]) *Egidio da Viterbo et quelques uns de ses contemporains*, *Augustiniana* XVI (1966), p. 372 s.

[2]) *Traditio* XXV (1969) *Fulfillment of the christian golden age under Pope Julius II, Text of a discourse of Gilles of Viterbo 1507.*

[3]) *Vergilio...*, Bologne 1921-1923, II, p. 189 renvoyant à un article sur *E. Cerva e G. Bona.* Livre rare édité en 1526 par la stamperia della Camera Apost»., il est *Stamp. Vat. Racc. I, II, 1024.* G. Bona (1469-1543) a d'ailleurs échappé à l'attention du *Dizionario degli Italiani.*

[4]) *Le catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, Paris, 1939 n'a donné qu'une analyse rapide des *Lat. 596* et *597* : *Glossarium chaldaicae linguae et Cabalae vocabula.* Notes lexicographiques classées par ordre alphabétique sur des textes de cabale On y trouve de veritables « Loci communes » de la Kabbale, un Dictionnaire mytho-kabbalistique. Ainsi dans Lat. 597 fol. 579 il y a 7 col. et demie sur Virgilius, fol. 588v 6 colonnes et demie sur le même thème; fol. 166, 8 colonnes et demie sur les Tusci. Les traductions latines des œuvres de kabbale comportent toutes peu ou prou des allusions à la mythologie : ainsi Lat. 527 (2) sur *Berescit Rabba*, fol. 43 « Enoc raptus et Ganymedes », fol. 85 sur la « Scechina » et « Astrea recessit » fol. 145 » viae duae Pythagorae » etc.

elle va se préciser peu-à-peu dans les œuvres d'Egidio. L'Etrurie, et Virgile, est à toutes les pages du *De Ecclesiae incremento*, puis des *Sententiae ad mentem Platonis* composées autour de 1512, mais sans que la kabbale, dont un des grands textes le *Zohar* est en araméen, y trouve développement. Avec l'*Historia XX saeculorum*, achevée, en l'état qui nous reste, vers 1517, Virgile est présenté non plus seulement comme un témoin du Christianisme, un écho des Sibylles, un disciple de Platon, comme chez C. Landino déjà cité par Annius de Viterbe [5]), mais comme un kabbaliste [6]).

Nous avons déjà reproduit le texte où Egidio fait un sort particulier aux lettres saintes F.A.U.L, qui dans le *De Ecclesiae incremento* [7]) était un des fils de la trame, ces lettres étant les initiales, tour à tour des Faluceres, Arbanos, Vetulonios, Longolanos, des éléments : Fundamenta terrae, Aqua, Ventus Lux, des passions : Formido, Aegritudo, Voluptas, Libido, des quatre faces vues par Ezechiel : Facies humana, Aquila, Vitulus, Leo. En voici un autre fort clair [8]).

> « Ita fidem fundaturus Apostolus [9]) quatuor quae diximus fundamenta posuit : ut esset altae sapientiae consultissimus : Gamalielis auditor studiosissimus quem Hebraei suae aetatis principem in arvanarum rerum cognitione faciunt. Sciebat namque Apstolorum decus, quaternarii radices in Deo repertas esse :

[5]) Annius, *op. cit.*, f. 140; f. 372 il cite Hermolaus Venetus Aquilegiae patriarcha L'étymologie de Sibylla selon Landino, lib. III sur Virgile (« est autem Sibylla quasi σιουβοολη, id enim est Dei sententia quoniam Dei consilium sibi notum sit σιον enim enim Aeoles deum dicunt : quem reliqui Graeci Θεὸν nominant ») deviendra chez Egidio « Sibulla semita Dei (de l'hébreu Sebylla) cf. *Lat.* 527 (1) fol. 151 et 292 (sur *Zohar* III, 209a) « A Regis capite descendit unguentum in barbam... exitque semita Sebil subtilis : et totus mundus bibit a stillicidio Israel », et en marge : « Via Sibylla tenuis patebat gentibus... Sibylla haec unde gentes vaticin ».

[6]) Cf. Index *Scechina*.

[7]) *Traditio*, p. 294; cf. Annius, *op. cit.* ed. 1552, f. 608 : « Sequamur expositiones Virgiliani carminis. Prope Ceritis. Ceritis amnis est Minio, ut Servius est author. Ingens dicitur lucus (*Aen.* VIII, 595)... ini necessario et in ea solum Volturna est lucus... Locus ipse Luci sub Volturna, ad hanc aetatem dicitur quatuor literis sacris Faul id est Fanum Arbanae Volturnae Lucumon. Haec enim 4 vocabula aramaea sive etrusca sunt non latina... Rursus aera et priscae monetae Viterbenses, excisae literis sacris Faul quaedam habent, et quaedam Faup, que idem ut supra exprimunt exeptis ultimis literis L et P ».

[8]) Naples, fol. 55v

[9]) sur *Ephes.* III, 18

et quae in duodenarium fundantur : ita de fide : qua illa ipse intelligendus est Deus : duxit esse existimandum : similia namque tria sint necesse est : rem : intelligentiam : nomen veritas et enim aequat rei intelligendi rationem : recta annominatio facit (si a sapientibus instituatur, ut Plato dicebat in *Cratylo*) [10]) ut formulae intelligendi respondeat. Si itaque nomen magnum non ab homine impositum est Deo : sed contra : a Deo ipso datum est homini : illud si imitabitur mens humana : eo intelligentiae perveniet : quo tandem attingere mortali fas est homini : occultam vero rationem : qua quaternarius in duodenarium se fundit : et nomen hoc obtinet : ut late consulti probant : et mira claritate in sacerdotis rationali Moses ostendit : ubi quatuor : primo texit ordines : deinde cuique ordine assuit gemmas tris : patrum inscripta nominibus sensit id Caldea gens : unde Abraham et stirps hebraeae gentis exorta est : cumque (ut Berosus ait) et nos late probamus *in Ethruscorum rebus* : post aquarum illuvionem eruto e naufragii communis aqua mundo : qui imbribus supererant Umbri Gallique ex ea vocati Italiam rate tenuissent : Thyberim intrassent : in laevam eorum et fluminis dextram flexissent : agrum aeternae claritati gloriae imperio optassent ad Cyminias radices nominis magni literarum sacrarum numerum in luco sacrant ; statimque explent numerum : ac simul duodecim duces creant : qui in quatuor Ethruriae oris : tris cuique partiti : condunt duodecim civitates : ut posteri in ipso prope divino nati nomine : nunquam ab ejus meditatione, veneratione, cultu recederent : sed semper sacrum nomen, sacras litteras, sacros numeros : dies noctesque meditarentur. Haec qui norunt intelligunt quid sibi occulti velint numeri : quos nostri non nisi ad humana opera trahunt : cum tamen divinus Spiritus : divina se non humana dicturum polliceatur : Ut non loquatur, inquit, os meum opera hominum (Ps. XVI, 4). Qui itaque hos numeros nonnisi in humanis intelligunt : videant dum sua probant non Spiritus oracula usui nobis sunt prophetarum ennarationes quae emendant mores : non tamen iccirco probandum est : ne divinus sermo doceat nos divina. Ad numerum redeo : quem quum Deus in se habeat : iccirco est hominibus traditus non quoniam in nobis ille est : iccirco in divinis celebratur : pudet certe pigetque quod quidam probi alioqui viri et eruditi volunt : ideo duodecim non undecim esse tribus quod totidem in hominis perturbationes esse compertum sit. Imitemur [12]) enim divina nos oportet : non a divinis

[10]) *Cratyl.*

[11]) *Ps.* XVI, 4

[12]) sur l'imitatio f. 30v « Addo Aramaeorum arcanum : cum in universa Lege : tum vero in Daniele scriptum secula Deum imitari : in Deo pythagoreum denarium ponunt : quem numerum rerum et mundi initium faciunt : non numerum mathematicum

imitandi nos sumus : illa deceat antecedere : nostra sequi. Est itaque in Deo ille numerus : non corporum partitioni obnoxius : non cogitatione confictus atque mathematicus : sed ex nostra contemplandi ratione : et ex iis quae in simplicissima divinissimaque natura divina esse comperiuntur : in ipsa rerum arce constitutus : hunc mentes hinc caeli hunc elementa : hunc patriarchae : hunc gemmae sacerdotis : hunc sacerdotio aeterno debita Ethruria imitata est quae non modo in communibus disputationibus sed in condendis urbibus : preficiendi regibus : fascibus gestandis rebus denique omnibus : oculis objiciendum arbitrabatur partitionem ethrusci soli : qua quatuor ducuntur in tria : Mantua Tyrrhenorum proles imitata est quod vates antiquae sapientiae aemulus sensit : quum dixit : *Gens illi triplex populi sub gente quaterni* [13]) »

Il fallait pour comprendre Virgile que soit d'abord révélés les mystères de la kabbale. Ce qu'il affirme dans un fort beau texte sur le thème de l'arbre : [14])

« Quod si qua suspitio superesset : non esse in divina natura arbores et haec de iis dici : quae et oriuntur et occidunt : non de perpetuis atque sempiternis et si latet arbore opaca aureus et foliis et lento vimine ramus [15]) de suis saltem fructibus agnoscatur. Lege secundam Legem (Deut. 33b) [16]) ubi arborem solis et arborem lunae videre est in Joseph benedictione : quae in mysteriis mysterium habent magnum : Christi et Ecclesiae : ut omnium archanorum consultissimus testatur Apostolus [17]) : adjecit tandem Moses [18]) : Det tibi Deus non de fructibus prediorum tantum : sed et de pomis collium aeternorum (fol. 165) De beatae arboris ramo apud Maronem nemo aliquid aut scripsit aut scribere unquam potest : donec mysteria veterum Aramaeorum edantur in lucem : idem de Pythagorica : Tyrrhena : Homerica et antiqua theologia statuo : nihil ex ea veri posse a mortalibus conjici nisi fontes unde fluxere aperiantur : nemo divina novit, inquit Plato, nisi Dei filius [19]) : addit his Dei filius : Et cui voluerit Filius revelare [20]) : nobit Filius et Nova Lex : quam tulit ipse

ut sophistae somniant : sunt in eo numeri hinc quainque superiora : totidem inde inferiora etc ».

13) *Aen.* X, 202 ; comparer avec *De Ecclesiae incremento*, p. 305

14) *Naples*, f. 164v

15) *Aen.* VI, 136-137

16) *Deut.* XXXIII, 14

17) *Eph.* V, 32

18) *Deut*, ibid., 15

19) *Rep.* VI, 508

20) *Mat.* XI, 27

atque coram condidit : novere et Moses et senes Veteris legis : quibus noluit se videndum praebere tantum archana voluit revelare : cortices et aristae a nonnullis ostentatae sunt mortalibus hactenus. Nulli, quod sciam, adytis condita eruere fas [21]) fuit : nulli proferre de thesauris archanis nova, et vetera omnia nulli pandere res alta terra et caligine mersa [22]) : tu qui non terris modo ut reges ; sed ipsi etiam caelo, ut primus Dei angelus praees, angelorum, inquam, septem princeps : quos septem facit Ecclesiis praeesse Johannes : si volueris si fas feceris si mandaveris : facies : ut quod Cicero ad Atticum [23]) scribit : usurpatque proverbium : Numeris Platonis obscurius : et proverbium quandoque citari desinat : et numeri magna ex parte e tenebris noctis sese eruere incipiant : et in apertum lucis emergere ».

Fort de cette certitude, Egidio ne craint pas les étymologies osées. Ainsi à propos d'un mot du Ps. XVI traduit différemment par saint Jérôme, Reuchlin, etc, Pariz : [24])

« Quoniam dicto hebraea Pariz sonat : quae quidem ab irrumpendo infringendoque dicta est : quasi dicere velit : hominem qui saepem et septa legis infringat : neque Deum neque homines veritus : unde Iliensis Priamus : qui a Tyrrheno Dardano originem traxit : ob linguae cognationem : filium quem regnum eversurum viderat : hoc appellavit nomine : dictusque is Pariz est : quanquam Graecus, sicut solet, ad se omnia. Maro tamen Dardanum ex Italia : non e Graecia : ex Ethruria primum : non e Samothracia : ad Dardaniam condedam esse profectum docet : italicae veritatis ; non alieni mendacii : nec latinae credulitatis sectator ».

Egidio trouvera encore l'Eucharistie dans l'Enéide : [25])

« Discessum a Deo erat : vitio Adae : qui rubeus sanguineusque interpretatur : non erat igitur nisi purpureo cruore redeundum : quod late Moses scribit Hebraeis : et Sibyllae gentibus : inprimisque Phrygia : quam teste Pausania et Solino secutus Homerus est : scripsit idem Maro : ex eisdem mutuatus auctoribus : Sanguine quaerendi reditus : cumque hoc de Phrygia didicisset : quod in Asia : sanguine quaerendi essent reditus [26]) : quod Veteris Legis prope Jordanem fluvium mos fuit : atque ideo in Asiae

21) *Aen.* VI, 266
22) *ibid.*, 267
23) *Ad Attic.* liv. VII, ep. 13
24) *Naples*, f. 42v
25) *ibid.*, f. 24v
26) *Aen.* II, 118

liittoribus eorum sacrorum usum fecit : legit rursus apud Cumeam novae Legis ritum : non sanguine non Asiae : non Jordanis : sed fatalis crusti Urbis Romae atque Tusci Tyberis : ubi famem explendam orbe sacrae placentulae : et vates predixerant : et ipse Harpia [27]) predictum esse confinxit : ut in oraculis inventum esse significaret. Idemque in aliis oraculis : semper enim ea vel a diis : vel a mortalibus vatibus recenseri facit. De novae vero Legis sacris multa a prophetis dicuntur quae per Sibyllas tradidit Latinis Mantuanus : primo quidem *crustum* : dein formam nam *orbem* nominat : praeterea prius in vaticiniis et archanis habitum : quamobrem adjecit, *fatalis* [28]) : quarto manu frangi : quinto mandi : sexto, addi vina : nunc pateras libate Jovi [29]) : septimo peculiaris agnoscitur locus : Tyberis ubi romanae Ecclesiae ritus, ac mos perpetuus : octavo in eo sitam esse requiem et malorum finem : qua sola re : non rei sacrae : sicut in sex aliis sacramentis ».

V. *Egidio da Viterbo et Jacobus Perez de Valencia.*

Si l'on peut s'étonner qu'Egidio da Viterbo ait choisi pour l'armature de son *Historia XX saeculorum* le livre des psaumes, la lecture d'un Ermite de Saint Augustin, qu'il cita parmi ceux qui surent faire place à la langue sainte dans la restitution des bonnes lettres [1]), nous éclaire en partie. Jacobus Perez de Valencia dédia en 1484 ses *Expositiones in centum et quinquaginta psalmos* à Rodrigo Borgia, qui devenu Alexandre VI reçut d'ailleurs la dédicace du travail fameux d'Annius de Viterbe.

Un des fondements de l'exégèse de Perez est [2]) « quod nullum mysterium scriptum aut factum in V.T. est gratia sui : sed omnia facta sunt in figura N.T. et omnia praenunciabant mysteria Christi et Ecclesiae futura in N.T. Conclusionem affirmat Apostolus Iae Corin. X dicens : *Omnia contingebant illis in figura.* Et après avoir cité Eusèbe, saint Augustin, saint Grégoire, deux autorités hébraïques : [3])

[27]) *Aen.* III

[28]) *Aen.* VII, 115

[29]) *Aen.* VII, 133

[1]) *Historia,* fol. 122 : « nona aetas emendandam suscepit : natus in ea primo est Nicolaus de Lyra : successit Jacobus Valentinus ordinis mei qui permulta in psalmis emendavit... »

[2]) *Expositiones,* fol. Iv.

[3]) *ibid.*

« Item Rabbi Salomon super Zachariam dicit quod non sunt locuti prophetae nisi ad tempora Messiae et intendit per prophetas Moysem et omnes Scripturas Veteris Testamenti. Item dicit Rabi Moyses de Aegypto in suo *lumine dubiorum*, parte secunda : quod ceremonialia Legis non sunt gratia sui : immo omnia sunt absolvenda per Messiam ».

Et il précise encore, en parlant des principaux mystères du Christianisme : [4])

« Haec erant sigillata in Veteri Testamento sub signis et figuris et vaticiniis in libro Legis scripto intus et foris, et maxime latebant in libro Psalmorum : in quo tota Lex et Prophetae continentur : quem librum nemo fuit dignus aperire nec solvere septem signacula ejus nisi solus Christus agnus qui occisus est, ut patet Apocalypsi eo quod ipse solus Christus habet clavem David

Omnes Psalmi et omnia vaticinia Prophetarum sunt literaliter intelligenda de Christo et Ecclesia ».

L'*Historia XX saeculorum* s'ouvre donc bien clairement : [5])

« Usurpatur passim versiculus David : *In capite libri scriptum est de me* [6]), quo Dominus quaerentibus se significat : a libri Psalmorum initio se esse perquirendum : mos vero sacris oraculis usitatissimus est : ut cum Christum dicimus : quandoque Verbum hominem factum cogitemus : quandoque non ipsum illum : sed quod vocant corpus Christi misticum : et credentium Ecclesiam intelligamus : ut rex pro regno caput pro membris : princeps pro populo subinde nominetur ... in libri itaque exordio Christum inveniemus : si inde initium sumentes, Ecclesiae partes : sacro numero distribuemus : rerumque gestarum ordinem digeremus [7]) ».

Perez de Valencia n'avait du moins pas cherché systématiquement les épisodes de l'histoire de l'Église dans les psaumes. Tout au plus y avait-il retrouvé le temps de Constantin, ou Mahomet.

Le véritable reportage [8]) de la vie de Léon X contée dans le Ps. XX suppose donc une forte influence du courant joachimite chez Egidio

[4]) *Expositiones*, fol. VIII v.

[5]) *Historia*, fol. I

[6]) *Ps.* XL, 8 (cité in *Heb.* X, 7)

[7]) Sixtus Senensis, *Bibliotheca sancta*, ed. 1610, p. 128.

[8]) expression de K. Rahner, citée par H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médievale*, seconde partie II, p. 366

da Viterbo, qui par ailleurs renonça à l'attitude de Perez au sujet de la tradition hébraïque ainsi formulée : [9])

> « Post conversionem magni Constantini videntes Rabbini Judaeorum omnes Gentiles cum tanta devotione ad fidem Christi converti per totum orbem, et Ecclesiam tanto favore prosperari : et etiam quod infinita multitudo Judeorum videntes manifestam veritatem per experientiam et miracula, pariter convertebantur : et sic deficiebant quaestus et redditus et tributa rabbinorum. Hac igitur iniquitate commoti magna multitudo rabbinorum congregata fuit apud Babyloniam Aegypti quae dicitur Cayre : ubi quantomagis caute potuerunt : conati sunt falsificare et pervertere Scripturas a vero sensu et significatione. Unde confinxerunt supra V vel VII puncta loco vocalium. Nam loco ipsius A confinxerunt virgulam transversam quam Pathah appellant, et aliam quam Camez vocant : et posuerunt pro ipso A sub qualibet consonante. Et pro I ponunt punctum sub consonante quod Hirich appellant : et loco ipsius E ponunt duo puncta sic facta quae Sceva : vel tria sic facta quod Segol appellant. Et loco ipsius U ponunt tria sic facta quae selosa necudoth vocant. Et sic haec puncta apponunt vel supponunt in literis consonantibus loco vocalium Et sic isto modo deduxerunt omnia vocabula sacra Scripturae Veteris Testamenti ad sensus et significationes prout eis libuit et ad intentum suum ubi erant manifesta mysteria de Christo et Ecclesia, pervertendo ad eorum intentum. Et sic dixerunt quod translatio ipsorum LXX in multis deficiebat. Quorum punctorum inventores fuerunt Raunia et Rabasse duo doctores eorum. Ex quibus patet quod Scriptura V.T. eo modo quo scripsit Esdras ita indiget interpretatione apud Hebreos : sic apud nos. Ex quibus patet quod tota Scriptura quam hodie habent Hebraei sic punctuata est jam interpretata et ducta ad sensum et intentum eorum per illa puncta et ideo nulla fides est adhibenda Scripturae hebraicae ».

La conséquence pour Perez était que la traduction de saint Jérôme ne valait pas : [10])

> « Hieronymus traduxit Psalterium de verbo ad verbum ex hebraeo jam punctato et interpretato per Judaeos Thalmudistas. Et hanc translationem bene acceptant Judaei ; quod convenit cum litera punctuata et interpretata. Sed Ecclesia non renuit hanc translationem : verum tamen noluit quod canteretur in Ecclesia eo quod est aliquantulum suspecta cum sit traducta ex hebraeo jam interpretato ».

[9]) *Expositiones*, fol. XVIII

[10]) *ibid.*

Au contraire Egidio da Viterbo dira à Léon X : [11])

« Quae res facit ut Hieronymi translatio in hac parte aut recipienda sit : aut Evangelistae authoritas contemnenda. Quam quidem, Leo decime, si hoc Lateranensi Concilio recipias : et cantari in templis jubeas : rem facias tua pietate, ingenio, eruditione dignissimam. Cum vel cum preasertimvetustissimus psalmorum libellus repertus sit : quo Hieronymi translationem continente quaedam Italiae templa : in divinis laudibus canendis : usa fuisse satis constat. Quam rem nemo probare non potest : nisi qui divina vel non novit : vel non amat ».

VI. *Le symbolisme de la tiare.*

J. W. O'Malley a noté : « Perhaps the most curious of all the truths Giles felt were fully comprehensible only « ex arcanis » was the meaning of the triple crown of the papal tiara. » [1])

Le texte d'Egidio da Viterbo est d'autant plus intéressant à connaître qu'il a échappé à l'attention d'E. Muntz [2]), qui signala que la tiare commandée à Caradosso par Jules II perdit ses trois couronnes traditionnelles, et qu'un des auteurs qui a le plus parlé de Caradosso fut le chanoine de Latran, Teseo Ambrogio [3]), dont on sait que l'*Introductio in chaldaicam linguam* reproduisit les principaux thèmes du livret d'Egidio, *de Litteris hebraicis* :

« Primus [4]) (Paul II (1464-1471) lectissimarum gemmarum toto orbe quaesitarum luce : exornavit ambitum trium coronarum quarum usus ex archanis agnosci solum potest : ubi divinus Spiritus docuit : qua nam ratione Deus assimilatus sit, ut oraculi verbo utar, in manibus prohetarum (Os. XII, 10) : pinguntur siquidem ab imo surgentes septem numeri : qui tanquam humanae formae effigiem... (152)
senario conditum orbem esse : et Moses monet : et Augustinus probat : ut sint ternarii duo : quibus inditum et genuinum sit creandi munus : alter superior ad magna : alter inferior ad minora propensior. Ille dextrum brachium : sinistrum et mammas :

[11]) *Historia*, fol. 42v

[1]) *Giles of Viterbo*, p. 80 ref. Angel. Lat. 502, f. 236 s.

[2]) *La tiare pontificale, du 8e au 16e s.* (*Mem. Acad. Insc. Bel. Let.* XXXVI (1897) qui cite Teseo Ambrogio comme un auteur du temps, d'après Piot, *Le cabinet de l'amateur*

[3]) *Introductio*, p. 182

[4]) *Cod. Nap.*, fol. 151v

hic crus utrumque et eorum nexum obtinet : pedum denique postremum locum septima numeratio continet : universi corporis onus sustinens : quae septimae diei respondet in orbis genitura (si loqui sic fas sit) finis, terminusque divinitatis : hoc est ea numeratio : infra quam non alia ponitur : sed creatarum rerum ordo subnectitur. Sed huic numerorum picturae caput deeest : quod efficit tertius sacratissimusque ternarius capitis : oris : linguae nominibus a vatibus apellatus et omnium aliorum fons : supremus ille ternarius est : ut regum rex in rerum arce situs : docent archana : omnes illos numeros appelari coronas [5]). Sed quum duo ternarii a principe illo pendent : icirco ternarius ille primus rex regum et dominus dominantium a Johanne [6]) nuncupatur qui in archano somno raptus : et introductus in cellaria [7]) sicut narratur in *Canticis* : quod subobscure Daniel viderat [8]) : apertissima luce contemplatus est Quamobrem et antiquum dierum et lanae candidae persimile caput memorat [9]). Atqui si nihil Deo similius sacerdote : nihil summo sacerdote cognatius esse debet : addendum ejus capiti fuit : id quod sacri eloquii testimonio : divinum caput refert : cujus symbolum est : ternarius coronarum. Eum ordinem decem archanorum numerorum Moses in decimis persolvendis insinuat : ab eoque divino numero factum

[5]) sur ces couronnes, en hébreu « Taghin », cf. *Loci communes kabbalistici*, in C. F. Knorr von Rosenroth, *Kabbala denudata*, 1677, I, p. 726 et 701

[6]) *Apoc.* XIX, 16

[7]) *Cant.* I, 3. Sur ce verset cf. infra fol. 181v : « Introduxit me in cellam vinariam, intelligit christianus tam graecus quam latinus se fidei lumen intueri solum : Hebraeos in tenebris et nocte caligare : quod ad ea quae credenda sunt : pertinet : sed vero ad Scripturarum ennerrationem facit : nostros innumerabilia mysteria latere : quorum non nisi corticem vident : in archanis Aramaeorum nucleum ac medullam asservari : dicimus nos in cellam vinariam : nugas elegantiolae aucupantes : vim munerumque mysterii evertentes : nam si mensura ac numero fecit Deus omnia : quid nos inanes et futiles : dum pueriles dicendi flosculos sequimur : archanos et secretorum et secretorum plenos numeros dissentiunt quum vim numerum mysterii tenet : vinaria non tenet : vinum enim sic scribitur Jain unde Italus Janus viti sator : aperio jam mysterium Jaiin : Inquiunt numerum complectitur 70, eundem quod Sod quod secretum significat... ».

[8]) thème fondamental, cf. fol. 30v : « Addo archanum Aramaeorum : cum in universa Lege, tum vero in Daniele scriptum : saecula Deum imitari : in Deo pythagoreum denarium ponunt : quem numerum rerum et mundi initium faciunt; non numerum mathematicum : ut sophistae somniant : sunt in eo numeri hinc quinque superiora : totidem inde inferiora quam partitionem et Salomon prior per bases decem et plus quam Salomon per duodecim virgines notat (31) Quorum uterque 5 priora a 5 aliis sequentibus sejungit : format Daniel imaginem numerorum divinorum : a quibus mundus et potestate conditur prius : et deinde providentia gubernatur : dant divinis illis numeris Aramaei : ut Spiritus sancti more loquantur : caput; humeros, brachia etc ».

[9]) *Daniel* VII, 9

est : ut non octava, non nona sed frugum rerumque pars decima traderetur. Distinxit Moses trium ternariorum divinorum servaturus imaginem : universum populum in partes tris : in Israelitas : Levitas : sacerdotes. Israelita dabat decimam Levitae : Levita sacerdoti : ita quod si Israelita centum colligebat dabat Levitae decem : levita deinde sacerdoti unum : quamobrem sacerdos tertium tenens locum : non decimam Israelitae : sed centesimam capiebat (152v) Quod archanum in trium hebraicarum literarum numeris sapientes agnoscunt A Y Q [10]) : quae Eiach sonant : Littera prima Aleph unam unitatem : sequens Iod unum denarium : postrema unum significat centenarium : tenet postrema postremi ternarii et populi locum : qui centum colligebat : secunda littera denario dicata : secundum ternarium refert : et sortem levitarum : quae e centum populi : decem capit : littera prima unitatis est signum : imago divinissimi principis ternarii dicata sacerdoti : qui e centum populi : e decem levitarum uno contentus erat : Israelita itaque una tantum corona uti potest : ut christianus rex : levita duabus : sacerdos summus tribus ...

Tanta enim divini numeri vis habita est patribus ac credita ut non modo Hebraei qui Deo institutore didicerunt : nec Chaldaei ac Tyrrheni qui Hebraeis lingua : disciplinis : ritibus : sanguine cognati fuere : sed ipsi etiam Romani a sacra gente plane alieni : decimarum sacramentum audierint : acceperint observarint. Movet enim omnes Deus : ut salutis viam : formam veritatis, iter foelicitatis intelligant. Nulli mortalium abesse Deus potest quin animis aspectum verae lucis insinuet : nos nobis in vero ediscendo desumus : ille in docendo atque aperiendo non deest. Festus [11]) siquidem posteritati tradidit : oraculo Romanos accepisse : quum populum foelicem futurum : qui decimas rite solveret Dei filio : sic enim illi tunc vocabant Herculem : cui Heschylus in *Prometheo soluto* omnia tribuit : quae vero Dei filio prophetarum oracula tribuerunt. Atque ita evenit : Urbs enim Roma cui id oraculum datum est : non Herculi sed ipsi Dei filio suscepto solvens decimas : foelicitatis munus : non modo consequendae sed universo orbi communicandae distribuendae :

[10]) Sur ce thème cf. la traduction par Paulus Ricius des *Sha'arey Orah, Portae lucis*, in Pistorius, *Artis cabalisticae*, Bâle, 1587, p. 145 : « hujus vero mysticum de mystico pendet Aiak, id est Aleph, iod, kof (Aleph sacerdos mens I-Iod levita spiritus 10-Kof Israelita anima 100 quod et arcanum innuit Chahen, id est sacerdotis levitae Israel idque mysticum designat animae, spiritus, mentis, hinc protulit David : Benedic anima mea Deum (Ps. CIII, 1) adaptavit enim benedictionem animae secundum mysterium trium superiorum ordinationum : animae enim centum benedictionibus benedicat praecipitur, quae ad Israel serie praescripta respiciunt, de quibus decima (quae decem est numero) debetur spiritui, qui levitam ordine coaequat etc. » cf. l'emploi par H. C. Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia*, Lib. III, c. XXX.

[11]) Festus, *De significatione verborum*, ed. Teubner, p. 63.

impartiendae : assecuta est. Utque sacer ille numerus ob oculos semper observaretur : militiae decuriones : ac centuriones a decem decemque denariis in toga nummos instituere non alia apellatione quam denarii vocatos... »

VII. *Egidio da Viterbo et la Papesse Jeanne.*

Dans ses notes sur les manuscrits de Gilles de Viterbe de la *Revue des bibliothèques* [1]) L. G. Pelissier avait noté à propos du passage de l'*Historia XX saeculorum* consacrée à la Papesse Jeanne la réflexion dans la marge signalant que cette légende avait été réfutée par O. Panvini [2]).

Si la remarque est intéressante, la position d'Egidio da Viterbo ne l'est pas moins. Elle explique ainsi d'ailleurs pourquoi il n'eut pas de peine à accepter la légende. C'est à propos d'une classification des péchés [3]).

« Primam culpam fassa utraque Lex; quum curationem adinvenit : in altera Moses circuncisionem : in altera Dei filius baptizandi ritum. Culpam secundam nemo fere prophetarum silet : quippe qui : populos non modo foeminas fieri volunt : sed etiam meretrices [4]). Oseas ante omneis : canit latissime Deum Judaea migraturum in Italiam : deserturum Judaeosque Gentium sibi populos asciturum : qui quum paruerunt daemonibus : meretricis et fornicariae nomen meruerunt : Duc tibi, inquit, uxorem fornicariam : hoc est ad gentes transi : quae prostitutae daemonibus fuere : adde quod Isaias Hieremiasque : non modo gentem aliam : sed ipsum quoque Deo charum populum : sanctae civitatis : vocant meretricem : lege secundum ac tercium Hieremiae caput : Sub omni, inquit, arbore fornicata es meretrix : atque iterum : Frons mulieris meretricis facta est tibi : Isaias vero in ipso libri initio : Quomodo, inquit facte es meretrix civitas fidelis : idem

[1]) an. 1892 (les notes ayant été prises en 1886), p. 238.

[2]) O. Panvinio, *Epitome Pontificum Romanorum*, Venise, 1557, p. 42 accusant « Martinus Polonus (Martin de Troppau) mendaciorum loquacissimus » d'avoir été à l'origine de légende.

[3]) *Historia*, fol. 40v.

[4]) *ibid.*, fol. 38v « Leonem secuta femina est : tanquam Eva : nam ut illa generis humani : ita haec pontificii divini lues atque dedecus fuit. Fuerat haec ex Maguntiaco oriunda : quae admodum adolescens : amatorem non ineruditum secuta : Athenas se contulit sexum mentita : ubi in litteraria re tantum profecit : ut Romam veniens : omnibus fuerit legendo disputandoque admirationi ».

Ezechiel (16b) Micheas (1b) Naum (3a) Idem postea Johannes (Apoc. 17, 19) noster : qui unus miro compendio : antiqua aperit : dum predicit nova : unus proferens quod Dei filius ait : De thesauro suo nova et vetera. Idem Paulus veterum Hebreorum atque Arameorum sapientia consultissimus : nec non almi Spiritus foelici luce plenus (I Cor. 6) : Tollens, inquit, membra Christi, numquid faciam membra meretricis : atque iterum : An nescitis quod qui haeret meretrici : unum cum ea corpus efficitur. Tertiam vero culpam impietatis : animas in bruta ferasque convertentis : utriusque Legis scripta prodiderunt : longum esset enumerare : quot brutis hominem comparant sacrae literae : quale illud in Psalmis (72, 35, 48, 31) ut jumentum factus sum ante te : ac rursus : Homines et jumenta salvabis : hoc est omnia peccatorum genera condonabis. Psalmo alio : comparatus est jumento : alio : Nolite fieri sicut equus et mulus : et alia permulta, ut illud Joelis (I d) : Computruerunt jumenta in fimo suo. Jam vero Evangelia id passim predicant : ut que sanctum canibus : suibusque margaritas tradi omnino veteret (Mat 7a, 10a) Arguunt et versutum hominem : quem vulpis appellatione nuncuparunt : vocant item alios viperarum filios (Mat 3b, 12c, 23d, Luc 3b) qui venena spargere : et natum Deum mordere auderent. Haec tamen multa diximus, ut trium culparum rationem late aperiremus : qua anima copulatur aegro corpori : qua mollescit atque effeminatur illecebris : qua in voraginem impietatis labitur : ac fit brutum ».

VIII. *Augustinus Steucus Eugubinus et Aegidius Viterbiensis.*

Un érudit italien, qui fut l'ami de Jacob Brucker, dans un *De arcana Etruscorum philosophia*, a noté qu'Augustinus Steucus Eugubinus pouvait être compté parmi ceux qui connurent cette tradition [1]). Il citait notamment un passage du *De perenni philosophia* : [2])

[1]) Johannes Baptista Passerius, *De arcana Etruscorum philosophia*, t. II *Picturae etruscae in vasculis*, 1767-1775, fol. XVIII. Il avait noté fol. XI : « Jac. Brukerus mihi dum vixit benevolentia conjunctissimus... » et fol. LXVI : « Hinc contigit amicus, quoad vixit, meus, semperque laudandus J. Brukerus in *Historia critica philosophiae* Etruscos, si tempus corrigas, consensisse cum mosaico systemate dividente creationem in sex dies sive periodos » Dans *Alphabetum veterum Etruscorum*, Rome, 1771, Passerius notait « inter Etruscorum μυστήρια vera Dei cognitio, revelata religio, divina hominis creatio, naturae lapsae conditio, ejusque detrimenta, angelorum bonorum familtus, pravorum supplicium, animae immortalitas, aeternarum poenarum locus, leviorum criminum punitio, coeteraque christianae religionis placita non obscure deprehendantur ».

[2]) *De perenni*, ed. 1591, fol. 54v. Passerius nota « id desumpsisse ex Tabulis

« Vult igitur Plato Jovem dictum esse Zena, a Graeco Zen, vivere. Quemadmodum scimus ab essendo vocatum hebraice Iehovah, qui forte est Ioves. Agnoscunt igitur eundem esse Iovem atque Deum. Qui dictus est ab Ethruscis, quorum sermo et litterae fuerunt hebraicae, nomine Ioves cum prisci paulo post diluvium, per omnes terras diffunderentur probaturque ex tribus linguis eundem esse Iovem atque Deum. Dicitur hebraice Iehovah, graece Dios, Deus latinum, Iehovah hebraicum Iovis latinum illud latinum Deus... »

C'est en effet un leit-motiv chez Steucus [3]), qui pour avoir montré quelque méfiance envers la kabbale [4]), n'en crut pas moins que toute vérité venait des Hébreux, et ne manqua pas de donner dans l'étymologie fantaisiste que Postel appela émithologie [5]). Dans sa lettre à Erasme, il écrivait : [6])

« Do autem tibi, ne cuncta voluisse defendere videar, frigidum commentum esse nominis Adam. Sed, et eam etymologiam esse, inficias ire non potes. Hoc ego dicebam, mirorque te id genus etymologias in Platonis *Cratyllo* non vidisse. An non simile est quod ait de nomine ζευς διός quasi dictus sit δι ὃν ζωή et Apollo quasi ὃς ὁμοπολῶν mutatis litteris et id genus alia. Et quae creberrimae sunt apud professores Cabalae si placet exemplum ».

Et il proposait ailleurs un exemple : [7])

« Saepe enim sum arbitratus, quemadmodum magna nominum vis ex hebraica lingua fluxisset ad Graecos, quoniam nati sunt Graeci a vetustissimis cognatis eorum, qui Hebraeorum, Aegyptio-

Eugubinis latino charactere scriptis. » cf. *De arte cabalistica*, fol. XXXIX : « dicentes zena... quem romani Iovem quasi zeva nuncuparunt ».

3) cf. *Ennaratio in Psalmos*, ed. 1591 fol. 125v « A Tuscis qui hebraice loquebantur ad Latinos allatum nomen Iovis » ; fol. 188 « Est autem Juppiter, ut saepe dixi Iehovah Joves in lingua hetrusca » etc.

4) cf. *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1965, p. 262. Il dénonça en particulier le « paradisum cabalisticum » de Franciscus Georgius Venetus, *Cosmopoeia*, ed. Lyon 1535 fol. 125.

5) cf. *L'émithologie de G. Postel* ; l'étymologie des Grecs ayant masqué la racine hébraique d'Emeth : vérité.

6) *Opera* t. III ed. 1591 Ad Erasm. fol. 27v ; cf. *Comment. in Genesim*, fol. 92 sur l'étymologie du mot Adam chez S. Augustin, S. Cyprien ; et in Erasmi epistolae.

7) *Opera*, t. III, fol. 148.

rumque gentem progenuissent : sic hoc nomen antiquum a vetusta hebraica lingua : quam videtur somniasse in *Cratylo* Plato, asserens quandam barbaram linguam dedisse coeteris linguis nomina, ad eos venisse. Hebraice Shadai dicitur Deus et daemon. Scribiturque in ea lingua, quae solas consonantes, raro vocales scribit, prior littera Shin conjuncta cum Daleth. Videntur itaque Graeci illi vetustiores rejecta priore littera, aut juncta cum sequenti vocasse daemones, qui dicuntur hebraice Sdaim, ut si rejicias priorem consonantem, fiat Dai, in numero multo Daim. Quod ne cuiquam mirum videatur, norit pleraque nomina hebraica in lingua graeca, vel detractis syllabis, vel auctis invenit. Hebraice dicitur Rapha, mederi, Graeci addiderunt unam syllabam Terapha. Hebraice dicitur Banum intelligere, Graeci unam syllabam detraxere *νουμ*, Num. Hebraice est Ba, ambulare, Graeci et Latini addidere Latini unam, Graeci duas syllabas : illi Vado, hi Badisso ».

ou encore [8] :

« Quodque magis mireris ac stupescas, hanc vocem Chaos quam diximus esse illam hebraicam Tohu, facta permutatione unius, quae similis esset illi, litterae Thau et Chet in Thau transeunte factum sit Thohu ».

Steuchus eut en commun avec le cardinal le goût des figures. Il écrit à propos du langage en paraboles : [9]

« Semper ergo delectatus est his figuris Christus, ut faceret opes regni sui invisibiles, et animis nostris imbecillis incomprehensibiles clariores, utens in sermone rebus nostris suavioribus, melioribus ad rerum aeternarum significandam dignitatem ac bonitatem. Vidi ego hominem doctissimum ac sapientissimum novum quoddam abstrusumque philosophiae genus excogitasse, collegerat ingentem numerum pulcherrimarum figurarum, easque in aes inciderat. Sub his totam hominum vitam, quicquid aut ad amicitias fictas et veras, aut caecas hominum, inconsiderantesque cupiditates pertinet, expresserat. Erantque imagines oculis spectantium manifestae, sed quid innuerent, non erat intellectu facile, nisi auctor indicasset. Is beatitudinem designarat hoc exemplo : Erat arbor excelsa, pomis aureis, stabat difficili et perarduo in loco. Multi eo aspirare nitebantur. Pluresque erat videre, qui ascensu defatigati cursum reflecterent, paucos qui ad aureos ramos manum extenderent. Cebes quoque Thebanus, discipulus

[8] *Opera*, I, p. 5v

[9] *ibid.*, p. 52

Socratis, tempore videlicet illo florens, quo maxime viguit hoc philosophandi genus, per similes figuras, tale quid designavit ponens in cacumine excelsi montis, beatitudinem, ad quam pauci pervenirent, caeteris a diversis casibus et cupditatibus abstractis. Recordare igitur et nuptias regias, ad quas plurimi non accessissent. Fecit ergo qui veras et vivas poterat imagines effingere naturaliter et vive, quod propter imbecillitatem simulate et picte fecerat homo. Cyprianus autem vir eloquentia et sanctitate insignis, talem quandam rem depinxit carmine. Finxit arborem proceram et excelsam, natam quidem in Judaea, sed paucis diebus mirabiliter crescentem, totum orbem amplexam, sub quam innumerabiles populi coirent... Quae philosophia fuit antiquis usitatissima, ut quod Anarcharsis Scytha inventus est dormiens, unam ad os, alteram ad pudenda manum continens. Ostendebat enim utrumque membrum esse continendum. Et Pythagoras rogatus quid esset humana vita, ingressus cubiculum subito egressus est, docens videlicet vitam esse introitum celeremque exitum ... »

Mais il n'est pas question de comparer plus les deux auteurs [10]).

IX. *Egidio da Viterbo, Petrus Galatinus et Giacomo Bona.*

A défaut de l'étude que V. Zabughin avait préparée sur « Giacomo Bona poeta ragusino » [1]), nous donnerons les quelques textes du *De vita et gestis Christi* [2]), publié à Rome en 1526, qui intéressent Egidio da Viterbo.

D'abord dans un « Ob nomina libris et operi imposita, ad Lectorem » [3]) :

« Fons evangelico primo me carmine manans
Fluxit, et Aegydii facundum struxit acumen.
Dux Augustinus fuit ille Trivultius heros [4])
Septimus at Claemens mihi rex, ego bulla cinisque »

[10]) D. P. Walker, *The ancient Theology, studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, Londres, 1972, p. 38 sur le caractère peu orthodoxe d'égaler Jupiter avec Jehovah aussi bien qu'avec le Fils.

[1]) cf. supra.

[2]) Bibl. Apost. Vat. *Racc. I II 1024.*

[3]) *De vita*, p. 000.

[4]) Agostino Trivulzio (†1548).

Puis, outre quelques vers de Petrus Galatinus [5]), cette lettre de Bernardinus Cortonus de Utino Minorita [6]) datée du couvent franciscain de Rome, où on lit notamment : [7])

Et ego id facillime attestari queam, qui ab Oriente et Jerosolimis ad usque ultimum terrae peragrans non ut arbores solis aut lunae, mensamve spectarem in sabulo, sed ut veram philosophiam, hoc est Christi vitam sectarer, demum nuper gradum Romae figens a Trismegisto et Termaximo [8]) graece, latine hebraiceque apprime erudito viro, ne dicam nobis unico, amplexatus sum oretenusque instructus, et ejus scriptis irradiatus, quibus diu noctuque insudans regnum caelorum : presentis temporis Ecclesiam illustrat, utpote in de Talmudicis veritatibus, super Apocalypsim, super Matthaeum [9]), et mille tractatibus, quorum congestu vel titulos legere datum est. Nunc autem illud tuum Evangeliorum volumen, tanquam praetiosum locale ex occiduis plagis erutum ad Maronitas et Armenos traducam favente Deo O.M.que Claemente VII divo Pontifice jubente, cujus animo inhaeret unitati sanctae Romanae ecclesiae omnes animas aggregare. Quod dum erit fiet unum ovile angelicum [10]), similisque (qui canitur a te) [11]) Pastor praestante Domino nostro Jesu Christo, cui sit laus omnis et honor ac gloria, Amen ».

C'est à la fin de l'œuvre que se trouvent poèmes et lettre à Egidio da Viterbo [12]) :

« Ad Reverendissimum D. D. Aegydium Viterbiensem sancti Matthaei praesbyterum Card. quem Pontifex Maximus operi huic in lucem aedendo praeposuit [13]).

Aegydi nitidi sophos decoris
Musarum huc ades, ille tam benignus
Quem nuper mihi Pontifex sacravit,
Christi Evangelium pie canenti.
Nam quem candidius, severiusque
Te nostris dare debuit camoenis ?

[5]) On sait que l'auteur du *De arcanis catholicae veritatis* se prit pour le Pastor angelicus.

[6]) non identifié.

[7]) *De vita,*

[8]) au lieu du « trilinguis » ordinaire

[9]) il s'agit bien sûr de P. Galatinus

[10]) l'expression en dit long sur un milieu tout joachimite

[11]) C'est le titre de la première partie

[12]) *De vita,* fol. CCXCVI

[13]) Zabughin avait mis en valeur ce fait, qui éclaire encore l'ami de Sanazaro

Nostrae quem potiorem habere Musae
Te malunt, et avent sibi Patronum ?
Aegydi latiae decus Thaliae,
Christum dum celebras amore fervens,
Christi stemmatibus coruscus ardes,
Christi dulcis odor suave stillas
Aegydi lepido nitore melos,
Melos quo triplices madent choreae,
Pastor quo pecudes, ovesque mulcet
Dulcis septifori sonore cantus,
Aegydi nitidi sophos decoris

Ad eundem
Aegydi caput es Pallados inclytae,
Seu quum dulciloquum barbiton intonas,
Argutam resonas seu Polyhymniam,
Seu quum sylvicolis, diisque sequentibus
Evellis platanos, saxaque protrahis,
Et ventos celeres, et vaga flumina
Orphaeis fidibus blandius allicis,
Seu quum tergeminis tollit honoribus
Ornatque illecebris Romae fugacibus,
Num celsum quatiunt flumina verticem ?
Idem quin solido robore permanens.
Mundum sub pedibus, saeclaque despicis,
Qui quum praecipuis dotibus affluas,
Virtutum merito proemia possides.

Ad eundem epistola.

Quod hucusque litterarum silentio fuerim usus amplissime Domine, nec ad te quicquam mihi scribere sit visum, causam quidem tui adventus, utpote quem in dies expectabam fuisse scias. Nam quum amplitudo tua ab Urbis digressu in procinctu esset, ego tum verbis tuis, tum mox etiam Pontificis Max. id ipsum credere persuasus sum. Quum vero me mea frustratum opinione crevissem, protinus tum allocutione F. Dorothei, tum quorundam aliorum tuum adventum in dies Natalis Domini differri mihi responsum est, ab Abbate vero Lauri in VII Klas Novembris ex litteris tuis ad eum missis. Has itaque meas his omnibus adductus perbreves ad te scripsi, simul etiam versiculos quos operi applicui, quibus animum meum tibi diu perspectum agnosceres; eqo quidem nulla fatigabor expectatione tui. At postquam opus illud meum a Theatino recoepimus intactum, si quid deinceps in eo per me limari potuit, aut rectius examussim dici, ad unguem discussimus, et veluti ultimam meo quidem judicio perpolitionem imposuimus. Ni forsan aliqua Dominus me latere voluerit, Argoo illi celsitudinis tuae capiti lynceisque reservans oculis indicandum. Vale beatissime Domine ».

G. Bona dans une lettre à un ami Bartolino Taccholetto, datée de Rome XV cal. Decemb. 1525 dit encore sur Egidio da Viterbo : [14])

« Nactus sum hic inter ignotos solamen sane unicum, virum cujus amicitia laetus fruor, virum desiderabilem, virum inquam Termegistum, scribit hic inaudita, mira pandit, de quo alias (vita comite) plura dicemus. Opus illud meum εὐάγγελιον quod probe nosti Pont. Max. Aegydio S.R.E cardinali videndum probandumque delegavit. Viro plane tum doctrina singulari, et autoritate magna, tum gratia et vitae probitate praecipua, pontificios inter senatores primario, qui laudat illud enixe, magnopere admiratur. Nos autem hic in Urbe moram trahemus, donec ab impressoribus dies noster elucescat, omnibus qui sui volentibus copiam faciat, quod ut brevi fiat operam navamus. Bene vale ».

Au cardinal Agostino Trivulzio, Bona dit encore :

« Et quia tu virtute gravi censore probari
Hoc opus exposcis, docta quoque Pallade fulto,
Qualis es, at tua major adest in carmina censor
Aegydius (nostri decus immortale Senatus)
Tertius Augusto venit Augustinus Olympo,
Ille tibi, huic nostro divinitus additus alter,
Fas sit eo hinc omnes censeri judice Musas.
O mea quale mihi perfundi viscera nectar,
Audito Aegydii sic nomine regis ab ore »

X. *Girolamo Balbi et Egidio da Viterbo.*

G. Balbi [1]), qui professa tant à Paris qu'à Vienne, puis succéda en 1519 à Mathieu Lang comme évêque de Gurk, dédia à Adrien VI, dont il fut le chapelain, une *Oratio* [2]), accompagnée d'epigramata. Deux sont dédiées à Egidio da Viterbo [3]) :

[14]) *De vita*, f. CCXCVII

[1]) *Dizionario biog. deg. Italiani*, s.v.; A. Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris*, Paris, 1953, p. 124.

[2]) Rome, 1523 non. aprilis; cf. F. Barberi, *Le edizioni romane di Francesco Minizio Calvo*, in *Miscellanea di scritti... L. Ferrari*, Florence, 1952, qui signale encore p. 95 n. 123 à la Bibl. Casanatense, un *Dirae Christianorum in Lutherum*, avec des « versetti » attribués à Egidio da Viterbo.

[3]) Ces poèmes ont été réédités par J. de Retzer, in *Hier. Baldi Opera*, Vienne 1791 I, p. 228. Malheureusement l'epigramma « Eidem » a été oubliée et remplacée par la fin de l'epigramma dédiée à Antonio card. de Monte.

« *Reverendissimo Domino Aegidio, cardinali S. Matthaei* [4])
Sanguinea fatale geras quod ab Aegide nomen :
Non necis indicium, sed pietatis habes,
Aegide gorgoneos ut Perseus extulit angues :
Utque sua Pallas Aegide monstra necat,
Sic tu, sidereas fas est cui scandere sedes,
Noscereque aeterni mystica sacra Dei,
Doctrinae clypeo, velut Aegide, pectora septus,
Horrida quod pellas scismata, nomen habes.

Eidem
Horrida ceu Pallas concussit in Aegide monstra :
Cujus ab insigni nomine nomen habes,
Sic tu ter culta triplici ceu fulmine lingua,
Monstrosa infernis scismata mergis aquis.

F. Secret

[4]) G. Signorelli, *Il cardinale Egidio da Viterbo*, Florence, 1929, p. 65 « Il tre (luglio) 1517 si ebbe il capello ed il cinque gli fu assegnato il titolo di S. Bartolomeo all'Isola, che, dopo pochi giorni, muto in quello di S. Matteo in via Merulana, ripristinato a richiesta di Egidio stesso... appartendo la chiesa allora all'ordine agostiniano ».

Chrétien Lupus. Sa période ultramontaine (1660-1681)*

5. *Les à-côtés d'une vie remplie.*

Le crédit dont Lupus jouissait un peu partout, en particulier à Rome, il fut prié de l'employer pour d'autres, même pour beaucoup d'autres. Par exemple pour ses neveux.

En été 1668, il recommande à Favoriti, pour un canonicat à Saint-Jacques à Louvain, un neveu, *fratris filius* [112]). Aussitôt Favoriti entreprend les démarches nécessaires, et fait savoir, le 24 août 1668, que cette faveur est concédée [113]).

Comment s'appelle ce neveu? Dans un document de 7 juin 1669 [114]), Lupus le nomme *Aegidius* (*Gilles*, *Gielis*). Mais dans une annexe [115]) on parle d'un Guillaume (*Giel*); il est à présumer qu'il s'agit ici aussi de Gilles. Nommé par le pape, Gilles ne fut pas admis par le collateur ordinaire, l'abbé de Saint Laurent à Liège. Il y eut un procès devant le Conseil de Brabant qui se termina par la capitulation de l'abbé [116]).

En 1672, Lupus recommande à Rome, par l'intermédaire du cardinal Bona, un autre neveu, Jean-Gratien, « *iuvenem bonae indolis et spei*; *et is optat modicum Ecclesiae beneficium, quo adiutus compleat studia sua* » [117]), Qu'est-il devenu? On ne le rencontre plus dans les documents. L'autre, Gilles, reste encore à Louvain comme chanoine.

*) Voir *Augustiniana* XXV (1975), 293-329.

112) FFC, doc. 20. Lupus avait un frère, Charles, chirurgien, et deux sœurs, dont l'une, veuve de Henri Thibaut, « H. Geestmeester » à Ypres, mourut le 7 août 1679; l'autre fut enterrée chez les augustins de Gand le 12 juillet 1687. Le 24 juillet 1652, Lupus écrivit à son général : « Duas sorores habeo; etiam hae summas agunt gratias. Et quia quandam telae speciem hic habemus quam non profert Italia, in aliquod grati animi symbolum, aliquid de illa Reverendissimae Paternitati Tuae curarunt mitti »; Ceyssens, *Chrétien Lupus*, dans *Augustiniana*, 15 (1965) 650.

113) Ceyssens, *Sources... 1661-1672*, p. XXIII.

114) FFC, doc. 31.

115) FFC, 27, f° 29r.

116) L.c.

117) Bona, *Epistulae* p. 55.

En 1676, il honore son oncle d'un poème qu'il publie en 1676 chez M. Hullegarde à Louvain [118]) Pour le reste, on ne remarque pas que

[118]) *Eximio Patri Domino ac Magistro Nostro Christiano Lupo, Iprensi, Ordinis Eremit. S. Augustini, in Lovaniensi Academia S. Theologiae doctori ac professori, multorum voluminum polygraphia celeberrimo, studii theologici regenti meritissimo, in Comitiis provincialibus Angiae 25.Junii indictis omnium suffragiis provinciali electo dignissimo*, Louvain, Martin Hullegaerde, 1676, in-4°, 8 p. Il s'agit tout d'abord d'un long poème, sans signature, où un jeu subtil sur le nom *Lupus* étale les mérites du nouveau provincial dans tous les domaines : vertus humaines et religieuses, études et renom dont il jouit à Rome :

Quid, bone Vir, metuis ? Romae sors illa probatur,
Sors facta divum numine.
Urbs amat illa Lupos; his nomen in Orbe superbum,
Totamque debet gloriam.
Quin Lupus in labaris venerabilis exstitit Urbi,
Cohortibus spectabilis.
Te, Lupe, defendet, tua Roma tuebitur; Urbs haec
Te suscipit, te suspicit
Purpureis Patribus Lupus est venerabile nomen
Quiritibus spectabile.

Suit une *Ode eucharistica* et un *Chronicon* : aVVnCVLo nepotes eX anIMo Donant. Finalement un acrostiche, qui porte cette signature : Accinebat Patruo suo D. Aegidius Lupus, persona in Hondeghem, ecclesiae collegiatae S. Jacobi Lovanii canonicus; Gymnasii S. Augustini ibidem quondam alumnus. De cet écrit vraisemblablement assez rare, on trouve un exemplaire au British Museum. Je remercie cordialement M. A. Hladka de m'en avoir procuré la référence et une photocopie. Pendant son second séjour à Rome, Lupus apprendra que le neveu désire le rejoindre. Il s'y opposera énergiquement. Le 10 décembre 1678, il écrit à Philippe Van Beringen, doyen de Saint-Jacques à Louvain : « Commendo meum nepotem. Novistis enim ipsum indigere firmo gubernaculo. Optarim ut non solummodo concionetur, sed etiam se reddat idoneum ad excipiendum confessiones in vestra ecclesia; immo et ad vice-pastoratum. Quod commendo et permitto vestrae directioni »; Ceyssens, *Sources... 1676-1678*, p. 331. Le 7 juin 1679, Lupus écrira encore à Van Beringen :

« ... Meus nepos, vester canonicus et subditus, praetendit venire Romam, quod nulla ratione expedit; nec ipsi nec mihi. Novistis eius artes quibus Reverentiae Vestrae forsitan suadeat me esse contentum, atque ita vestrum consensum extorqueat. Rogo ipsi non credi, sed penitus negari consensum. Ego enim absolutissime nolo ut huc veniat. A Reverentia Vestra scire velim fundum ex quo eius beneficio negatur placitum regium. Deinde semper iudicavi Lovaniensem habitationem ipsi non convenire, ideoque mallem ipsum residere in isto beneficio, et addiscere curam pastoralem. Canonicatum posset permutare cum simplici beneficio. Quare rogo scire iudicium vestrum, et si mea cogitatio probetur, nepotem ad ista induci, adiuvari ac dirigi »; Ibid., p. 467.

L'année suivante, Lupus fait des efforts pour procurer quelque bénéfice à son neveu; cf. FFC, doc. 183 et 187. L'internonce Tanara lui donne son aide; voir Ceyssens, *La seconde période*, t. II, p. 125.

Lupus ait eu beaucoup de relations avec ses proches. Il retourne rarement encore à Ypres, sa ville natale qu'il aimait pourtant et où il était entré chez les augustins. Jacques Spyliaert, chroniqueur de leur couvent, note sous la date du 13 mai 1672 : « Ipras appulit Pater Magister Christianus Lupus, definitor, a 12 annis absens, in universitate Lovaniensi regens, et coepit possessionem senioratus Patrum sui conventus Yprensis » [119]).

On peut supposer qu'à cette occasion fut organisée une petite fête. Parfois, lors de la publication de ses livres, Lupus se souvient de son couvent et lui envoie un exemplaire en cadeau [120]).

Lupus plaide pour l'évêque nommé d'Ypres, Martin Prats. Celui-ci, étant vicaire général aux armées, avait eu des difficultés avec André Creusen, archevêque de Malines, très antijanséniste et très lié avec les jésuites. De ce fait, l'internonce tardait à commencer le procès informatif. L'intervention du cardinal François Barberini et surtout celle de Favoriti, secrétaire de la congrégation consistoriale, furent efficaces, malgré le soupçon de jansénisme qui avait été invoqué [121]).

Lupus intercède occasionellement pour ses collègues de Louvain. En 1669, il obtient pour trois d'entre eux la permission de lire les livres prohibés [122]). Il recommande pour des prébendes : à Cambrai, Pierre Pelsers, neveu de Simon Servatii [123]) et Pierre Laureyssens [124]); à Gand Thomas Stapleton, professeur de droit, « *constans defensor Sedis apostolicae* » [125]); à Bruges, Jacques Crits, professeur au Lys [126]); à Anvers, Nicolas Viganel, mais dans ce dernier cas il ne peut rien obtenir, le pape voulant favoriser le neveu de son directeur spirituel, le jésuite François Van der Veken [127]).

En 1678, se trouvant à Rome, Lupus aide de ses conseils Philippe van Beeringen, recteur semestriel de l'université de Louvain, qui demande une dispense pour cumul de bénéfices. Lupus lui répond d'une manière très réaliste :

[119]) Jacques Spyliaert, *Historia monasteriorium Iprensium*, ms., conservé chez les augustins de Gand, f° 341.

[120]) Ibid., passim.

[121]) Ceyssens, *Sources... 1661-1672*, p. 587 et passim.

[122]) FFC, doc. 25.

[123]) Ibid., doc. 79.

[124]) Ibid., doc. 48.

[125]) Ibid., doc. 64.

[126]) Ibid., doc. 99; cf. Jadin, *Lettere di particolari*, p. 219.

[127]) FFC, doc 1.

« Reverenda Dominatio Vestra videtur non habere opus dispensatione apostolica. Etenim primum vestrum beneficium non vacabit nisi per acceptam possessionem secundi. Haec autem possessio iniri non debet nisi imminente tempore percipiendorum fructuum. Sanctissimus Dominus circa beneficiorum pluralitatem est difficilis, prout decet Romanum Pontificem. Hinc non expedit res non necessarias mittere ante eius oculos »[128]).

Il ne fallait pas être Louvaniste pour profiter de la bienveillance de Lupus. En jouissent aussi Erasme van Horenbeeck, prêtre, qui a été favorable au neveu de Lupus lors de ses difficultés avec l'abbé de Saint-Laurent [129]), et tout spécialement Thomas Moniot, abbé du monastère cistercien de Villers [130]). Cet homme à la conscience délicate, craint que les interventions de sa famille, lors de sa nomination, ne soient entâchées de simonie. Lupus qui en juge autrement, intercède longuement pour tranquilliser le prélat scrupuleux [131]).

Il recommande Lambert Bals, norbertin, pour l'abbaye de Heilissem [132]). Il sollicite, en 1671, l'aide du cardinal Bona pour réduire la province belge des Bogards à la discipline monastique et à la paix [133]); en 1672, pour réformer les moniales norbertines [134]). Aux capucins il donne, en 1670, des conseils sur le droit en matière d'enterrements [135]) et sur la séparation des couvents récemment soumis à la domination française [136]). De concert avec ses collègues de Louvain, il communique à Jean de Neercassel, vicaire apostolique des Provinces unies, un avis sur la question : si un religieux-missionnaire peut assumer légitimement et validement la fonction de tuteur d'orphelins [137]).

A Rome, en 1678, on le consulte sur les conséquences religieuses des annexions territoriales perpétrées par la France [138]).

128) Ceyssens, *Sources... 1676-1679*, p. 331.

129) FFC, doc. 31.

130) Sur cet abbé, voir *Monasticon belge*, t. IV, Bruxelles, 1968, p. 396-397.

131) FFC, plusieurs lettres de 1676.

132) Ibid., doc. 4.

133) Bona, *Epistolae* (edit. Passionei), p. 178.

134) Bona, *Epistolae* (edit. Saba), p. 132-133.

135) Hildebrand, *De capucijnen in de Nederlanden*, t. IX, p. 122.

136) Id., t. III, p. 56. Les dominicains de Louvain désirent son intervention dans la difficulté que rencontre leur prieur pour l'obtention de son doctorat en théologie; Ceyssens, *La seconde période*, t. I, p. 227.

137) Utrecht, Oudbisschoppelijke Clerezie, invent. 584, f° 1035.

138) Ceyssens, *Sources... 1677-1679*, p. 338.

En 1671, Lupus approuve, avec six collègues de Louvain, l'union faite par l'évêque janséniste de Gand, de l'église paroissiale de Saint-Nicolas (Waas) au couvent des oratoriens de Temse, union que combattent les antijansénistes, Nicolas Du Bois en tête [139]).

Souffrant d'un défaut de prononciation [140]), Lupus ne semble pas avoir prêché beaucoup. Cependant en des occasions exceptionnelles, il monta la chaire. En 1664, il prononça l'oraison funèbre de Winand de la Margelle, abbé du monastère augustin de Sainte-Gertrude à Louvain [141]); en 1673, il fit celle de Pierre Roose, chef-président à Bruxelles, homme politique de grand mérite [142]). Victime des antijansénistes [143]), Roose avait été moins chanceux que Lupus. Il n'avait pas pu se réhabiliter; du moins avait-il appris à se résigner. Il mourut à l'âge de 87 ans. Ses obsèques se célébrèrent le 18 mars à Sainte-Gudule, avec beaucoup de solennité [144]). L'abbé du Parc y officia. Devant un auditoire de choix, Lupus prononça en latin l'éloge funèbre, qui reste une source de la biographie de cet homme politique.

L'année suivante, Lupus eut l'occasion d'encore parler en public. Son couvent de Louvain fêtait le troisième centenaire du sacrement

139) [De Swert], *Chronicon Congregationis Oratorii*, Lille, 1740, p. 120.

140) Ceyssens, *La première bulle*, t. I, p. 267; Id., *La fin*, t. II, p.

141) L. Jadin, *Actes de la congrégation consistoriale*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 16 (1935) 281. Nous n'en avons pas retrouvé le texte.

142) R. Delplanche, *Un légiste anversois au service de l'Espagne : Pierre Roose, Chef-Président du Conseil-Privé des Pays-Bas*, Bruxelles, 1945.

143) Roose avait naturellement aussi des adversaires politiques, tout spécialement le gouverneur général Léopold-Guillaume et son Grand-chambellan Jean-Adolf Schwarzenberg. En 1649, on l'avait invité à Madrid afin de l'écarter sournoisement du gouvernement. De retour aux Pays-Bas en 1653, il fut définitivement mis à la retraite.

144) Un extrait d'un journal contemporain donne une description détaillée des funérailles : rien n'avait manqué pour honorer la mémoire de cet homme illustre; l'église tendue de deuil; le tour chargé de quantités de lumière; un écusson aux armes du défunt; au milieu du chœur, une chapelle ardente avec une quantité extraordinaire de flambeaux; la messe pontificale célébrée par l'abbé du Parc et chantée à trois chœurs; assistance des Conseils souverains et des corps de la ville; concours extraordinaire. Après l'évangile, le R. P. Lupus prononça en latin l'oraison funèbre qui instruisit et édifia tout l'auditoire, composé des personnes les plus savantes et les plus considérables de la ville; Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale, ms. 16160-63; le même ms. contient, aux f^oe 110r-111v, un résumé en français de l'oraison de Lupus. Le texte latin intégral semble introuvable.

de miracle [145]), pour lequel il avait obtenu à Rome une indulgence spéciale [146]). Le discours prononcé par Lupus fut bientôt imprimé :

> *Oratio panegyrica in laudem sacrosanctae Hostiae miraculose in carnem conversae Middelburgi Zelandorum anno M.CCC.LXXIV. quae Lovanii in ecclesia F.F. Eremitarum S. P. Augustini religiose asservatur et colitur, dicta in solemni tri-saeculari jubilaeo, anni M.DC.LXXIV. die 16 Septembris, quae erat solemnitas octava,* Louvain, A. De Witte, 1674, in-4°, 19 p. [147]).

Étalant son érudition, Lupus cite les nombreux miracles qu'au cours des siècles Dieu a accomplis, pour fortifier la foi des fidèles en la présence eucharistique. Il semble vouloir rivaliser avec le Livre des miracles de Grégoire de Tours. On s'étonne qu'un historien de métier puisse, sans méfiance ni critique, accepter les récits les plus invraisemblables.

En 1663, sur la prière de l'internonce, la faculté de théologie de Louvain avait examiné le serment anglican qui proclamait la couronne anglaise indépendante de l'autorité papale [148]). Lupus, qui venait d'entrer comme régent dans la faculté, avait pris part aux délibérations. Cependant, il semble bien qu'en l'occurrence, le rôle principal revint moins à lui qu'à l'Irlandais Jean Sinnich [149]). L'assemblée formula son jugement sous deux formes, l'une brève, l'autre prolixe ; la première

145) J. Wils, *Le sacrement de miracle de Louvain (1374-1905)*, Louvain, 2e édit., 1905. Le sacrement de miracle (une hostie changée en chair à l'occasion d'une communion indigne) fut transféré de Canterbury à Middelbourg, de là à Cologne et ensuite au couvent des augustins de Louvain. Après la Révolution il fut vénéré en l'église Saint-Jacques à Louvain.

146) FFC, doc. 74.

147) Ce discours fut réédité dans les *Opuscula posthuma*, p. 897-913 ; et les *Opera omnia*, t. XI, p. 369-377.

148) Il s'agit du *oath of allegiance* (et non pas du *oath of supremacy*) qui fut imposé en 1606 par Jacques I après la conspiration des poudres. Certains catholiques l'admettaient, mais il fut condamné par Rome à plusieurs reprises ; cf. Reusch, *Der Index*, t. II, p. 327-341. La *Humble Remonstrance of the Roman Catholic Clergy*, présentée au roi par les catholiques irlandais et lui offrant une adhésion inconditionnelle malgré toutes les dispositions de Rome, avait renouvelé la controverse. Cette *Humble Remonstrance* avait été condamnée à Rome, le 8 juillet 1662.

149) C. Giblin, *Catalogue of material of Irish interest in the collection Nunziatura di Fiandra*, dans *Collectanea Hibernica*, Dublin, 1958, p. 120-121. Cf. Malines, Archives de l'archevêché, *Museum Bellarminum*, t.E.5.

se borna à un sévère verdict théologique [150]); la seconde y ajouta les arguments. L'une et l'autre plurent à Rome, où cependant, en raison de la tension diplomatique, on ne voulut pas procéder à une publication [151]).

Regrettant cette discretion, Lupus insista, vers 1665, auprès de Favoriti, pour obtenir l'édition de ces documents. Il reçut cette réponse, datée du 10 févier 1665 :

> « Egi cum Sanctitate Sua ut vulgaretur scriptum facultatis Lovaniensis in negotio Anglicano; lectis hac de re litteris tuis, iniunctum assessori Sancti Officii, id ei curae esset. Incredibile est quam impatienter expectemus libros tuos » [152]).

Mais n'ayant constaté aucun progrès après presque cinq ans d'attente, Lupus écrit de nouveau à Favoriti, le 14 novembre 1669 :

> « Legitimae damnationis causas erudito satis scripto produxit nostra theologica Facultas, rogata a Domino Internuntio; istudque scriptum fuit Romam missum et ibidem servatum suo tempore vulgandum. Iniquum professionis virus etiamnum serpet et plurimos in Anglia et Hibernia corrumpit. Eos quippe catholicos qui Romanam Ecclesiam in Angliae regem nihil posse iurati profitentur, quis dicat non corrumpi? Quo circa videtur profuturum, si scriptum istud vulgetur, aut certe per aliam viam herodiano iuramento obvietur. Haec confidenter ex Apostolicae Sedis adfectu suggero » [153]).

A la fin de ses jours, Lupus reviendra encore sur le serment anglais [154]).

Avec son intransigeance coutumière, Lupus allait désapprouver le décret gouvernemental du 8 avril 1672 qui permettait aux troupes hollandaises stationnées dans les provinces du sud l'exercice de leur culte protestant, mais seulement en des endroits et locaux déterminés, qui seraient interdits aux catholiques. On avait donc pris des précautions pour prévenir toute infiltration. Une forte opposition, se manifesta néanmoins, même à Madrid, de sorte que, pour gagner la partie, le

150) « Pro illicita prorsus ac detestabili habenda est »; CEYSSENS, *Sources... 1661-1672*, p. 111.

151) Ibid., p. 116, 118-119.

152) Ibid., p. 589.

153) FFC, doc. 42.

154) Ibid., doc. 165; cf. infra.

gouverneur chercha à obtenir un jugement favorable de l'université de Louvain [155]).

Celle-ci se montra assez accommodante. Lupus, au contraire, prit la question d'en haut :

> « Hoc negotium est summi momenti et primae classis; hinc in ipso loquendum est revelata facie ».

Tout d'abord, il tient l'alliance avec la Hollande pour si inique en soi qu'elle ne peut être excusée que par *extremae ac evidentissimae necessitates*, que de plus il ne suffit pas d'affirmer, mais qu'il faut prouver. Même cette preuve étant donnée, Lupus estime que le gouverneur est allé trop loin :

> « In re enim adeo sacrosancta, quae divinam ac humanam maiestatem immediate tangit, nec minimus regis mandati apex possit a ministro excedi aut alterari. Hoc est meum iudicium et, Deo me adiuvante, firmus in illo persistero » [156]).

Se rendant chez l'internonce, Lupus lui fait un rapport sur les pourparlers de la faculté et n'omet pas de s'y mettre en pleine lumière. C'est lui, Lupus, seul qui :

> « Ab ista resolutione [facultatis] omnino alienus et constanter ipsi adversatus ... perstitit in sua sententia.... addidit se in nullius hominis gratiam posse plus scribere aut indulgere, et se malle lacerari in partes, quam in hoc tanto negotio Deum offendere ... Confratres oravit ut non tantum ad suam conscientiam, sed etiam ad suam famam attenderent ... Adiunxit etiam istam confoederationem esse manifeste iniquam, ideoque religiosorum doctorum iudicio noluit subscribere... *Et le résultat* ? Facultatis iudicium... fuit combustum, ideoque ipsius copia non potest haberi » [157]).

Lupus devait se réjouir d'apprendre que l'internonce allait envoyer son écrit à Rome [158]) où l'on admirerait son dévouement, son courage, son intransigeance.

Quelques rares fois, l'ami de Rome, Favoriti, recommande à Lupus de jeunes Italiens qui viennent parfaire leurs études à Louvain.

155) Ceyssens, *Sources... 1661-1672*, p. XIV-XV.

156) Ibid., p. 3-4.

157) Ibid., p. 32.

158) Ibid., p. 37-38.

Parmi eux, il y en a un qui s'orne du nom de *Doria* [159]). Il y a aussi un noble Florentin, Simon-Laurent Veterani, neveu de Jacques Altoviti, patriarche d'Antioche et nonce à Venise (de 1658 à 1666). Ce jeune homme va étudier les mathématiques chez les jésuites de Louvain. Sans le savoir, il met son protecteur dans une situation difficile. Lupus écrit à Favoriti, le 30 novembre 1668 :

> « Veterani, ... a paucis diebus in collegio Societatis Iesu defendit conclusiones mathematicas cum summa gloria. Est enim iuvenis eloquio ac ingenio sagacissimus, a quo maxima sperantur. Hinc et utriusque iuris facultas illum creavit fiscum suorum baccalaureorum. Quod munus hic aestimatur. Etiam me indignum ad conclusiones suas omni cum humanitate invitaverat; et promiseram adesse. Verum universitas offensa fuit, quod in loco ad se non spectante fieret adeo solumnis actus, quodque in thesium fronte privata persona se titularet professorem in universitate Lovaniensi. Hinc theologica facultas decrevit ne quis a magistris regentibus se illis exhiberet. Dolui; debui tamen obedire. Nobilis iuvenis offensus fuit; verum ego aliud non potui. Haud dubie querelas suas et ad Eminentissimum Dominum Nostrum Cardinalem [Rospigliosi] et ad Illustrissimum Dominum Patriacham perscripserit. Et habet rationes. Interim supplico me, uti et omnes magistros regentes, benigne per occasionem excusari. Nam et decretum istud non caruit fundamento; at longius id est, quam ut hic exponam » [160]).

Ce passage nous laisse entrevoir l'attitude personnelle de Lupus à l'égard des jésuites.

Vers 1668, Lupus se fait l'intercesseur de certaines religieuses de Valenciennes qui veulent s'affilier à l'ordre de saint Augustin. Le 11 décembre de cette année, il s'adresse à son général :

> « Ab istis virginibus molestor continue, ideoque statum illum [earum negotii] uno verbo intelligere supplico » [161]).

Enfin, vers 1674, on fait appel à son érudition pour revoir la partie historique du nouveau bréviaire de l'ordre des augustins qu'imprimera Balthasar Moretus à Anvers. Cependant il n'est pas

[159]) FFC, doc. 42.
[160]) FFC, doc. 21.
[161]) AGA, Cc 79 (sans foliation).

certain que Lupus ait dû assumer cette tâche, car l'édition connut diverses difficultés [162]).

6. *Au service de l'université.*

A Louvain, Lupus jouissait d'une grande autorité. Docteur en théologie (grade qui, nous l'avons dit, correspondait alors au magistère d'aujourd'hui et que très peu de candidats atteignirent), il était en outre « régent », c.-à.-d. membre de la faculté étroite de théologie, ce qui lui donnait une position très enviée; il assuma à plusieurs reprises la fonction de doyen trimestriel de la faculté [163]). Il possédait en outre à Rome et à Bruxelles des protecteurs puissants, avait ses entrées à la nonciature à Bruxelles, et jouissait par ses publications d'une renommée mondiale. Aussi recourait-on à lui pour les questions les plus diverses. On lui demande si tel livre, bien relié, est digne d'être offert à un cardinal [164]), ou quel cardinal on pourra choisir pour protecteur de l'université [165]); on le charge de se renseigner à Bruxelles s'il est vrai que le gouverneur général veut imposer, sans préavis préalable de la Faculté, un suppléant au vieux professeur Van Werm [166]), ou d'informer l'internonce et le chef-président De Pape sur la nature inquiétante de certaines thèses à soutenir à Louvain par le franciscain irlandais Patrice Duffy [167]).

On le fait intervenir auprès de l'internonce dans le différend surgi entre le professeur Du Bois et le recteur de l'université au sujet d'un livre interdit par celle-ci [168]). On use de son autorité pour défendre

[162]) Ibid., Aa 37, f° 53-56r. L'édition de ce bréviaire était projetée au moment, très critique pour la province, où le provincial Du Pernes avait été suspendu à la suite des intrigues du P. Van Hecke. Or dans la préface, le général avait incidemment fait l'éloge de ce P. Van Hecke et du P. De Beyne (le recteur provincial qui remplaçait Du Pernes pendant sa suspense). Ces détails ne plurent pas aux amis de ce dernier. A la demande du P. Van Hecke, le général avait donné, le 31 mars 1674, la permission de faire imprimer par Balthasar Moretus, à Anvers, « typis elegantissimis » les *Officia* et *Missalia Ordinis*. Albert Le Roy et François Bassery (deux chauds partisans de Van Hecke) surveilleraient l'impression, qui devait suivre fidèlement celle de Rome. Le 24 novembre suivant, le général confirma sa permission donnée antérieurement; AGA, Dd, 111, f° 242v.

[163]) Les *Acta facultatis* (FUL, t. 389, passim) mentionnent l'élection de Lupus : en février 1666, 1667 et 1671; en août 1675; en février 1681.

[164]) FUL, t. 71, f° 266.

[165]) Ibid., t. 71, f° 191.

[166]) Ceyssens, *La seconde période*, t. I, p. 498.

[167]) Ibid., p. 524.

[168]) Ceyssens, *Sources... 1661-1672*, p. 249.

à Rome la doctrine des saints Augustin et Thomas, et c'est à cette occasion que la faculté de théologie écrit au procureur général des augustins ces paroles très expressives : « sub cuius [Lupi] alis ea in parte respiramus » [169]).

De sa propre initiative, Lupus fait, contre les jésuites, des démarches très significatives, qui rappellent celles que Jansénius avait entreprises autrefois :

> « Praelegit Eximius P. Lupus facultati litteras quibus illi significabatur Patres Societatis in Hispania obtinuisse duas cathedras Salmanticae et duas Compluti, et iactitare se sperare brevi idem Lovanii obtenturos. Et conclusum priusquam facultas ea propter se moveret, penitius inquirendum esse quid actum foret in dictis universitatibus.
>
> Et rogati sunt Eximii D. D. Leonardi et Lupus ut nomine privato scriberent ad suos in Hispaniis pro informatione. Insuper expedire ut revideretur quid olim in similibus difficultatibus factam et qualiter conatibus Societatis obviatum ». [170]).

Une des principales interventions de Lupus en faveur de l'université tournait autour de la suspension et du rétablissement des privilèges de Louvain [171]). Dès sa fondation, pour lui assurer des moyens de subsistance, le Saint-Siège avait concédé à l'université de Louvain d'importants privilèges; p.e. de pouvoir nommer ses suppôts à un grand nombre de prébendes laissées à sa collation dans les Pays-Bas catholiques et dans la principauté de Liège. Dès le début, ce privilège avait donné lieu à de nombreuses difficultés, tout spécialement dans le pays de Liège. Des accommodements intervinrent au cours des siècles. La bulle *Regimini universitatis*, émanée le 1er décembre 1616, avait énoncé des stipulations nouvelles et plus précises, mais insuffisantes pour écarter les conflits. En 1642, les Etats de Brabant, « protecteurs nés de l'université », envoyèrent des députés à la Cour romaine pour y défendre le droit de nomination dans la principauté de Liège. Mais les *Lieggiesi* étaient nombreux et puissants à Rome. De plus, l'évêque de Liège, Maximilien Henri de Bavière, homme timide et nonchalant, porté en politique vers la France, était dominé

169) Ibid., p. 126.

170) Ibid., p. 276.

171) Voir L. Ceyssens, *L'université de Louvain et la suspension de son privilège de nomination aux bénéfices dans la principauté de Liège (1667-1674)*, dans *Jansenistica. Études*, t. III, p. 155-214.

par ses conseillers François et Guillaume de Furstenberg au point qu'ils le réduisaient au rôle d'un simple instrument de leurs ambitions et de leurs convoitises. Eux, les *Lieggiesi*, se mettent facilement d'accord pour enlever à l'université tout ce qu'ils peuvent sans commettre de trop grosses erreurs canoniques. Ainsi, ils donnent le nom de vicairie perpétuelle aux cures pastorales pour les soustraire à la collation universitaire; ainsi encore, et dans le même but, ils introduisent des coadjuteurs avec droit de succession, de sorte que la mort ne rendra plus jamais vacants de tels bénéfices. Les autorités académiques, tout spécialement le « dictateur » et le conservateur des privilèges, se raidissent dans les cas successifs qui leur sont soumis, surtout qu'ils se savent soutenus par les Conseils du roi et les États de Brabant.

Vers 1668, la tension atteint un degré dangereux. Et sans doute, une des circonstances le plus inquiétantes, c'est que l'ancien internonce Jacques Rospigliosi est devenu cardinal-neveu, c.-à.-d. tout puissant et qu'il n'aime pas l'université de Louvain; heureusement, en dépit de petits différends, il est resté ami et admirateur de Lupus. Celui-ci le fera intervenir constamment dans les problèmes qui vont être soulevés.

C'est vers le 23 juillet 1668 que l'internonce ad interim Agretti fait savoir à l'université, par l'entremise de Lupus, que Rome se prépare à suspendre le privilège. Impressionné, le conseil académique envoie Lupus et Thomas Stapleton à Bruxelles pour présenter ses *rationes*. Ils ont plusieurs entretiens à la nonciature. Pour son propre compte, Lupus en fait part aussi à Favoriti. Mais bientôt on apprend que Rospigliosi reste intransigeant.

Le 25 août, il informe le P. Lupus [172]) qu'il n'y a plus qu'une solution : l'envoi immédiat de députés avec renonciation à toutes

[172]) Lupus écrit à Favoriti le 30 novembre : Dominus Internuntius [Airoldi], Bruxellas advectus, mox mihi misit litteras Eminentissimi Domini Cardinalis Rospigliosi cum incluso brevi apostolico. Et quidem longe gratissimo. Ambo heri fuere lecta ad totam universitatem, qua laetitia et adplausu fuerint excepta, non possum effari. Effusa tantorum principum clementia solvet omne residuum frigus ex quorumdam apud nos durioribus animis. Eminentissimus Dominus omnium suffragio electus est in universitatis protectorem, quod onus spero ab ipso gratiose acceptandum. Supplico ut et me Gratiae Vestrae dignetur illi commendare »; FFC, 27. Soit dit par parenthèse, cette élection de Jacques Rospigliosi en qualité de cardinal protecteur était due à l'influence de Lupus. Avant le choix, l'université avait voulu consulter Lupus; FUL, t. 71, f° 191.

prétentions, sinon les privilèges ne seront pas seulement suspendus, mais supprimés. Favoriti écrit dans le même sens à Lupus. Dans cette impasse, l'université se montre docile. Elle annonce le départ prochain d'envoyés ; non sans difficultés, elle obtient que les intéressés, dont la nomination est disputée, renoncent par écrit aux procès qu'ils ont intentés contre leurs compétiteurs nommés par Rome.

Cependant, pour l'envoi de délégués à Rome, l'université devait obtenir la permission du gouvernement et du roi. Cela demandait beaucoup d'explications et du temps. Mais vu la docilité de Louvain, Rome semblait devenir plus accommodant et même vouloir oublier la députation.

En effet, le 15 février 1669, Lupus écrit au cardinal Rospigliosi :

> « Gratiosa Eminentiae Vestrae littera atque benignitas omnem universitatem hanc longe plurimum laetificarunt ac novum iniecerunt magnae obligationis vinculum. Immensas agit illa gratias. Et revera Romanum iter hoc calamitoso tempore fuisset incommodum. Incipimus parare documenta... Unum adhuc supplicare praesumimus, ut pendente hoc negotio, D. Cardinalis Datarius dignetur suspendere omne nostrarum nominationum gravamen » [173]).

Confident des partis opposés, Lupus reste très actif. Le 10 avril 1669 il écrit au même :

> «... Video quod aliqui luctum patiuntur. Suspicantur enim quod Sua Sanctitas antiquum hic apostolici conservatoris tribunal cupiat sublatum. Multis rationibus suasi solos illius abusus displicere. Quanta humilitate ac reverentia et reges et patriarchae semper cum S. Petri Cathedra egerint ostendi, rogavique iniri eam viam quae sit unica et certa spes impetrandi. Quorundam hic circa istam virtutem infirmitates novit Vestra Eminentia. Supplico illis per Dominum Internuntium impendi aliquid commiserationis, et confido omnia feliciter successura. Ego pro meo erga Romanam ecclesiam debito non desinam usque in finem laborare ».

Lupus poursuit en félicitant le cardinal pour son apport important à la paix clémentine (ou la paix de l'Eglise) entre Rome et les jansénistes français :

[173]) FFC, lettre du 15 février 1669 ; doc. 23. Le 1er mars (cf. ibid., doc. 24) Lupus envoie encore une lettre accommodante à Favoriti.

[174]) Ibid., lettre du 10 avril 1669 ; doc. 26.

« Quod jansenianae litis in Gallia reliquias etiam exstinxerit Eminentia Vestra totum Belgium gaudet et gratulatur. Est summum opus » [174]).

Quinze jours plus tard, Lupus fait état de ses interventions auprès de l'université de Louvain ... Il s'est fait spécialement instruire sur le côté juridique de l'affaire, et réciproquement il désire être renseigné sur le point de vue romain [175]).

Mais, il faut le dire en passant, Lupus n'est pas entièrement désintéressé. Il fait nommer par le pape un de ses neveux à un des bénéfices discutés. Il a donc tout avantage a soutenir les prérogatives romaines [176]).

Au mois de mai, mieux instruit, Lupus s'est rendu, avec un collègue, à la nonciature de Bruxelles. Longuement il discute avec l'internonce les huit reproches que Rome a opposés à l'université [177]). Il tient Favoriti au courant [178]). Celui-ci, à son tour, l'exhorte à agir fortement et rapidement [179]).

A la fin de mai, Airoldi se rend personnellement à Louvain pour y continuer les négociations. Annoncé par Lupus, il est bien reçu. Lupus joue le rôle d'interprète et d'arbitre. Cependant, on n'en vient pas à un accord. Dans son rapport, Airoldi va parler des Louvanistes comme de contumaces. Il ajoute en généralisant : La plupart des ecclésiastiques et des ministres du roi ont fait leurs études à Louvain et par conséquent ils sont imbus de la même aversion à l'égard de Rome et contumaces envers le pape [180]).

De son côté, Lupus écrit le 31 mai à Rospigliosi :

« Hinc D. Internuntius sine plena satisfactione a nobis abiit. Academicum corpus ex hetroclytis membris constare novit Eminentia Vestra, ideoque aliquid consuetae commiserationis ipsi dignetur impendere. Etiam mihi minimo famulo, qui ob aliquam pro apostolica Sede loquendi libertatem amitto quorumdam gratiam. Interim adhuc spero rem feliciter successuram » [181]).

175) Ibid., lettre du 26 avril; doc. 27.

176) Ibid., lettres des 7 juin, 20 juillet; doc. 31 et 33.

177) Jadin, *Lettere... di particolari*, 190-191.

178) FFC, lettres des 31 mai et 7 juin; doc. 30-31.

179) Ibid., lettres des 4 et 18 mai; doc. 28-29.

180) Ceyssens, *La suspension*, p. 171.

181) FFC, lettre du 31 mai; doc. 30.

Lupus, qui a tenu Favoriti au courant des tractations, reçoit de celui-ci, une réponse très pessimiste datée du 6 juillet :

« ... Video tempestatem quam toties praedixi, doleoque eius avertendae viam mihi praecludi, neque enim officia mea obstare diutius poterunt, quominus aliquid in academiam severius consulatur, nisi quamprimum se in Sanctitatis Suae potestate futuram re ipsa declaret. Itaque nullum ipsi amicitiae tuae dignius praestare beneficium potes, quam ei suadendo ut Sanctitatis Suae iustam indignationem celeri obsequio antevertat »[182]).

Le cardinal-neveu et Favoriti continuent d'espérer dans les interventions de Lupus. Celui-ci se démène. Il en écrit à Favoriti, par exemple le 13 septembre 1669 :

« Quam frequentibus ac importunis litteris pro huius scholae negotio vexaverim Gratiam Vestram ac Suam Eminentiam, benignitas vestra novit. Et feci libenter. Nihil enim magis odi quam dissidia inter scholam et Sedem apostolicam, sine cuius gratia nulli homini esse potest bene. Et quod universitatis rem ex animo egerim, testari poterit etiam D. Internuntius. Nam et illi fui admodum molestus.

Academicus interim rector heri mihi in faciem dixit me quibusdam deputatis esse suspectum de collusione cum Romanis; et fui gavisus. Liber enim sum a necessitate molestandi meos patronos, quibus debeo maiorem reverentiam. Interim supplico ex corde paucorum sensus non imputetur toti corpori et ut academiae privilegia maneant sarta tectaque. Supplico ut hoc imprimere Eminentiae Suae dignetur Gratia Vestra » [183]).

Le lendemain, Lupus propose comme solution une visite apostolique de l'université et prie Rome de l'imposer :

« Erit enim opportunum remedium et cui nullus refragabitur. Quare iteratis precibus supplico, ut ipsum nobis obtinere et aemulis nostris non plenam fidem dare dignaretur Illustrissima Prudentia Vestra » [184]).

Finalement, le 27 septembre 1669, Lupus peut annoncer à Favoriti :

« Dies diei eructat verbum, et tempus ac patientia componunt omnia. Etiam composuisse videntur negotia huius universitatis.

[182]) Ibid., lettre du 6 juillet; doc. 32; cf. la lettre du 23 juillet; doc. 34.
[183]) Ibid., lettre du 13 septembre; doc. 37.
[184]) Ibid., lettre du 14 septembre; doc. 38.

Heri me accessit unus e rerum harum primariis actoribus, et dixit ab omnibus tandem admitti articulum controversum de potestate conservatoris » [185]).

Le 12 octobre, Favoriti répond à Lupus, que l'affaire peut encore être résolue amicalement si les députés de Louvain partent aussitôt pour Rome [186]).

Prévenant cette lettre, Lupus fait savoir, le 17 octobre, que l'envoi des députés est en préparation [187]). Et de fait, les Louvanistes multiplient leurs démarches auprès des autorités civiles. Le 23 suivant, ils peuvent annoncer à l'internonce l'heureux résultat de leurs instances. Mais au même moment arrive à la nonciature la foudroyante nouvelle que le bref de suspension des privilèges a déjà été envoyé au nonce de Cologne et que celui-ci vient de le publier le 30 octobre.

La suspension des privilèges fut donc lancée au moment où Louvain préparait sérieusement sa députation. Le Saint-Siège semblait donc la frapper dans l'acte même de son obéissance. Aussi l'internonce, frappé par cette coïncidence, engage-t-il les Louvanistes à demander au pape la révocation du bref. Ils l'obtiennent à condition que les députés se mettent aussitôt en route.

Mais dans l'entre-temps, la suspension des privilèges a irrité le gouvernement qui se raidit. C'est avec beaucoup de retard et de réserve qu'il donne son assentiment : la députation ne pourra durer que trois mois et — en vertu du privilège *de non evocando* — elle ne sera qu'informative, ne pouvant entrer en aucun litige avec les congrégations romaines.

Les circonstances changent à Rome. Clément IX meurt le 9 décembre 1669 et le cardinal-neveu perd son crédit au profit de Paoluzzo Altieri, neveu adoptif du nouveau pape Clément X. Caspar Carpegna a remplacé Pietro Ottoboni à la Daterie. L'entourage est plutôt favorable à Louvain.

Les deux députés Jean Ulric Randaxhe et Gommaire Huygens partirent pour Rome le 27 septembre 1670, avec des instructions et une lettre de recommandation de Lupus (en date du 18 septembre 1670) adressée au cardinal Barberini [188]).

185) Ibid., lettre du 27 septembre; doc. 39.

186) CEYSSENS, *Sources... 1661-1672*, p. 397.

187) FFC, lettre du 17 octobre; doc. 41.

188) Barb. lat., ms 2184, f° 196r.

Dans la Ville éternelle, durant la présence des députés, on travaillait surtout à l'ajustement de nouveaux règlements qui concernaient presque exclusivement la faculté des Arts. Lupus profite de son influence pour suggérer une modification des statuts de la faculté de théologie. Prenant parti contre les séculiers, il veut obtenir que dorénavant les « chaires royales » puissent être assignées aux religieux, quoique les prébendes qui y ont été attachées ne leur soient pas abordables. Lupus écrit donc le 12 février 1671 à Favoriti :

> « ... Dicta nostra facultas habet tres lectiones regias. At modici stipendii. Hinc ipsarum duabus Pius V pontifex adnexuit praebendam collegiatae hic ad S. Petrum ecclesiae. Et ipsa facultas similem praebendam adnexuit tertiae lectioni. Et exinde ab istis lectionibus exclusi sunt doctores regulares, utpote incapaces praebendarum, verum sine fundamento ac praeter mentem pontificis. Nam et saeculares clerici quandoque lectionem sine praebenda habent, quod solo lectionis stipendio contenti sint et nolint onus praebendae. Et praebendae et lectionis collatio est penes regem seu eius hic vicarium gubernatorem, qui proinde illas possit dividere. Res fieri posset sine strepitu ad unicum verbum Sedis apostolicae. Et hinc eveniet alia theologicae facultatis facies » [189]).

Ce conseil plut à Rome, d'autant plus que les députés de Louvain, qui étaient des séculiers, y avaient laissé un mauvais souvenir, en retournant, au terme des trois mois qui leur avaient été imposés par le gouvernement, avant que l'affaire eût été réglée. Le 21 mars, Favoriti répondit à Lupus :

> « ... Communicavi cum Eminentissimo Rospigliosio litteras tuas [12 Febr.]. quarum deinde securitati consului. Eminentia Sua omnino approbat consilium tuum, egimusque de eo ad exitum perducendo, neque id ego negotium negligam cum videam causae publicae, et Sedis apostolicae auctoritate plurimum, sicuti tu scribis profuturum. Ingenti cum desiderio expecto *Commentaria in Concilia*, et cum illis aliquam occasionem inserviendi tibi, cui interim laeta omnia, et prosperam valetudinem a Deo aguror » [190]).

Lupus et Favoriti travaillent ensemble. Ce dernier écrit le 8 octobre 1672 :

[189]) FFC, lettre du 12 février 1671 ; doc. 44.
[190]) Ibid., lettre du 21 mars 1671 ; doc. 45.

« Habeo in promptu omnia quae de frenanda Lovaniensium licentia monuisti; nudiustertius habui super hoc negotio congregationem cui interfuerunt Patres Seraphinus [O. Carm.] et Vanechius [Van Hecke]. Infra tres dies aliam habebo eadem de re, ut manus operi ultima imponatur, et omnia recte fiant » [191]).

Néanmoins, vu l'attitude du roi d'Espagne et du gouvernement de Bruxelles, qui désiraient que le *statu quo* fût conservé, il n'y eut guère de modification aux statuts de la faculté de théologie. Le bref final de la restitution des privilèges daté du 10 octobre 1673, ne plut guère à la faculté des arts. Lupus fut invité à la nonciature pour y recevoir les dernières instructions romaines, très exigeantes [192]).

Les Louvanistes se virent obligés, malgré eux, de recevoir le bref. Leurs privilèges étaient saufs mais au prix de grands sacrifices. Leur reconnaissance envers Lupus ne fut certes pas exubérante.

7. *Les activités littéraires* (suite).

Quoique absorbé par divers problèmes d'actualité, Lupus n'oubliait pas la continuation de son grand ouvrage sur les conciles. A sa longue lettre sur l'attrition qu'il adressait au P. Noris, il ajouta cette phrase finale très significative : « *Rebus seriis debitas horas deinceps non perdamus* » [193]).

En mars 1669, Lupus est près d'achever son manuscrit. Il écrit à Favoriti :

« Deo laus, liberi hic sumus a contagio. Hinc post Pascha pergere cogito ad vulganda concilia » [194]).

Mais il s'agit d'une grande entreprise. Albizzi, qui lui écrit le 3 janvier 1671 : « *Tertium volumen in generalia concilia vehementer expectamus* » [195]), devra patienter encore longtemps. En août de la même année, Lupus communique :

[191]) Ibid., lettre du 8 octobre 1672; doc. 51; cf. la lettre du 14 mai 1672; doc. 48.

[192]) Ceyssens, *La suspension*, p. 212-213.

[193]) Lupus, *Opera omnia*, t. XI, p. 277.

[194]) FFC, doc. 24.

[195]) FFC, doc. 43. Le 14 mai 1672 (FFC, doc. 48), Favoriti répétera : « Magna est expectatio recentium *Scholiorum in concilia generalia*; quae enim superioribus annis edidisti, omnium doctorum manibus teruntur ».

« Tres partes simul prodibunt; secundae partis impressio est ad finem. Dum completa fuerint statim submittam iudicio Illustrissimae Dominationis Vestrae » [196]).

Au printemps 1672, Lupus travaille aux dédicaces. Cependant, si du moins on se peut fier aux dates qu'elles portent, celle du troisième tome, offerte à Michel Vander Smissen, abbé de Saint-Trond, ne fut achevée que le 23 septembre suivant. Du même jour fut datée celle du quatrième volume, adressée au cardinal Jacques Rospigliosi, ancien internonce de Bruxelles et ex-cardinal-neveu. Celui-ci avait déjà été pressenti dès le printemps. En son nom, Favoriti avait répondu le 14 mai :

« Eminentissimus Rospigliosius magnae sibi gloriae ducit tuum ei nuncupandi aliquod tuorum voluminum propositum, utque de humanissima ista tua in ipsum voluntate quamplurimas tibi suo nomine gratias agam iniunxit mihi. Magna est expectatio recentium Scholiorum in concilia generalia; quae enim superioribus annis edidisti, omnium doctorum manibus teruntur » [197]).

Bientôt toutefois, il y eut des imprévus. Le 8 juillet 1672, Lupus fait savoir à Favoriti :

« Quod Scholia necdum prodierint fecit renum calculus, qui me graviter afflixit. Intra mensem prodibunt, ac mox ambulabunt ad iudicium Gratiae Vestrae » [198]).

Dès le 2 septembre Lupus peut finalement envoyer quelques pages d'imprimé :

« Haec est libri mei inscriptio et dedicatio. Eam supplico communicari Eminentissimo Domino [Rospigliosi] et per vestram illustrissimam sapientiam ac prudentiam corrigi ac emendari » [199]).

Bientôt Lupus reçoit cette réponse encourageante, datée du 8 octobre 1672 :

« Eminentissimo Rospigliosi vehementer placuit nuncupativa epistola et agnoscere se profitetur beneficii praestantiam, cum eius nomen a te immortalitati consecratum iri auguretur. Expec-

[196]) FFC, doc. 47.
[197]) FFC, doc. 48.
[198]) FFC, doc. 49.
[199]) FFC, doc. 50.

tabimus magno cum desiderio novam editionem. Utinam esset qui de premio laboribus ac virtuti tuae debito cogitaret » [200]).

Lupus va donc publier en 1673, d'un seul coup, ses trois nouveaux volumes des *Scholia*. C'est une entreprise, car ces volumes sont très épais. Il s'y engage pour décourager la rapacité des imprimeurs, surtout les français, toujours à l'affût de réimpressions [201]). Devant un nombre de pages si considérables, ces contrefacteurs se sentiront si bien dépassés qu'ils désespéreront de rattrapper l'imprimeur.

Cette décision n'était pas sans conséquences. Tout d'abord, elle exigeait l'investissement d'un capital notable, tant pour le papier que pour la main-d'œuvre. C'est probablement pour cette raison que Lupus a dû chercher un autre imprimeur. Cependant, les ateliers des héritiers de Bernardin Maes, situés à Louvain, offraient des avantages réels, ne fût-ce que celui d'éviter les déplacements. Lupus recourt plutôt à François Foppens (le père de l'érudit Jean François Foppens), imprimeur par tradition familiale en même temps qu'homme d'affaire ayant des relations internationales.

En relativement peu de temps, Foppens achève les trois volumes des *Scholia* : *Synodorum generalium ac provincialium decreta et canones, scholiis, notis ac historica actorum dissertatione illustrata, per P. Christianum Lupum, Iprensem, Ordinis eremitarum S. Augustini, Sacrae theologiae in Lovaniensi academia doctorem et professorem, pars tertia continens synodalia et cathedratica acta sancti Leonis noni.* Bruxelles, typis Francisci Foppens, sub signo sancti Spiritus, 1673; in-8°, [12]-974-[26] p. L'ouvrage est dédié (le 23 septembre 1672) à Michel Vander Smissen, bénédictin, abbé de l'abbaye de Saint-Trond, comme un hommage aux bienfaits que son Ordre a rendus aux augustins :

« Haec *Scholia* non sunt alius, quam meus erga sancti Benedicti Ordinem, cui augustiniana familia ex multis titulis obnoxia est, debitus famulatus ».

En général les personnages honorés d'une dédicace étaient supposés contribuer efficacement aux frais d'impression, mais cette fois-ci, Lupus devait se tromper dans ses espoirs, car les années 1672 et suivantes furent désastreuses pour l'abbaye de Saint-Trond, victime

[200]) FFC, doc. 51.

[201]) Cette raison est positivement affirmée lors des ouvrages de 1681 et 1682; cf. infra.

des ravages des armées hollandaise et française. Le privilège du Conseil de Brabant, valable pour neuf ans, donné à Bruxelles le 3 novembre 1672 et signé *Loyens*, est répété dans les trois volumes. Il en est de même des approbations : du général Jérôme de Valvasori, datée de Rome, le 26 septembre 1670; du provincial Guillaume Rovenius, en date du 24 septembre 1672; du professeur Jean Smidts, donnée à Louvain sans date; du professeur et censeur des livres Nicolas du Bois, en date du 22 août 1672 « *Utilissimam, si ullus, in sacrorum conciliorum canonumque doctissima accurataque interpretatione praestitit operam* ». Le volume est consacré aux synodes tenus par le saint Pape Léon IX. Cet Alsacien, évêque de Toul, élevé au trône pontifical en 1048, grâce à l'influence prépondérante de l'empereur Henri III, circulait beaucoup pour assainir l'épiscopat, à cette époque très contaminé par sa dépendance à l'égard des princes, par la simonie et le nicolaïsme. Lupus ne donne pas seulement, à sa manière coutumière, des *Scholia* sur les décrets synodaux, mais il fournit six longues dissertations historiques : 1. *De latinorum episcoporum et clericorum continentia*; 2. *de simoniae crimine*; 3. *de regia antistitum nominatio*; 4. *de laica antistitum investirura*; 5. *de Remensi synodo*; 6. *de sancti Leonis IX actis adversus schisma Michaelis Cerularii, patriarchae Constantinopolitani*. Ces dissertations représentent plus de la moitié du gros volume.

Synodorum generalium ... decreta ... scholiis ... illustrata ... Pars quarta, continens Victoris II, Stephani IX, Nicolai II et Alexandri II concilia et Dictatum sancti Gregorii VII, Bruxelles, Fr. Foppens, 1673, in-8°, [12]-800-[20].

La dédicace au cardinal Jacques Rospigliosi, datée de Louvain le 23 septembre 1672, prend très nettement position contre les adversaires du Saint-Siège, ceux d'autrefois et ceux qui vivaient du temps de Lupus :

> « Etiam nostro saeculo non desunt fumosi doctores qui omnibus extra urbicariam Italiam metropolis adscribunt autocephaliam. Garriunt Africanam ecclesiam numquam provocasse ad Romanam. Blaterant Romanas appellationes esse Sardicensis ... synodi institutionem. Buccinant canonica provincialium synodorum iudicia fuisse olim suprema, inconcussa, inappellabilia. Clamant orientales episcopos numquam ad apostolicam Sedem, semper ad generalem synodum provocasse. Apostolicam, immo evangelicam, quae definitiva de fidei quaestionibus iudicia reservavit Sedi apostolicae, legem plenis maledicentiae buccis proscribunt

ad novas usurpationes ... Quin et quidam, apostolicis privilegiis sublimes et opulenti, sine fronte et mente cantant Romanum Pontificem non posse contra canones privilegia concedere. Misera invidia ...

Verum contra hos omnes Sancti Petri cribratores stat et stabit immobile fundamentum : *Ego pro te rogavi ut non deficiat fides tua.* Et hisce dominicis precibus non tantum Nicaenam, Sardicensem aut Chalcedonensem ... synodos debemus, et etiam sancti Gregorii VII ... *Dictatum.* Licet ipsum Ioannes Calvinus blasphemet, et Marcus Antonius de Dominis garriat esse non *Dictatum* sed dicterium, constanter credit orthodoxa Ecclesia esse spiritu Dei conditum ... Et hisce in *Scholiis* catholicae Matris sensum stabilire conor atque elucidare. Imperatori Constantio ... reposuit Liberius Pontifex : Secutus sum morem ordinemque maiorum. Nihil addi episcopatui Urbis Romae, nihil minui passum sum. Hanc regulam et ego ex corde profiteor et studui integram custodire ...

Nihilominus auguror crabrones meis oculis non defuturos. Hinc Romanae Ecclesiae imploro patrocinium ... Et istud patrocinium, a quo securius sperem quam a Vestra Eminentia, quae similes aliquando crabrones antijansenianos comescuit insigniter »...

Le quatrième volume est consacré aux synodes reformateurs tenus de Léon IX à Grégoire VII. Le *dictatus* de ce dernier y est déjà traité et même très longuement (p. 338-800). Ce document, comme ceux des synodes de cette époque où l'Eglise réaffirme sa pleine autorité, donne à Lupus l'occasion de réfuter les gallicans. Il fait bien sentir que la matière des *appellations* lui est déjà familière.

Ce volume ne contient aucune *dissertation* annoncée comme telle, mais les *Scholia* en prennent quelquefois l'allure ; par exemple le décret de Nicolas II rendu en 1059 au concile du Latran et réservant aux cardinaux l'élection du pape est commenté très longuement (p. 146-173). Faut-il le répéter, Lupus reste toujours très ultramontain dans ses explications. Il considère les maximes du *Dictatus* comme des canons dont l'infaillibilité ne prête pas au doute.

Synodorum generalium ... pars quinta, continens synodos ac decreta sancti Gregorii VII, Bruxelles, Foppens, 1673 in-8°, [16]-835-[52] p. Ce volume est dédié à Pierre Roose, l'ancien chef-président des Conseils à Bruxelles, qui, à la suite de manœuvres politiques et antijansénistes, avait été écarté de sa fonction en 1649. C'est sans doute par son ami Pierre Stockmans que Lupus entra en rapports avec cet homme d'État. Il fait l'éloge de la longue administration intègre du chef-président, qui prit pour lui-même le conseil autrefois donné par le

préfet Probus à saint Ambroise : age not ut iudex sed ut episcopus. Lupus poursuit :

> « Mandatum tibi ipsi fixisti atque explesti ... Unde et ad episcopales infulas, immo et ad Eminentissimam Romanae Ecclesiae purpuram vota publica te cum eodem Ambrosio non semel postularunt [202]). Laudatas Ecclesiae ac Reipublicae dotes tanta animi constantia tutatus es, ut te quam ipsas laedi malueris ... ».
>
> *Pour finir, Lupus le félicite* « quod ... plurimis pro Ecclesia et Republica laboribus fracto corpore plena vigeret anima ... Est rarum Dei donum. Istud ipsum tibi gratulantur haec qualiacumque Scholia, et per ipsum a divina misericordia diuturnum sibi deprecantur patrocinium ».

Ce voeu formulé le 24 octobre 1672 ne fut pas réalisé. Moins d'un ans après Lupus eut à prononcer l'éloge funèbre de Roose. Mais, faisons le remarquer, cette dédicace, comme aussi cet éloge prouvent l'indépendance de Lupus à l'égard des antijansénistes qui s'opposaient toujours à Roose pour soutenir son émule et successeur Charles de Hovines.

Le cinquième volume traite du pontificat de Grégoire VII (1073-1085), qui continua l'œuvre d'assainissement commencée par Léon IX et qui est surtout connu pour la querelle des investitures.

Lupus traite successivement des onze synodes romains, auxquels il ajoute celui de Quedlinburg.

Le premier synode romain, dont les textes officiels lui manquaient, oblige Lupus à de longs détours historiques. Moins apparentes, les dissertations ne manquent pas ; p. 66-75, il donne une explication des anciennes stations liturgiques ; p. 317-449, il fournit de textes concernant l'hérésie de Bérenger ; p. 555-551, il traite *De peccatorum ac satisfactionum indulgentiis* ; p. 661-693, il s'arrête aux conciliabules d'Utrecht, de Mayence et de Brixen ; p. 764-825, il demande *An romanus pontifex possit omnibus sub coelo ecclesiis consecrare aut consecrandos iubere episcopos* ?

Le vieillard actif ne connaît pas de repos. Deux ans après son

[202]) Ce passage est une curieuse confirmation de notre article : *Pierre Roose candidat au siège archiépiscopal de Cambrai*, dans *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis inzonderheid van het oud hertogdom Brabant*, 40 (1957) 12-26. Pour écarter Roose de son poste de chef-président, ses adversaires auraient voulu l'élever au siège de Cambrai en 1647. Depuis lors, nous avons su que ce désir s'était déjà manifesté en 1644 ; cf. L. Ceyssens, *Autour de Caramuel*, dans *Bulletin de l'institut historique belge de Rome*, 33 (1961) 369.

dernier volume des *Scholia*, il publie : *Q. Florentis Septimii Tertulliani, presbyteri cathaginensis, liber de praescriptionibus contra haereticos, scholiis et notis illustratus per F. Christianum Lupum, Iprensem, Ordinis Heremitarum Sancti Augustini, Sacrae Theologiae in Lovaniensi academia doctorem et professorem*, Bruxellis, Franciscus Foppens, 1675, in-4° [8]-769-[29] p.

Lupus dédie ce livre le 28 août 1675 au cardinal Paoluzzo de Altieri [203]), protecteur des augustins, auquel précisément en ce moment il était très obligé pour les affaires de sa province religieuse. Il explique pourquoi il a entrepris ce commentaire.

> Tout d'abord, les *Praescriptiones* « sunt firma et generalia arma adversum omnes haereses, praeteritas, praesentes, futuras. Est libellus non solum aureis litteris, sed et verbotenus scribi dignus in omnium memoria ... Verum ... in hoc doctissimo libello habes plura non dumtaxat vocum sed et rerum obscura. Arcana primitivae nostrae disciplinae, variaeque alterius ecclesiasticae antiquitatis. Quidam rogarunt haec plene edisseri. Et fructum spoponderunt etiam a nostris sectariis, quos sane iam videmus fieri molliores et paulatim redire ad Matrem catholicam. Pleno animo servire ipsis ambio ... ».

De chapitre en chapitre, Lupus donne le texte de Tertullien et y joint son commentaire très érudit, farci de citations d'anciens auteurs. Quelquefois des versets particuliers l'arrêtent. Il discute l'explication donnée par d'anciens commentateurs tels que Jacques Pamelius et Beatus Rhenanus. On comprend que ces 800 pages ont demandé un très gros effort. Un témoin immédiat, Guillaume Wijnants, que nous rencontrerons encore, écrit dans un poème qui orne le livre : *Sudoris aliquot amphoras scio impensas.*

En fait, Lupus n'était pas avare de sa sueur. Sa connaissance de l'antiquité le plaçait devant des problèmes qui réclamaient encore une solution. Entre autres les synodes africains l'intriguaient. Il écrit :

203) Le 19 avril 1675, Lupus avait écrit à Favoriti : « Praelata habes quaedam *Scholia* in Tertulliani librum *De praescriptionibus*. Et tendit ad finem. Ipsum meditor inscribere Eminentissimo D. Cardinali Alterio. Spero non fore ingratum. Inscriptionem proxime mittam ». Le 14 juin suivant, il écrivit : « Adiungo... littera... quibus *Scholia in Tertulliani praescriptiones* inscribo Eminentissimo D. Cardinali de Alteriis. Si quid mutari, addi, aut demi oporteat, indicare dignetur illustrissima vestra benignitas » ; FFC, doc. 93.

« Inter ecclesiasticae antiquitatis monumenta vix quidquam ita involutum est atque confusum, uti concilia Africana. Nescio quis illa nobis labyrinthum fecit, immo et chaos. A multis tentatum exitum, nemo usque huc invenit ».

Lupus va s'y risquer, du moins pour ce qui regarde l'affaire du pélagianisme. De là son livre : *Antiqua ecclesiae ac reipublicae in pelagianam haeresim decreta, breviter elucidata scholiis chronologicis.* Cet ouvrage fut prêt pour l'impression en 1668. Le 30 april de cette année, Simon Servatii, professeur et censeur des livres à Louvain, donna une approbation. Il la formula prudemment : *lucem haec scholia adferent si in lucem mittantur.*

De fait, par la même prudence qui avait engagé Lupus à ne pas publier son livre sur le *placet*, il n'édita pas ce traité qui se rapprochait fort des préoccupations jansénistes. Mais ses confrères l'insérèrent dans les *Opuscula posthuma* de 1690 (p. 401-492) où, perdu dans la masse, il n'attira pas l'attention.

Son but et sa méthode, Lupus les décrit très brièvement dans son avis au lecteur :

« Adversum pelagianos istic [in Africa] et alibi celebrata redigere in suos annos et canones conati hic sumus. Definitionis enim mentem qui aliter videas ? Usi sumus compendio, quod solis discipulis monstremus obscuri itineris exordia ; et maius lumen accipere malimus, quam demonstrandum tentare ».

Lupus commence par le synode de Carthage de 411 ou de 412 et celui de Diospolis de 415, dont le texte nous est seulement connu par les écrits de saint Augustin ; et il finit par le synode de Valence de 855 qui fut approuvé par un décret de Nicolas I.

Sur la diffusion et le succès de ces trois volumes, il ne nous reste pas de nombreuses données. Le 9 mars 1674, Lupus écrit au cardinal Bona :

« ... Postrema Scholia spero pervenisse ad Vestram Eminentiam, cuius iudicio illa plene submitto » [204]).

Bona répond le 31 mars suivant :

« Tres postremas partes Scholiorum tuorum in concilia dudum accepi, iamque tibi gratias egi. Sed vereor ne litterae illae amissae

[204]) Bona, *Epistolae* (edit. Passionei), p. 58.

sint, ideo iterum benignitati tuae uberes ago gratias, et congratulor quod tam praeclarum opus in communem utilitatem edideris. Plurimum ex eius lectione profeci, similis enim factus es homini patrifamilias qui profert de thesauro suo nova et vetera » [205]).

Favoriti ne semble avoir reçu les volumes que vers le début de l'été. Il écrit le 8 juillet :

« Immortales ago Paternitati Vestrae gratias de postremis voluminibus *Notarum ad concilia generalia* dono mihi datis, in quibus sane omnis sacrae theologiae atque ecclesiasticae eruditionis exquisitior supellex, doctissimorum hominum iudicio, continetur. Itaque vehementer gratulor Paternitati Tuae laudem quam apud mortales maximam consequutus iam es, et gloriam quam apud superos haud dubie consequeris, tam praeclaris ingenii doctrinae ac pietatis tuae editis monumentis » [206]).

Mais voici que surviennent des réactions inattendues. A Rome réside, depuis des années, comme ambassadeur d'Espagne, le jésuite espagnol Everard Nithard, qui est un politicien connu et qui, en toutes occasions, se montre un antijanséniste ardent. Il est un adversaire de Lupus. Celui-ci écrit le 19 mars 1677 à Favoriti :

« At ecce D. Cardinalis Nitardus ad Illustrissimum nostri regis Cancellarium [de Urquia] nuperrime scripsit ista *Scholia* esse seditiosa ad turbationem regni, ideoque me extrudendum ex prioris provincialis officio. Ista scripsit ad preces Michaelis Heckii. Istas preces etiam misit ad D. Cancellarium. Et mihi scribitur addidisse quod ista scribat ex iussu Suae Sanctitatis » [207]).

Le remuant Portugais, François Macedo, polygraphe, de jésuite devenu franciscain, janséniste d'abord, antijanséniste ensuite [208]),

[205]) Ibid., p. 184. Le cardinal Brancacci remurcia le 4 février 1674 ; cf. FARVACQUES, *Oratio*, p. 6.

[206]) FFC, doc. 80. Lupus reçut outre les remerciements du cardinal Brancacci, le 10 février 1674, ceux du cardinal François Barberini, le 11 juillet 1676 ; cf. WIJNANTS, *Epistola dogmatica*, p. 26.

[207]) FFC, doc. 119. Cette lettre contient un détail intéressant ; dans ses *Scholia*, Lupus a intentionnellement évité certaines questions : « Regia antistitum nominatio, dum ex propria regum auctoritate attentatur, est pessima in Ecclesiae libertatem violentia. Liberae matris pessima servitus. Adversus ipsam nolo plura dicere apud illustrissimam vestram sapientiam, quam scio legisse mea *Scholia*. Apostolica quae hodie sunt indulta non tetigi. Nec enim meum est altissimas istas res iudicare. Dumtaxat retuli varia variorum de ipsis iudicia. Speravi me scire vera, et grata Romanae Ecclesiae ».

[208]) I. DE SOUSA RIBEIRO, *Fr. Francisco de Santo Agostinho de Macedo, um filiosófo*

influent à Rome et ailleurs en Italie, englobait le P. Lupus dans la rancune qu'il portait au P. Henri Noris. En 1674, il publia à Vérone ses *Commentationes duae ecclesiasticae polemicae. Altera pro Sancto Vincentio Lirinensi et Sancto Hilario Arelatensi et monasterio Lirinae; altera pro Sancto Augustino et Aurelio et Patribus africanis.* La seconde partie (p. 159-288) était dirigée contre Lupus, à qui le Portugais avait déjà opposé une « *acris ac vehemens publica disputatio* » dans le Collège de la Propagande [209]).

Macedo, fervent disciple de saint Augustin, est mû par un mobile très noble : « *scopus est honor Augustini vindicatus* ». Dans son *index* (p. 296-296) il annonce brièvement les reproches qu'il croit devoir faire à Lupus :

> « Lupus male sentit de Vincentio Lirinense; ... accusat Sulpicium et Vincentium semipelagianismi; arguitur simultatis in Vincentium; male approbat canones Antiochenos; immerito insimulat semipelagianismi Sixtum papam; arguitur inconsiderantiae; accusatur lapsus multiplicis; perperam sentit de convocatione concilii Constantini; sibi contradicit, temere imperitiae arguit Augustinum; scholasticos reprehendit; tria ponit errata imperitiae canonum; imprudenter appellat Augustinum nescientem; ... favet haereticos, reicit epistolas faventes Ecclesiae quorumdam pontificum ...

A la page 286, Macedo avoue ce qu'il espère :

> « Equidem, ni me fallit opinio, spero fore ut hi duo nobilissimi auctores Lupus et Noris, lectis meis hisce commentationibus, quae illorum ingenuitas est, cognita doctrinae huius veritate, a sua sententia recedant ac pro sua eruditione nova fundamenta investigent quibus eadem hactenus a nobis tradita doctrina confirmetur ».

Lupus ne fut pas tenté de répondre au polygraphe. Il pria Noris d'y renoncer également [210]).

escotista português e um paladino de Restauração, Coimbra, 1952. Ceyssens, *François de Saint-Augustin Macedo. Son attitude au début du jansénisme*, dans *Archivum franciscanum historicum*, 49 (1956) 241-254.

209) Macedo, *Commentationes*, p. 280; Sousa Ribeiro, p. 48.

210) Lupus écrira à Noris, le 17 janvier 1676 : « ...Ita canes solent equis allatrare. Illa quae concepisti contra Franciscum Macedo vellem praetermitti. Vestra Paternitas est maior istis omnibus. Digneris nostras miserias commendare divinae clementiae »; FFC, doc. 97.

8. *Le champion des réguliers.*

Nullement particulières au XVII^e siècle, les frictions entre le clergé séculier et les réguliers avaient été ravivées par les querelles entre jansénistes et antijansénistes, laxistes et rigoristes. A Gand, les curés avaient combattu les jésuites à l'occasion du petit catéchisme enseignant la suffisance d'une attrition basée sur une crainte servilement servile [211]). A Louvain, l'excentrique professeur antijanséniste Nicolas Du Bois avait provoqué les curés en soutenant en 1666, dans son livre *Ad quadraginta propositiones in praxi perniciosas* la proposition : « non esse obligationem frequentandi parochias aliam quam honestatis etiam in ordine ad audiendum verbum Dei » [212]).

[211]) CEYSSENS, *Sources... 1661-1672*, passim.

[212]) Le 9 novembre 1666, Lupus avait écrit à Bona : « Seditiosus Francorum ignis incipit scintillas suas in nos evomere, et in hac etiam alma Universitate seminare discordias inter clerum saecularem et regularem. A paucis septimanis fervet hic quaestio an fidelis populus divino et ecclesiastico divini verbi audiendi praecepto satisfaciat, audiendo ipsum in ecclesiis regularium. Rationem dubitandi movent ex quibusdam Concilii Tridentini verbis Paternitati Tuae R^mae notis.

Quaestio illa aliquoties per Sacram Congregationem Dominorum Cardinalium fuit decisa, et nostri hic maiores conformiter semper docuerunt partem affirmativam; a paucis interim diebus placere quibusdam coepit pars negativa, et nisi opponatur obex, aliae item scintillae huc transvolabunt.

Dominus Internuntius, amicus Paternitatis Vestrae R^mae, regularibus favet ex animo; causam tamen instructam transmisit ad Sedem apostolicam. Eius patrocinium benignitati vestrae ex corde commendo. Sedes apostolica hodie inter mortales fidum vix interim habet nisi regulares. Hinc oro Deum, ut per illam isti non humilientur; seipsam enim ita exarmabit. Quia hic de academiae gremio sum, partibus me non addixi, nec convenit ut addicam. Hinc rogo ut mei, nisi apud fidos, mentionem non faciat R^ma Paternitas Tua »; ibid., p. 190-191. Bona avait répondu le 9 decembre suivant : « Litteras tuas quibus de turbis in hac vestra academia nuper suscitatis me certiorem facis, opportuno tempore accepi; nam Deo iuvante, religiosorum iustissimae causae aliquid forsitan emolumenti afferre potero. Atque utinam hoc incendium ne ibi continuisset, ubi exortum est, neque ad vos pervenisset. Tolerabilius enim esset et minus malum. Quod vero serpat et vires acquirat eundo, id procul dubio ingentis ruinae est initium, nisi citius extinguatur.

Comprimenda sunt, fortibusque remediis compescenda fervida illa ingenia, quae innato quodam vitio novas quotidie lites serunt, susque deque vertunt ecclesiasticam hierarchiam, et gloriosum putant inimicitiis clarescere.

Quod autem te partibus non addixeris, rem maxime consentaneam prudentiae, doctrinae et existimationi tuae fecisti. Idque vehementer commendo. Et quia iubes me tui nullam mentionem facere, hoc religiossime servabo, Deum rogans ut tibi longam ac prosperam annorum seriem largiatur, quo doctissimas lucubrationes tuas perficere possis ad Ecclesiae utilitatem »; ibid., p. 206-207.

La réaction fut si vive que l'archevêque André Creusen, pourtant un antijanséniste et un ami des religieux publia, le 26 octobre 1666 un mandement sur l'obligation d'assister à la messe paroissiale et d'y écouter le sermon [213]).

De l'autre côté, un déséquilibré, le curé de Saint-Michel, Pierre Marcelis [214]), ne cessait d'énerver les religieux [215]). En 1672, un jeune théologien allait aussi entrer en lice. Puisque ce personnage, Martin Steyaert, nous le rencontrerons encore comme compagnon de Lupus pendant la députation de Louvain à Rome, il nous faut faire sa connaissance.

Né à Zomergem (Flandre Orientale), Steyaert avait fait ses humanités chez les augustins de Gand, et ses études supérieures à Louvain, où en 1665 il fut proclamé premier sur soixante-quatre concurrents à la promotion de la faculté des Arts [216]). Encore élève en théologie, il enseignait déjà la philosophie au collège du Château. En 1674, il allait devenir chanoine à Ypres; en 1675, il sera docteur en théologie.

Or, le 22 juillet 1672, pendant l'octave de sainte Marguerite de Louvain, ce théologien avait soutenu dans ses sermons, à Saint-Jacques, que les fidèles sont obligés d'assister aux messes paroissiales pour y entendre les prônes de leurs curés sous peine de péché mortel. Vers la même époque Pierre Marcelis avait prêché dans le même sens en son église de Saint-Michel.

Les réguliers se défendirent en faisant imprimer et afficher d'anciens documents pontificaux qui leur étaient favorables. Les curés s'émurent. Steyaert leur vint en aide en publiant vers la fin de 1673, sous le nom d'emprunt de *Christophorus Philalethes*, un opuscule : *Obligatio audiendi verbum Dei in parochiis*, Malines, 1673, in-16°, 52 p., dont parut aussi une traduction flamande [217]).

213) P. F. X. De Ram, *Nova et absoluta collectio synodorum... Archiepiscopatus Mechliniensis*, t. II, Malines, 1829, p. 356-357. Creusen ajoute à son mandement la lettre pastorale de Charles Borromée sur le même sujet.

214) L. Ceyssens, *Pierre Marcelis. La première moitié de sa vie*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 38 (1967) 403-473.

215) Voir L. Ceyssens, *De rehabilitatie van Martinus Steyaert, 1684-1685*, dans *Jansenistica. Studiën*, t. I, p. 305-341.

216) [P. F. X. De Ram], *Catalogus omnium primorum... universitatis Lovaniensis*, Malines, 1824, p. 58-59.

217) Cet écrit et les réponses ultérieures faites à Lupus ont été insérés dans les *Opuscula* de Steyaert (différentes éditions), t. II.

Ce petit livre fit impression. Les réguliers entreprirent des démarches pour le faire supprimer [218]) : « hoc norunt typographi, norunt curiarum episcopalium ministri, norunt Conciliorum procuratores fiscales » [219]). Ils y réussirent si peu que la nouvelle édition flamande parut avec l'approbation des évêchés de Malines et d'Anvers [220]). Une réponse semblait donc nécessaire. Lupus, champion des réguliers, allait y être entraîné. En effet, religieux par conviction, il aimait son ordre, sa province, son couvent-nous allons le voir. Il défendait leurs droits comme ceux du Saint-Siège. En 1672, il s'y sentait d'autant plus porté que son couvent de Louvain était entré en différend avec l'université au sujet de l'enterrement du professeur Plemp qui avait choisi sa sépulture chez les augustins [221]). C'était une belle occasion pour suggérer à l'internonce de faire introduire dans le bref de restitution des privilèges de l'université, alors en préparation, une clause obligeant les candidats aux promotions dans la faculté de théologie à prêter le serment de respecter les prérogatives des réguliers [222]). Il s'affligeait de constater cette opposition aux religieux. Le 2 septembre 1672, il écrivit à Favoriti :

« Nuperrime misi foedum libellum hic sparsum contra regulares. Ea omnia me cogunt vivere in magno taedio ac moerore » [223]).

C'est ainsi que son attachement aux réguliers et son érudition ecclésiastique l'amenèrent à entrer dans la controverse. Sous les sigles A.E.J.D. il publia: *Exhibitio Sacrorum Canonum circa ius regularium quoad praedicationem divini verbi*, s.l., 1674, in-16°, 96 p. [224]). Nicolas Du Bois donna son approbation par le seul mot *vidit*. Pour le reste, nulle mention de privilège, ni d'imprimeur, ni de lieu ; en somme une publication illégale, contraire aux lois civiles et ecclésiastiques. Après

218) Voir un aperçu de cette controverse, dans *Supplementum historiae collegii Lovaniensis Societatis Jesu* ; cf. CEYSSENS, *La seconde période*, t. I, p. 135-140.

219) STEYAERT, *Responsio pro obligatione audiendi verbum Dei in parochiis* (cf. infra) ; OPUSCULA (edit. Louvain, 1742), t. II, p. 304.

220) L.c.

221) CEYSSENS, *L'université de Louvain et la suspension de son privilège de nomination*, art. cit., p. 203.

222) L.c.

213) FFC, doc. 50. Lupus ajoute : « Pro benevolentissimis ad nostrum ordinem in Hollandia adiuvandum litteris summas ago gratias Suae Eminentiae ».

224) Cet écrit a été repris dans les *Opuscula*, t. II, p. 679-744 ; et dans les *Opera omnia*, t. XI, p. 279-306.

coup, Lupus y avait ajouté un *proemium* qui eut une petite histoire dont Steyaert nous révèle le curieux détail :

> « ... Credidi non minimam gratiam facturum me Domino Nicolao Du Bois, huius libelli censori, si quod res habet circa suam approbationem, breviter superadderem. Sic habet :
>
> Oblatus ille fuit, sed sine proemio, libellus; qualem vidit, sic vidisse testatus est. Prodiit in lucem typis nescio quibus; typographi non praefert nomen. Delatus fuit Lovanium venalis ad officinam Roberti Specht. Casu obiens hanc officinam censor, eum offendit et in limine pedem, nam proemium ut legit, mox se ne vidisse quidem testatus est, postulatoque calamo, proemiis, quotquot ibidem reperiebat exemplarium, quaquaversum lituram inducens, reliquit luculentum contrariae mentis indicium, rogavitque adstantem aliquem circa coemptum exemplare idem factitaret. Consonant haec originali attestationis instrumento confecto Lovanii per notarium S. Mintart, reperibili ibidem apud Adrianum De Witte, typographum ac bibliopolam iuratum.
>
> Sic ipsemet censor praeludebat in huius libelli secuturae aliquando proscriptioni, illam meriti, tum quod contra pontificias sanctiones et regia edicta careat legitima approbatione, tum quod nec careat diffamationis reatu tam acres invectivas in praecipuos universitatis viros sine publico authoramento in lucem spargere » [225]).

Lupus s'oppose à un adversaire qu'il feint de ne pas connaître, le désignant comme *hunc scriptorem* et *clarum demonstratorem*. Examinant les six arguments que Steyaert a invoqués en faveur des curés, Lupus met en doute que la prédication soit une prérogative des curés, car dès l'antiquité les religieux avaient la permission de prêcher dans leurs églises. Il fait l'historique des luttes séculaires entre les deux clergés, dans lesquelles, dit-il, les religieux demeurèrent victorieux grâce aux privilèges qu'ils reçurent du Saint-Siège. Un examen minutieux du Concile de Trente, montre que ces privilèges n'ont pas été suspendus. Le concile ne défend pas d'entendre la messe dominicale chez les religieux, mais dans une paroisse étrangère : « *patet quod synodus non sanxerit nisi parochia adversus parochiam* ».

Lupus s'arrête sur le rescrit d'Alexandre VII à Henri Arnauld, l'évêque janséniste d'Angers [226]). A partir du chapitre XII, il s'oppose au génovéfain Jean Fronteau, ex-chancelier de l'université de Paris,

225) Steyaert, *Responsio; Opuscula*, t. II, p. 306.

226) Voir un aperçu de cette controverse dans Reusch, *Der Index*, t. II. p. 391-393.

mort en 1662, connu pour ses querelles avec Jean-Baptiste Souchet [227]), et dont les *Epistolae de origine parochiarum, de iure episcoporum, de priscorum christianorum moribus* avaient été réimprimées à Liège en 1674.

> « Dum haec scribo, e Gallicana larva prodiit aliud in nos telum sub nomine Joannis Frontonis ... Breve quidem scriptum, sed amarulentum. Verborum suco comptum, sententia imperitum. Item insigniter temerarium. Non ex pusillo animo, sed ex eius merito ita appello. Etenim Apostolicae Sedis divina privilegia invadit, et ponit schismaticarum discordiarum fundamenta atque fomenta. Dolose quidem, ac novimus istiusmodi vulpium versutias. Volo haec breviter demonstrare ... ».

Il attaque donc ce « novus dogmatista », disciple de Pierre de Marca et de Louis-Henri de Gondrin, archevêque de Sens. Il relève ses erreurs, entre autres l'assertion – manifestement hérétique à ses yeux – que le pape ne peut donner des exemptions aux religieux. Il termine :

> « Et quidem modica istius scriptionis charta scatet istiusmodi ineptiis. Et quid iuvet singulas adducere ? Bonas horas debemus rebus melioribus ».

Steyaert ne tarda pas à répondre : *Responsio pro obligatione audiendi verbum Dei in parochiis, contra libellum Exhibitio S. S. Canonum circa ius regularium ecclesiarum quoad praedicationem verbi Dei*, Louvain, 1674, 70 p. [228]).

L'auteur suit pas à pas l'exposé de Lupus et, quoique jeune encore, il se montre très versé dans l'ancienne littérature ecclésiastique. Il oppose les citations aux citations, les interprétations aux interprétations. Pour finir il stigmatise la déloyauté de son adversaire :

> « ... Ad haec quoque variis demonstratorem lacessere conviciis, tenebrionem vocare, reum multorum criminum ac nefandorum ausum, temerarium garrulum, idiotam et si quid eiusmodi potuit adinvenire scribendi male feriata libido. Eane talibus erant digna conviciis ? Idne garrire erat, an serio monere ? Tenebrionem agere an clarum demonstratorem ? Temerarium Ecclesiae

227) Sur cet érudit, mort en 1654, voir P. Feret, *La faculté de théologie de Paris. Epoque moderne*, t. IV, p. 178-184: sur Fronteau, voir une notice dans F. X. Feller, *Biographie universelle* (édit. Paris, 1858), t. IV, p. 60-61 ; P. Feret, *La faculté de théologie de Paris ... Epoque moderne*, t. IV, p. 179-184.

228) Cet écrit a été repris dans les *Opuscula* de Steyaert, t. II, p. 303-358.

iudicem, an concilii praeconem? Iudicent aequi rerum aestimatores. Ego nil ultra ».

Steyaert tint parole. Il cessa de discuter sur la messe paroissiale. Mais Lupus ne lui laissa pas le dernier mot. Il riposta : *Exhibitio Sacrorum canonum circa ius regularium ecclesiarum quoad praedicationem divini verbi adversus larvati Christophori Philaletis responsionem stabilita et confirmata*, Louvain, Pierre Sassenius, 1674, in-24°, 133 p. [229]). Cette fois-ci les approbations sont plus nombreuses et plus explicites. Nicolas Du Bois permet que les 17 chapitres composés par Lupus soient imprimés, par où il semble vouloir empêcher l'auteur d'y ajouter encore quelque *proemium* non soumis à l'examen. Jean Smits, licencié en théologie et prieur à Louvain, trouve que le droit des réguliers établi par les papes y est soutenu d'une manière solide et apodictique. Le provincial J. B. De Pernes permet le 15 décembre 1674, « *ut praedictus liber ad maiorem stabilitae veritatis defensionem preli beneficio in lucem prodeat* ».

Aux reproches que Steyaert lui avait adressés, Lupus répond sarcastiquement :

> « ... Et quia propriis lacrimis nequeo mea peccata ex integro mundare, divinae clementiae ago summas gratias quod mihi dederit hunc Alexandrum, cui volupte est me variis elogiis conspuere et consputare. Haec enim sputa plurimum adiuvant infirmitatem mearum lacrimarum. Quin et ipsam veritatem adiuvant. Etenim haec est quasi crocus : quo magis tunditur eo magis ampliatur et meliores diffundit odores ... ».

Jusque dans les détails, Lupus réfute son adversaire et défend ses affirmations personnelles. Il ne manque pas de mentionner Pierre De Marca et ses propres amis romains, François Barberini et son bibliothécaire Luc Holstenius. Il revient sur le concile de Trente et sur son interprétation donnée par Charles Borromée, Mathias Hovius, archevêque de Malines, et plusieurs papes. Il cite intégralement le rescrit d'Alexandre VII à Henri Arnauld d'Angers. Il conclut :

> « Tridentinam synodum non adversus regulares ecclesias, sed pro parochiis adversus parochias sanxisse »; *cela il l'affirme* « licet occidat miseros crambe repetita magistros ». *Il ajoute encore* : Parochiales presbyteri dum istud decretum [Tridentinum]

[229]) Cet écrit a été repris dans les *Opuscula* t. II, p. 745-708; et dans les *Opera omnia*, t. XI, p. 307-332.

urgent, evertunt semetipsos. Apostolicae decisionis mentem ego optime calleo; etenim serio fui circa ipsam consultus ab Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Emanuele Vizzano, tunc Sancti Officii assessore ».

Ces mentions de François Barberini, préfet du Saint-Office et de d'Emmanuel Vezzani, contenaient-elles un avertissement discret ? Toujours est-il que trois ans plus tard Lupus et Steyaert vont, comme amis, prendre part à la députation romaine, dont nous aurons encore à parler. Entre-temps Lupus trouvait dans le décret de l'archevêque de Malines, en date du 29 août 1674, un préjudice aux privilèges des religieux. Il s'y opposera, nous le verrons, jusque sur son lit de mort [230]).

9. *Le mirage italien.*

Depuis son retour à Louvain en 1660, Lupus éprouvait une certaine nostalgie pour l'Italie et spécialement pour Rome, dont l'attiraient le climat, les bibliothèques, les antiquités et les amis qui y menaient une vie paisible. Aux Pays-Bas, au contraire, il ne trouvait, outre un ciel inclément, que l'inquiétude sociale et politique, les guerres, les dissensions doctrinales, la lutte entre frères, toutes choses peu compatibles avec une vie studieuse [231]). Il est donc tenté d'aller se fixer dans la Ville éternelle. Il rumine le pour et le contre et consulte ses amis des Pays-Bas. Dans son indécision, il pense retourner, du moins pour quelque temps, en Italie. Le chapitre général de 1667 [232]) pourrait lui fournir une occasion, à moins que l'université ne l'y envoie pour régler l'affaire des privilèges qui de nouveau tourne mal.

La première ouverture, Lupus semble l'avoir faite à son général, s'offrant de venir au chapitre général pour y défendre des thèses publiques. Effectivement invité [233]) il informe aussitôt, le 22 avril 1666 [234]), l'abbé Jean de Bona de son désir et des hésitations :

« Generale capitulum accedere et in vita mea adhuc semel Sanctisimum Dominum, Paternitatem Vestram Reverendissimam aliosque

230) Cf. infra.

231) Nous entendrons encore Lupus répéter ces raisons.

232) Le chapitre général tenu à Rome du 21 au 28 mai 1667 fut très mouvementé à cause des ingérences excessives du cardinal protecteur J. B. Pallotta. Jérôme Valvassori y fut élu général. Il sera un ami et protecteur de Lupus.

233) AGA, Dd 102, f° 177r.

234) C'est par erreur que Passionei a attribué cette lettre à l'année 1667.

patronos et amicos venerari, fuit mihi et etiam nunc est summopere in votis. Urgentes rationes et primatum hic virorum consilia aliud invito persuaserunt. Attamen opus bonum generali capitulo non adlegatur. Alma haec universitas facile habere potest et ex nunc quaedam habet negotia [privilegiorum] tractanda cum Sanctissimo Domino, quorum causa me adhuc possim in iter dare. Utinam succedat ista felicitas, possimque discere a Paternitate Vestra Reverendissima, cuius et scripta et virtutum merita novit quam optime haec universitas et ex animo veneratur ».

Parlant ensuite des controverses autour de la contrition, il poursuit : « Benevolentissimas Reverendissimae Paternitatis Vestrae litteras legi Sacrae Facultati. Ex ipsis vidimus nos de uno ab aemulis denigrari ... Ex corde supplicamus ut et Sanctissimo Domino ac Eminentissimo D. Cardinali Barberino haec suggerere dignetur vestra in nos benignitas. Si me ad Urbem proximo Septembri accedere iudicet consultum vestra prudentia, Sacra nostra Facultas est contenta » [235]).

Naturellement, Bona communique cette bonne nouvelle à leur ami commun Favoriti, et celui-ci exprime le 27 juillet 1666 son désir de vivre sans cesse à coté de Lupus afin de pouvoir profiter chaque jour de son érudition et de sa doctrine « *quam iudico huic urbi, his praecipue temporibus, pernecessariam* » [236]).

Mais le 2 avril de l'année suivante, lorsque le chapitre général est imminent, Bona lui témoigne sa déception et celle de ses amis « *... audivimus ... te iustis de causis non posse tam longum iter arripere et deserere stationem tuam* » encore qu'il espérât « *a te edoceri qui in hoc pulvere tanta cum laude versaris* » [237]). Le plan avait donc échoué.

Cepedant deux ans plus tard, le rêve italien sembla une fois de plus devenir une réalité. De Rome, l'internonce Airoldi eut ordre de proposer quelques religieux qui pourraient occuper honorablement une chaire à la Sapience. Le 13 avril 1669, il en proposa huit. En premier lieu Lupus, en second lieu Van Hecke. Mais cette première place sur la liste n'était pas une recommandation spéciale, car l'internonce ajouta :

« Il P. Lupi è soggetto letterato e de' piu stimati in queste parti; prevale nell' eruditione et historie sacre, nella quali ha pochi

235) Bona, *Epistolae* (edit. Passionei), p. 52-54; cf. Ceyssens, *Sources... 1661-1672*, p. 232-234.

236) FFC, doc. 16.

237) Wijnants, *Epistola dogmatica*, p. 17.

pari; è pero sospetto d'haver qualche inclinatione a Giansenio e l'ha dimostrato in alcuni scritti dati in luce intitolati : *Dissertatio dogmatica de attritione* » [238]).

Quand il vient à sa conclusion, l'internonce ne retient plus que deux candidats : Van Hecke et le franciscain Herincx. Comme on pouvait s'y attendre, le premier fut préféré. Il arriva à Rome le 4 juin 1670 et commença ses cours d'Écriture sainte le 7 décembre suivant. En 1672 il devint, par bref pontifical, assistant général pour la Germanie [239]). Ces promotions étaient inquiétantes pour Lupus, car Van Hecke n'était pas précisément un ami.

Au début de 1673, Lupus ne s'est pas encore libéré de sa tentation. Il désire se fixer à Rome « *per terminarvi con quiete il lungo corso delle fatiche et degli anni suoi* ». C'est ce qu'écrit le cardinal Altieri à l'internonce, le 8 juillet 1673 [240]). Ce désir, Lupus l'avait manifesté par l'intermédiaire de Favoriti, car le 25 août il remercie cordialement ce dernier, en ces termes :

« Eximiae benignitati vestrae, quae me Eminentissimo D. Cardinali Altiero dignata est commendare, summas ago gratias et summum accepi beneficium. Et vellem esse in Italia et isthic mea *Scholia* complere. Hic enim inter perpetua bella nulla adfulget spes quietis » [241]).

Mais sa demande, Lupus l'a soumise à une condition : il ne quittera pas Louvain s'il ne réussit pas à faire attribuer à un confrère la place qu'il occupe dans la faculté étroite de théologie. Cette condition ne posant aucun problème aux yeux du cardinal, celui-ci approuva entièrement le projet, et donna le 8 juillet 1673 l'instruction suivante à l'internonce :

« Desidera il P. Cristiano Lupi, agostiniano, professore di teologia nell' università di Lovanio, di venire a Roma per terminarci con quiete il lungo corso delle fatiche e degli anni suoi.

E' degno di lode il pensiero, e noi non possiamo se non approvarlo e promoverlo, si per sodisfare al desiderio giusto di un

238) Ceyssens, *Sources... 1661-1672*, p. 302-303.

239) On peut trouver ce bref dans *Liber Mechliniensis* (ms. conservé au couvent des augustins de Gand). f° 292-294. Cette nomination spéciale par le pape à une fonction conventuelle était naturellement le résultat de démarches intéressées.

240) Ceyssens, *La seconde période*, t. I, p. 69.

241) FFC, doc. 65.

huomo di molto merito e d'insigne dottrina, come per l'ornamento che si aggiungerà colla presenza di lui alla Corte Romana.

Ma perché egli occupa un posto nella Facoltà stretta, il quale è molto espediente di mantenere nell' Ordine di S. Agostino, per ovviare al pericolo di vederlo cadere in persone sospette alla Santa Sede, si giudica necessario il procurar, prima che si parta, di sostituirgli altro soggetto del medesimo Ordine. Nel che potendo suffragargli molto l'opera e gli uffizij di V.S., non lascerà ella d'esibirgli al medesimo Padre, e secondo la sua direzione, d'interporgli con efficacia pari alla cautela e circospezione che saprà usare in ciò la sua prudenza.

Il Padre Echio [Van Hecke] scrive in questo ordinario al P. Lupi più diffusamente in questo proposito, onde potrà V.S. intendersela con lui » [242]).

Mais par ses publications Lupus est si bien connu en Italie qu'au même moment où il est invité à Rome, il est convié aussi par le Grand Duc de Toscane. C'est par deux lettres de son confrère le régent du Saint-Esprit qu'il l'apprend [243]). Henri de Noris, son confrère et ami, qui est aussi appelé à Florence, fournit des détails sur les conditions qui sont offertes. Outre un salaire de 630 écus, il y a des avantages appréciables :

« Florentiae enim ingens quies, librorum copia, grande stipendium, ac Magni Principis gratia ac patrocinium aderunt » [244]).

« Quid enim mihi gratius, quid iucundius, quid utilius accidere poterat quam te coram alloqui, hoc est semper a te discere, quem uti deambulantem bibliothecam universi et singuli admirantur ? Sed nec quicquam tibi honorificentius vel litteris tuis commodius contingere potuit. Satis Belgium ac Lovanium tuum illustrastis. Rumpe moras, vocat te Florentia, Italiarum urbium pulcherrima, cui vel ipsa Antverpia cedit ... Adero ipse lateri tuo, non quidem comes, sed servus, eamque quam olim Romae, operam rebus tuis sedulam commodabo. Aderunt amici ac nominis tui studiosissimi viri Illustrissimus Airoldus [internuncius Bruxellensis] illuc nuntius apostolicus designatus : canonicus Panciaticus, tuique amantissimus Antonius Magliabecchius, ingentis eruditionis vir ac Principum bibliothecis praefectus, qui omnem lapidem movit ut ambo Florentiam vocaremur.

Mi Lupe, Deus nobis haec otia fecit. Hoc praeteritis tuis laboribus

[242]) Ceyssens, *La seconde période*, t. I, p. 69-70.

[243]) Voir la réponse de Lupus, en date du 31 août 1673, dans Lupus, *Opera*, t. XII, p. 361.

[244]) Farvacques, dans l'oraison funèbre de Lupus (p. 10), précisera que le Duc prévit un « viaticum pro transmittendis libris ».

munus, hoc futuris meis incitamentum divina gratia posuit, cuius motibus te meo exemplo morem gerere spero. Erit id Lovaniensi academiae ornamento ... Tu interim cura ut ex nostra familia vir tibi succedat, qui tua vestigia, si non impleat, hoc enim de nullo sperari licet, saltem sequatur » [245]).

Mais de nouveau Lupus connaît des hésitations. Ce n'est pas le choix entre Rome et Florence qui lui est difficile, mais bien le départ même de Louvain. Il va en parler à l'internonce, qui écrit le 5 août 1673 :

« E' stato da me, questi giorni addietro, il P. Lupi, il quale non solamente non mostra inclinatione di trasferirsi a cotesta Corte, come vien supposto nella lettera scrittami da Vostra Eminenza [8 Luglio] sopra questo particolare, ma di più mi ha pregato di rappresentarle il desiderio che egli ha di rimaner tuttavia in questi paesi, che viene eccitato in lui principalmente dal motivo di poter render, con la sua dimora in queste parti, maggiore servizio alla Santa Sede di quello che egli sarebbe per fare dimorando costà.

A questo aggiunge egli l'altro della necessità di fermarsi in Lovanio per poter terminare la fatica da lui intrapresa delle annotazioni sopra i concilii » [246]).

Pour être quitte de ses doutes, Lupus demande à son général, Jérôme de Valvasori, de décider pour lui. De fait, il reçoit le 15 juin une réponse de ce supérieur qui, dans l'entre-temps, est devenu évêque de Cortone :

« Singularia merita R. A. Paternitatis Tuae semper sum admiratus, immo et veneratus tamquam eximia munera Dei. Lucernam sapientiae, quam geris in corde, et nostrae Italiae suum explicare fulgorem, ex qua die te cognovi, summopere desideravi. Votis meis nunc annuit superna providentia illa quae pluviam coelestium gratiarum dat in tempore suo.

Serenissimus Magnus Etruriae dux, doctorum hominum maecenas et asylum, ad quem tui nominis fama pervenit, te penes se habere mirum in modum optat. Pisis tibi cathedram exhibet cum libertate legendi, spondetque se cum R. A. Paternitate Tua sic acturum ut eius remuneratio minime e tuis meritis decedat.

Illustrissimus Capponius, cuius auctoritas in Etruriae aula eximia est, ... apud me plurimum instat, sic tecum agam ut Magni Ducis munificentissimum genium experiaris. Quapropter

[245]) Lupus, *Opera omnia*, t. XII, p. 359-360.

[246]) Ceyssens, *La seconde période*, t. I, p. 72.

abs te animitus peto, immo oro quaesoque ut eius postulationi plusquam libenti animo acquiescas » [247]).

A la suite de la lettre de l'ex-général, Lupus se trouvait plus que jamais dans l'indétermination. Il s'en ouvrait dans ses lettres du mois d'août. Le 25, il écrit à Favoriti :

« ... Verum ut Belgio exeam plura obstant. Etenim haec Schola et grandes amici nec audire sustinent. Exsufflant cum stomacho. Deinde sine libris sum miles sine armis. Et nostram bibliothecam amplam et numerosam, quomodo portabo in Italiam ? Etiam D. Etruriae Dux me invitat ad suam scholam Pisanam, locum quietum. Haereo, haesito, egeo sane consilio quod utinam mihi illustrissima vestra in me beneficentia dignetur suppeditare » [248]).

Le même jour, Lupus est un peu plus explicite dans une lettre à Altieri :

« Gratiam acceptare timeo ob tres rationes. Primo quod metuam Eminentiae Vestrae esse onerosum. Deinde quod Romae non haberem necessarios libros ad manum, ideoque Romanae Ecclesiae non possem ex officio servire. Nam in publicis bibliothecis non possim explere istud meum debitum. Tertio quod in hac universitate forsan opportunius faciam Apostolicae Sedis ministerium quam facerem Romae.

Ex alia parte sunt etiam rationes quae me alliciunt in Italiam. Et ex ipsis, Pater Noster Ex-Generalis me instanter ursit ut magno Etruriae Duci, Pisas aut Florentiam evocanti, adquiescerem.

Ego omni universo praepono Romanam Ecclesiam, ideoque me dono in arbitrium et potestatem Eminentiae Vestrae ... » [249]).

[247]) Wijnants, *Epistola dogmatica*, p. 28-29. Charles-François Airoldi, qui venait de passer de la nonciature de Bruxelles à celle de Florence, fera parvenir également une chaude invitation, le 19 décembre 1673 : « Pater Benfattus, nationis germanicae, ordinis vestri religiosus, mecum fuit heri aliquot momentis .... Convenimus ambo, optimum fore consilium ut Paternitas Vestra huc adveniat ; iam enim haec ipsi aula pecuniam constituit pro suo librorumque viatico, et de stipendio satis amplo hic eidem quotannis praestando deliberatum est. Ut vestra Bruxellis praesentia summopere sum delectatus, hic etiam fruar libentissime ... Video Paternitas Vestra ab hac aula omne sibi beneficium laborumque praemium polliceri posse ; propterea huc ipsam tute advoco ». Ibid. p. 30.

[248]) FFC, doc. 53.

[249]) FFC, doc. 54. Le 31 août, Lupus écrit encore au régent du Saint-Esprit à Florence et à Noris. A ce dernier, il répond : « Quod adhuc vivam in Vestrae Paternitatis memoria summopere gaudeo. Utinam detur Paternitati Vestrae convivere et

A la suite de ces lettre, Lupus reçut de Favoriti une réponse, datée du 1er octrobre, qui ne manquait pas de pertinence :

« A Patribus tui amantissimis Seraphino, Carmelita, et Echio sodali tuo cognosces quid ego sentiam de tua Florentiana profectione. Sane cum causatus sis occupationes et necessitates Academiae Lovaniensis, quominus ad Urbem invitatus venires, non video quid satis excusationis afferre possimus apud Romanos, cum hi Florentiam praetulisse viderint. Illud etiam est animadversione dignum, quod in Italia nullibi praeter Urbem Romam, sunt in pretio, quod merentur, Sacrae Literae, quibus tantopere excellis, cum vix in Urbe ipsa cuius maxime interest, eas florere satis multi reperiantur earum desiderio incensi.

Quod vero pertinet ad premium, scio te ipsa pietate ac virtute hominem ordini Mendicanti addictum, et christianae paupertatis, atque humilitatis strenuus sectatorem, nihil aliud respicere, quam Dei et Ecclesiae honorem, pro quo tandiu decertasti. Verumtamen si ad ea quoque, quae homines tanti faciunt, animum flecteremus, multo plura atque ampliora expectanda essent a Pontifice Maximo, quam a Magno Duce, quantumvis Etruriae principes haereditario quodam iure gloriam sibi vindicent, idque in praesens liberaliter praestent, fovendi ornandique viros literatos, et liberales omnes artes egregie provehendi.

Sed me fortasse suspectum tibi iudicem faciat mei ipsius amor, quo cogor te praesentem desiderare. Itaque rationes tuas, aetatem et valetudinem in primis consule. Ac pro certo habeas, me, ubicumque gentium fueris, virtuti tuae addictissimum semper fore, et magni muneris loco habiturum occasiones tibi inserviendi » [250]).

A Lupus il ne reste plus qu'à se rendre. Il écrit le 3 novembre 1673 à Favoriti :

commori. Ego nullos quaero proventus. Paupertatem sum professus et me non poenitet. Ex vestri tamen amore non sum alienus a Florentia. Et certo tanto principi servire esset mihi summa gloria et ante omnia utinam essem aptus.

Verum aliqua obstant et fortiter. Primo quod sim senex; sum et enim sexaginta annorum. Hinc opus est ut serio cogitem de futuris. Secundo, haec Provincia eget mea opera. Nosti rationes. Tertio, si Belgio excedam, offendam multos, etiam Belgi primates. Quarto, habeo insignem bibliothecam, sine qua sum miles sine armis; quomodo ipsam portabo in Italiam ? Et ut mea inchoata scholia expleam, debeo illam habere ad manum.

Interim me posui sub arbitrio Reverendissimi Patris ex-generalis [Valvasori] et ipsi et vobis obedio. Cum ipso agere dignetur Vestra admodum Reverenda Paternitas » ; *Opera omnia*, t. XII, p. 360.

[250]) FFC, doc. 55.

« ... Quod igitur in Etruriam licet necdum me addixerim, quasi abduci sim aliqualiter passus, nec a lucro nec a quovis humano die fui permotus. Moverunt me duae rationes : prima et palmaris fuit auctoritas P. Hieronymi Valvasori, cuius hic adiungo litteras. Gratia Vestra novit me ipsi varie obstrictum. Altera ratio fuit amor quietis ad studia necessariae. Attendi enim Pisas esse rarissimi populi, civitatem liberam a strepitu, perficiendis Synodorum scholiis aptiorem, quam perpetua Belgii arma et quotidianos innumerarum miseriarum tumultus. Attendi me istic ignotum posse latere ... ».

Mais Lupus ajoute :

Interim si Gratia Vestra iudicet me Romanae Ecclesiae utilem, promptus parebo. Nec nisi ab eadem Ecclesia iussus ibo in Etruriam; Catholica enim Mater post divinam maiestatem habuit a me semper et habebit primam reverentiam. Quod ipsum nuper scripsi Eminentissimo D. Cardinali Alterio » [251]).

Au début de 1674, Lupus reçut une invitation cordiale de la part de Favoriti, parlant au nom de la curie romaine. Il y répond avec enthousiasme, le 1er février 1674 :

« Effusae in me indignum vestrae benevolentiae sum per omnia obligatus et nescio quid loquar; illa me facit mutire. Et novas flammas mihi accendit ad vitae reliquum S. Petri apostoli servitio impendendum. De victu et cubiculis nulla est difficultas. Ego enim huc usque habitavi in communibus communis dormitorii cellis et nihil comedi nisi quod comedit commune refectorium. Et spero fore ut divina gratia det mihi ita agere usque ad extremum spiritum. Omnis quaestio est de salute meae animae, an Apostolicae Sedi cui hic prodesse studeo etiam illic sim futurus utilis ? Cur me inutilem aleret ? Humanarum rerum nulla me moratur nisi difficultas longi itineris. Deinde humanae vitae momenta sunt in secretissimo Domini Dei arbitrio, attamen naturae ordo et temperamentum insinuant me diu victurum. Omnes enim mei maiores accesserunt et quidam excesserunt annum centesimum. Parens meus non ita pridem dicessit aetatis anno nonagesimo sexto. Hisce timeo ne et ego fiam silicernius et alienae genti tunc sim onerosus. Omnia interim pono in gratiosis manibus Illustrissimae Vestrae Benevolentiae; faciam quod iusserit. De libris iam sum securus. Haec erat palmaris difficultas nam doctor sine libris est miles sine armis. Opportunum itinerandi tempus accedit. Hinc supplico, si venire oporteat, quamprimum transmitti mandatum Patris Generalis ac obedientiales litteras; hic enim multos offendam et non potero me uno die expedire » [252]).

[251]) FFC, doc. 59.

[252]) FFC, doc. 63.

Tout semble décidé. Déjà l'obédience du général est demandée. Cependant le 23 février suivant, Lupus laisse entrevoir une certaine hésitation.

> « ... De meo ad Urbem accessu scripsi nuper mentem meam. Ac in ipsa persisto. Rem istam bene perpendere ac meas frequentes interpellationes boni consulere dignetur » [253]).

Le 17 mars le cardinal Altieri met à la disposition de Lupus, pour les frais du voyage, la somme de cent écus, et comme protecteur de l'ordre, il lui envoie l'obédience voulue [254]). Néanmoins, une nuance d'incertitude persiste : « *Risolvendosi il P. Lupi ...* » : Entre-temps, Falconieri communique au cardinal-neveu que Lupus ne pourra pas venir avant l'été parce qu'il doit encore régler sa succession dans la faculté étroite de théologie [255]). Dès le 1er juin Lupus avait écrit à Favoriti :

> « Nec in sacra facultate loco necdum est provisum, quod unus doctor absit, et alter aegrotet. Res est bene praeparata et brevi complenda. Hinc Deo dante statim post Assumptae Virginis festum dabo me in iter » [256]).

Pour l'aider, l'internonce se rendra à Louvain en juillet [257]).

Le départ semblait donc décidé et fixé. Voilà cependant qu'intervient un nouveau flottement. Le 16 juin, François Van Horenbeeck, doyen de Saint-Pierre à Louvain et vice-chancelier de l'université, s'était adressé au Cardinal Altieri. Antijanséniste, il a écrit qu'à Louvain et en beaucoup d'autres endroits, l'autorité apostolique est méprisée et attaquée par les amateurs de nouveautés, qui ont recours à des opinions souvent réprouvées. Il craint donc que cette autorité

253) FFC, doc. 64.

254) Ceyssens, *La seconde période*, t. I, p. 172; cf. FFC, doc. 67.

255) Ceyssens, *La seconde période*, t. I, p. 187; cf. p. 186. Le 4 mai Lupus écrivit à Favoriti : « Cum theologica facultate coepi agere de substituendo alio ordinis nostri doctore qui Sedi apostolicae sit firmiter fidelis, in meum locum. Et spero rem successuram ac brevi concludendam. Hinc me paro ut circa Augusti medium dem me in iter Romanum. Plures me graviter dehortantur ac etiam ego in me nescio quid contradictionis vix possum exurere; attamen veniam »; FFC, doc. 69. Le même jour, Lupus écrit à Bona : « Eminentissimus D. Cardinalis Alterius vocat me ad Urbem. Et quia amplius refragari non ausim, sum venturus, licet cum multorum offensa »; Bona, *Epistolae* (edit. Passionei), p. 61.

256) FFC, doc. 74.

257) Ceyssens, *La seconde période*, t. I, p. 213.

ne souffre du départ de Lupus qui la défend si savamment. Informé de tous les secrets de la faculté étroite de théologie, il sait que Lupus s'oppose, à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur, aux erreurs et aux entreprises nocives et qu'il les détecte. Dans les actes publics, en enseignant, en présidant, en disputant, il fortifie les convictions de la jeunesse universitaire par ses doctrines solides et irréfutables, et la confirme dans sa fidélité indéfectible à la foi romaine [258]).

Cette lettre remet tout en question. Altieri écrit le 7 juillet à Lupus :

> « Multorum sermone ad me defertur, tuum Lovanio discessum ingratum ac molestum accidere iis omnibus quibuscumque cordi sunt Lovaniensis academiae res et tua perspecta virtus. Metuunt enim immo pro certo eventurum affirmant ut quantum praesente te, probi ac verae disciplinae sanaeque doctrinae amantes viri animo erecto fortique sunt adversus eos qui miscere omnia et profanas novitates invehere conantur, [hi] tantumdem crescant audacia et quasi oblata rei suae bene gerendae occasione illico insurgant absente te ... » [259]).

Altieri ne se base donc pas seulement sur la lettre du doyen de Louvain, mais il a probablement consulté sur son contenu les Pères Van Hecke et Séraphin de Jésus-Marie. Il prie Lupus de ne pas se mettre en route avant d'avoir pris des mesures concernant les maux à craindre. Il écrit dans le même sens à l'internonce à Bruxelles [260]).

Vers la fin de juillet, Favoriti adressa une lettre semblable à Lupus, tout en laissant le départ au choix de l'intéressé.

> « ... Tamen tuo arbitrio, cum si venias, magnum Eminentiae Suae, magnum nobis omnibus gaudium (quod quidem at te ipsum pertinet) sis allaturus » [261]).

Vers le début d'août, Favoriti répète :

> « ... Pares ab Eminentia Sua amoris erga te et aestimationis plane singularis significationes polliceri tibi potes, sive in Belgio, sive apud nos eris; nam esti isthic manseris, te tamen semper in

[258]) Jadin, *Lettere di particolari*, p. 205-206.

[259]) FFC, doc. 78.

[260]) Altieri demande l'internonce d'« insinuare al medesimo Padre che prenda in ordine alla sua venuta in Roma quelle misure che vengono consigliate da' rispetti si gravi e dalla sodisfazione sua propria »; Ceyssens, *La seconde période*, t. I, p. 213.

[261]) FFC, doc. 81.

libris tuis qui omnium manibus teruntur et ore laudantur, praesentem habemus. Dies ipsa te ac nos docebit quid expediat. Ego quidem, si nutu meo res gereretur, omnes difficultates morasque praeciderem, ac Pater Christianus Lupus quamprimum exciperetur splendide ac magnifice, ut meretur in palatio apostolico ... » [262]).

Mais dans l'entre-temps, Lupus avait déjà fait savoir à Favoriti son opinion sur les raisons alléguées par Van Horenbeeck et les autres :

« Plures, nescio quos, qui de mea avocatione scripserunt Eminentissimo D. Cardinali Alterio, admodum admiror. Et certe unde sciant Lovanii esse periculosae doctrinae fautores, penitus ignoro. Ego sane talem non novi; ex ista parte nullum video periculum.

Praeter rationes quas ex Italia acceptas rogavi per D. Hubertum Fabri secreto communicari, non sunt nisi duae : prima est quod theologica facultas habeat paucos doctores; altera est quod plures amici me studeant retinere in Belgio, iam per omnia afflictissimo. Caeterum iam me parabam ad iter. Etenim in omnibus parere volui Eminentissimo D. Cardinali et illustrissimae vestrae in me benevolentiae, quam absit ut vel in minimo offendam. Quare haec omnia submitto prudentiae vestrae, factura quo ipsa iusserit » [263]).

Contrairement à ce que Lupus pouvait espérer, la décision attendue de Rome ne vint pas. Il est à croire que la crainte du jansénisme en fut

262) FFC, doc. 82.

263) FFC, doc. 83. Le 17 août suivant, Lupus écrivit largement au cardinal Altieri. Il nie qu'à Louvain il y ait des fauteurs de doctrines dangereuses. Il connait pourtant les secrets de la faculté de théologie, Il prie le cardinal de n'éprouver ni soupçon ni crainte. Il est vrai qu'il y a des esprits plus sévères; mais c'est une conséquence du climat du nord; Lupus ne peut y apporter aucun remède et le Saint-Siège ne doit en craindre aucun inconvénient. Il y a cependant des raisons qui le retiennent à Louvain où séjournent si peu de docteurs de théologie et où il peut être un compagnon de douleurs pour ses confrères et ses collègues en ce temps de calamités. La faculté ne veut pas donner un remplaçant, mais bien lui réserver sa « place » dans la faculté étroite, avec tous les avantages, jusqu'à la fin de ses jours. Il se déclare tout à fait indifférent et demande au cardinal de décider ce qu'il faut faire. JADIN, *Lettere di particolari*, p. 208-209.

Le 17 août, Lupus écrit à Bona : « Credebam adhuc videre Eminentiam Vestram ac praesens venerari, at nescio quae ex Belgio relationes intervenerunt quae Eminentissimo D. Cardinali Alterio crearunt alias cogitationes. Ego sum illarum inscius. Et de rei statu D. Cardinalem iam instruxi. Ego obedientiam professus sum, et semper studui agere ex superiorum arbitrio. Existimavi ipsum esse iudicium. Quare et in hoc negotio quidquid D. Cardinalis censuerit, eadem mente exequar. Et hoc si occasio obtulerit, dignetur illi insinuare Eminentiae Vestrae benignitas »; BONA, *Epistolae* (edit. Passionei), p. 68-69.

la cause. Mais ailleurs on attribue une influence spéciale à Michel Van Hecke, assistant général de Germanie, qui était très familier avec le Cardinal Altieri, devenu protecteur des augustins.

Un correspondant vénitien de Magliabecchi, qui a mal compris ce qu'il venait d'entendre, écrit :

> « So però certamente che questo assistente non acconsente che parta [il P. Lupo], perchè il P. Lupo è quello solo che nella Fiandra mantiene la di lui autorità in guisa che se egli partisse, nullo più avrebbe di stima per essere uomo rotto e fantastico e poco amato da quei Frati » [264]).

Cette interprétation des faits est inacceptable. Lupus n'était certainement pas un ami ou un auxiliaire de Van Hecke. Il est possible que celui-ci ait d'abord cherché à écarter Lupus des Pays-Bas pour y jouer plus facilement son rôle dans la province religieuse, et qu'ensuite, quand l'affaire commençait à chauffer, il ne désira pas avoir Lupus à côté de lui à Rome.

Pour finir, Lupus regretta de ne pas être parti. Il écrit le 27 février 1675 à Favoriti :

> « Qui Eminentissimo D. Cardinali persuaserunt me relinqui in Belgio, haud dubie ex recto fine et animo fecerunt. Attamen multis et publicis et privatis calamitatibus me fecerunt obnoxium ... » [265]).

L'année suivante, ayant été élu provincial, et ayant déjà expérimenté les difficultés de la fonction, il s'écrie : « *Utinam a triennio Romam venissem* ! *Exemptus essem ab hisce miseriis* » [266]) !

(*à suivre*) LUCIEN CEYSSENS

264) G. TARGIONI TOZZETTI, *Clarorum Venetorum ad Ant. Magliabechium... epistolae*, p. 22.

265) FFC, doc. 92.

266) Ibid., doc. 111.

Der Wiener Augustiner-Eremit P. Ferdinand Hartisch (1642/43-1699)*

Generalvisitator für das Vikariat Mähren

Die Konstitutionen verpflichteten den Generalprior, einmal in sechs Jahren den ganzen Orden zu visitieren. Da ihm dies persönlich nicht möglich war, setzte er Generalvisitatoren ein. [424]). Deren Vollmachten waren ziemlich groß und erstreckten sich sogar auf Strafverfügungen gemäß den Bestimmungen der Konstitutionen. Der Zweck der Visitationen war, dem Generalprior einen Überblick über den Zustand des ganzen Ordens zu geben, ihn über verdiente und mißliebige Persönlichkeiten im Orden zu unterrichten und ihm zu ermöglichen, die Definitoren des Generalkapitels über reformbedürftige Zustände zu informieren [425]).

Generalprior Travalloni beauftragte mittels eines Schreibens vom 8. Juni 1689 [426]) P. Hartisch, in seiner Autorität das Ordensvikariat Mähren [427]) zu visitieren [428]).

Die Durchführung der Visitation verzögerte sich aber. Im Bestellungsschreiben vom 8. Juni hatte Hartisch auch die Befugnis erhalten — die Erlaubnis Kaiser Leopolds I. vorausgesetzt —, die Überprüfung der weltlichen, finanziellen Angelegenheiten zu übernehmen [429]). Der Kaiser gestattete jedoch die Visitation « in tempora-

*) Siehe *Augustiniana* XXV (1975), 143-180; 353-387.

424) Vgl. Luijk, 684.

425) Const. III/VIII.

426) Dd 129. 54v-57r, zit. bei : Gavigan, doctoribus, 307.

427) Das Vikariat Mähren bestand zu dieser Zeit nur mehr aus den Konventen in Brünn und Gewitsch. (Janetschek, Necrologia, 3f.)

428) Dd 109v-112v, zit. bei : Gavigan, doctoribus, 307.

429) « Patentales R(everen)dissimi P(atr)is Generalis Fulgentij Travalonij ad Conventum Brunensem et Gewicensem, in quibus pro his duobus Conventibus Visitatorem et Commissarium Generalem in sp(irit)ualibus, et Cum beneplacito S(uae) Caes(areae) Majestatis etiam in temporalibus instituit P(at)rem M(a)g(ist)rum Ferdinandum Hartisch, Cum facultate sibi probatum Virum in Visita(ti)o(n)is socium assu-

libus» nicht [430]), sodaß Hartisch neuerlich schriftlich die Befugnis (6. Jänner 1690) erhielt, in der bloß die Visitation « in spiritualibus », in Ordensangelegenheiten, angeordnet wurde [431]).

P. Hartisch wählte sich P. Aegidius Knor zum Sozius und führte ab Juni 1691 [432]) die Visitation durch. Die Abschlußdekrete, das Ergebnis der Visitation, blieben erhalten und enthalten folgenden Bestimmungen :

Dem Prior des Brünner Konvents [433]) sollten fünf dazu bestimmte Patres (« patres consiliarii ») aus dem Konvent zur Leitung beigestellt werden. Der Prior für Gewitsch [434]) und der Subprior für Brünn sollten jeweils alle drei Jahre vom Prälaten und den fünf « patres consiliarii » neu gewählt werden. Die übrigen Amtsträger würden durch den Prälaten eingesetzt werden. Die abgeordneten Patres sollten bei wichtigen Unternehmungen wie Verkäufen, Verpachtungen u. ä. anwesend sein. Ebenso sollten im Gewitscher Konvent drei Patres einen Rat bilden. Gewichtigere Angelegenheiten aber sollten nur der Prälat und seine Abgeordneten erledigen dürfen. Bei der Wahl des Priors von Brünn sollte ein vom Generalprior ernannter Pater den Vorsitz führen — andernfalls sei die Wahl nichtig. Bezüglich der akademischen Grade, des Bakkalaureats und des Magisteriums, verpflichteten sich der Prälat und der ganze Konvent, das — schon erwähnte — Dekret des Generalpriors Hieronymus Valvasorius vom 27. Juni 1667 zu beachten. Zu Ehren der unbefleckt empfangenen

mendi, Quae Visitatoris authoritas a publicatione harum Patentalium ad quattuor Menses perduret : datum Romae, die 8, Junij, 1689. » (ÖNB 8236, 68r).

430) Schreiben vom 5. August 1689 aus Augsburg, zit. in : ÖNB 8236, 68r.

431) « Super intimatam hanc Resolu(ti)o(n)em Caesaream Litterae P(at)ris Generalis ad Imperatorem Leopoldum : Cum Sua Caes(area) Majestas, non obstante, quod talis Visitatio aliunde non nisi de Mandato S(uae) Caes(areae) Majestatis foret, in temporalibus praedictum P(at)rem Visitatorem admittere non Velit, sic se per Omnia Voluntati Caesareae P(ate)r Generalis submittit, et Visita(ti)o(n)em solum in sp(irit)ualibus admitti rogat : datum Romae, die 6ta, Januarij, 1690.» (ÖNB 8236, 68r.)

432) Der Konvent in Gewitsch wurde von 2. bis 4. Juli 1691 visitiert. Vgl. Janetschek, Gewitsch, 36.

433) Seit 1594 waren die auf Lebenszeit gewählten Prioren des Konvents in Brünn Apostolische Protonotare und Grafen vom Lateran. Kardinal Franz von Dietrichstein erwarb 1612 vom Papst das Privileg, daß die Brünner Prioren nach ihrer Wahl infulierte Prälaten würden. Vgl. Gavigan, Austro-Moravia, 569.

434) Bis zu dieser Zeit waren die Prioren von Gewitsch auf Lebenszeit gewählt. Die Verordnung des Generalvisitators Hartisch kam aber nicht zur Geltung, denn sie « war von der Regierung nicht bestätigt worden » (Janetschek, Gewitsch, 39f.).

Gottesmutter sollte ein weißer Habit getragen werden [435]). Die verschiedenen finanziellen Angelegenheiten sollten so geregelt werden, daß eine Kasse mit drei verschiedenen — und getrennt aufbewahrten — Schlüsseln angeschafft würde. Über alle Einkünfte aus Gütern und Kapitalien sollte der Prälat den aus dem Konvent deputierten Patres Rechenschaft geben und einmal jährlich eine Endabrechnung über Einnahmen und Ausgaben vorlegen, damit auf diese Weise wenigstens auch andere Patres über den finanziellen Zustand des Konvents Kenntnis erhalten. Keinem der Religiosen, gleich welcher Stellung, wurde es weiterhin erlaubt, mehr als einen halben Imperialen ohne ausdrückliche Erlaubnis des Prälaten zurückzubehalten. Zur finanziellen Unterstützung sollten der Generalprior und der Generalassistent für Deutschland einen festgelegten Betrag erhalten. Auch wurde die monatliche Abrechnung des Küchenmeisters und des Sakristans für unabdingbar notwendig erklärt. Mindestens zweimal in drei Jahren sollte der Brünner Prior den Konvent in Gewitsch visitieren, wie es die Provinziale in ihren Provinzen auch zu tun pflegten. In seiner Machtbefugnis sollte es dabei stehen, Religiosen so oft zu versetzen, wie es ihm notwendig erschien. Zuletzt wurde dem Küchenmeister mehr Sorgfalt in seinem Amt nahegelegt, damit die Speisen nicht verderben und dem Konvent nichts schlecht Gekochtes vorgesetzt würde [436]).

Generalassistent für Deutschland

Die Ämter der Generalassistenten wurden mit Beschluß des Generalkapitels 1592 eingeführt. Vorerst sollten zwei Generalassistenten, einer für den italienischen und einer für den spanischen Ordensbereich, dem Generalprior in beratender Funktion zur Seite stehen und ihm seine Aufgaben erleichtern [437]). 1645 wurde das

[435]) « P(ater) M(agister) Ferdinandus Hartisch dum canonice visitaret conventum Brunensem an(no). 1691. inter alia statuta praecepit, ut in honorem immaculatae conceptionis B(eatae) M(ariae) V(irginis) Patres ibidem albo habitu uterentur. » (ÖNB 10 060, 1. 8r.)

[436]) ÖNB 8236, 68r-69r. Vgl. Janetschek, Gewitsch, 36. « Hartisch made a series of decrees from Vienna on Sept. 22, 1691, which show that the perpetual prior of Brünn, Wilhelm Marenbach, had tried to rule too autocratically with regard to finances and other matters — and it must be admitted that this was nothing new in Brünn.» (Gavigan, History, 21.)

[437]) Acta capituli generalis Romae celebrati Anno 1592, in : AA, X (1923-24), 161.

Amt des spanischen Generalassistenten aufgeteilt. Ein Pater aus Spanien, einer aus Frankreich und einer aus dem Bereich der deutschen Ordensprovinzen sollten nun als Generalassistenten fungieren [438]). Dieser « deutsche » Ordensbereich umfaßte Ordensprovinzen und Vikariate im Bereich Europas ohne Italien, Spanien und Frankreich [439]).

P. Michael van Hecke hatte das Amt des Generalassistenten für Deutschland ab 1672 inne. Zu seinem Nachfolger wurde 1679 P. Gregor Tittel gewählt, der aber noch im selben Jahr starb. Nun übernahm P. Hieronymus Hufnagel die Generalassistenz und bekleidete dieses Amt bis zu seiner Ermordung durch die Türken 1683 bei Klausen (-Leopoldsdorf bei Baden). Durch ein apostolisches Breve wurde 1684 P. Franciscus Bassery [440]) mit diesem Amt betraut und am Generalkapitel 1685 wiedergewählt [441]).

Die Amtszeit des Generalassistenten betrug normalerweise sechs Jahre, die Wahl zu diesem Amt erfolgte jeweils am Generalkapitel. Starb ein Generalassistent innerhalb seiner Amtsdauer oder legte er sein Amt nieder, war die Neubesetzung nur mittels eines apostolischen Breves möglich [442]).

Durch den Tod P. Franciscus Basserys, 1689, trat so ein Fall ein. Mit apostolischem Breve setzte Papst Alexander VIII. [443]) am 24. November 1689 P. Ferdinand Hartisch in dieses Amt ein [444]). Ein innerhalb der sechsjährigen Amtszeit des Generalpriors eingesetzter

[438]) ÖNB 7236, IV. 129v.

[439]) Vgl. W. Hümpfner, in : LThK, I. 1086f.; Die einzelnen Provinzen und Kongregationen in diesem Bereich bei : M.-Th. Disdier, in : DHGE, V. 503-545.

[440]) Franciscus Bassery OESA, stammte aus Brüssel, Profeß am 26.IX.1639, 1657 Promotion zum Doktor der Theologie in Löwen, Magister, Prior der Konvente in Brüssel, Diest und Ypern, apostolischer Präfekt, gesuchter und berühmter Fastenprediger in vielen Städten Belgiens, Generalassistent für Deutschland, † 1689. (Augustiniana, III (1953), 281.)

[441]) ÖNB 7236, IV. 129v.

[442]) Const. III/VII. 4.

[443]) Alexander VIII. (Pietro Ottoboni), geb. 22.IV.1610 in Venedig; Rechtsstudium in Padua, 1642 Rota-Auditor, seit 1652 einflußreicher Kardinal. 1654-64 Bischof von Brescia, seitdem venezianischer Kardinalsprotektor in Rom, 1667-1669 Datar, Papst 6.X.1689-1.II.1691. (K. Repgen, in : LThK, I. 318f.)

[444]) « Alexander Papa VIII, Officio Assistentiae Germanicae Vacante, in Assistentem per Breve Ap(osto)licum usq(ue) ad futurum Capitulum G(e)n(e)r(a)le instituit P(at)rem M(a)g(ist)rum Ferdinandum Hartisch : Datum Romae, die, 24 Novembris, 1689 » (ÖNB 8236, 67r.) Vgl. ÖNB 7236, IV. 130r; Gavigan, doctoribus, 307.

Generalassistent bekleidete jedoch nur bis zum nächsten Generalkapitel dieses Amt, es sei denn, er wurde am Generalkapitel noch einmal gewählt [445]). Termingemäß hätte 1691 das nächste Generalkapitel stattfinden sollen, wurde aber von Papst Alexander VIII. wegen der Kriegszeiten und der Unmöglichkeit des Zusammenkommens zum Generalkapitel [446]) um drei Jahre verschoben und fand dann doch bereits 1693 statt. Da Hartisch bei diesem Generalkapitel nicht wiedergewählt und in seinem Amt bestätigt wurde, endete seine Amtszeit 1693 [447]).

Durch die Übernahme so vieler Aufgaben im Orden war P. Hartisch 1690 gezwungen, seine Vorlesungen als Professor an der theologischen Fakultät der Universität abzugeben [448]). Sein Nachfolger wurde P. Christoph Fromiller, der am 22. Jänner 1691 seine Antrittsvorlesung als Professor an der Fakultät hielt [449]).

Meinungsverschiedenheiten mit den Augustiner-Barfüßern

Die Heiligsprechung eines neuen Heiligen bedeutet wohl immer einen Anstoß für eine intensivere Pflege der Frömmigkeit durch vermehrte seelsorgliche Bemühungen, besonders durch festliche Gottesdienste, Prozessionen und Predigten. 1690 wurde die Ehre der Heiligsprechung einem Mitglied des Augustinerordens zuteil: Johannes a S. Facundo [450]).

[445]) Vgl. Const. III/VII.

[446]) ÖNB 8236, 67v. In Osteuropa dauerten noch die Kämpfe mit den Türken, « die Angelegenheit um die spanische Erbfolge trat in ein kritisches Stadium ». (Görlich-Romanik, 242.) General Ezéchiel de Melac verwüstete im 3. Eroberungskrieg Ludwigs XIV. weite Teile Deutschlands, in den Spanischen Niederlanden (Belgien) wurden die Holländer von den Franzosen geschlagen. Vgl. Görlich-Romanik, 241f.; Ploetz, 881.

[447]) Siehe den Bericht über das Generalkapitel 1693 weiter unten!

[448]) ÖNB 7238, XVI. 2, 90r. Wie schon einmal 1685 (Universitätsarchiv: Index D-L, 1565-1835, Buchstabe H, 25) mußte Hartisch die ausständige Besoldung seiner Professur urgieren. Am 20 März 1691 wurde bestimmt, ihm 110 rheinische Gulden auszubezahlen. (Hofkammerarchiv: Index N.Ö. Kammer 461 (E 1691), 69v.)

[449]) Vgl. Miksch, 42; Gavigan, doctoribus, 308.

[450]) Johannes Gonzáles a S. Facundo OESA, « geb. 1430 S. Facundo (heute Sahagún) in Asturien, † 11.VI.1479 Salamanca. Nach dem Studium der Theologie u. Philosophie zu Sahagún und Burgos, seit 1457 auch des kanon. Rechts zu Salamanca, widmete er sich, Baccalaureus geworden, hier mit großem Erfolg dem Predigtamt; in Erfüllung eines in Krankheit abgelegten Gelübdes trat er später in den OESA ein; 1471-73 u. 1477-79 Prior in Salamanca. Mit apost. Mut legte er blutige Feindschaften bei; durch

Die unbeschuhten Augustiner-Eremiten (Augustiner-Barfüßer) ergriffen die Initiative, den neuen Heiligen ausgiebig mit « prangenden Umzügen », Hochämtern u. dgl. zu feiern, und waren der Ansicht, daß sich dabei « namentlich die verwandten Glieder desselben Ordens zu betheiligen » hätten [451]). Über diese Ansicht aber kam es mit den beschuhten Augustiner-Eremiten von der Landstraße zu Auseinandersetzungen [452]).

So berichtet die Chronik der Barfüßer, die Augustiner von der Landstraße seien « alle Zeit solchen actibus publicis zuwider, vnd in dergleichen Processionibus mit vnß nit gangen, wiewohl wür Sie vorhero beglaittet vnd ihr Solemnitet mit vnserer gegenwarth zieren haben helffen, gleich wie geschehen in Canonizatione S. Thomae Villanovi » [453]). Damit aber die beschuhten Augustiner auf der Landstraße « keinen unwillen und müßverstandt vnß über den Halß bürdeten vnd dardurch villeicht denen Weltlichen ein schlechte auferbäuligkeit geben mechten » [454]), begab sich der berühmte Hofprediger P. Abraham a Sancta Clara [455]), zu dieser Zeit Provinzial der Barfüßer, hinaus ins Kloster der Augustiner-Eremiten auf der Landstraße, wo er vom Prior, P. Hartisch, etwas über die geplanten Feierlichkeiten erfahren wollte. Hartisch aber eröffnete ihm die Pläne der Heiligsprechungsfeiern nicht — und komplimentierte ihn mit höflichen Worten aus dem Kloster ! [456])

mystische Gnaden ausgezeichnet, wirkte er schon im Leben Wunder, u. a. mehrere Totenerweckungen. 1601 selig-, 1690 heiliggesprochen. Patron v. Stadt u. Diöz. Salamanca. » (W. Hümpfner, in : LThK, V. 1078.)

451) Karajan, 288f.

452) Bertsche, 116f. Daß die Augustiner-Konventualen « den Unbeschuhten an der Hofkirche nicht am besten gesinnt gewesen » waren, berichtet auch Loidl (a.a.O., 140). Daß sich dies aber anläßlich einer « Kajetansfeier » gezeigt haben soll, läßt sich (wegen Bezugnahme auf Bertsche, 116f.) nur auf einen Druckfehler zurückführen.

453) ÖNB 12 473, 277r. Vgl. Protocollum, II. 655f., Karajan, 289f.

454) ÖNB 12 473, 277r. Vgl. Protocollum, II. 656; Karajan, 289f.

455) Abraham a S. Clara (Johann Ulrich Megerle), Augustiner-Barfüßer, geb. 2.VII.1644 in Kreenheinstetten (Baden), besuchte die Lateinschule in Meßkirch, seit 1656 Studium am Jesuitenkollegium in Ingolstadt und 1659 bei den Benediktinern in Salzburg. 1662 Augustinernovize in Mariabrunn bei Wien; 1663 Gelübde; 1668 Priesterweihe. « 1670-1672 Wallfahrtsprediger in Taxa bei Augsburg, 1672 wieder in Wien, 1677 Subprior und kaiserlicher Prediger. 1680-1683 Prior, dann Prediger in Graz; reiste 1686, 1689 u. 1692 in Ordenssachen nach Rom. 1689 Leiter der dt.-böhm. Ordensprovinz, 1694 Subprior v. Mariabrunn, seit 1695 Procurator bzw. Definitor provinciae. » † 1.XII.1709 Wien. (K. Vancsa, in : LThK, I. 64.) Über die Bedeutung Abrahams siehe : Kann, 59ff.

456) ÖNB 12 473, 277v. Vgl. Protocollum, II. 657; Karajan, 289.

Die Chronik der Augustiner-Barfüßer berichtet uns in diesem Zusammenhang doch auch über eine Prozession, die die Augustiner von der Landstraße veranstalteten. Auf kaiserlichen Befehl wurde diese Prozession am Sonntag, dem 19. August 1691, abgehalten. Sie bewegte sich von St. Stephan hinaus in den Vorort Landstraße. Der Kaiser, der Klerus und (natürlich) die Barfüßer gingen bei der Prozession mit, in der eine Statue des hl. Johannes « wie Er auß dem Bronen mit der Corrigia ein Knäblein ziehet » [457]), getragen wurde. Die Aussage der Barfüßer-Chronik, daß der Kaiser nicht bei der Tafel (nach der Prozession) geblieben sei, stimmt allerdings nicht : der Kaiser blieb sehr wohl bei der Tafel [458]) !

Eine Woche später, am Sonntag, 26. August 1691, hielten dann die Barfüßer ihre Prozession, zu der allerdings die Augustiner von der Landstraße und die Paulaner von der Wieden nicht kamen, « welches der Kayser resentirt » [459]) und später dazu gesagt haben soll : « es hette vnß besser gefallen, wan die Augustiner auf der Landstraßen weren mitgangen, alß daß sie außgeblieben » [460]). Natürlich muß der Chronist der Barfüßer vermerken : « Wür haben aber in vnserem Kirchenapparat Sie (sc. die Augustiner-Eremiten von der Landstraße — Anm. des Verf.) weit übertroffen » [461]).

Vielleicht ist die Zurückhaltung gegenüber den Barfüßern noch in der Tatsache begründet, daß die Augustiner-Eremiten 1630 wegen der Augustiner-Barfüßer aus dem Hofkloster verdrängt worden waren. Dem Schluß von Bertsche, [462]) daß die Augustiner-Konventualen (Beschuhten Augustiner-Eremiten), weil sie das Auftreten in der Öffentlichkeit weniger gern mochten, unpraktischer, unsozialer und deshalb weniger volkstümlich und modern waren, kann man m. E. nicht zustimmen. Bertsche scheint die Augustiner-Eremiten ein wenig herabmindern zu wollen, um im Kontrast dazu einen umso verständlicheren Grund aufzeigen zu können, daß P. Abraham a Sancta Clara « nur aus i h r e m Schoße », i. e. : aus den Augustiner-Barfüßern, hervorgehen konnte. Die beschuhten Augustiner-Eremiten hatten

457) ÖNB 12 473, 277v. Vgl. Protocollum, II. 657; Karajan, 290.

458) AV, Nunziatura di Germania, 218, 132r, zit. in : Gavigan, Discalced, 527; Gavigan, History, 28.

459) ÖNB 12 473, 277v. Vgl. Protocollum, II. 658; Karajan, 290.

460) ÖNB 12 473, 277r. Vgl. Protocollum, II. 656; Karajan, 289.

461) ÖNB 12 473, 277r. Vgl. Protocollum, II. 656. Karajan, 289.

462) a.a.O., 116f.

sich neben der Seelsorge immer schon in den Dienst der Wissenschaft gestellt [463]). Und die Tatsache ihrer Hilfe für die Bevölkerung z.B. zur Zeit der Pest und ganz besonders nach der Türkenbelagerung [464]) entkräftet die Ansicht, daß die Beschuhten weniger sozial gewesen sein sollten. Auf Anordnung Hartischs haben sie sich nach Abzug der Türken auch nach Baden begeben und « denen Krankhen nicht allein hier weith über ein Jahr, sondern auch in der gantzen gegendt, da sich kein Priester hat sehen lassen, die heylig Sacramenta administrieret, undt den Seelen Trost mit Verlust zweyer Geistlichen, welche ohne allen Zweifl von den Krankhen angestehkt worden ... » [465]) Auch die Bruderschaften, die zu einem « volksfrommen Zubehör » der Orden [466]) gezählt werden dürfen, müssen hier erwähnt werden [467]).

Vorsitzender des Provinzkapitels 1692

Das für 1692 vorgeschriebene Provinzkapitel fand im Mai im Konvent zum hl. Paulus in Graz statt. Die « Litterae Praesidentiales », mit denen der Vorsitzende für das jeweilige Provinzkapitel nominiert wurde [468]), nennen P. Hartisch am 28. Jänner 1692 den Präsidenten dieses Kapitels [469]). Die Aufzeichnungen dieses Provinzkapitels berichten uns keine Besonderheiten in bezug auf die Ausübung des Präsidentenamtes durch Hartisch. Der Hinweis auf die Aufgaben des Vorsitzenden und deren Beschreibung anläßlich des Provinzkapitels 1689 dürfte hier genügen.

Das Definitorium dieser Provinzversammlung beschloß in der Sitzung am 16. Mai, das Intermedienkapitel in Bruck an der Leitha und das nächste Provinzkapitel im Generalkonvent in Wien abzuhalten [470]). Ebenso wurde der Beschluß gefaßt, Generalassistent

[463]) Vgl. Führer, 19.

[464]) Vgl. Rennhofer, 209; 212.

[465]) Zit. bei : Anzinger, 153f.

[466]) F. Grass-G. Schreiber, in : LThK, II. 720.

[467]) Es bestanden bei den Augustinern auf der Landstraße die Bruderschaften vom hl. Rochus und die Gürtelbruderschaft der hl. Monika und des hl. Nikolaus von Tolentin. (Thonhauser, 94.)

[468]) Es handelt sich bei diesen « Litterae Praesidentiales » um einen Vordruck, in den die Namen des Präsidenten und der Ersatzmänner bloß handschriftlich eingetragen sind. Vgl. Anhang der Handschrift ÖNB 8466, unfoliiert.

[469]) ÖNB 8461, 33v.

[470]) ÖNB 8461, 42r.

P. Ferdinand Hartisch, P. Ludwig Koller als Diskret und den Provinzial, P. Andreas Dalhammer, zum nächsten Generalkapitel nach Rom zu entsenden [471]). Die Akten des Kapitels wurden mit den Unterschriften des Definitoriums am 18. Mai 1692 abgeschlossen [472]). Sie wurden aber von Generalprior Travalloni annulliert — und zwar aus denselben Gründen wie die Akten des Provinzkapitels 1686. Um es nämlich P. Hartisch zu ermöglichen, den Vorsitz am Kapitel zu übernehmen [473]), war der Beginn vom vorgeschriebenen 26. April auf den 13. Mai verlegt worden. Dies genügte dem Generalprior zur Ungültigkeitserklärung der Akten (16. Juli 1692). Doch auf dieselbe Weise wie 1686 ernannte er alle auf dem Kapitel Gewählten zu Vikaren in denselben Funktionen [474]) — der Autorität des Generalpriors war damit Genüge getan!

Generalkapitel 1693

Der Generalprior, Fulgentius Travalloni, rief durch ein mit dem 9. August 1692 datiertes Schreiben alle Teilnahmeberechtigten zum Generalkapitel 1693 nach Rom [475]). Von der österreichischen Ordensprovinz wurden der Provinzial, ein Diskret und ein Definitor gesandt. Für jeden dieser Repräsentanten waren als Reisezuschuß 100 Gulden vorgesehen. Alle Konvente der Provinz hatten dazu ihren Beitrag zu leisten [476]).

Provinzial P. Dalhammer bestimmte P. Josef Achinger [477]) zum Provinzvikar während seiner Reise und seines Aufenthaltes beim

[471]) ÖNB 8461, 42r.

[472]) ÖNB 8461, 42v.

[473]) Gavigan, History, 28.

[474]) Gavigan, History, 29f.

[475]) ÖNB 8236, 70r.

[476]) Natürlich war es der österreichischen Ordensprovinz lieber, wenn die Abgesandten zum Generalkapitel selbst Gönner ausfindig machten, die ihre Reisekosten finanzierten. (Gavigan, History, 31.)

[477]) Joseph (Johannes Augustinus) Achinger OESA, geb. 10.VIII.1658 in Jez, 26.VI.1678 Novize in Fürstenfeld, 27.VI.1679 Profeß, 1682 Studienregens in Graz (bis 1692), 1690 Doktorat an der Universität Graz, 1692 Fakultätsmitglied in Wien, Magister, 1695 Prior in Graz, 1699 Nachfolger Hartischs als Prior in Wien (bis Pfingsten 1702), 1701-02 Dekan, 1704 Provinzial, 1705 Teilnahme am Generalkapitel in Rom, 1707 Erster Vikar in Baden, 1710-12 Prokurator der Provinz, Prior in Graz, † 6.VII.1716. (Gavigan, doctoribus, 311f; Gavigan, graecensis, 9; Gavigan bezeichnet ihn als würdigen Nachfolger Hartischs: History, 18.)

Generalkapitel in Rom. Seine Begleiter waren P. Christoph Fromiller als Definitor und P. Ludwig Koller als Diskret [478]). P. Ferdinand Hartisch, der aufgrund seines Amtes als Generalassistent auch zur Teilnahme am Generalkapitel verpflichtet war, benötigte keinen Reisekostenzuschuß von der Provinz. Sein Geschick zur Beschaffung finanzieller Mittel von reichen Wohltätern wird hier auch von Gavigan bestätigt [479]). In der Tat erhielt Hartisch das Reisegeld von höchster Stelle — ausbezahlt durch das Hofzahlamt [480]).

Hartisch erhielt von Kaiser Leopold I. Empfehlungsschreiben an die Kardinäle Goess, [481]) Medices [482]) und den Kardinalprotektor des Ordens, Altieri, mit auf die Reise [483]).

Doch die Gicht hielt Hartisch von der Teilnahme am Generalkapitel ab [484]). Zu Hartischs Nachfolger als Generalassistent wurde am 11. Mai 1693 der Provinzial der böhmischen Ordensprovinz

[478]) Vg.. Gavigan, History, 31; AA XII, 83-94.

[479]) History, 31.

[480]) « 30. Oktober 1692. Aus Kay(ser)l(ichem) Hofzahlambt, dem Herrn Patri Priori ord(inis) S(ancti) Augustini auff d(er) Landtstraß alhier Ferdinando Härtitsch (!), zu seiner vorhabenden Reis nachher Rom, 300 fl(orenos) abfolgen zu lassen. » (Hofkammerarchiv : Index 991 (R 1692), 514v.)

[481]) Johannes VIII. Freiherr von Goess, um 1611 in Brüssel geboren, Studium in Löwen, militärische Laufbahn. Später Übertritt in den diplomatischen Dienst, Kenner vieler Sprachen; Kaiser Ferdinand III. ernannte ihn 1639 zum Reichshofrat, tätig im Ressort für auswärtige Angelegenheiten und oft mit diplomatischen Sendungen betraut. Am 30. Oktober 1675 bestimmte ihn Kaiser Leopold I. zum Bischof von Gurk. 13.XII.1675 Primiz bei den Jesuiten in Wien, 16.I.1676 Konfirmation der Bischofsernennung durch den Salzburger Erzbischof Max Gandolph. 2.II.1676 Bischofsweihe im Profeßhaus der Jesuiten in Wien. In Angelegenheit des Wiener Hofes hatte Bischof Goess oft in Rom Missionen auszuführen. Am 2.IX.1686 wurde er von Papst Innozenz XI. zugleich mit Erzbischof Max Gandolph von Salzburg ins Kardinalskollegium aufgenommen. 1695 über Auftrag Leopolds I. wieder in Rom, stirbt er hier am 19.X.1696 und wird bei den Kapuzinern bestattet. (Obersteiner, 404-419; Hierarchia, V. 216.)

[482]) Franciscus Maria Medices (de'Medici), aus Florenz, zum Kardinal kreiert am 7.IX.1686; legte seine Kardinalswürde am 19.VI.1709 nieder. (Hierarchia, V. 14.)

[483]) « Litterae Imperatoris Leopoldi Commendatitiae Patrem Assistentem Germaniae, M(a)g(ist)rum Ferdinandum Hartisch, Priorem Viennensem, Romam pro Capitulo, G(e)n(e)r(a)li, Celebrando abeuntem ad Do(min)um Cardinalem, de Goess, in quibus literis se refert ad alias, ad Cardinalem, Altieri Protectorem Ord(in)is, et Cardinalem Medices scriptas. Datum, Viennae, die 27, Februarij, 1693 » (ÖNB 8236, 71v).

[484]) ÖNB 8236, 71v. Vgl. Gavigan, History, 31; Anwesenheitsliste des Generalkapitels 1693 (7.-15.V.) : AA XII (1927/28), 83-94.

P. Leopold Schinko, [485]) gewählt [486]). Die Empfehlungsschreiben, die Hartisch eigentlich für seine Reise mitbekommen hatte, erreichten aber doch das damit vorgesehene Ziel: Hartisch blieb bis zu seinem Tod Prior des Wiener Konvents [487]).

Ab nun galt P. Hartisch als « Ex-Assistens G(e)n(era)lis » [488]), und unterschrieb mit diesem Titel z.B. auch die Akten des Intermedienkapitels, das, wie am letzten Provinzkapitel beschlossen, am 22. September 1693 in Bruck an der Leitha abgehalten wurde.

Gavigan berichtet für diesen Zeitraum eine interessante Begebenheit während des Wiederaufbaues des Konvents auf der Landstraße [489]) : Am 1. Mai 1694 informierte der Nuntius in Wien, Sebastiano Antonio Tanara [490]), Kardinal Spada [491]), daß die Augustiner ihre zerstörten Gebäude auf der Landstraße gezwungenermaßen restaurieren müßten. Seit Beginn der Bauarbeiten war es notwendig geworden, die Gärten zu öffnen, damit die Gläubigen in die Kirche gelangen konnten. Daher mußten auch Frauen die Klostergärten betreten.

Die Augustiner-Eremiten und auch die Serviten, bei denen sich

[485]) Leopold Schinko OESA, aus Prag, Ordenseintritt am 7.III.1675 im Konvent zum hl. Thomas in Prag, Noviziat in Biel, Studium in Prag, 1680 Lektor der Philosophie, Sekretär des Provinzials P. Hieronymus Ebenauer. 1686 Lektor der Theologie, Doktor der Theologie an der Prager Universität, Bakkalaureus und Magister im Orden, 1689 Prior des Konvents zum hl. Thomas in Prag, 1692 Provinzial der böhmischen Ordensprovinz, 1693-1699 Generalassistent für Deutschland, 1704-1707, 1710-1713 Provinzial, 1713 Prior des Konvents zur hl. Katharina, 1719 zum viertenmal Provinzial der böhmischen Ordensprovinz, † 23.II.1732 im Konvent zur hl. Katharina. (Kreybich, 118f.)

[486]) AA XII (1927/28), 90.

[487]) Vgl. Gavigan, History, 31.

[488]) ÖNB 8461, 51r.

[489]) History, 2f.

[490]) Sebastiano Antonio Tanara, geb. 10.IV.1650 in Rom, Tonsur 21.V.1674, Doktor der Rechte in Bologna 10.IV.1671, apostolischer Protonotar, Nuntius beim König von Portugal 16.V.1690, Nuntius in Wien, zum Kardinal kreiert von Papst Innozenz XII. am 12.XII.1695, Kardinalprotektor der Prämonstratenser 22.XI.1698, Legat von Urbino 1703, 1705 und 1709, † 5.V.1724. (Hierarchia, V. 19; 180.)

[491]) Fabritius Spada, geb. 17.III.1643 in Rom, Priesterweihe 22.XII.1669, Doktor der Rechte in Perugia am 21.IV.1664, Referendar beider Signaturen, Bischofsweihe durch Kardinal Gaspare Carpineo am 14.VIII.1672, Nuntius beim französischen König 3.I.1674; zum Kardinal kreiert unter Papst Klemens X. am 27.V.1675. 17.V.1688 Kämmerer des Kardinalskollegiums, 4.XII.1700 Präfekt der Rechtssignatur. 14.XII.1701 Kardinalprotektor der Franziskaner-Observanten, 12.III.1701 Protektor des Regulierten 3. Ordens des hl. Franziskus, † 15.VI.1717. (Hierarchia, V. 9; 309.)

ebenfalls diese Notwendigkeit ergab, baten um Tanaras Erlaubnis, diese Gepflogenheit bis zur Fertigstellung der Bauarbeiten fortsetzen zu dürfen [492]).

P. Hartisch an der Spitze seines Konventes wurde am 21. April 1694 beim Nuntius mit einem Brief vorstellig : Die Gärten des Konvents seien verwüstet und das Kloster ausgebrannt. Die Restaurierung der Kirche sei außen bald fertiggestellt, doch Altäre und andere Einrichtungsgegenstände fehlten noch. Dabei halfen adlige Familien durch Bezahlung von Schulden, die einige tausend Gulden ausmachten. Die Vorsteher des Konventes bäten nun den Nuntius, den Eintritt von Frauen und Männern in die Kirche durch den Klostergarten zu gestatten, bis die Fassade der Kirche fertiggestellt wäre. Sie versprachen, den Garten nach Beendigung der Bauarbeiten wieder zu schließen [493]).

Vorsitzender des Provinzkapitels 1695

Die Ernennung Hartischs für das Präsidentenamt des Provinzkapitels 1695 [494]) dürfte wieder als Beispiel für die später als Recht geforderte Gewohnheit gelten, die Kandidaten für dieses Amt durch die Provinz vorzuschlagen. [495]) Vielleicht aber bestanden in der Umgebung des Generalpriors doch Bedenken gegen diese Praxis. Denn am 16. April 1695 wurde aus sonst unerklärlichen Gründen P. Clemente Avvolta [496]) zum Vorsitzenden dieses Kapitels bestimmt [497]). Doch bloß eine Woche später, am 22. April 1695, begann das Provinzkapitel im Wiener Generalkonvent — unter dem Vorsitz Hartischs — und dauerte bis 27. April [498]). Die Ernennung Avvoltas fand sonst keine weitere Erwähnung.

Das Definitorium am Provinzkapitel beschloß auch, das Intermedienkapitel im Konvent in Baden abzuhalten, das nächste Provinz-

[492]) AV, Nunziatura di Germania, 226. 532r, zit. bei : Gavigan, History, 2.

[493]) AV, Nunziatura di Germania, 226. 535v-537v, zit. bei : Gavigan, History, 3.

[494]) 19. Februar 1695. ÖNB 8461, 52v-53r.

[495]) Vgl. Gavigan, Priors, 13f.

[496]) Clemente Avvolta OESA, stammte, wie der vorliegende Text berichtet, aus Corneto (Tarquinia) und war zu der Zeit Generalassistent für Italien. Nähere Angaben zu Avvolta fanden sich nicht, da weder Lanteri noch Perini seine Person nennen.

[497]) Dd 134. 364, zit. bei : Gavigan, History, 22.

[498]) ÖNB 8461, 52v. Vgl. ÖNB 8236, 72v.

kapitel aber in Graz [499]) — ein Beschluß, der in den nächsten Jahren noch einigen Zündstoff liefern sollte.

Die Ausgaben dieses Provinzkapitels übernahm wieder Hartisch [500]) und bewies dadurch wieder einmal sein Talent, Geldquellen aufzuspüren, was sicherlich im Zusammenhang mit dem Wiederaufbau kein Hindernis für die neuerliche Bestellung zum Prior des Wiener Generalkonvents darstellte, die bereits am 19. März 1695 ergangen war [501]).

Streit mit P. Fromiller und Vorsitz auf dem Provinzkapitel 1698

Bevor die Vorgänge um den Ort der Abhaltung des Provinzkapitels 1698 dargelegt werden, sei über eine Streitfrage berichtet, die Hartischs Stellung beleuchtet und vielleicht auch seine Auseinandersetzung mit P. Fromiller verständlich macht.

Schon seit längerer Zeit gab es Meinungsverschiedenheiten bezüglich der Privilegien der Magistri. Gavigan bezeichnet diesen Zank als « Kinderei, der in diesen barocken Tagen eine große Bedeutung zukam » [502]). Die Magistri durften ohne besondere Erlaubnis des Priors den Konvent verlassen. Im Wiener Konvent wollten sie diese Vorrangstellung auch auf einen sie begleitenden Mitbruder ausdehnen.

Hartisch aber verlangte, daß selbst die Magistri ihren Ausgang dem Prior meldeten. Die Patres Magistri Christoph Fromiller, Ludwig Koller und Fulgentius Kerth [503]) appellierten daher an den Generalprior in Rom [504]). Am 28. April 1692 wurde zunächst zugunsten der

[499]) ÖNB 8461, 58v, 59r.

[500]) « Sumptus Capituli Collecti ab A(dmodum) R(everendo) Eximio P(atre) M(agist)r(o) Priore Praeside huiusce Capituli, ascendentes ad Sexcenta Scuta Romana, ab eodem Provinciae condonati fuere. » (ÖNB 8461, 59r.)

[501]) Dd 134. 347, zit. bei : Gavigan, 307. « We are hardly indulging excessively in phantasy when we say that this proved ability of Hartisch was no impediment to his being constantly reappointed as prior in Vienna. » (Gavigan, History, 34.)

[502]) « ... childish, but which in those baroque days had a great importance. » (Gavigan, History, 21.)

[503]) Fulgentius Kerth OESA, geb. 2.X.1658 in Laibach, 4.IV.1677 Eintritt in den Orden, 11.IV.1678 Profeß, 1681 Priesterweihe, 1689 Doktor der Theologie, 1691 Mitglied der Wiener theologischen Fakultät, 1695-1701 Studienregens im Wiener Generalkonvent, 1698 Dekan der theologischen Fakultät, 1701-1704 Provinzial, 1704 Generalkommissar und -visitator für den Wiener Konvent, 1705 Definitor der österreichischen Ordensprovinz beim Generalkapitel, † 1.III.1713. (Gavigan, doctoribus, 311 ; Gavigan, graecensis, 9.)

[504]) Wir folgen bei dieser Schilderung : Gavigan, History, 21f.

Magistri entschieden: Sie brauchten ihren Ausgang dem Prior nicht zu melden. Es genügte, wenn deren Begleiter diesen meldeten. Obendrein sollten Lehrer, die sowohl im Kloster als auch an der Universität tätig wären — P. Hartisch fand bekanntlich seit 1690 in P. Fromiller einen Nachfolger auf dem Kasuistik-Lehrstuhl an der Universität Wien —, gemäß den Gepflogenheiten der Provinz verfahren dürfen. Generalprior Travalloni bestätigte am 21. Mai 1692 diese Entscheidung.

So blieb die Kontroverse im Wiener Konvent offen, denn schon am 21. November desselben Jahres wurde der Generalprior wieder um eine Entscheidung ersucht. Er stellte fest, daß die Begleiter der Patres Magistri ihren Ausgang und ihre Rückkehr dem Prior zu melden hätten. Auch Generalprior Pacini [505]) ordnete am 28. Jänner 1696 an, daß beim Verlassen des Konvents der Prior zu informieren sei. In allen Entscheidungen in diesem Zwist wurde Hartisch aber eigentlich nicht widersprochen.

Als Präsident des letzten Provinzkapitels und somit als Mitglied des Definitoriums hätte Hartisch eigentlich am Intermedienkapitel in Baden (3. bis 4. September 1696) teilnehmen müssen. Die « widrige Krankheit », die Gicht, die Hartisch spätestens seit 1686 zu schaffen machte [506]), verhinderte jedoch seine Teilnahme. An Hartischs Stelle amtierte im Definitorium Franciscus Leittner [507]).

Möglicherweise resultieren aus Hartischs Krankheit auch seine nun folgenden Handlungen. Hartisch war sich anscheinend seiner Bedeutung in der Provinz und der Chancen, wieder dem nächsten Provinzkapitel zu präsidieren, bewußt [508]). Er wußte aber auch um seine Krankheit, die ihm nicht einmal die Reise zum letzten Inter-

[505]) Antonius Pacini OESA, Magister der Theologie, aus Ravenna, Provinzial der Ordensprovinz Romagna, apostolischer Kommissar für das Königreich Portugal, 1685 Generalprokurator, 1693-1699 Generalprior, † 20.VI.1702. (Lanteri, I. 320f.)

[506]) Vgl. Gavigan, History, 18.

[507]) Franciscus Leittner OESA, 1671-1677 Kleriker in Wien, 1689-1692 Dritter Definitor, 1698 Vierter Definitor. Vgl. Dispositiones familiarum der Provinzkapitel 1671ff. ÖNB 8466; ÖNB 8461. « Propositum fuit, cum ad hanc convocationem intermediam Adm(odum), R(everen)dus, ac Eximius P(ater) M(a)g(iste)r Prior Con(ven)tus G(ener)alis Viennensis Fr(ater) Ferdinandus Hartisch praeteriti Capituli Prov(incia)lis Praeses ob adversam valetudinem comparere non potuerit, ut alius ejus loco subrogetur, subrogatus autem est. R(everendus) P(ater) Franciscus Leittner Diffinitor emeritus. » (ÖNB 8461, 60r.) Vgl. Gavigan, History, 34.

[508]) Die Ernennung zum Vorsitzenden des Kapitels 1698 erfolgte schon am 28. September 1697. (ÖNB 8461, 64r; ÖNB 8236, 75v.)

medienkapitel nach Baden zuließ. Wollte er demnach wieder als Kapitelvorsitzender fungieren, mußte er dafür sorgen, daß die Provinzversammlung in Wien stattfand. Aus diesem Grund also dürfte Hartisch beim Generalprior gegen den Beschluß des letzten Provinzkapitels, das nächste in Graz abzuhalten, rekurriert haben — allerdings ohne davon den Provinzial, Fromiller, und die Definitoren in Kenntnis zu setzen.

Auch persönliche Gegensätze zwischen Hartisch und Fromiller könnten jedoch maßgebend gewesen sein [509]). Generalprior Pacini kam der dringenden Bitte Hartischs nach und verlegte den Ort des Provinzkapitels von Graz nach Wien [510]). Aber erst Ende Jänner 1698 informierte P. Hartisch Provinzial Fromiller von der Tatsache der Verlegung des Ortes für das nächste Provinzkapitel [511]). Sofort wurde Fromiller auf der Nuntiatur in Wien vorstellig und führte Klage gegen die von Hartisch erreichte Ortsveränderung. Die Verlegung sei gegen den Beschluß des letzten Provinzkapitels erreicht worden. Für die Verlegung führte der Generalprior keinen Grund an. Fromiller argumentierte für Graz, denn es liege in der Mitte der Provinz und sei daher zu dieser Zeit von den Konventen aus leichter zugänglich. Da die Definitoren das Recht hätten, den Ort des nächsten Provinzkapitels zu bestimmen, sei es nicht einsichtig, warum der Generalprior, noch dazu ohne Wissen des Definitoriums, den Ort für das Provinzkapitel verlegen könnte. Daher bat Fromiller den Nuntius um die Anordnung, daß die zum Kapitel abgeordneten Patres dem Schreiben des Provinzials nachkommen und — entgegen der erlangten Ortsverlegung — zum Kapitel in Graz zusammenkommen sollten [512]). Diese Vorsprache Fromillers erfolgte am 28. Jänner 1698. Die Nuntiatur

[509]) Gavigan nennt die ganze Angelegenheit eine bedauernswerte Streitigkeit (« regrettable quarrel »). (History, 34.)

[510]) « Litterae R(everen)d(i)ss(i)mi P(at)ris Generalis, Antonij Pacini, in quibus ad Instantiam P(at)ris M(a)g(ist)ri Ferdinandi Hartisch, Ex=Assistentis Generalis, et Prioris Viennensis, locum Capituli, Graecio, inscijs Provinciali, et Patribus Diffinitorij transfert Viennam : Datum Papiae, die, 23, Novembris, 1697. » (ÖNB 8236, 73 v.)

[511]) NB 8236, 73v. Die Post brauchte damals von Italien in unsere Gegend ungefähr einen Monat. Vielleicht ist auch anzunehmen, daß Provinzial Fromiller im Jänner gerade auf Visitationsreise in der Provinz war, so daß er die Anordnung des Generalpriors erst Ende Jänner erhielt. Bibliotheca Angelica Romana, Cod. 230 : 5r-14v : Brief Fromillers wegen der Ortsverlegung des nächsten Provinzkapitels. (Zit. nach einer freundlichen Mitteilung P. J.-J. Gavigans.)

[512]) ÖNB 8236, 73v-74r.

forderte vorerst einmal eine Stellungnahme P. Hartischs an, die er innerhalb von drei Tagen abgeben sollte [513]). Auf diese Mitteilung durch Fromiller, die am 3. Februar geschah [514]), erbat Hartisch die Ausdehnung der Drei-Tages-Frist auf Wochenfrist. Die Nuntiatur kam dieser Bitte nach (5. Februar) [515]).

Am 8. Februar 1698 gab Hartisch Antwort und Rechtfertigung auf die erhobenen Vorwürfe. Grundsätzlich gab er zu verstehen, daß es nicht seine Angelegenheit sei, ein Urteil über eine vom Generalprior und seinen Ratgebern verfügte Ortsverlegung abzugeben. Um aber die Autorität des Generalpriors, der sicher nicht aus nichtigen Gründen den Ort des künftigen Kapitels verlegt hatte, zu schützen, wollte er doch antworten. Erstens bemängelte Hartisch, daß das Gesuch des Provinzials Fromiller weder das ganze Definitorium noch die Visitatoren unterschrieben hätten. Ebenso gab Hartisch zu bedenken, daß der Provinzial außerhalb eines Ordensgremiums einen Protest einlegen wollte. Die Gründe für die Ortsverlegung waren aber diese : Zu allererst stehe wohl die Autorität des Generalpriors, der, wie er die Kapitelbeschlüsse bekräftigte, genauso auch auf den Hinweis eines einzelnen Mitglieds den Ort für die Abhaltung des Provinzkapitels ändern könne. — Hartisch ist sich hier seiner Bedeutung voll bewußt und bezeichnet sich als Erster der Provinz (« primi Patris Provinciae »). — Diese Verlegung könnte wohl auch geschehen ohne Wissen und Zustimmung des Definitoriums. Außerdem hatte der Generalprior P. Hartisch zum Präsidenten des künftigen Kapitels aufgestellt. Auf diese Gunst wollte Hartisch nicht verzichten, auch wenn ein eventueller Krankheitsanfall keine Reise zuließe. Und aus der Tatsache, daß Hartisch schon zum fünftenmal [516]) für das Vorsitzendenamt vorgesehen war, wurde die Anwesenheit seiner Person für das Wohl der ganzen Provinz als notwendig erachtet. Zuletzt noch führte Hartisch ins Treffen, daß der Weg nach Wien von mehreren Konventen aus leichter zurückzulegen sei als nach Graz und außerdem dadurch Ausgaben eingespart werden [517]).

513) ÖNB 8236, 74r.

514) ÖNB 8236, 74r.

515) ÖNB 8236, 74r.

516) Richtig vielmehr : zum viertenmal, denn Hartisch war Präsident der Kapitel 1689, 1692, 1695 und nun 1698.

517) « ... qui primo excipit, quod suum non esset desuper respondere, tangeret enim R(everen)d(i)ss(i)mum P(at)rem Generalem, qui cum sua Congregatione Generali

Noch am selben Tag, am 8. Februar 1698, veröffentlichte die Nuntiatur ihre Stellungnahme. Das Dekret zeigt, daß die von Hartisch ins Treffen geführten Argumente weitestgehend übernommen wurden. Dem Provinzial wurde aber doch die Möglichkeit aufgezeigt, beim Generalprior zu rekurrieren — bis zum Kapitel blieben noch dreizehn Wochen Zeit [518]). Gleichzeitig wurde darauf hingewiesen, daß zwar das Definitorium das Recht habe, den Ort des Provinzkapitels zu bestimmen, dessen Beschlüsse aber bis zur Ratifizierung durch den Generalprior unwirksam blieben. Aus diesen Gründen bekräftigte auch der Nuntius die Anordnung der Verlegung des Kapitels durch den Generalprior. Der Provinzial aber sollte diese Gründe einsehen und die Mitglieder des Provinzkapitels nach Wien zusammenrufen [519]).

Daraufhin wurde auf friedliche Weise zwischen P. Hartisch und dem Provinzial, P. Fromiller, entschieden, ohne Rekurs an den Generalprior in Rom das kommende Provinzkapitel in Wien abzuhalten [520]).

P. Hartisch fungierte also beim Provinzkapitel im April 1698 im Generalkonvent in Wien, für den er am 25. April 1698 erneut

locum Capitularem transtulisset, interim tamen ad manutenendum Authoritatem R(everen)d(i)ss(i)mi P(at)ris Generalis, non simpliciter sed ex Causis elevantibus locum Capitularem transferentis, responderet; et dicit primo; in hoc supplici libello P(at)ris Provincialis totum Diffinitorium non esse subscriptum, nec Visitatores subscripti/: prout eorum testimonium haberet: / ... Consensissent, ut Provincialis extra Gremium n(ost)ri Sacri Ordinis protesta(ti)o(n)em faceret: Rationes Loci Capitularis mutandi dicit: Primo, Authoritatem R(everen)d(i)ss(i)mi P(at)ris Generalis, qui sicut Acta Capitularia confirmat, ita etiam in bonum Provinciae ad insinuationem unius, etiam Maxime primi Patris Provinciae, Qualis Ipse Pater Hartisch esset, eadem Acta Capitularia immutare, et locum Capituli, etiam inscijs, et non requisitis Patribus Diffinitorij transferre posset: deinde se Patrem Hartisch Praesidem futuri Capituli R(everen)diss(i)mus P(ate)r Generalis constituisset neq(ue) hoc favore per facile eventuram infirmitatem iter prohibentem frustrari vellet: Dein Cum R(everen)d(i)ss(i)mi P(at)res Generales jam quinta Vice illi Praesidium contulerint, Ejusdem Personam, ut pro bono Communi Capitulis Celebrandis intersit, necessariam judicassent: dein pluribus Conventibus commodior esset, Via Viennam, quam Graecium, parcereturq(ue) Magis expensis ...» (ÖNB 8236, 74 rv.)

518) Das Provinzkapitel wurde zumeist am dritten oder vierten Sonntag nach Ostern abgehalten. Vgl. Const. III/IX.

519) ÖNB 8236, 74v.

520) «Conventum dein fuit pacifice inter P(at)rem Provincialem, et P(at)rem M(a)g(ist)rum Hartisch, ut absq(ue) recursu Romam, ad R(everen)d(i)ss(imu)m P(at)rem Generalem, Capitulum Viennae Celebratum fuerit.» (ÖNB 8236, 75r.)

zum Prior wiederernannt wurde [521]), als Vorsitzender [522]). Wie es zu erwarten war, sammelte auch diesmal wieder Hartisch das Geld für die Kosten der Provinzversammlung [523]) — es sollte das letztemal sein [524]).

Tod P. Hartischs

P. Ferdinand Hartisch sollte den Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts nicht mehr erleben. Nach einem erfüllten Leben starb er am 7. Oktober 1699 in Wien [525]).

Sofort nach seinem Tod übernahm Provinzial P. Ludwig Koller als Visitator und Generalkommissar die Agenden des verstorbenen Priors. Ein privates Definitorium beschloß, dem Generalprior P. Christoph Fromiller, P. Fulgentius Kerth und P. Joseph Achinger als Kandidaten für das Amt des Priors im Wiener Generalkonvent vorzuschlagen [526]). P. Paul Wutschnig [527]) bat das Definitorium, ihn

[521]) Dd 137. 306, zit. bei : Gavigan, doctoribus, 307.

[522]) « Praesidentis Munus in se assumpsit P(ate)r M(a)g(iste)r Ferdinandus Hartisch. » (ÖNB 8236, 75v.)

[523]) « Sumptus Capituli collecti ab A(dmodum) R(everendo) ac Eximio P(atre) M(a)g(ist)ro Praeside Ferdinando Hartisch ascendentes ad quingenta Scuta Romana Prov(inci)ae condonati fuere. » (ÖNB 8461, 72r.)

[524]) « The expenses of the provincial chapter of 1698 amounted to 500 Roman scudi. As on several former occasions, this had already been collected beforehand by the capable Ferdinand Hartisch. But he could not do so for the following provincial chapter in 1701, for his own time on earth was almost ended. He died in 1699 after a career of great usefulness, even though not always with the complete agreement of all the confreres. » (Gavigan, History, 37.)

[525]) ÖNB 8236, 77v. « 7 8bris A(dmodum) R(everendus) E(ximius) P(ater) M(agister) Ferdinandus Hartisch S(acro)s(anctae) Th(eo)l(o)giae D(octo)r et Conventus G(ene)r(a)lis Prior Viennae » (ÖNB 10 214p, 77r). « A(dmodum) R(everendus) ac Ex(imius) P(ater) M(agister) Ferdinandus Hartisch in U(nive)rsi(ta)te Vienn(ensi) S(acro)s(anctae)Th(eo)-l(o)giae D(octo)r, utriusque Germ(aniae) Exass(istens) G(enera)lis et Prior Vien(nensis). 7 Oct(o)b(ri)s 1699. » (ÖNB 10 214p, 29r). « Fatis abreptus est an(no) 1699. Viennae 7. Octobris. » (ÖNB 7372, 9v). « Vivere desiit die 7. Octobris an(no) 1699. » (ÖNB 7238, XVI. 1, 11v). « Fatis cessit Viennae 7 octobris 1699 » (ÖNB 7935, 664).

[526]) Dieser Dreiervorschlag ist wieder ein Beispiel für die — wie wir wissen — später als Recht geforderte Gewohnheit, die Kandidaten für dieses Amt dem Generalprior zu unterbreiten. Vgl. Gavigan, Priors, 10.

[527]) Paul Wutschnig OESA, geb. 23.I.1659 in Marburg, Eintritt in den Orden 22.II.1682 in Laibach, 6.III.1684 Priesterweihe, 1685-1689 Festprediger, Lektor der Philosophie und Theologie in Graz und Wien, 1693 Bakkalaureus, 26.VIII.1694 Doktorat an der Universität Graz, 31.I.1697 Fakultätsmitglied an der Universität Wien,

beim Generalprior für die durch den Tod Hartischs freigewordene Magisterstelle vorzuschlagen [528]).

Zusammenfassung und kritische Würdigung des Lebens und des Werkes P. Hartischs

Die einerseits bald nach Hartischs Tod und anderseits etwa sechzig Jahre danach entstandenen Zusammenfassungen und Nachrufe über sein Leben heben alle seine besonderen Verdienste um den Wiederaufbau des Konvents auf der Landstraße hervor [529]). Einige nennen besonders seine Gelehrsamkeit, sein Doktorat, die Tätigkeit als Dekan der theologischen Fakultät, die Aufgaben als Prokurator der österreichischen und der sächsischen Nation und seine Lehrtätigkeit im Ordensstudium und an der Fakultät [530]). Besondere Erwähnung finden auch die vielfältigen Aufgaben, die Hartisch im Orden besorgte: hier an erster Stelle die lange Führung des Wiener

26.XI.1698 Antrittsvorlesung an der Universität Wien, bis 1716 Professor der theologischen Fakultät, 1700 Magister « de numero senario », 1701-1707 Studienregens in Wien, 1705 Prokurator der ungarischen, 1706 der sächsischen Nation. Als Diskret der böhmischen Provinz Teilnehmer am Generalkapitel 1705 in Rom, 1707 Provinzial, 1710-11 Dekan der theologischen Fakultät, 1716 Prior im Grazer Konvent, † 25.IX.1718. (Gavigan, doctoribus, 313; Gavigan, graecensis, 9.)

[528]) « Die, 7, Octobris: 1699: Moritur P(ate)r M(a)g(iste)r Ferdinandus Hartisch, Prior Conventus G(e)n(e)r(a)lis Viennensis, et post pium Obitum P(ate)r M(a)g(iste)r Ludovicus Koller Prov(in)c(ia)lis Austriae se in Visitatorem et Commissarium G(e)n(e)r(a)lem Conventus G(e)n(e)r(a)lis Viennensis publicari fecit, Conventumq(ue) Sede Vacante gubernavit: Qua Provincialis vero privatam Diffinitorialem Congrega(ti)o(n)em instituit, et in ea R(everen)d(i)ss(i)mo P(at)ri Generali per Litteras diffinitorij tres P(at)res Magistri, Videlicet Christophorus Fromiller, actualis Prior Fluminensis: Fulgentius Kerth, Studij G(e)n(e)r(a)lis, Viennensis, Regens, et Josephus Achinger, Prior, Graecensis, pro Candidatis ad Prioratum Viennensem propositi fuere: Item in Locum Magisterij pie d(e)f(un)cti Hartisch assumi; et R(everen)d(i)ss(i)mo Patri Generali proponi supplicavit V(enerabili) Diffinitorio P(ate)r, M(a)g(iste)r Paulus Wutschnig, cuius petitioni, cum ... requisita abunde adimpleverit, lubenter annuit V(enerabile) Diffinitorium. » (ÖNB 8236, 77v-78r.)

[529]) « Praecipuam ejus operam sensit conventus Viennensis, quem è cineribus, quibus in obsidione Turcica fuerat involutus, restauravit amplioremque, reddidit. » (ÖNB 7935, 664.) Vgl. auch ÖNB 7238, XVI. 1, 11v; AF 575; Schier-Rosnack, 55; Thonhauser, 93; Groppenberger, 80; Pemmer, in: Bauer, 167; Rennhofer, Landstraße, 219.

[530]) ÖNB 7238, XVI. 1, 11v; AF 575; ÖNB 7935, 664; ÖNB 7638, 140r; ÖNB 7372, 9v.

Konvents [531]), dann die Tätigkeit als Provinzial [532]) und schließlich sein Amt als Generalassistent [533]). Noch sechzig Jahre später wurde das Gedächtnis des Todestages Hartischs im Wiener Konvent begangen [534]).

Xystus Schier erwähnt auch einen besonderen Einfluß, den P. Hartisch in der kaiserlichen Familie und beim Adel hatte [535]). So sollen Kaiser Leopold und dessen Söhne, die Erzherzöge Joseph [536]) und Karl [537]), oft zu Hartisch zu Besuch ins Kloster auf der Landstraße gekommen sein [538]).

Außer diesen beiden Notizen von Schier über Kontakte zwischen Kaiser Leopold, seinen Söhnen und P. Hartisch können derzeit nur der Brief Leopolds um die Altersdispens für das Amt des Provinzials an Kardinal Altieri, 1682, und die Empfehlungsschreiben, die Hartisch für das Generalkapitel 1693 erhielt, angeführt werden. P. Hartischs Kontakte zum Adel [539]) lassen sich am leichtesten durch die unter seinem Priorat gemachten Stiftungen belegen, die erst den Wiederaufbau des Konvents nach der Türkenbelagerung ermöglichten. Von den adeligen Gönnern dürften auch die finanziellen Mittel gestammt haben, mit denen Hartisch die Abhaltung der verschiedenen Provinzkapitel unterstützen konnte.

531) ÖNB 7238, XVI. 1, 11v; AF 575. « ... that had no precedent and remained almost unique in the history of the community. » (Gavigan, History, 18.)

532) ÖNB 7238, XVI. 1, 11v; Schier-Rosnack, 55.

533) ÖNB 7238, XVI. 1, 11v; AF 575; ÖNB 7935, 664; ÖNB 7372, 9v,

534) Schier-Rosnack, 55; ÖNB 7238, XVI. 1, 11v; ÖNB 7935, 664.

535) ÖNB 7238, XVI. 1, 11v.

536) Joseph I., ältester Sohn Kaiser Leopolds aus dessen Ehe mit Eleonora Magdalena von der Pfalz, geb. 26.VII. 1678, 1690 Wahl zum Römischen König, 1705 Kaiser. Siegreiche Fortsetzung des Spanischen Erbfolgekriegs, † 17.IV.1711 and den Blattern in Wien. (Hantsch, 72; 89; 95.)

537) Karl VI., geb. 1.X.1685 in Wien, Wahl zum Kaiser am 12.X.1711, in den Frieden von Utrecht und Rastatt erhielt er Neapel, Mailand und Sardinien und die spanischen Niederlande. In seine Regierungszeit fällt der Sieg Prinz Eugens über die Türken (Eroberung Belgrads; Erwerb des Banats, Wiedergewinnung Ungarns und damit vollendete das Haus Habsburg seine europäische Vormachtstellung. Das religiös-kirchliche Leben entfaltete sich unter dem frommen Kaiser kräftig. Wien wurde Erzbistum. † 20.X.1740 in Wien. (G. Böing, in : LThK, V. 1360.)

538) « Vir summis infimisque acceptus, quemque Leopoldus Augustus ejusque Principes saepius inviserunt, etiam cum extra moenia viveret. » (ÖNB 7935, 664.)

539) « ... praecipue vero Nobilium animos sibi devinxit. » (ÖNB 7238, XVI. 1, 11v.)

Auch die Fakultätsakten [540]) — Schier zitiert diesen Satz [541]) — berichten in ihrem Nachruf von höchster Verehrung und Wertschätzung, deren sich Hartisch erfreute. Bei dieser Notiz dürfte jedoch der Grundsatz « de mortuis nil nisi bene » auch Anwendung gefunden haben. Denn es gab sehr wohl Auseinandersetzungen im Wiener Konvent um Hartisch. Hier sei nochmals an die uns bekannten Meinungsverschiedenheiten mit P. Pfraum und P. Fromiller erinnert. Erstere endete mit der Rücksendung Pfraums in seine Heimatprovinz, die zweite konnte erst nach Intervention des Nuntius beigelegt werden. Obendrein handelte es sich bei dieser zweiten Angelegenheit nicht nur um eine Mißhelligkeit mit einer einzelnen Person, P. Fromiller.

Wie schon oben erwähnt, wurde P. Fromiller in dieser Sache auf der Nuntiatur vorstellig — und hatte fast das halbe Definitorium hinter sich und damit gegen P. Hartisch.

Aufgrund der mit dieser Arbeit vorliegenden Biographie dürfte ziemlich einwandfrei zu erkennen sein, daß Hartischs Stärke auf organisatorischem Gebiet lag. Das beweisen uns die Ämter, die er im Orden lange innehatte.

Nachdem der Konvent der Augustiner-Eremiten auf der Landstraße durch die Pest 1679 arg dezimiert worden war, übernahm Hartisch, erst circa achtunddreißigjährig, die Leitung dieses Konvents und bald darauf die Führung der österreichischen Ordensprovinz (von 1682 bis 1686). Vermutlich erlebte Hartisch die Türkenbelagerung in Wien und veranlaßte auch in seinem Bereich Hilfsmaßnahmen für die notleidende Bevölkerung.

Wahrscheinlich ist sowohl seinem besonderen Talent, Geldmittel aufzutreiben, als auch der langen Zeitspanne, in der er zum zweitenmal das Priorenamt des Wiener Generalkonvents bekleidete (von 1686 bis zu seinem Tod 1699), der rasche Wiederaufbau des Konvents und die Ausschmückung der Kirche zu den Hll. Rochus und Sebastian zu verdanken. Daß die Anschaffungen für das Kircheninnere: die Kanzel, die zwei großen Leuchter zu beiden Seiten des Hochaltars, das Hochaltarbild, die Ausgestaltung der Emporen, die bekanntlich mit dem Leopoldinischen Adler geschmückt sind, und wahrscheinlich auch einige Seitenaltäre nicht nur während der Amtszeit von Prior

[540]) AF 575.

[541]) ÖNB 7238, XVI. 2, 90r.

Hartisch, sondern auch auf seine Initiative hin getätigt worden sind, ist in unserer Zeit — und leider auch in der jetzigen Pfarre St. Rochus — viel zu wenig bekannt.

Aber nicht nur allein das Klostergebäude und die Kirche gelangten unter Prior Hartisch zu einem Aufblühen. Auch die Zahl der Angehörigen des Wiener Konvents wuchs ständig: von neunundzwanzig (1686) auf dreiundvierzig (1698). [542]) Für dieses Anwachsen schuf Hartisch als Prior zumindest die materielle Grundlage [543]). Laut einem früheren Beschluß waren überdies dem Wiener Prior die Kleriker-Studenten der österreichischen Augustiner-Eremitenprovinz besonders anvertraut [544]).

Wegen seiner Tätigkeit als Provinzial (1682-1686) und durch seine viermalige Funktion als Vorsitzender der Provinzkapitel ab 1689 gehörte Hartisch siebzehn Jahre dem Definitorium, dem Leitungsgremium der Provinz, an. Beinahe dreieinhalb Jahre lang fungierte er als Generalassistent und visitierte in der Autorität des Generalpriors das Ordensvikariat Mähren.

Durch die Beauftragung mit so vielen und umfangreichen Tätigkeiten dürfte seine wissenschaftliche Betätigung sehr eingeschränkt worden sein. Überhaupt kann man annehmen, daß P. Hartisch den Lehrauftrag an der Universität nicht erhalten hätte, wenn er damals nicht der einzige Augustiner-Eremit im Fakultätskollegium gewesen wäre und es fast schon einer Tradition entsprochen hatte, diese Lehrkanzel mit Augustiner-Eremiten zu besetzen.

Obwohl P. Hartisch Lektor und Professor im Ordensstudium und etwa zwei Jahre lang Studienregens war, sind uns nur wenige wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen von ihm bekannt. Sind uns auch aus dieser Zeit — bedingt durch die Auflösung der Bibliothek nach der Aufhebung des Klosters im 19. Jahrhundert — nur wenige Dokumente erhalten, so hätte wenigstens Xystus Schier im 18. Jahrhundert etwa vorhandene Werke sicherlich registriert. Daraus dürfte sich auch ableiten lassen, daß P. Hartisch kaum Neues für das Gebiet seines Lehrstuhles erarbeitete. Da uns nicht einmal der Titel seiner Antrittsvorlesung bekannt ist, können wir mit ziemlicher Sicherheit annehmen, daß Hartisch — gemäß der Entwicklung des Kasuistik-

542) Rennhofer, 215.

543) Hümpfner, 183.

544) Vgl. die Beschlüsse auf den Kapiteln 1660 und 1666.

Lehrstuhles an der theologischen Fakultät der Universität Wien hin zum Kirchenrecht — so wie seine Vorgänger und Nachfolger Gebiete aus dem Kirchenrecht lehrte.

Die Beschreibung der Person Hartischs wäre aber einigermaßen unvollständig, wenn nicht auf seine Klugheit, seine Diplomatie, seine taktischen Fähigkeiten, besonders in Verhandlungen und Zwistigkeiten, hingewiesen würde. Dabei seien nochmals die Vorfälle mit P. Pfraum, P. Abraham a Sancta Clara und P. Fromiller erwähnt, in denen Hartischs Haltung ein klares Konzept und den Willen zur Durchsetzung des gefaßten Planes erkennen läßt.

In Hartisch waren also sowohl Gelehrtheit wie auch organisatorische Fähigkeiten vereinigt. Daß die letzteren das Übergewicht bekamen, entsprach vielleicht eher der Notwendigkeit seiner Zeit. Denn damit verhalf er seinem Konvent zu weiterem Aufstieg, festigte er die Grundlage für die wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit der Augustiner-Eremiten und machte er das Kloster zu einem Mittelpunkt der Seelsorge auf der Landstraße.

Peter Kubalek

Anhang

Werke Ferdinand Hartischs

In morte victor, sive S. Mauritius, Sacrae Thebaeorum militum Legionis Dux ... panegyri celebratus. Viennae 1662 [545]).

Logica Autographa cum adjunctis thesibus de tribus mentis operationibus. Viennae 1670 [546]).

Theses Philosophiae de principiis, causis, et generatione corporis naturalis. Viennae 1671 [547]).

[545]) Diese Predigt hielt Hartisch am Fest des hl. Mauritius. dem Patron der sächsischen Nation (22.IX.1662), im Stephansdom. « Der Panegyricus wurde in der Regel in 300 bis 500 Exemplaren hergestellt und war für die hohe Geistlichkeit in Seide, für die übrigen Festgäste in buntes Papier gebunden. » (Gall, 87.) Das heute in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek befindliche Exemplar ist in buntes Papier gebunden. Gedruckt wurde es bei Susanna Rickesin, Witwe.

[546]) Hartisch widmete dieses Werk Daniel Kaspar Springer. Es erschien in Quartformat bei Johann Jakob Kürner. Zu den Druckern Susanna Rickesin und Johann Jakob Kürner siehe Lang, 61f.

[547]) Gewidmet Adam Maximilian Graf von Sankt Julian. Erschienen bei Johann Jakob Kürner. Die beiden letztgenannten Werke sind zitiert in : ÖNB 7238, XVI. 1, 11v und ÖNB 7935, 664.

Theses ex universa theologia, sub P. M. Gelasio Pfraum defensae. Viennae 1673 [548]).

Epitaphium fr. Ferdinandi Hartisch, ord. Eremitarum S. Aug. [549]).

Werk über Ferdinand Hartisch

Zodiacus Virtutum Ferdinandi Hartischii [550]).

Lebenslauf P. Ferdinand Hartischs

1642/43	in Wien geboren
24.III.1658	Eintritt in den Augustiner-Eremitenorden
4.III.1662	Tonsur und Niedere Weihen
29.III.1664	Subdiakonatsweihe
21.III.1665	Diakonatsweihe
17.I.1666	Priesterweihe
29.XI.1668	Immatrikulation an der theologischen Fakultät
21.XII.1668	Ernennung zum Lektor der Philosophie im Ordensstudium
2.XII.1670	Promotion zum Bakkalaureus
April 1671	Teilnahme am Provinzkapitel als Diskret; Wahl zum Ersatzmann des Definitoriums und zum Sozius des Provinzials
8.X.1672	Ernennung zum Professor der Theologie im Ordensstudium
29.VII.1673	Disputation um den Doktorgrad
10.VIII.1673	Examen zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades
19.IX.1673	Promotion zum Doktor der Theologie
21.XI.1673	Aufnahme in die theologische Fakultät
April 1674	Wahl zum Definitor; Magister im Orden
1677-1679	Studienregens im Wiener Generalkonvent

[548]) Simon Garcia, Ord. Min., Kommissar für das Heilige Land gewidmet; Wien 1673. (ÖNB 7238, XVI.2, 90r.)

[549]) ÖNB 7638, 140r. Gavigan, doctoribus, 308, setzt die Entstehungszeit dieses Epitaphiums mit 1691 fest — und fragt somit zurecht, ob nicht P. Hartisch selbst diesen Nachruf erstellte. Die Großbuchstaben der letzten beiden Zeilen des Epitaphiums lassen jedoch auch die Summe und somit das Entstehungsjahr 1697 zu.

[550]) Dieses handschriftliche Werk verfaßte P. Daniel Schönauer. Zur Zeit Xystus Schiers waren noch Exemplare davon in den Konventen in Bruck und in Korneuburg. (ÖNB 7372, 9v.) Vgl. ÖNB 11 676, 6v; ÖNB 12 940, 13r.

1678/79	Prokurator der österreichischen Nation
Mai 1677	Judex causarum am Provinzkapitel
17.-24.V.1679	Teilnahme am Generalkapitel in Rom als Definitor der österreichischen Ordensprovinz
15.XII.1679-1682	Prior des Wiener Generalkonvents
1681/82	Prokurator der sächsischen Nation
April 1682	Wahl zum Provinzial
27.I.1683	Antrittsvorlesung als Professor an der Universität
6.XII.1684-6.XII.1685	Dekan der theologischen Fakultät
30.III.1686	Ernennung zum Prior des Wiener Generalkonvents
1689	Vorsitzender des Provinzkapitels
15.IV.1689	Bestätigung im Amt als Prior
8.VI.1689	Ernennung zum Generalvisitator und -kommissar für das Ordensvikariat Mähren
24.XI.1689-Mai 1693	Generalassistent für Deutschland
Juni 1691	Visitation der Konvente in Brünn und Gewitsch
Mai 1692	Vorsitzender des Provinzkapitels
April 1695	Vorsitzender des Provinzkapitels
April 1698	Vorsitzender des Provinzkapitels
7.X.1699	Tod P. Ferdinand Hartischs in Wien

Text der Eingabe wegen einer «Constitutio Albertina»

Mit diesem Schreiben wurden die Augustiner aus dem Konvent auf der Landstraße etwa 1687 bei der Regierung vorstellig. (Vgl. oben S. 000.) Original im Erzbischöflichen Diözesanarchiv Wien. (Faszikel: Augustiner-Eremiten (Landstraße).)

« Allerdurchleuchtigist : Großmächtigist : vnüberwündlichister Röm : Kayßer, auch zu Hungarn, vndt Böhaimb König, Erzherzog zu Oesterreich cc.

Allergnedigister Landtsfürst vndt Herr Herr cc. Zu folge unser unterthänigsten Schuldigkeit, unnd adimplirung Jhro Röm : Kays : Mays : unsers allergdigsten Herrn Herrn, unnd Landtsfürsten an uns ergangenen allergdigsten befehl haben wier zu endt geseyte unßere wenige motiva in causa introducendae constitutionis Albertinae mit gegenwertigen gehorsambist hinterbringen wollen. unnd zwar. imo. Gibt es der augenschein selbsten

mit sich, wie in einen grosßen ruin unßer sonst armes Closter durch den Erbfeundt Christlichen nahmens bey der belagerung der kays: Residenz Statt Wienn geseyt worden, nun damit nicht daß ganze gebeu zu boden gefallen, sein wier bemüesßet worden den sonst irreparablen schaden abzuwenden, unnd unß in einen sehr grosßen schuldenlast zusteckhen, uon welchen wier unß nimmermehr werden heraußhelfen, wann unß durch die so genante Constitutionem Albertinam daß ienige geschmälert wurde, welches Gott etwann mittler Zeit unß durch eine Erbschaft unßerer Confratrum vel in linea recta, vel collaterali, vel à testato, vel ab intestato schickhen wurde.

2do. So ist sathsamb allen Hochen unnd Nidern Instanzien bekhant, d unßer Closter kein, oder gar ein wenige Fundation hat, warumben wier dann dennen Christgläubigen mit dem Bettlen täglich auf der schnallen ligen, uon welchen aber dieselben mittler Zeit befreyet wurden werden, wann unß uon dem ienig, waß unß etwann der Segenreiche Gott durch sein unendtliche barmherzigkeit Titulo haereditario schickhen thätte, nichts benomben wurde, unnd wier dermahlen eins unßere Confratres ex medijs fixis ernähren khönten.

3tio. Wurde diße newerung der Albertinae, welche biß date nicht in gebrauchgeweßen, unnd Zweyfels ohne auß höchst erheblichen Ursachen uon dem Mildtreichisten Erzhauß v Öesterreich nicht zuegelaßen worde, ad praxim Zubringen, dem Statui Ecclesiastico unnd der ganzen Römischen Kürchen höchst schedlich sein, allermasßen nach unnd nach der Clerus Regularis genöthigter weiß in eine kleine anzahl müeste reducirt werden, daß lob Gottes nicht wenig geschmälert, uill ansehnliche Subjecta in dennen uon Gott ihnen gegebenen Talentis einschläffern, unnd mit einem worth gar uill ihrer Vocation zum Geistlichen Standt nicht wurden nachkhom men khönnen, weillen mann Stante Albertina kaumb. 3. in die Heyl. Religionem aufnembete, wo aniezo. 20. aufgenomben werden, unnd derfte es layder widerumben wir uor zeiten dahin khommen, daß wann Gott der allmächtige auß seinen Göttlichen, unnd Ihm allein bekhanten urtheyl uerhengete, daß dieközerzen überhandt nembeten, wenig sich finden wurden, welche sich dennenselben entgegen seyen, unnd den allein Seligmachenden glauben uerthätigen khönten, allermasßen einem iedwedern bekhant ist, daß in dennen Heyl. Religionen nicht lauter zu den Studijs taugliche Subjecta, sondern auch layen sich befinden ad perficienda opera manualia, unnd daß die ienigen, welche auch ad Studia appliciert werden, nicht alle reuscieren, Allermasßen Gott der allmächtige der Talenta nicht gleich, sondern einem eins, dem andern zwey, dem dritten fünf & c: auß seiner Göttlichen Disposition mitgetheylet hat, mueß also die zahl ersezen, waß Gott unnd die natur nicht ertheylt haben.

4to. Khönnen wier nicht gar schweigen, waß iener Politicus mit mehrern deduciert, unnd auß unterthänigster wohlmainung dem allerdurchleuchtigisten Hauß uon Öesterreich gehorsambist einrathet, ut nimirum omni modo Statui Ecclesiastico eundem etiamnum ditari / : unß armen Augustinern were genueg, wann wier mit dennen necessarijs vitae alimentis, et quo tequamur uersehen wären : / benignissime condedat, unnd gibt die ursach desßen, nam ab hoc etiam opulentissimo non habet Augustissima Domus timendas revolutiones, seditiones, aut conspirationes, sondern ist der status Ecclesiasticus deß allerdurchleuchtigisten Haußes ein rechter Schatzkasten, auß welchen in allen begebenheiten, waß beliebt, kann genomben werden, unnd zeiget solches die Experienz, Wir mit freudigen Herzen die Geistlichkheit, waß nur Ihro Mayt : allergdigst uerlangen, zu dero alß Ihre. Mildtreichisten Herrn unnd Lantsfürsten Fürsten werfen, unnd dannenhero auch.

5to. Der tröstlichen, unnd untherthänigsten Zuuersicht leben, d Sie derentwegen nicht werden härter alß der Status Politicus Saecularis gehalten werden, indeme Sie auf einer seyten alle ihnen aufgetragenen onera tragen müeßsen, alß da ist die uermögSteur, die darreichung tertiae partis bonorum à. 60. annis acquisitorum/ : auch deren, so mit dem onere fundationum belegt sein : / die Fürstliche Contributiones, die respectivè kogl Steur, daß darlehen, unnd iüngsthin der Statt Wienn v. Ihro Kays : Mayt : allergdigst uerwilligten abfahrt gelt ... hingegen auf der andern geseyten auch mit einführung der Constitutionis Albertinae solteh belegt werden, deßsen wier unß sambentlich uon der angebohrnen güette unßers allergdigsten Landtsfürsten, unnd Herrn keineswegs uersehen.

6to. Was unßer armes Closter in Specie antrifft Halten wir unß Vest an die allergdigste Confirmation, welche unß über unßere uralte uon dem aller durchleuchtigisten Hauß v Öesterreich allergdigst gegebene Privilegien uon Ihro Röm : Kays : Mayt : unßern glorwürdigist : Regierenden Herrn unnd Landtsfürsten Leopoldo imo. mildtreichist ertheilt worden, uermög welcher wier in der Possession gemelter aller unser Privilegien sicuti jaceant, sein bestättiget worden, unter welchen sonderlich ist, daß unßer Heyl : Religion durch daß ganze Teutschlandt fähig seye, omnium possessionum bonorum mobilium, et immobilium non feudalium, sed quae liberas personas fratrum ad nostras Ecclesias de Saeculo fugientium, et professiones facientium in eisdem, si remansissent in saeculo, ratione successionis, vel quocunq' alio justo titulo contigissent, et quae alijs libere dare potuissent, ea in quam Sacram Religionem nostram petere, accipere et retinere posse, auf welches allergdigist Indultum wier dann die minorem machen; atqui manentibus in saeculo nil officit constitutio Albertina, ergo neq' fratribus nostris ad

Ecclesias Nostras de Saeculo fugientibus, et professiones in eisdem facientibus ..., mit welchen dann tanquam scuto inexpugnabili wier unß sowohl wider einem löbl: Magistrat der Statt Wienn, alß alle andere, welche in suum favorem die Constitutionem Albertinam nemben wollen, tuiren, unnd zu gden unßers Mildtreichisten Herrn unnd Landtsfürsten allerunterthenigst eingseh ...

N : Prior unnd Convent Ord : Erem : S : P : Augustini auf der Landtstraß ».

Boekbesprekingen — Comptes rendus

Otto WERMELINGER, *Rom und Pelagius. Die theologische Position der Römischen Bischöfe im Pelagianischen Streit in den Jahren 411-432.* (Päpste und Papsttum, Band 7), Stuttgart, A. Hiersemann, 1975, XII-340 S., DM 140; dans la Série : DM 120.

Cette recherche importante a été suscitée par la communication donnée par F. Floëri au Congrès international augustinien (Paris, 1954). Ce que j'ai à dire sur le livre de O. Wermelinger deviendra plus clair quand j'aurai fait quelques observations sur la communication de F. Floëri. Dans cet article sur « le pape Zosime et la doctrine augustinienne du péché originel », Floëri commençait par l'aperçu historique que voici : « Dès son élection au trône pontifical, Zosime, après avoir reçu Célestius, que son prédécesseur Innocent Ier avait excommunié sur l'invitation du Concile de Carthage de 416, écrivit aux Africains la lettre *Magnum Pondus*, où il leur reprochait d'avoir jugé trop vite en cette affaire et invitait les accusateurs à soutenir leur dire à Rome dans un délai de deux mois. Le 21 septembre 417, après avoir reçu le *Libellus fidei* de Pélage, Zosime expédie une autre lettre *Postquam a nobis*, où il déclare que les deux intéressés, Pélage et Célestius, n'ont jamais été hors de la vérité et de l'Église : *Sit vobis gaudium eos, quos falsi judices criminabantur, agnoscere a nostro corpore et catholica veritate numquam fuisse divulsos* (PL 45, c. 1723). Or, fin mai 418, Zosime publiait la *Tractoria*, où, selon saint Augustin, il condamnait les deux chefs pélagiens et leurs disciples, ce qui indiquerait une volte-face complète du pape en matière de doctrine » (*Aug. Magister*, II, Paris, 1954, pp. 755-761, 755). Ensuite F. Floëri se demande si cette évolution de Zosime a été aussi profonde qu'elle le paraît et, recherche faite, il arrive à la conclusion que le pape est resté réticent jusqu'au bout vis-à-vis de la doctrine africaine : « ...le pape Zosime voulant désigner ce que les enfants non baptisés héritent d'Adam, se contente (du) mot de *mort*, et évite le terme de *péché*, qu'employaient saint Augustin et le Concile de Carthage » (ib., p. 758).

Précisons que la *Tractoria* de Zosime est perdue à l'exception de quelques fragments dont le plus important (d'une dizaine de lignes) se trouve dans la Lettre CXC de saint Augustin. F. Floëri a soumis ce fragment à une étude minutieuse, en a pesé tous les mots importants et comparé sa terminologie avec le canon 2 du Concile africain de mai 418.

Malheureusement cette étude méticuleuse du fragment de la *Tractoria* de Zosime débute par une analyse beaucoup moins méti-

culeuse de ses Lettres II (*Magnum pondus*) et III (*Posteaquam a nobis*). La phrase latine : *Sit vobis gaudium, eos, quos falsi judices criminabantur, agnoscere a nostro corpore et catholica veritate numquam fuisse divulsos*, se trouve citée d'après la Patrologie Latine, bien qu'il y ait une édition critique plus récente de la *Collectio Avellana* (CSEL 35, Vienne, 1895). Dans le Corpus de Vienne, il n'y a pas *sit uobis*, mais *sit nobis*, ce qui donne ici à la phrase un sens général : nous devons, on doit, se réjouir ; et non pas : vous, les Africains, vous devez vous réjouir. La différence me paraît de taille. Puis, il n'y a pas *judices*, mais *indices*, des dénonciateurs. Les juges, eux, ont à juger. Ensuite, dans le CSEL nous ne lisons pas *catholica ueritate*, mais *catholica caritate*. Différence considérable. Il est vrai qu'aussi bien dans la Patrologie Latine que dans le CSEL nous lisons *eos quos*. Dans sa paraphrase F. Floëri interprète ces deux mots ainsi : « les deux intéressés, Pélage et Célestius ». Remarquons que la Lettre *Posteaquam a nobis* se compose dans le CSEL de 132 lignes. Les noms de Célestius et de Pélage se trouvent dans la première partie de la Lettre, partie qui va de 1 à 49. À cet endroit (section 3 svv. dans la PL), Zosime ouvre un long exposé sur les règles de toute procédure et en particulier sur la méfiance qu'il faut avoir à l'égard de ceux qui accusent des absents. Dans toute cette partie, qui va de 49 à 132, les noms de Célestius et Pélage ne figurent pas. Or la phrase citée par Floëri occupe les lignes 120 à 122 et se trouve donc presque à la fin de *Posteaquam a nobis*, très loin de toute mention de Célestius et Pélage. Je pense donc que cette phrase est à comprendre dans le cadre des remarques sur la procédure correcte et que *eos quos falsi indices criminabantur* indique, en général, « ceux qui étaient accusés par de faux dénonciateurs ». Même si Zosime a estimé que Célestius et Pélage étaient victimes de fausses manœuvres, on ne peut pas faire de ces deux noms les sujets explicites de la proposition infinitive.

Comme je l'ai dit au début de ce compte rendu, la recherche de O. Wermelinger a été suscitée par la communication dont je viens de parler. L'auteur a voulu vérifier les résultats de cette brève enquête. Reprenant l'histoire de la controverse pélagienne dès ses débuts, analysant les textes et notamment les quelques fragments de la *Tractoria* de Zosime, mais — excellente idée — étudiant aussi chez les défenseurs et les adversaires de la doctrine de la *tradux peccati* leurs réactions à l'égard de la *Tractoria*, il a fait du très bon travail. Les textes latins dans les cinq appendices facilitent la lecture de son exposé.

Après ce long travail, l'auteur est arrivé aux conclusions nuancées que voici : Ce qui nous reste des documents, notamment de la *Tractoria*, ne nous permet pas de dire avec une précision absolue dans quelle mesure Zosime s'est rapproché de la doctrine des Africains concernant le péché originel. La question se pose avant tout de savoir s'il a enseigné comme eux la doctrine de la *tradux peccati* (et non pas seulement celle de la *tradux mortis*). À en juger d'après les quelques fragments

de la *Tractoria*, Zosime ne semble pas s'être prononcé catégoriquement en faveur de la *tradux peccati*. Ce qui doit être racheté dans le baptême, est-ce du *péché*, *hérité* ? Le fragment de la Lettre CXC laisse la question ouverte. Mais pendant les quelques mois qui lui restaient à vivre, Zosime n'a pas permis qu'on déclare la doctrine de la *tradux peccati* contraire à la foi. À supposer que Zosime n'ait pas enseigné explicitement la doctrine d'un péché hérité chez les petits enfants, sa condamnation de Julien d'Eclanum suffirait pour faire comprendre que pour lui l'élasticité de ses propres termes n'était pas incompatible avec les décisions africaines. En somme, des conclusions modérées et nuancées.

Ce résultat est d'autant plus remarquable que l'auteur ne semble pas avoir entrepris sa recherche avec du parti pris pour saint Augustin. Mais n'insistons pas. Les conclusions de cette longue et minutieuse recherche sont nettement en retrait sur celles de F. Floëri.

Mais je crois qu'après le grand effort de O. Wermelinger concernant la *Tractoria* de Zosime, un aussi grand effort serait nécessaire par rapport aux Lettres *Magnum pondus* et *Posteaquam a nobis*. Aux pp. 141-146 l'auteur s'y arrête, plus longuement que son prédécesseur. Mais arrivé à la phrase latine qui résumerait *Posteaquam a nobis*, il paraphrase : « *Beide* sind durch falsche Indizien beschuldigt worden, und *beide* sind *in Wirklichkeit* nie von der Kirche getrennt gewesen ». Zosime n'a pas dit cela, comme je l'ai souligné plus haut. Il est vrai qu'il n'avait pas beaucoup de sympathie pour les subtilités théologiques des Africains, des gens indépendants d'ailleurs. Le fait que Célestius était venu le voir, le fait que Praylus de Jérusalem et Pélage s'étaient adressés à lui, le chef de l'Église, étaient de bons points pour eux. Mais il faut être très attentif à ce que Zosime a dit, et pourquoi ; à ce qu'il n'a pas dit, et pourquoi ; et se demander à quel endroit de ses Lettres il dit ce qu'il dit, ou se tait. La lecture précise de ces deux Lettres demandera peut-être une bonne dose de subtilité. Mais celle-ci, pourquoi serait-elle le monopole de saint Augustin dans ses observations sur les Lettres de Zosime dans le *De Peccato originali* 6(7)-7(8) et le *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum* II, 3(5) ?

L. M. J. Verheijen, O.S.A.

Henrici de Frimaria O.S.A. Tractatus ascetico-mystici. Tomus I. Complectens Tractatum de adventu Verbi in mentem, Tractatum de adventu Domini, Tractatum de incarnatione Verbi. Ed. A. Zumkeller O.S.A. Würzburg, Augustinus-Verlag, 1975, xxxxii-161 pp.

De belangrijkste duitse augustijn uit de eerste generatie na de Magna Unio is ongetwijfeld Hendrik van Frimar bij Gotha in Thüringen geweest. Overleden in 1340 wordt hij gewoonlijk de Oudere genoemd,

zulks ter onderscheiding van zijn jongere naam- en huisgenoot in het klooster van Erfurt, die in 1354 stierf. De ongeveer 85 jaar oud geworden Oudere is twee maal provinciaal geweest, eerst van de nog ongedeelde duitse provincie, na de deling later nog eens van de saksische provincie. Daarnaast heeft hij in zijn lange leven een groot aandeel gehad in het theologische leven van zijn tijd. Zelf gevormd aan de universiteiten van Bologna en Parijs, is hij op zijn beurt gedurende vele jaren professor geweest aan de universiteit van Parijs en in de laatste kwart eeuw van zijn leven magister aan het studium generale van zijn Orde te Erfurt.

Zijn zeer talrijke geschriften zijn echter ondanks het vaak grote aantal der handschriften, wat getuigt van een groot en erkend gezag in de late middeleeuwen, zo goed als nooit in druk verschenen. Een belangrijk gedeelte van zijn werk heeft betrekking op het geestelijk leven. Zumkeller heeft zich voorgenomen in 2 delen de voornaamste ervan uit te geven. Het eerste deel ligt thans voor ons. In een uitstekend verzorgde kritische uitgave komen hierin achtereenvolgens aan bod : *Tractatus de adventu Verbi in mentem*, *Tractatus de adventu Domini*, en *Tractatus de incarnatione Verbi*. De eerste twee zijn aan elkaar verwante mystieke werkjes, het derde is eigenlijk een dogmatisch geschriftje, dat echter vrij onverwachts een zij-uitstapje naar de mystiek maakt.

De mystieke werkjes, die in tegenstelling tot andere werken van Hendrik maar een beperkte verspreiding hebben gevonden, behandelen het grondthema van de duitse mystiek uit de veertiende eeuw : de geboorte van God in de menselijke geest. Zij laten ons de auteur zien als een weliswaar scholastiek theoloog, die echter wat de aankleding van zijn denken betreft nog geheel doordrenkt is van de traditie van de twaalfde eeuw : het Hooglied, Bernardus, Augustinus, Pseudo-Dionysius, en voor het tweede traktaatje ook Anselmus en Richard van Sint-Victor.

Zumkeller heeft met deze uitgave een grote dienst bewezen aan de geschiedenis van de spiritualiteit. Interessant is niet alleen de verhouding van Hendrik tot de grote geestelijke schrijvers vóór hem, boeiend is ook een nog te ondernemen speurtocht naar de verhouding van Hendrik tot Eckhart en tot de broeders en zusters van de vrije geest. Eckhart en Hendrik zijn n.l. niet alleen tijd- en streekgenoten geweest, zij hebben ook gelijktijdig gedurende langere tijd zowel te Erfurt als te Parijs in belangrijke functies geleefd en gewerkt, te Parijs zelfs binnen hetzelfde verband van de universiteit. Het is vrijwel ondenkbaar dat zij elkaar niet gekend zouden hebben.

Te Parijs heeft Hendrik ook in 1310 de veroordeling en de verbranding meegemaakt van de mystieke schrijfster Margaretha Porete; hij is er zelfs rechtstreeks bij betrokken geweest. Tegen Guarnieri in, waarnaar Zumkeller voor de broeders en zusters van de vrije geest verwijst, ben ik echter met Axters van oordeel dat haar veroordeling ten onrechte heeft plaatsgevonden en behalve aan een onbevredigende

rechtsprocedure slechts aan theologisch onbegrip te danken is geweest. Misschien moeten we echter op het aangekondigde tweede deel met de overige werkjes van Hendrik over het geestelijke leven wachten om het geheel te kunnen overzien.

De uitgave zelf, de inleidingen en de indices zijn voorbeeldig. Voor één probleem wil ik echter toch de aandacht vragen. Zumkeller heeft op alle voorkomende plaatsen in de werkjes het woord « thearticus » door « theoricus » gecorrigeerd. Ik dacht vroeger : terecht. Het woord « thearticus » bleek onvindbaar; ook zelf kon ik het nergens vinden, ook niet met behulp van de daartoe aangewezen hulpmiddelen. Nu ik echter concreet voor me zie hoe alle handschriften der beide werkjes op alle plaatsen het moeilijke en afgekeurde woord hebben, begin ik toch te twijfelen. Ook al omdat geen der kopiïsten er blijkbaar aan gedacht heeft aan het woord te gaan sleutelen. Ik vraag me nu af of in plaats van « thear*t*icus » niet « thear*ch*icus » gelezen moet worden zie : Lexicon latinitatis medii aevi, uitgegeven door A. Blaise, Turnhout 1975.

Wat de inleidingen en aantekeningen betreft, wijst Zumkeller terecht op de relatie Eckhart-Hendrik. Ook al wil hij daarmee niet zeggen dat Hendrik bij diens bestrijding van de door hem afgewezen opvattingen noodzakelijk Eckhart op het oog heeft gehad. Persoonlijk ben ik daartoe op het ogenblik nog iets minder geneigd dan Zumkeller. Veel aan Eckhart verwante opvattingen zijn al in de duitse en nederlandse landen aanwezig voor Eckhart zelf tot schrijven en spreken kwam.

Het moge duidelijk zijn dat we met ongeduld naar het andere deeltje met de overige geestelijke geschriften van Hendrik van Frimar uitzien.

E. Hendrikx O.S.A.

Angelus Höggmayr, O.S.A., *Monasteria Ordinis FF. Eremitarum S. Augustini per Germaniam.* Neudruck. Heverlee-Leuven, 1974, Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, xxiv S. und 98 Abdrucke.
—, *Monasteria Romana Fratrum Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini,* Neudruck. Heverlee-Leuven, Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, 1974, 20 Abdrucke.

The Augustinian Historical Institute of Louvain has done a great favor to historians, as well as to other professions, by these two excellent reprints. Angelus Höggmayr (1680-1739) had from his youth a fondness for history. Fortunately he was able to find time from his other labors to leave behind several valuable works, two of which are excellently reproduced here. Many know him for his list of provincials of the Augustinians in Germany, published in 1729. And even though many have admired the reproductions of Augustinian monasteries of his day and of an earlier day, turned out by skilled masters of drawing

and engraving, not many knew that it was precisely Höggmayr who had directed these works. About the year 1731 he published both of them, modestly concealing his own name under the initials F.A.H.A.G.G. (= Frater Angelus Höggmayr, Assistens Generalis Germaniae). Both as prior of Seemanshausen and of Regensburg in his native land, and later as assistant general of his order in Rome, Höggmayr used his time wisely, and gave an example of constant application, not always imitated by his followers. Here, however, a later assistant general, P. DDr. Adolar Zumkeller, has given a most welcome introduction to the volume containing the reproductions of the German monasteries. It informs us about Höggmayr's life and studies and of the works he performed as a preparation for his publications.

In the first of the volumes here presented, we find the well-written life of Höggmayr, and a brief but sufficient discussion of those whom he called upon to make the reproductions of the maps and representations of Augustinian monasteries of ten northern provinces, and of the eight male Roman convents which are reproduced in the second volume. It will give many readers a great pleasure when they peruse these clear reproductions of monasteries, some of which still exist while others have disappeared. To the present reviewer it was most instructive to see how many of the reproductions of the eighteenth century correspond with great exactness to the monasteries even today, although in practically all cases the immediate surroundings have been greatly modified. Thus, for instance, the monasteries and churches of Küfstein, Dürrnberg, Salzburg etc. differ scarcely, if at all, from the exact appearance even today of the same buildings. Particularly welcome features of Dr. Zumkeller's introduction are his references, not only to modern literature, but to the archives and libraries also, where some of the original works are found even today. In addition, the recently deceased Norbert Teeuwen has added to the introduction three lists, which greatly facilitate the use of the volumes and illustrate their contents. First, he has given us a table of contents, in which many will be grateful for the German translations of the Latin names of the convents or localities. Secondly, he gives us an alphabetical list of the monasteries here contained, and thirdly he shows in a neat and brief list from just what provinces these monasteries were. We believe that readers will agree that this is a book which can be read not only with great profit, but with great delight also. Historians of art will rejoice.

The second volume here presented contains clear reproductions of the eight Roman convents which the Augustinian friars had in Höggmayr's time. Not only the calced, but the discalced friars also are here represented. Thus, we find charming reproductions of the following convents as they appeared in the 18th century : Sant'Agostino, San Matteo in Merulana, S. Maria del Popolo, S. Prisca, S. Giorgio in Velabro, Gesù e Maria, S. Nicola da Tolentino, and S. Ildefonso.

Besides this, the volume reproduces a short Latin description of each of these convents, chiefly from the historical viewpoint, and adds a brief discussion of the eight convents of Augustinian sisters in Rome at the time of writing in the same century.

All in all, we feel convinced that these two volumes must be long looked at in order to be properly appreciated, since the numerous reproductions do something that the merely printed page could not do. They give the impression of closeness, and will remind many readers of their happy visits to the sites where these monasteries formerly existed or still exist. The Augustinian Historical Institute of Louvain is to be congratulated for having put these two charming volumes at the disposition of both scholars and dilettantes.

J.-J. Gavigan, O.S.A.

Augustinus Lubin, O.S.A., *Orbis Augustinianus, sive conventuum ordinis eremitarum S. Augustini chorographica et topographica descriptio*, Parisiis, Petrus Baudoin, 1659 : Réimpr. Anast., Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, Lovanii.

—, *Topographia Augustiniana, sive prospectus conventuum ordinis eremitarum S. Augustini. Veuës et Perspectives de plusieurs Couvents des PP. Augustins*, Paris, 1659. Réimpr. anast., Institutum Historicum Augustinianum. Lovanii.

Dr. Eelko Ypma, in his excellent study of the French Augustinian authors, published in *Augustiniana* 20 (1970) 389-396, informs us of the life of Augustin Lubin, an Augustinian friar (1624-1695). Endowed with real talent for map-making, Lubin was appointed by the Augustinian prior general *chorographus ordinis*, and by the French king *Galliarum geographus*. The two works here under review appeared over three centuries ago, but have never lost their great usefulness. Hence, it is a great pleasure to express here publicly thanks to the Institutum Historicum Augustinianum of Heverlee-Leuven for giving us these excellent reprints of both works, which had become exceedingly rare, and which continued to be sought by libraries and even by individual scholars. We should like to present both works briefly. The *Orbis Augustinianus* is a collection of excellent maps, made by Lubin himself, of the location of the Augustinian monasteries, not only of his own day, but of an earlier period also. Thus, he begins with a map of the monasteries in North Africa at the time of St. Augustine, and then offers general maps of Augustinian monasteries in these regions : Italy, France, Spain and Portugal, Germany and the Americas. Then, after a map of the general convents of his time, Lubin devotes a detailed map to the monasteries of forty-two provinces and of twelve congregations. He even adds, for the sake of history, the two provinces of England and Hungary which had been wiped out in the 16th cen-

tury. Hence, one can truly say that this work of Lubin has justly remained a classic, and hence it was an excellent idea to reprint it in this handy way.

The same can be said about the second volume, *Topographia Augustiniana*. Whereas the former volume was concerned with maps, this volume is concerned, just as were the volumes of Höggmayr reviewed above, with representations of the principal monasteries of the Augustinian order. Lubin offers us here twenty-two drawings of such important monasteries as the *Grand Couvent* of Paris, the Roman church of Sant'Agostino with the pre-Gioia monastery of those days, before giving us the representations of various French monasteries, such as S.-Germain-des-Prés, Amiens, Angers, Candé, Châtillon, Chalons-sur-Marne, Lamballe, Moulins, Poitiers, Verdun etc. Since many of these buildings were destroyed completely, one can appreciate how important it is to have here in such an easily employed volume pictures of buildings which have disappeared for ever. Hence, the person who obtains these two volumes will have a permanent source of consultation for matters treated by the very competent Lubin.

At the risk of being shameless, this reviewer allows himself to make a suggestion. Since the Institutum Historicum Augustinianum has now put at our disposition two precious works of Lubin, would it not be possible to bring out a reprint of a third valuable work of the same author? Oddly enough (and confusingly enough) the third work has exactly the same title as the first work which we review here : *Orbis Augustinianus* etc. But the work to which we here refer came out in Paris « apud Aegidium Alliot » in 1672, and is a valuable commentary on the volume of maps. In this third work, Lubin gives the Latin and the vernacular name of every convent included in his maps, along with a brief historical treatment about the convent itself. The reviewer has found this work in only one library, amongst the many which he has visited. He believes therefore that it would be one more laurel in the cap of the Institutum Historicum Augustinianum of Louvain to put this classic work also at the disposition of scholars throughout the world.

J.-J. Gavigan, O.S.A.

Iconographia Magni Patris Aurelii Augustini, Hipponensis Episcopi et Ecclesiae Doctoris Excellentissimi. Antverpiae, 1624. Réimpr. anast. Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, Lovanii. 28 pp.

Amongst the descriptions of St. Augustine's life, it was natural that some of them were presented pictorially in order to express more graphically the sentiments of his spiritual children. A particularly acceptable life of the saint in pictorial form was that brought out by the prior of Malines, Hieronymus Petri, in 1624. The laybrother of Malines, Eugen van Waemel had drawn 28 charming pictures, which

were then engraved by S. de Bolswert. The work is really a pictorial life of St. Augustine, as he existed in the memory, and partially in the legendary admiration, of the mortals of the 17th century. It gives us at the beginning an imposing picture of St. Augustine in the habit of the order and with a bishop's mitre. Then comes a delightful series of scenes from his life, for the most part historical, but naturally presented as they appeared to the contemporaries of van Waemel. So we find the scene under the figtree in the garden (with an architectural background which seems inspired by Gozzoli), the baptism, the granting of the habit by Simplicianus, the famous scene on the seashore when Augustine was meditating about the Holy Trinity, the death of St. Monica, Augustine's seizure for ordination to the priesthood, his granting the rule to his followers, his controversy with Fortunatus and with the Donatists, his episcopal consecration, his writing of the classical work *de Trinitate*, his death, transfer of his remains to Pavia, legendary appearances after his death, and finally a beautiful representation of the saint with the Augustinian friars and sisters. After each representation is an inscription from the works of the saint himself, from Possidius, Prosper of Aquitaine, or from later authors. The work is therefore a really useful picture-life of St. Augustine as conceived by the 17th century, and it is a distinct pleasure to salute its reprint here by the Institutum Historicum Augustinianum of Heverlee-Leuven. Historians of art will find here much material to study, while many others whose interests are less scholarly will find a delightful gift for dilettantes in beauty. A thing of beauty is a joy forever.

J.-J. Gavigan, O.S.A.

Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Medieval aspects of Renaissance Learning*. Ed. and transl. by Edward P. Mahoney (Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies 1). Durham (North Carolina), Duke University Press, 1974, xii-175 pp., $ 7,50.

Il ne faut plus présenter P. O. Kristeller, à qui fut dédié récemment un livre jubilaire). Ce professeur de philosophie à l'Université de Columbia (New York) consacra déjà plusieurs études à la vie intellectuelle de l'époque de transition entre le moyen âge et la renaissance. Dans cet ouvrage, composé de trois contributions se rapportant à cette matière, il offre une synthèse remarquable qui contient des perspectives pour des recherches plus amples.

Le premier essai, comme les deux autres le résultat d'une conférence universitaire, traite du *Scholar and his Public in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (p. 1-25) : à ce moment il exista trois grandes catégories littéraires, c'est-à-dire les littératures scholastique, humaniste et vernaculaire, qui purent être étudiées et élaborées par un même auteur, magré leurs thèmes et leurs lecteurs propres.

La seconde dissertation, *Thomism and Italian Thought of the Renaissance* (p. 27-91) démontre que Thomas d'Aquin OP et le thomisme, défendus surtout par les religieux de son ordre, représentèrent une importante valeur fixe dans le monde des idées de la renaissance italienne, quoiqu'ils ne fussent pas toujours accueillis favorablement partout, e.a. par l'Académie Platonique de Florence.

Si nous ne nous sommes pas attardés au compte rendu de ces deux articles, nous n'hésiterons pas à nous arrêter d'autant plus longtemps au troisième article, car il nous semble qu'il est plus intéressant pour nous dans le cadre de cette revue. Il est le résultat d'une conférence tenue devant le *Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library* (Université Saint-John, Collegeville/Minnesota) en 1968 par Kristeller qui s'étend ici plus longuement sur *The Contribution of Religious Orders to Renaissance Thought and Learning* (p. 93-114). Il prouve à juste titre que l'on peut parler d'un *monastic culture of the Renaissance* (p. 96) : les érudits monastiques appliquèrent en effet les méthodes modernes de la critique humaniste, dérivée des *studia humanitatis* (notamment les disciplines philosophiques et la littérature, surtout les lettres classiques), aux branches religieuses tels qu'elles leur étaient connues et qu'elles leur ont été léguées par le moyen âge, sans que ce style renouvelé devînt but en soi (une illustration en est donnée dans l'article de W. Lourdaux AA, *Dévotion Moderne et Humanisme Chrétien*, dans *The Late Middle Ages and the Dawn of Humanism outside Italy*. Proceedings of the International Conference, Louvain, May 11-13, 1970, édition G. Verbeke et J. IJsewijn (*Mediaevalia Lovaniensia*. Series I, Studia 1), Louvain, University Press & The Hague, M. Nijhoff, 1972, p. 57-77).

Les bibliothèques des couvents en furent les premiers témoins. Après 1300 elles ouvrirent leurs portes aux chercheurs laïques — l'auteur analyse surtout le point de vue italien — qui furent à la recherche de textes classiques. Malgré l'intérêt des moines pour les perspectives contemporaines qui s'élargirent rapidement aux XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles par l'imprimerie, ils sauvegardèrent la vénérable tradition de la copie de manuscrits, même en partant d'éditions humanistes acquises récemment. Ainsi se formèrent de nouvelles collections qui ont été conservées souvent à côté des anciens fonds dans la même bibliothèque. Ceci fut le cas dans nos régions de la bibliothèque de l'abbaye des Prémontrés à Averbode et de celle du prieuré des Croisiers à Cuyk-lez-Nimègue. Quelques institutions religieuses joignirent à l'expansion de leur bibliothèque une véritable fonction enseignante, à laquelle participèrent également des laïcs (Florence, modèle des académies ultérieures). En vue d'attaquer la réforme, les Jésuites développèrent la tâche éducative de l'enseignement secondaire, conçue de façon très sociale, pour en faire une université telle qu'elle fut voulue par le pape.

Comme érudits, les religieux fournirent du beau travail sur le terrain très large de la théologie. Dans la scholastique Thomas d'Aquin

supplanta Pierre Lombard sous l'influence du changement dans l'enseignement théologique. Dans la théologie polémique ce fut l'augustin Ambroise Flandini († 1531) qui se fit remarquer par ses écrits contre Luther. Dans la littérature ascétique et mystique — il est inutile de rappeler les grands mystiques de l'aire rhéno-flamande — on ne peut pas oublier la figure de Denys le Chartreux († 1471), qui ne fut pas seulement, même pas principalement, représentatif avec ses *Opera omnia* (42 vol., Montreuil, 1896 - Tournai, 1913) de ces littératures, mais qui fut avant tout un théologien encyclopédique, en quelque sorte le *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, voire *de Spiritualité* de son temps. D'autres disciplines, encore fortement reliées à la scholastique médiévale, furent étudiées avec succès : l'homilétique (le plus souvent anonyme et engagée au point de vue socio-politique), la philosophie sophie aristotélienne (avec un commentaire de Paul de Venise OESA † 1429) et la métaphisique (souvent accompagnant la théologie : littérature de combat averroïste). Les domaines plus typiquement humanistes furent représentés par la rhétorique (cicéronienne, influançant l'homilétique des jours de fêtes avec Aurèle Brandolini OESA † 1497), l'épistolographie (non seulement un document personnel, mais aussi représentant de documentation scientifique : Arnold Bostius OCARM † 1499), la poésie religieuse (moins développée), l'historiographie (histoire de l'Église et hagiographie), des traités en prose et des dialogues se rapportant aux problèmes éthiques, à la pédagogie, à la politique et à la religion (très grand intérêt avec surtout l'augustin Aurèle Brandolini) ; par l'étude du latin (les Pères de l'Église se furent considérés comme appartenant à l'antiquité classique : Bernard André OESA † 1525, *City of God*) et du grec (André Biglia OESA † 1435, traduisit Plutarque, Isocrate et Aristote) et finalement par l'Académie Platonique à Florence dont l'augustin Gilles de Viterbe († 1532) fut l'un des plus importants représentants avec ses commentaires sur les Sentences *ad mentem Platonis*.

La valeur pédagogique de ces études est encore accrue par la bibliographie générale (p. 115-120) et spécialement par deux appendices de référence. Le premier offre un choix en ordre alphabétique de bibliothèques d'Autriche et d'Italie, dont on ne dit pas toujours à quel ordre religieux elles appartiennent. Quelques-unes existant toujours ont conservé leurs collections médiévales ou humanistes soit sur place (Averbode OPRAEM ; Cuyk, OSC), soit dans une plus grande bibliothèque publique (Bruges, Abbaye des Dunes, OCIST : Grand Séminaire). D'autres n'existant plus ont vu leur patrimoine intellectuel et culturel dispersé (Gand, abbaye de S. Pierre, OSB) ou uniquement cité dans les anciens catalogues (p. 121-125).

Le second appendice énumère, également en ordre alphabétique et d'une façon sélective, les noms d'humanistes et d'érudits de dix-sept ordres religieux différents, qui furent actifs entre 1400 et 1530 surtout en Italie et Allemagne et sur des terrains autres que théologiques (p. 126-158). Les données qu'on trouve sur eux sont plutôt le fruit des

études personnelles de l'auteur et ne se retrouvent de ce fait pas dans les grandes bibliographies. Les trois-quarts des érudits religieux nommés sont constitués par 59 dominicains, 46 bénédictins, 31 frères mineurs et finalement par 29 augustins qui s'appellent (en ordre chronologique) : Giunta de S. Gimignano († après 1318), Leoninus de Padua († après 1332), Denys de Burgo († 1342), Augustin de Trento († ca. 1346), Barthélemy d'Urbino († 1350), Luigi Marsili († 1394), Jacques de S. Cassiano (XV^e s.), Pierre de Castelletto († après 1402), Paul de Venise († 1429), André Biglia († 1435), Mapheus Vegius († 1458), Jean Capgrave († 1464), Nicolas Palmieri († 1467), Ambroise de Cora († 1485), Paracletus Cornetanus († 1487), Guillaume Becchi († 1490), Adam de Montaldo († après 1493), Aurèle Lippus Brandolini († 1497), Marianus de Genazzano († 1498), Sigfrid de Castello († après 1506), Ambroise Calepino († 1510), Raphael Brandolini († 1517), Jacques Philippe Foresti († 1520), Bernard André († 1525), Ambroise Flandini († 1531), Gilles de Viterbe († 1532), Nicolas Scutelli († 1542), Jérôme Scripando († 1563), Gabriel Buratelli († 1571).

Il serait très inconvenant de terminer ce compte rendu sans exprimer notre estime pour le travail délicat du traducteur Edward P. Mahoney. Ce professeur à l'Université Duke (Durham, N.C.) traduisit les deux premiers essais, publiés respectivement en allemand (1960) et en français (1965), — le troisième texte parut en anglais en 1970 —, ce qui fut certes un travail difficile dans le cadre de l'historiographie intellectuelle. Comme l'auteur, qui fut son ancien professeur, Mahoney enrichit les articles de celui-ci par des informations supplémentaires (p. VII-XII). Il est membre du comité de rédaction de la série des *Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies*. Cette série peut déjà s'enorgueillir, grâce à ces remarquables contributions, d'une primeur parmi les nombreuses publications qui paraissent actuellement sur l'histoire intellectuelle de l'occident.

F. Hendrickx.

Tausend Jahre Bistum Prag 973-1973. Beiträge zum Millennium. Hrsg. von E. Nittner und A. Kunzmann (Veröffentlichungen des Institutum Bohemicum 1). München, Ackermann-Gemeinde, 1974, 518 S., ill.

Bon nombre de fêtes ont commémoré le millénaire du diocèse de Prague. Également ce livre jubilaire rend hommage à ce fait historique. Dans sa préface E. Nittner rappelle les relations ecclésiastiques et spirituelles qui ont existé dans le passé entre les Allemands et les Tchèques. L'*Ackermann-Gemeinde*, une organisation des Allemands catholiques des Sudètes, et l'*Institutum Bohemicum*, consacrant sa première livraison à cette commémoration, — leur siège est établi à Munich —, symbolisent actuellement cette union ancienne (p. 9-12). —

A.-K. Huber explique les fondements principaux sur lesquels l'Église bohémienne s'est développée : les SS. Cyrille et Méthode défendirent l'usage de la langue populaire dans la liturgie sans qu'ils eussent l'intention de rompre avec Rome ; le saint duc Wenceslas fut l'expression de la conscience patriotique ; la tradition hussite devint la marque de chaque mouvement de réforme ; la dévotion boursouflée du baroque suscita inévitablement la conception religieuse de l'*Aufklärung* (p. 13-23).

La première partie, se composant d'une série d'études de qualité sur l'histoire du diocèse de Prague, débute par l'exposé de K. Bosl : l'A. démontre que l'organisation politique et la christianisation furent des choses corrélatives. La mission franque, venant de la Bavière, influença l'atmosphère dans laquelle l'évêché de Prague fut fondé (p. 27-40). — F. Prinz souligne la fonction sociale du monachisme à l'aube de son existence en Allemagne du Sud et en Bohême. Les couvents, à l'intérieur organisés selon des principes démocratiques, remplirent une importante tâche culturelle sur le terrain éducatif et enseignant. En outre ils excercèrent une activité agro-économique de telle façon qu'ils révalorisèrent ainsi le travail manuel en le considérant comme la continuation de l'œuvre de la création. Il faut encore y ajouter que l'infrastructure, reliée à ces occupations, pourvut à toute une série de nécessités sociales. La mission monastique, organisée par le gouvernement (parfois une affaire militaire) et faite sous le signe de la croix afin de rapprocher les territoires à l'est du Rhin, consolida la stabilité de l'état carolingien et ottonien, et contribua à développer les structures diocésaines (p. 41-51). — J. Hemmerle accentue dans cette œuvre des missions la part des bénédictins de St.-Emmeran à Ratisbonne et de Niederaltaich. Grâce à leur action la christianisation latine prit pied en Bohême au détriment de la prédication slave (p. 52-69). — Dans les deux articles suivants il est question des personnages qui ont joué un rôle significatif au commencement du diocèse de Prague : G. Zimmermann écrit sur le saint évêque Wolfgang de Ratisbone, OSB († 994) qui reconnut l'indépendance de la partie slave de son évêché (p. 70-92) ; K. Bosl traite du second prélat de Prague, S. Adalbert, OBS († 997) dont la mission a fait en quelque sorte une triste fin à cause de l'opposition slave (p. 93-106). — A.-K. Huber examine le remarquable fait que le diocèse de Prague ressortit à l'archevêché de Mayence auquel la Bohême ne confina pas du tout. Quels que fussent les motifs politiques, l'histoire de leurs relations aboutit à l'élévation du siège de Prague à la dignité d'archidiocèse en 1344. La métropole de Mayence, ayant pris part à un complot monté par l'empereur Louis IV de la Bavière contre la papauté, fut excommuniée par le pape Clément VI (p. 107-126). — R. Mattausch esquisse la vie ecclésiastique par rapport à la situation politique et la vie spirituelle plus large en Bohême au XIV^e^ siècle. Dans cette période les Augustins de St.-Thomas à Prague — leur *Studium Generale* fut incorporé dans la nouvelle université récemment fondée (1347) — influen-

cèrent la religion populaire dans l'esprit de la dévotion moderne. Ils eurent le privilège d'acquérir la bibliothèque personnelle de Jean de Neumarkt, successivement évêque de Leitomischl et d'Olomouc, et à la fois chancelier de l'empereur Charles IV de Luxembourg (p. 127-141). — F. Seibt étudie en particulier le vicaire général de Prague, Jean de Nepomuk, qui fut assassiné en 1393 par le roi Wenceslas IV pour des raisons jusqu'ici encore obscures. Il aurait repoussé la prière du roi de divulguer le secret que la reine lui avait confié dans la confession : son époux aurait eu l'intention de restreindre le pouvoir de l'Église (p. 142-151). — G. Fehr décrit très succinctement à grands traits l'art bohémien qui exprima entre le XIII^e^ siècle et le baroque avant tout une façon de concevoir la vie (p. 152-156). — H. Hantsch étudie le siècle des lumières en Bohême. Il nous semble que les idées pragmatiques et rationnelles, propres à cette époque, trouvèrent dans le catholicisme rigide des Jésuites une base solide sur laquelle cette nouvelle philosophie put se développer. Les Augustins, qui adoptèrent une ligne de conduite moins sévère et qui furent par conséquent plus sensibles aux influences jansénistes, supplantèrent en partie les Jésuites supprimés. L'augustin Ignace Müller, confesseur de la cour autrichienne sous Marie-Thérèse, représenta ce nouveau cercle d'idées (p. 157-172). — E. Nittner raconte l'histoire de l'Université de Prague. Durant les premiers siècles de son existence elle était l'objet des abus de pouvoir de l'autorité politique. Son enseignement fut réorganisé en 1654 par les Jésuites sous la surveillance d'un pouvoir central. En 1873 l'université devint un institut dont la valeur académique ne fut plus déterminée par son caractère religieux (p. 173-212). — Les contributions suivantes se rapportent à l'histoire plus récente de la Bohême aux XVIII^e^ et XIX^e^ siècles : la mentalité historique et politique du poète Adalbert Stifter († 1868) qui indique dans ses écrits un principe rangé selon lequel tout homme en particulier doit agir pour obtenir l'intérêt public (J. Mühlberger, p. 213-227) ; le développement spirituel et l'évolution de l'Église depuis la chute du Saint-Empire (1806) jusqu'à la fondation de la République Tchécoslovaque en 1918 (R. Mattausch, p. 228-248) ; l'analyse de l'expression significative « Böhmen, Europas Schicksal » au fond des événements du temps (E. Nittner, p. 249-278) ; la conscience de Dieu chez les poètes Kafka († 1924), Rilke († 1926) et Werfel († 1945) (J. Mühlberger, p. 279-296) ; la littérature catholique des Tchèques (des éléments hussites ?) (F. Indra, p. 297-315) ; l'Église et la question sociale (F. Prinz, p. 316-334) ; le mouvement social-chrétien (V. Neuwirth, p. 335-343) ; les prélats de Prague (K. Fürst Schwarzenberg, p. 344-356). — Puis E. Nittner synthétise les faits dynamiques et dialectiques qui ont aidé à développer l'importance culturelle de la Bohême pendant ce millénaire en vue d'une confrontation d'idées et de situations entre l'Europe Occidentale et Orientale. L'A. fait en passant attention au rôle des Augustins dans la charge d'âmes du citadin, le nouveau type humain médiéval (p. 357-393). — E. Lemberg, terminant la première partie,

analyse le sentiment national des peuples de l'Europe Centrale en proportion de la conception post-nationale, sans doute un phénomène d'après-guerre (p. 394-410).

La deuxième partie publie les documents, surtout venant de la République Fédérale Allemande, qui se rattachent à la commémoration de ce millénaire. Ils témoignent d'une vraie affinité á l'Église originale. Ce sont les occupations préparatoires de l'*Ackermann-Gemeinde* (résumées par A. Kunzmann, p. 413-424), l'intérêt du pape Paul VI dans une lettre à l'administrateur apostolique de Prague, l'évêque F. Tomášek (p. 425-427), la lettre pastorale de celui-ci (p. 428-429) et son allocution à l'occasion de la bénédiction apostolique (p. 429-430); ensuite les sermons des évêques R. Graber de Ratisbonne (p. 431-433) et A. Bolte de Fulda (p. 434-436), des bénédictins de Rohr V. Kinzel (p. 437-438) et A. Opasek (p. 439-445) et enfin du père P. Sladek OSA, profès de St.-Thomas (p. 446-449). — Le dernier article de cette partie, écrit par H. Schmid-Egger, jette un coup d'œil rétrospectif sur les fêtes du neuvième centenaire du diocèse de Prague en 1873 (p. 450-456).

En dernier lieu, dans la troisième partie, A. Zelenka décrit en collaboration avec M. Koutný les armoiries des prélats de Prague. Les armes furent dessinées par J. Pecháček (p. 459-507).

Quelques notices biographiques sur les auteurs des articles et une représentation de la médaille commémorative à deux faces finissent cet ouvrage imposant. Nous regrettons toutefois l'absence d'un registre en vue de son utilité pratique.

F. Hendrickx.

Scientia Augustiniana. Festschrift P. Dr. theol. Dr. phil. Adolar Zumkeller OSA zum 60. Geburtstag. Hrsg. von Cornelius Petrus Mayer OSA und Willigis Eckermann OSA. Würzburg, Augustinus-Verlag, 1975, liii-750 S.

This Festschrift offered to Adolar Zumkeller on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, is the fruit of a task eagerly undertaken by Cornelius Petrus Mayer and Willigis Eckermann. A photograph of Pope Paul in conversation with the jubilarian opens this work in which the three fields of Z.'s interest are represented: Augustine, Augustinism in the Middle Ages, and the history of the Augustinian Order. The Festschrift contains thirty-seven contributions from well-known scholars, both Augustinians and others. We can here usefully give a survey of the contents.

Following on a biography and bibliography of Zumkeller, Cyril Patock gives a history of the founding and of the activity of the Augustinus-Institut in Würzburg with which the name Zumkeller is so closely associated. Then follow nine articles dealing with Augus-

tine, the Church father. In a second series of articles there are to be found fifteen studies concerned with Augustinism. And, lastly, there are twelve contributions regarding the history of the Order of the Hermits of Saint Augustine.

In the first article, Rudolph ARBESMANN writes about the discovery of various fragments : a passage from Augustine's commentary on the gospel of John; a pseudo-Augustinian sermon; and an almost complete sermon of Augustine held on the feast of the Ascension, 418. Robert P. RUSSEL wants to see the moment of Augustine's conversion in the period in which he renounced honour and riches. This inquiry seeks to investigate the nature and extent of Augustine's conversion to philosophy or wisdom but with special reference to one of the renunciations implied in the expression « omnis vana spes », namely, the desire for riches. Cornelius Petrus MAYER clarifies Augustine's use of the concept « sacramentum », which he uses to oppose the doctrine of the Donatists. In this regard, his distinction between « signum » and « res » is of importance. Tarsicius VAN BAVEL, with the assistance of his younger confrère, Bernard BRUNING, has written an article on the idea of the « Total Christ » in Augustine's thought. This idea, in which christological and ecclesiological perspectives come together, has its origin in the pauline assertions concerning the Body of Christ. Luc VERHEIJEN considers that, in the text from the Rule of Augustine, « Not as slaves under the law, but as free men under grace », he has found a key for the dating of the Rule. It was probably written around the year 397, and not at the end of Augustine's life, after the Retractationes. Aparicio MANRIQUE also speaks of the Rule, with regard to Augustine's conception of poverty found there. The living out of poverty is not limited by Augustine to material goods, but extended to humility as a path to unity. Ephraem HENDRIKX offers a revision of his doctoral thesis « Augustins Verhältnis zur Mystik » (Würzburg, 1936). Goulven MADEC enters into discussion with R. A. Markus concerning Augustine's expression « Tempora christiana » and he demonstrates that Augustine does not attribute any messianic mission to the Empire that has become christian. One may not, therefore, call him a triumphalist. Finally, Jacob SPEIGL treats the commandment of love as it appears in the writings of Pelagius.

The first article in the section dealing with Augustinism in the Middle Ages is by Charles LOHR. He shows how, under the influence of Augustine, the modern idea of science was ushered in by Anselm, Lullus, Ockham, and Cusa. Jean LECLERCQ treats the biblical expression « idipsum » which is to be found in the Fathers and in Bernard. Augustine uses the word to indicate the essence of God. Helmut RIEDLINGER shows from Lullus' work Liber reprobationis aliquorum errorum Averrois to according what method Lullus proceeds in contesting the errors of Averroes. Michael SCHMAUS clarifies Giles' of Rome doctrine of the Holy Spirit against the background of his teaching on the

Trinity. The unity of God always remains Giles' principal concern. Margot SCHMIDT sketches the influence of Augustine's theme « the soul in its search for God » on the literature of the Middle Ages, and in particular on the work of Rudolf of Biberach De septem itineribus aeternitatis. Ludwig HÖDL studies the doctrine of creation of Michael de Massa OESA († 1337), paying special attention to his denial of the distinction between essence and existence. Eelcko YPMA describes a manuscript containing part of the Quaestiones Vesperiae of Alphonsus Vargas OESA († 1366). From this the date of Alphonsus' promotion can be made out. William COURTENAY studies the appreciation of Gregory of Rimini, Alphonsus Vargas, Hugolinus of Orvieto and John Hiltalingen for Adam Wodeham. The case of Wodeham among the Augustinians suggests that Wodeham may not have been as radical nor the Augustinian theologians as opposed to the thought of Ockham and his disciples as generally is concluded. Jaroslav KADLEC gives an analysis of a commentary of the Apocalypse by Hermann Schwab of Mindelheim OESA († 1420). Francis Xavier MARTIN gives a biography of Adam Payn († after 1429), who is the first Irish Augustinian friar whose literary work has survived. Martin writes about a theological Quaestio of Payn found in Corpus Christi College, Oxford (Ms. 280), concerning a dispute at Oxford in 1402. Willigis ECKERMANN compares the ecclesiology of Augustinus Favaroni of Rome with that of Wyclif and Hus. Agreements can be detected between these three men because of their common dependence on Augustine. Heiko OBERMAN describes two periods of renaissance in the study of Augustine : that of the 14th century with Bradwardine and Gregory of Rimini; and that of the 16th century with Johann von Staupitz. While in an earlier period Augustine was brought into a scholastic contest of authorities, Staupitz uses him fully as the interpreter of Paul. The acquisitions of the Augustinian renaissance of the 14th century and of the line of thinking set in motion by Gregory of Rimini gradually made themselves felt outside the university and were developed by Staupitz into a living religious doctrine for educated lay-people. Erich KLEINEIDAM sketches the significance of the Hermits of Saint Augustine for the university of Erfurt from 1318 (Henry of Friemar) to 1532 (Bartholomeus Arnoldi of Usingen). Reinhold WEIJENBORG provides an edition of the commentary on Paul's letter to Titus by Johannes Lang OESA († 1548). Finally Paulus SLADEK gives a biography of Kosmas Schmalfus OESA (1730-1811) professor in Augustinian theology at the university of Prague.

In the last part of the Festschrift, Kaspar ELM writes about a collection of twenty Papal bulls coming from the Augustinian monastery in Cologne. Hermann HOFFMANN reviews three indulgence grants to the Hermits of Saint Augustine in the years 1295-1297. Alberic DE MEIJER completes the biography of Jan of Aalst († before 1381), provincial of the Cologne Province, with a charter of affiliation (1370). Thomas BECKMANN describes the newly found tribute register of the

Augustinian monastery in Münnerstadt (1380-1549). Johann Baptist SCHNEYER speaks about the Quadragesimale of the Augustinian Stephen Wirtenberger (ca. 1400). Adalbero KUNZELMANN sketches the significance of the Augustinian monastery in Erfurt (1266-1560). Hermann TÜCHLE gives his attention to the Kollektaneenbuch of Hieronymus Streitel OESA (ca. 1500), important for the historiography of the Bavarian Province of the Augustinians. Theobald FREUDENBERGER makes a contribution to the biography of Andreas Sigifridus OESA († 1562), preacher in the cathedral at Würzburg, collector of books and manuscripts. David GUTIÉRREZ reviews the life of Andrea Securani OESA († after 1603) and publishes his catalogue of the monastery library in Fivizzano. Carlos ALONSO writes about the death of Johannes Baptista d'Aste OESA († 1620) who was Papal sacristan for only four months. Gabriel ADRIÁNYI gives a survey of the history of the Augustinians in Hungary (1262-1785). Johannes GAVIGAN concludes the Festschrift with a biography of Richard Tecker OESA (1732-1799). The articles are each and all of excellent quality. The work is also typographically well produced.

M. SCHRAMA, O.S.A.

Siegfried BACK OSA, *Das Augustinerkloster in Münnerstadt. Ein Gang durch seine Geschichte.* Unter Mitarbeit von Adolar ZUMKELLER OSA (Cassiciacum XXXI). Würzburg, Augustinus-Verlag, 1975, 332 S., DM 84,50.

With his history of the Augustinian monastery in Münnerstadt, Fr. Back has rendered a service to the historiography both of the city of Münnerstadt and of the German Province of the Augustinians. His book is a collection of articles that had previously appeared in *Analecta Augustiniana* 1972-1974. The monastery, which was founded in 1279 and which had to serve as the counter-part of the very powerful Teutonic Order in Münnerstadt, very soon came into conflict with this latter about the exercise of pastoral activities. After dealing with the Middle Ages, the author gives a survey of the troubles that the Reformation brought in its wake; he somewhat one-sidedly puts the blame on the figure of Martin Luther. One wonders even whether a real question of blame in history can be asked (A similar approach is repeated in the treatment of the Enlightment period). In 1552, when Protestantism was officially introduced in Münnerstadt under the influence of the counts of Henneberg, a period of rapid decline for the monastery began. From 1561 until 1652 there were no Augustinians at all in Münnerstadt. The possessions of the monastery were managed by a bailiff. When the Augustinians returned to Münnerstadt in 1652, they found the buildings in a poor state of repair. A new house was built, and in the 18th century a new church. The Augustinians devoted

themselves to pastoral work, this time without conflict with the Teutonic Order which now had other fields of work. From 1685 on, the Augustinians involved themselves in secondary education in Münnerstadt. The French Revolution brought bad times again for the monastery. The secularization law of 1801 compensated the German princes for the loss of their territories on the left bank of the Rhine by making the possessions of religious over to them. The Augustinians, however, were allowed to remain in Münnerstadt on account of their involvement in education. Here the new German Province (re-established in 1895) began and flourished. Fr. Back was assisted in his preparation of this fundamental work by Fr. Adolar Zumkeller OSA, who had himself already published a charter-book of the Augustinian monasteries of Würzburg and Münnerstadt. Fr. Back's work has a list of priors, a list of the Augustinians who exercized the office of parish priest, and also a register of persons and places.

M. Schrama, O.S.A.

Bohemia Sacra 973-1973. Das Christentum in Böhmen. Hrsg. von Ferdinand Seibt. Düsseldorf, Schwann, 1974, 645 S., ill.

The one thousandth anniversary of the founding the archdiocese of Prague was the occasion for the publication of a collection, containing thirty-eight articles, which deal with the history of the Church in Bohemia. The book, which is amply and beautifully illustrated — it contains 145 pictures — is the fruit of cooperation between Czech and German scholars. Typographically very finely produced, the book is divided into four large parts : 1) *Ecclesia temporalis*, in which the economic history of the archdiocese of Prague within its historical boundaries is dealt with; 2) *Ecclesia universalis*, which describes the bond with currents and movements outside the archdiocese, such as the observance movements, the Modern Devotion, the Hussites, Jansenism, and the Enlightment; in this connection Paulus Sladek OSA has made an interesting contribution concerning the movement of renewal in the Church among the Germans during the First Republic. Moreover, attention is given to political movements and to the Church-State relationship; 3) *Ecclesia magistra* treats the place of the book and language, science, piety and art; 4) *Ecclesia*, the Church as symbol, considers the history of St. Vitus' Cathedral in Prague.

With relation to the Augustinian Hermits the most important articles are : Franz Machilek, *Reformorden und Ordenreformen in den Böhmischen Ländern vom 10. bis 18. Jahrhundert* (63-80); Paulus Sladek, *Die kirchliche Erneuerungsbewegung bei den Deutschen in der Ersten Republik* (*175-208*); Ivan Hlavacek, *Kirchen, Klöster und Bibliotheken bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (396-405).

The following Augustinians are mentioned in the text: Giles of Rome, Augustinus Triumphus, Ambrosius Franke, John Klenkok, Paulus Konopaeus, Martin Luther, Nicholas of Louny, Armand Paudler, Inzelerius Proditz, Augustinus Schubert, Paulus Sladek, Bernard Tonko and William of Cologne.

To gain some insight into the history of the Augustinian monasteries the following key-names are important: Augustiner-Eremiten, Böhmisch-Leipa, Brünn, Dolm Rocov, Florence, Gewitsch, Kärnten, Leitomischl, Lissa, Litauen, Mährisch Kromau, Marienkron, Neumarkt bei Mies, Oesterreich, Osvetymany, Polen, Prag, Russland, Schüttenhofen, Senftenberg, Sopka, St. Maria in Insula, Steiermark, Stockau, Tirol, Tans, Weisswasser.

This impressive work has a comprehensive bibliography (589-620), and a register of authors, and of place and personal names (621-645). The richness of the history of Christianity in Bohemia is further illustrated with the help of ten beautiful colour photographs and 135 black and white photographs. A separate overview of these illustrations gives an abundance of interesting information.

M. Schrama, O.S.A.

Ontvangen boeken — Livres reçus

Josef Sajner, *Johann Gregor Mendel. Leben und Werk.* Würzburg, Augustinus-Verlag, 1975, 143 S., DM. 12,90.

Angel Martínez Cuesta OAR, *Historia de la isla de Negros, Filipinas 1565-1898.* Excerpta ex dissertatione ad Lauream in Facultate Historiae Ecclesiasticae Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae. Madrid, 1974, xxvii-149 pp.

Vicente Muñiz Rodriguez, *Significado de los nombres de Dios en el corpus dionysiacum* (Bibliotheca Salmanticensis XI, estudios 9). Salamanca, Universidad Pontificia, 1975, 172 pp.

Eugenio Ayape OAR, *Semblanza del beato Ezequiel Moreno, agustino recoleto y obispo de Pasto-Colombia.* Monachil (Granada-España), Santa Rita, 1975, 98 pp.

Eugenio Ayape OAR, *La Calzada de Oropesa. Su santo Cristo y sus monjas.* Madrid, Augustinus, 1976, 95 pp.

Zuster Hereswitha, *Inleiding tot de Geschiedenis van het Kloosterwezen in de Nederlanden. A : Orden ontstaan in de Middeleeuwen. II.1.f : Orde van het Heilig-Graf* (Archief- en Bibliotheekwezen in België, extranummer 15). Brussel, 1975, 270 pp.

Siegfried Back OSA, *Das Augustinerkloster in Münnerstadt. Ein Gang durch seine Geschichte.* Unter Mitarbeit von Adolar Zumkeller OSA (Cassiciacum XXXI). Würzburg, Augustinus-Verlag, 1975, 332 S., DM 84,50.

Angel Martínez Cuesta OAR, *Beato Ezequiel Moreno. El camino del deber.* Roma, 1975, 604 pp.

Gregorii de Arimino OSA registrum generalatus 1357-1358. Quod edendum curavit Albericus de Meijer eiusdem Ordinis (Fontes Historiae Ordinis Sancti Augustini, prima series : Registra Priorum Generalium, vol. I). Rome, Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, 1976, xvii-421 pp.

Klaus Bannach, *Die Lehre von der doppelten Macht Gottes bei Wilhelm von Ockham* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte 75). Wiesbaden, Steiner Verlag, 1976, vii-424 S., DM 88,—.

Otto Wermelinger, *Rom und Pelagius. Die theologische Position der Römischen Bischöfe im Pelagianischen Streit in den Jahren 411-432.* Stuttgart, Hiersemann, 1975, xii-340 S., DM 140,—.

Ignazio Barbagallo OAD, *Un roveto ardente. Il Ven. Padre Giovanni Nicolucci da S. Guglielmo, Agostiniano Scalzo. Profile biografico e spiritualità* (Quaderni di Spiritualità agostiniana 2). Roma, Segretariato per la formazione e spiritualità dei PP. Agostiniani Scalzi, 1976, 159 pp.

Il Tempio di San Giacomo Maggiore in Bologna. Studi sulla Storia e le Opere d'Arte. Regesto documentario. A Cura del Comitato Promotore del VII Centenario della Fondazione. Bologna, Padri Agostiniani, ix-280-254 pp. ill., L. 18.000.

Die Bekehrung zum Christentum nach Augustins Büchlein De Catechizandis Rudibus *

V. Das nordafrikanische Christentum zur Zeit Augustins

Über die Anfänge des Christentums in Nordafrika sind nur Vermutungen möglich und zulässig [1]). Aber wir wissen, dass die Kirche seit dem 3. Jahrhundert in der Proconsularis und den entsprechenden Provinzen eingepflanzt war, ihre eigenständige Hierarchie und ihren ausgebildeten Kultus besass. Desgleichen wissen wir, dass damals, als Aurelius Augustinus die Leitung der kleinen Diözese Hippo Regius übernahm, also um die Wende des 4. Jahrhunderts, die Kirche Nordafrikas [2]) nach aussen kaum noch das Bild einer reinen Missionskirche bot und dass sie bereits geschlossen und zentral zusammengefasst war. Gelegentliche Äusserungen Augustins über

*) Siehe *Augustiniana* 27(1977), 26-69.

[1]) Über die Anfänge des nordafrikanischen Christentums cf. Frend W. H. C., Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church. Oxford 1965, 361 ff.; Diesner H. J., Kirche und Staat im spätrömischen Reich. Berlin 1963, 127-139; Picard G. Ch., La civilisation de l'Afrique romaine. Paris 1959; id., La Carthage de saint Augustin. Paris 1965; Keenan M. E., The life and times of St. Augustine as revealed in his letters. Washington 1935; Gsell St., Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord. 8 vol. Paris 1914-1928; Julien Ch.-A. / Courtois Chr., Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord des origines à la conquête arabe (647 ap. J. Chr.). Paris 1951².

[2]) Über Hippo Regius cf. Marec E., Hippone-la-Royale : antique Hippo Regius. Alger 1954²; id., Monuments chrétiens d'Hippone, ville épiscopale de saint Augustin. Paris 1958; Perler O., Les voyages de Saint Augustin. Paris 1969; Brown P., La vie de Saint Augustin (trad. fr. J. H. Marrou). Paris 1971, 219-237. Über die nordafrikanische Kirche cf. Monceaux P., Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe. 7 vol. Paris 1901-1923; Buonaiuti E., Il Christianesimo nell'Africa Romana. Bari 1928; Höslinger R., Die alte afrikanische Kirche im Lichte der Kirchenrechtsforschung nach kulturhistorischer Methode. Wien 1935; Lapeyre G. G./Pellegrin A., Carthage Latine et Chrétienne. Paris 1950; Kötting B., Christentum I (Ausbreitung), in : *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, II 1149-1150; Metzger G., Die afrikanische Kirche. Tübingen 1934.

eine völlig christliche Bevölkerung [3]) und die « reliqui pagani » sind als rhetorische Formeln zu verstehen, die im Zusammenhang betrachtet und mit anderen Zeugnissen verglichen werden müssen [4]). Was aber den Charakter der nordafrikanischen Kirche anbelangt, so haben wir es mit einem intensiven, oft düster ernsten Christentum zu tun, das periodische Verfolgungen zur Bewährung gezwungen hatten und ausserdem mit einem lateinischen Christentum. Trotz zeitlich späterer Gründung war die afrikanische Kirche früher als Rom eine lateinische, sogar die « lateinischste Kirche des ganzen Okzidents » [5]), der seit Cyprian eine glänzende Rolle innerhalb der Christenheit beschieden schien.

In den Städten waren die Christen zahlreicher als auf dem Lande. Unter den Gebildeten zählte die Religion Christi hervorragende Vertreter. Hier konnten sogar aufsehenerregende Bekehrungen verzeichnet werden. Augustin stellte in einer Predigt fest : « Intus est iam pene tota nobilitas [6]) ». Eine Fesstellung freilich, die durch die Klagen über die materialistische Lebensauffassung [7]) und den Misstand des Taufaufschubs aus der Absicht heraus, ungehinderter das Leben geniessen und sündigen zu können, an Eindruckskraft verliert. Im ganzen verharrte ein grosser Teil der führenden Schichten in Skepsis oder verfiel einem unheimlich sich steigernden Mystizismus [8]). Die Christen unter den Römern und Romanisten waren zahlreicher als unter den Barbaren. Eine Erklärung dieser Tatsache ist nicht schwer. Die starke Romanisierung, die ihren Ausdruck fand in christlicher Literatur und überwiegend lateinischer Kultsprache [9]),

[3]) *Sermo*, 302, 21, 19 (PL 38, 1932); *Sermo*, 196, 4 (PL 38, 1020-1021); *Sermo*, 361, 4 (PL 39, 1600).

[4]) Augustins täuschte sich keineswegs über die Realität. Cf. De Labriolle P., La réaction païenne. Paris 1950,[9] 437/8 : « Dans ses heures d'optimisme, saint Augustin célébrait volontiers sur le mode enthousiaste la prodigieuse transformation qui s'était accomplie dans le monde... Mais il était trop clairvoyant pour s'imaginer que la voie élargie où s'avançait le christianisme serait désormais tout unie et facile ». Zu optimistisch scheint die Beurteiling bei van der Meer F., Augustinus der Seelsorger, 47-48.

[5]) Gagé J., Nouveaux aspects de l'Afrique chrétienne, in *Études d'Archéologie Romaine* (Annales de l'École des Hautes Études de Gand, I), Gand 1937, 184-185.

[6]) *Sermo*, 51, 3, 4, (PL 38, 335).

[7]) *De civ. Dei* I, 33 (CSEL 40, 56).

[8]) Van der Lof L. J., Die Mysterienkulte zur Zeit Augustins, in : *Zeitschrift* für *d. nt. Wissenschaft und d. Kunde der älteren Kirche* 53 (1962), 245-251.

[9]) Gagé, l.c., 223.

macht es begreiflich, dass zuerst die romanisierte Bevölkerung [10]) zum Christentum bekehrt wurde, obwohl das punische Element seit den Anfängen keineswegs fehlt. Der Grossteil der Landbevölkerung verstand nur das « Punische », das ungenügend in Predigt und Gottesdienst berücksichtigt wurde. In Briefen (*Ep.* 66, 2; 84,2) und Predigt (*serm.* 167, 4) beklagt Augustinus die Doppelsprachigkeit des Landes (lateinisch-punisch), welche die Wirksamkeit der christlichen Predigt lähme [11]). Auch die mangelnde Rücksicht auf die religiösen Anschauungen und Traditionen der berberisch-punischen Einheimischen waren teilweise schuld an der oberflächlichen und unvollständigen Christianisierung dieser Volksschichten [12]). Andere Gründe führt Harnack an: « Dass die Kirche bei den Berbern nicht Wurzel schlug, liegt neben anderem wohl auch darin, dass sie vornehmlich die Gebirge und Steppen innehatten und keine städtische Ordnung besassen, sondern Eingeborenenverbände bildeten unter unmittelbarer Hoheit der Statthalter. Unter solchen Umständen ist eine Christianisierung fast nirgendwo möglich gewesen » [13]). Alles in allem war die Christianisierung Nordafrikas beim Einbruch der Araber noch nicht abgeschlossen.

Das Christentum hatte sich zu Augustins Zeiten auch bei den Christen nicht überall durchgesetzt. Die grosse Zahl unfähiger und unwürdiger Bischöfe, das Versagen eines grossen Teiles des Klerus und nicht zuletzt die Eigenart des südlichen Temperamentes [14]) begründeten die häufigen Klagen Augustins über die Massen schlechter und « fälschlich bekehrter » Christen [15]). Viele, die sich Christen

[10]) Broughton T. R. S., The Romanisation of Africa Proconsularis. Baltimore 1929.

[11]) Andresen C., Die Kirchen der alten Christenheit. Stuttgart 1971, 20.

[12]) Dazu: Frend W. H. C., A note on the Berber Background in the life of Augustine, in: *Journal of Theological Studies* 43 (1942), 188-191; Courtois Chr., S. Augustin et le problème de la survivance punique, in: *Revue africaine* 94 (1950), 259-282; Brown P., Christianity and local Culture in late Roman Africa, in: *Journal of Roman Studies* 58 (1968), 85-95; Vattiani Fr., S. Agostino e la civiltà punica, in: *Augustinianum* 8 (1968), 434-467.

[13]) Von Harnack A., Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten. Leipzig 1924⁴, 895 (Anm. 5).

[14]) Getty M. M., The Life of the North Africans as revealed in the Sermons of St. Augustine (Cath. Univ. of America. Patr. Stud., 28), Washington 1931; Keenan M. E., The life and times of St. Augustine as revealed in his letters (Cath. Univ. of Am. Patr. Stud., 45), Washington 1935.

[15]) *En. in ps.* 38, 10 (PL 36, 441): « Plures falso conversi ».

nannten, füllten dem Leibe nach die Kirchen (*De cat. rud.* 7, 11). Sie priesen Gott, solange alles gut ging [16]). Not, Krankheit und Sorge um zeitliche Güter trieb sie jedoch heimlich zu Wahrsagern und Zauberern und zum Anrufen der heidnischen Götter [17]). Auf der Tenne des Herrn war die Spreu reichlicher als der Weizen [18]); die wahren Feinde des Christentums waren nicht Heiden noch Juden, sondern die Scheinchristen [19]). Idole, die teilweise mit den politischen Umwälzungen wechseln, sind leichter umzustürzen, als die von heidnischen Anschauungen geschwängerte Luft reinigen, in der das Volk täglich lebt. Die Worte Tertullians: « Ita omnes idololatria obstetrice nascuntur » [20]) wurden auch zu Augustins Zeiten völlig gerechtfertigt. Mochten auch gesetzliche Massnahmen die äussere Form des Heidentums zerschlagen, es gelang dem Christentum nicht, die Wurzeln des Heidentums auszureissen. Teils war dies in der relativ kurzen Zeitspanne nicht möglich, teils fehlte der Mut zu einem radikalen Vorgehen, das weite Volkskreise zum Aufruhr verleitet hätte. In der Folgezeit gelang es, das römische Imperium zu christianisieren, aber es gelang nicht, den Grammatiker- und Rhetorenschulen eine christliche Grundlage zu geben. « Heidnische Mythologie und weltlicher Stolz bildeten hier die Lebensluft, die man atmete. So wurden diese Schulen die letzten Asyle des dahinsterbenden Paganismus » [21]). Mit Erregung sprach Augustinus über den « vinum erroris », mit dem trunkene Lehrer die unwissende Jugend trunken machten [22]), doch mussten er und seine Nachfolger machtlos zusehen, wie eine von heidnischen Ideen und Traditionen durchdrungene Unterweisung die heranwachsende Jugend dem Christentum entfremdete [23]). Der damalige öffentliche Bildungsgang stand ganz im

[16]) *En. in ps.* 91, 7 (PL 37, 1175).

[17]) Stellensammlung bei Zellinger J., Augustinus und die Volksfrömmigkeit, München 1933, 40-42. Cf. Guignebert Ch., Les demi-chrétiens et leur place dans l'Eglise antique, in : *Revue de l'histoire des Religions* 88 (1923), 65-102.

[18]) Über « zizania » vgl. Mohrmann Chr., Sondersprache, 54-56; 217-218.

[19]) *Sermo* 224, 1 (PL 38, 1094).

[20]) *De anima* 39 (PL 2, 762).

[21]) Eggersdorfer F. X., Der hl. Augustinus als Pädagoge und seine Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Bildung. (Strassburger Theol. Studien, VIII, 3/4), Freiburg i. Br. 1907, 202.

[22]) *Conf.* I, 16, 26 (CSEL 33, 24).

[23]) Über das Weiterleben des Heidentums im Schulwesen cf. Clark M. L., Rhetoric at Rome. A historical survey. New York 1963; Kühnert F., Allgemeinbil-

Dienst der Rhetorik [24]). Nach der harten Zucht der Elementarschule [25]) wurden die Jugendlichen in der Schule des Grammatikers in Grammatik und Literatur unterrichtet [26]). Während der grammaticus die Fundamente für die weitere Ausbildung legte, führte der normale Bildungsgang in der zweiten Phase in die Rhetorenschule. [27]).

Die Hauptaufgabe des Rhetors bestand im theoretischen und praktischen Unterricht in der Redekunst [28]). Diese « immerhin bedeutende ästhetische Bildung, welche die Rhetorenschule gewährt, war erkauft durch den Verzicht auf gründliches Wissen und — was ärger war — durch die Vernachlässigung jedweder ethischen Bildung » [29]). Dieser normale Studiengang bildete den vir eloquentissimus heran, den einseitigen und oberflächlichen Ästheten und Literaten, der im mondänen, reibungslosen Gesellschaftsleben zu glänzen bestrebt war, genügte jedoch nicht zur humanitas wahrhafter Bildung. Das alte Erziehungsideal der ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία der Griechen, der Zyklus der 7 artes liberales der lateinischen Klassik war zusammengeschrumpft auf die ars rhetorica und die ihr vorgeordnete ars grammatica, mit denen sich die meisten gebildeten Zeitgenossen Augustins begnügten. Diese Bildung konnte Augustinus nicht befriedigen, nachdem in ihm Ciceros *Hortensius* das studium sapientiae geweckt und die Neuplatoniker es vertieft hatten. Er rang um eine philosophische Weltanschauung und erstrebte eine umfassende Kultur als Voraussetzung des höchsten menschlichen Ideals, der sapientia. Den Inhalt dieser Kultur sah er in den disciplinae libera-

dung und Fachbildung in der Antike. Berlin 1961; Marrou H. I., S. Augustin et la fin de la culture antique. Paris 1958⁴; id., Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité. Paris 1950²; Combès G., Saint Augustin et la littérature classique. Paris 1929; Courcelle P., Les lettres grecques en Occident. De Macrobe à Cassiodore. (Bibl. des Écoles franç. d'Ath. et de Rome, 159) édit. nouvelle, Paris 1948; Ellspermann C. L., The attitude of early Christian Latin Writers toward Pagan Literature and Learning, (Cath. Univ. of Am. Patr. Stud., 82), Washington 1949.

[24]) Marrou, S. Augustin, 4, definiert die Kultur eines lateinischen Gebildeten gegen Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts: « ... c'était une culture essentiellement littéraire, fondée sur la grammaire et la rhétorique et tendant à réaliser le type idéal de l'orateur ».

[25]) Cf. *De ord.* II, 12 (CSEL 63, 172); *Conf.* I, 9, 14 (CSEL 33, 12-13).

[26]) Marrou, S. Augustin, 10-26.

[27]) *Conf.* II, 3, 5 (CSEL 33, 32-33); III, 3, 6-4, 7 (ibid. 47-49).

[28]) Marrou, l.c., 47-83.

[29]) Eggersdorfer, l.c., 10.

les [30]), deren Zyklus Grammatik, Dialektik, Rhetorik, Arithmetik, Musik, Geometrie, Astronomie und schliesslich Philosophie umschliessen sollte [31]). Nur Bruchstücke des geplanten Werkes über die artes liberales, das Augustinus nach seiner Bekehrung begonnen hatte, wurden vollendet, doch kannte auch der Bischof von Hippo kein anderes Bildungsideal als der Neubekehrte von Cassiciacum. Unter Ablehnung der wissensstolzen, einseitigen Literatur und Rhetorik, die von heidnischer Mythologie und Unsittlichkeit vergiftet waren, entwarf er besonders in *De doctrina christiana* die Prinzipien einer wahren christlichen Kultur, in der wertvolles Bildungsgut der geoffenbarten Wahrheit untergeordnet, zur christlichen humanitas erziehen sollte [32]). Das Gute und Wahre des antiken Bildungsgutes sollte vom Christentum übernommen, nur der schlechte Gebrauch zu Götzendienst und sittlicher Unordnung vermieden werden [33]). Das heftig umstrittene Problem des Verhältnisses von Christentum und antiker Bildung fand durch Augustinus eine neue Klärung und Lösung. Er unterschätzte ebensowenig wie seine Vorgänger die Gefahren für Glaube und Sittlichkeit, aber er war der erste, der ein ausführliches Programm einer positiven, christlichen Bildung aufstellte. Er konnte jedoch nicht verhindern, dass auch weiterhin die Grammatiker und Rhetoren bessere Propagandisten des Heidentums blieben, als dessen aussterbende Priester.

Bereits vor der Ausbreitung des Christentums in Nordafrika hatte eine niedere und abwegige Form echter Religion grossen Aufschwung genommen: üppig blühender Aberglaube und magische Künste. Porphyros hatte die Magie [34]) dem niederen Volke zugestanden, da diesem die Weisheit der Philosophen und die von Plotin gepriesene Gottesschau unerreichbar seien. In Wirklichkeit erlagen den magischen Künsten die Gebildeten ebenso wie die Massen des

[30]) *De ord.* I, 8, 24 (CSEL 63, 136).

[31]) Marrou, l.c., 187-327.

[32]) Gegen Eggersdorfer weist Marrou (St. Augustin, 331-540) nach, dass Augustins Grundsätze nicht nur zur Bildungsgrundlage der mittelalterlichen Kloster- und Klerikerschulen, sondern der Gesamtbildung wurden.

[33]) Cf. *De doctr. chr.* II, 40, 60-61 (PL 34, 63.)

[34]) Massoneau E., La magie dans l'antiquité. Paris 1950². - Mageia, in: Pauly-Wissowa, XIV/1, 301-393; Magia, *ibid.*, 395-398; Prümm K., Religionsgeschichtliches Handbuch für den Raum der altchristlichen Umwelt. Freiburg i. Br. 1943, 366-462.

Volkes [35]). Tror gesetzlicher Massnahmen der christlichen Kaiser [36]) behaupteten sich alte und neue abergläubische Praktiken in heidnischen ebenso wie in christlichen Volksschichten [37]). Nicht umsonst verlangte Augustinus gründliche Aufklärung und Prüfung der Taufbewerber über unheilvolle und gefährliche Beziehungen zum Blendwerk der « niederträchtigen Wesen in der Luft, die man Dämonen nennt » [38]). Dass es sich um dämonische Erbschaft und Einflüsse handelte, war Augustins Überzeugung [39]), die er in seinem Buche *De divinatione daemonum* ebenso vertrat wie in seinen Predigten und Ansprachen [40]).

Wie im Orient unterwarf sich auch in Nordafrika die als Wissenschaft angesehene Astrologie weiteste Kreise der Gebildeten und des einfachen Volkes [41]), Heiden und Christen [42]). Selbst der Scheinwissenschaft der mathematici ehedem verfallen [43]), ereiferte sich Augustinus, wenn er als Bischof die plumpen Betrügereien entlarvte und bei jedem Anlass seine Christen vor dem Sternenglauben warnte [44]).

Eine faszinierende Anziehungskraft übten auf die antik-römische Gesellschaft die « ludi » aus, auf die sich während eines Teiles des Jahres die Erwartungen, Leidenschaften und das Interesse des

[35]) Boissier G., La fin du paganisme, II, Paris 1922[7], 327.

[36]) *Cod. Theod.* 9, 16, 1/12 : De maleficiis et mathematicis et ceteris similibus.

[37]) Über das Weiterleben heidnischer Vorstellungen und Gebräuche bei den Christen cf. Keenan, l.c. 107-119.

[38]) *Contra Academicos* I, 7, 20 (CSEL 63, 18-19).

[39]) Geerlings H. J., De antieke daemonologie en Augustinus' geschrift « De divinatione daemonum ». (Dissert. Amsterdam), 's Gravenhage 1953; van der Meer F., Augustinus, 85-94.

[40]) Stellensammlung in Getty, l.c., 139-148. Cf. Jenkins C., Saint Augustine and Magic. (Science Medicine and History. Essays... written in honour of Ch. Singer..., I), London-New York-Toronto 1953, 131-140.

[41]) De Vreese L., Augustinus en de Astrologie. Maastricht 1933; Gündel W., Astrologie, in : Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, I, 817-831; id., Astronomie, in : Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum,, I, 831-836; Hendrikx E., Astrologie, Waarzeggerij en Parapsychologie bij Augustinus, in : *Augustiniana* 4 (1954), 109-136; Riess, Astrologie, in : Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyklopädie der klassischen Alterumswissenschaft, II/2, 1802-1828.

[42]) Bestätigung durch archaeologische Funde : cf. Monceaux, Histoire littéraire, II, 57; Picard, l.c., 234-252.

[43]) *Conf.* IV, 3, 4-6 (CSEL 33, 66-68).

[44]) Le Landais M, Deux années de prédication de Saint Augustin, in : *Études Augustiniennes* (Théologie, 28), Paris 1953, 71-72.

Volkes konzentrierten [45]). Obwohl die meisten Spiele sakralen Ursprunges und an bestimmte Kulte gebunden waren [46]), war seit der republikanischen Zeit der sakrale Charakter weniger ausgeprägt, da Ausrichtung und Vorsitz ausschliesslich der Magistratur zufielen. Die christlichen Kaiser wagten keine Einschränkung dieser öffentlichen Spiele, ohne die eine Feststimmung unvorstellbar war [47]). Auf dem siedenden Boden Nordafrikas war der Zustrom auswärtiger Besucher zu den Provinzialspielen Karthagos so stark, dass ein kaiserlicher Erlass aus dem Jahre 413 [48]) ihren Aufenthalt in der Stadt während der Festspielzeit auf 5 Tage begrenzen musste. Die Berechtigung des augustinischen Wortspieles: « Carthago — sartago » [49]) bekräftigt auch der Sittenrichter Salvanius, wenn er entsetzt beschreibt, wie, unbekümmert um die Belagerung der Stadt durch die Vandalen, die Karthager ihre Lust im Zirkus und Theater befriedigten [50]). Eine Instruktion an den afrikanischen Prokonsul Apollodorus hält das Verbot des heidnisch-religiösen Zeremoniells aufrecht, duldet jedoch nicht, dass dem Volksvergnügen Abbruch widerfahre [51]). Selbst in der vorwiegend christlichen Bischofsstadt Hippo musste Augustinus öfters erleben, dass seine Basilika leerstand, weil die Christen die Zuschauertribünen im Zirkus oder Theater füllten [52]), oder an heidnischen Götterfeiern teilnahmen. Ungeachtet des Abscheues der Kirche, duldete das Christenvolk nicht, dass seine Rechte geschmälert wurden. Es suchte die Befriedigung seiner Leidenschaften und seines Blutrausches in Tierhetzen, Gladiatorenspielen und Wettrennen, welche den Glanz einer untergehenden heidnischen

[45]) Andresen C., Die Kirchen der alten Christenheit, 359; Weismann W., Kirche und Schauspiele. Die Schauspiele im Urteil der Kirchenväter unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Augustin. Würzburg 1972.

[46]) Pauly-Wissowa, l.c., 449-467.

[47] *Cod. Teod.* 16, 10, 3; 16, 7, 3; 15, 6, 2. Cf. Monceaux, Histoire littéraire, III, 54-55; Boissier, l.c., 80-82.

[48]) *Cod. Theod.* 12, 1, 176.

[49]) *Conf.* III, 1, 1 (CSEL 33, 43).

[50]) *De gub. Dei* 6, 69 (CSEL 8, 144). Cf. Le Landais, l.c., 29 : « Centre inégalable de réjouissances païennes, Carthage n'en avait pourtant pas le monopole; Carthaginois ou provincial, tout citoyen africain, au début du V^e^ siècle connaissait assez les coutumes et le vocabulaire du théâtre et des jeux pour que les prédicateurs pussent partout puiser dans ce domaine d'efficaces comparaisons ».

[51]) *Cod. Theod.* 16, 10, 17-20 (August 399).

[52]) *En. in ps.* 80, 2 (PL 37, 1035); *S.* 250, 3 (PL 38, 1165); *S.* 252, 4 (PL 38, 1174).

Welt widerspiegelten. Ursprünglich mit der Feier heidnischer Gottheiten verbunden, untergrub das Theater durch seine sittenlosen und mythologischen ludi scaenici « die Grundlagen der Tugend » [53]) der « turba perditorum » [54]). Trotz staatlicher Verbote der alten Kultfeste erhielt sich das damit verbundene Brauchtum. Die Neujahrsfeier [55]), die ludi Florales [56]), die Feiern zu Ehren von Attis und Cybele [57]) und andere Erbstücke der heidnischen Religion wurden auch im Kalender der Christen beibehalten [58]).

Besonders tief wurzelte der Totenkult in der Volksseele. Da der Klerus nicht wagte, ihn anzutasten, begann man im christlichen Sinne zu deuten, was heidnischen Ursprungs war [59]). Selbst im Martyrerkult war stete Wachsamkeit geboten, um Missbräuchen und Aberglauben vorzubeugen. Die « laetitiae » zum Jahresgedächtnis der Märtyrer waren zu einer solchen Volkstradition geworden, dass Augustinus und Bischof Aurelius zögerten, mit Entschiedenheit gegen sie einzuschreiten [60]). So schrieb Augustinus im Jahre 392 an Bischof Aurelius : « Wäre dieser Missbrauch nur schändlich und nicht auch gottesräuberisch, so könnte er nach unserer Ansicht nur unter aller Anspannung der Kräfte der Geduld ertragen werden » [61]).

Ungreifbarer, aber desto üppiger wurden Leben und Weltanschauung bestimmt durch eine heidnische Lebensauffassung. Schwelgen und Spielen, Unzucht und Geiz [62]) waren die Götter, welche

[53]) *Ep.* 138, 14 (CSEL 44/3, 140).

[54]) *En. in ps.* 147, 8 (PL 37, 1919). Einen Überblick über Augustins Kampf gegen verderbliche Volsvergnügen bieten Getty, l.c., 37-56; Madden, l.c., 116-122; van der Meer, Augustinus, 63-72; Brown, S. Augustin, 232.

[55]) *S.* 198 (PL 38, 1024-1026).

[56]) *Ep.* 91, 5 (CSEL 34/2, 431).

[57]) *In Ev. Jo. tr.* 7, 6 (CC 36, 69); *De civ. Dei* VII, 24/25 (CSEL 40/1, 335-339).

[58]) Le Landais, l.c., 67-72.

[59]) So z. B. die Verehrung der Jungfrau und Martyrin Salsa in Tipasa. Picard, l.c., 256 bemerkt dazu : « De tels compromis, justifiés au besoin par quelques fraudes pieuses, ont pu paraître utiles pour ne pas chagriner outre mesure des populations bien disposées à recevoir la foi, mais attachées à des habitudes ancestrales, somme toute innocentes ».

[60]) Van Antwerp E., St. Augustine : The divination of demons and Care for the dead (Cath. Univ. of Am., Stud. S. Théol., 2d. S., 86) Washington 1955. - Quasten J., Vetus superstitio et nova religio, in : *Harvard Theol. Review* 33 (1940), 253-266; van der Meer F., Augustinus, 514-542.

[61]) *Ep.* 22, 3 (CSEL 34/1, 56).

[62]) Keenan, l.c., 120-123.

in den Herzen thronten. Die Geilheit der öffentlichen Bäder, deren Unmoral in der römischen Antike sprichwörtlich war, stellte den Seelsorgern beängstigende Probleme [63]). Ängstliche und gewissenhafte Seelen, wie der Senator Publicola, hatten ernste Bedenken, wenn auf dem Markte Götterfleisch oder Früchte aus den Tempelgärten zum Kaufe angeboten wurden oder auf der Reise Bad und Trinkwasser durch Abgötterei verunreinigt sein konnten [64]). Das Alltagsleben in heidnischer Umgebung, der Umgang mit heidnischer Bevölkerung musste Christen wiederholt in Gewissenskonflikte bringen [65]). Das Heidentum hinterliess in Afrika, wie in den übrigen Ländern, ein dunkles Erbe.

Verwirrend musste auf Aussenstehende die unheilvolle Spaltung des Christentums in mehrere Konfessionen wirken. Die Partei des um 355 im Exil gestorbenen Bischofs Donatus berief sich vorwiegend auf die Heiligkeit der Kirche, die keine Sünder in ihren Reihen duldet und die Wirksamkeit der Sakramente von der Heiligkeit ihrer Spender abhängig macht [66]). Die Motive für ihre Abspaltung und ihre Feindschaft gegenüber der Catholica waren nicht ausschliesslich theologisch begründet. Die Donatisten hatten bei der berberisch-punischen Bevölkerung grossen Anhang gefunden und sahen sich als die einzige afrikanische Kirche an, während die Katholiken ihre meisten Anhänger in der römischen und romanisierten Oberschicht hatten. Hinzu kamen die sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse Nordafrikas, die neuen Zündstoff für die Fortführung der schismatischen und revolutionären Bewegung lieferten [67]). Vor allem die oft

[63]) Zellinger J., Bad und Bäder in der altchristlichen Kirche. München 1928; Keenan, l.c., 58-59.

[64]) *Ep.* 46 (CSEL 34/2, 123-129).

[65]) Keenan, l.c., 119-120.

[66]) Congar Y., L'Eglise de saint Augustin à l'époque moderne, Paris 1970, 15 bemerkt dazu : « Augustin a compris cette position comme si les donatistes faisaient dépendre sacrements et grâce de la sainteté *morale* personnelle du ministre. Il n'est pas sûr que son argumentation portât sur ce point, autour duquel les donatistes gardaient un halo d'ambiguité ».

[67]) Frend W. H. C., The Donatist Church. A Movement of Roman North Africa. London 1971². - Zur Kritik der These Frends Cf. Tengström E., Donatisten und Katholiken. Soziale, wirtschaftliche und politische Aspekte einer nordafrikanischen Kirchenspaltung (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia XVIII). Göteborg 1964. - H. v. Soden, Urkunden zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Donatismus. Berlin 1950²; Brisson J. P., Autonomisme et Christianisme dans l'Afrique romaine, Paris 1958.

in Dienst genommene Kampftruppe der Circumcellionen trug Terror und Brutalität in das ganze nordafrikanische Gebiet. Wenn der donatistische Fanatismus meistens vor Morden zurückschreckte, waren Terrorakte gegen Personen und Eigentum der Katholiken sehr häufig. Kaiser Konstantin der Grosse hatte mit staatsmännischem Weitblick erkannt, dass Ansehen und universaler Auftrag der einen christlichen Kirche gefährdet seien. Mit politischer Weitsicht und unter Wahrung der kirchlichen Eigenständigkeit, suchte er die seit Sommer 313 rasch sich entwickelnde Pars Donati durch rechtlichen Entscheid zur Vernunft und zur brüderlichen Eintracht zu bringen, doch konnte er Einheit und Frieden der Christen nicht wiederherstellen. Unter Julian dem Abtrünnigen hatte dann die donatistiche Renaissance alle Eindämmungen gesprengt. In den folgenden dreissig Jahren konnte die « Kirche der Reinen » ihre Stellung halten und ausbauen. Genährt wurde die Spaltung der Christen vor allem durch die Rivalität der katholischen und donatistischen Bischöfe. Als Augustinus im Jahre 396 Bischof von Hippo Regius wurde, zählte die Catholica ebenso wie die Pars Donati mehr als 300 Bischöfe, die bis in entlegene Landstriche Nordafrikas hinein sich bekämpften oder zum mindesten sich gehässig zu ignorieren suchten [68]). In der Diözese Augustins war in den Städten wie auch auf dem Lande die überwiegende Mehrheit donatistich. Rund dreissig Jahre quälte Augustinus das donatistische Problem. Wohl hatte der Kaiser die Todesstrafe gegen die Kirchenschänder Numidiens verhängt [69]) und die katholische Kirche in der kaiserlichen Verwaltung eine zuverlässige Stütze gefunden, doch die Rückkehr der Donatisten zur kirchlichen Einheit war nur durch Aussprache und Überzeugung zu erhoffen. In seinen Briefen spricht sich Augustinus entschieden gegen eine mit staatlicher Gewalt erzwungene Rückführung der Donatisten aus [70]). Doch hatte Augustins Bemühen, durch persönliches Gespräch und sachliche Diskussion die vergiftete Atmosphäre zwischen Katholiken und Donatisten zu entschärfen, nur geringen Erfolg. Nun suchte

[68]) Lamirande E., La situation ecclésiologique des Donatistes d'après Saint Augustin. Contribution à l'histoire doctrinale de l'œcuménisme. Ottawa 1972.

[69]) *Cod. Theod.* 16, 2, 31.

[70]) *Ep.* 93, 17 (CSEL 34/2, 461) : « Nam mea primitus sententia non erat nisi neminem ad unitatem Christi esse cogendum, uerbo esse agendum, disputatione pugnandum, ratione uincendum, ne fictos catholicos haberemus, quos apertos haereticos noueramus ».

er, in enger Zusammenarbeit mit Bischof Aurelius von Karthago und dem katholischen Episkopat Nordafrikas, eine Lösung des unheilvollen Schismas. Rund 20 Synoden der Bischöfe aller nordafrikanischen Diözesen tagten unter Vorsitz des Bischofs Aurelius und berieten über wesentliche Massnahmen gegenüber den Donatisten. Im Jahre 403 wurde der Versuch eines Religionsgespräches in Karthago gemacht, dessen Einladungen bei den donatistischen Bischöfen wenig Anklang fanden. Im Gegenteil, Misshandlungen und Überfälle auf katholische Bischöfe und abtrünnige donatistische Kleriker mehrten sich in erschreckendem Ausmasse.

Im Juni 404 beriet in Karthago eine Synode der katholischen Bischöfe über die neue Lage. Augustinus sprach sich gegen ein radikales Verbot des Donatismus aus. Er verlangte nur, dass die Behörden alle Gewalttätigkeiten unterbinden sollten und ausserdem die Bestrafung jener donatistischen Bischöfe und Kleriker, deren Urheberschaft und Verantwortung dafür nachgewiesen werden konnte. Kaiser Honorius griff jedoch diesen Empfehlungen vor und erliess am 12. Februar 405 ein Unionsedikt, das harte Sanktionen gegen widerspenstige Häretiker verhängte [71]). Aber erst nach dem offiziellen Religionsgespräch von Karthago im Jahre 411 [72]) gingen die staatlichen Organe konsequent und unerbittlich gegen widerstrebende Donatisten vor. Trotz der ausdrücklichen Ablehnung der Todesstrafe durch Augustinus sah der kaiserliche Erlass vom Januar 412 Verbannung, Vermögenskonfiskation, Aberkennung der bürgerlichen Rechte und Hinrichtung vor. Der breite Machtbereich der «Martyrersöhne» wurde zwar zerschlagen, aber Reste des Donatismus lebten über die Vandalenzeit hinaus bis ins 7. Jh. weiter. Augustins Stellungnahme zur Frage der Anwendung staatlicher Gewalt gegenüber Häretikern findet auch heute noch eine unterschiedliche Beurteilung. Wenn von einigen verdienstvollen Augustinusforschern Augustin als «Vater der Inquisition» bezeichnet wird [73]), scheint dieses Urteil überspitzt. Glaubensfreiheit, wie Menschenrechte überhaupt, setzen, die unbedingte Achtung der Rechte aller Mitmenschen innerhalb der

[71]) *Cod. Theod.* 16, 5, 37, 38; 16, 6, 4, 5.

[72]) Lancel S., Actes de la conférence de Carthage en 411. (Sources chrétiennes, 194/195). 2 vol., Paris 1972. id., Gesta Conlationis Carthaginiensis Anno 411. Accedit Sancti Augustini Breviculus Conlationis cum Donatistis. (*Corpus Christianorum. Series Lat.* CXLIX A). Turnholti 1974.

[73]) van der Meer F., l.c., 114; P. Brown, l.c., 283.

Gemeinschaft voraus [74]). Was erwartete Augustinus anderes vom Staat als den Schutz seiner Kirche und der Überzeugung ihrer Anhänger? Einen Wandel seiner anfangs sehr toleranten Anschauungen, den er wiederholt offen zugibt (*Ep.* 185, 25), bewirkten die Exzesse der fanatisierten Circumcellionen und die Verschlagenheit der Donatisten. Auch in späteren Jahren lehnte Augustinus die Anwendung jeder Folter [75]) und der Todesstrafe entschieden ab und trat auch weiterhin für Milde und Überzeugung des Irrenden ein. Durch die Billigung staatlicher Intervention wollte Augustinus die Existenz der Catholica und die freie Verkündigung ihrer Lehre sichern in einer unerbittlich grausamen Situation alltäglichen Terrors. B. Kötting schreibt: « Augustinus hat sich zwar immer wie Ambrosius und andere Kirchenväter zu dem Grundsatz bekannt, dass der Irrtum als solcher kein Recht auf Toleranz habe, aber auf der anderen Seite auch wiederum bekräftigt, dass kein Mensch gegen seine Überzeugung zum Glauben gezwungen werden dürfe; damit meinte er aber den ersten Schritt zur Bekehrung. Er war aber der Überzeugung, dass die Gesetze gegen Häresie zur Warnung dienen sollen » [76]). Letztlich fühlte sich Augustinus mitverantwortlich für das Seelenheil der Verirrten und Verhetzten. So schreibt er im Jahre 408 in einem Brief an Vincentius: « Denn wenn jemand sähe, wie sein Feind durch ein gefährliches Fieber wahnsinnig geworden, dem Abgrund zuliefe, würde er da nicht Böses mit Bösem vergelten, wenn er ihn laufen

[74]) So erklärt das II. Vaticanum in seinem Dekret über die Missionstätigkeit (II, 13): « Die Kirche verbietet streng, dass jemand zur Annahme des Glaubens gezwungen oder durch ungehörige Mittel beeinflusst oder angelockt werde, wie sie umgekehrt auch mit Nachdruck für das Recht eintritt, dass niemand durch üble Druckmittel vom Glauben abgehalten werde. » In der Erklärung über die Religionsfreiheit (I, 4) wird für die religiösen Gemeinschaften das Recht verlangt, « keine Behinderung bei der öffentlichen Lehre und Bezeugung ihres Glaubens in Wort und Schrift zu erfahren ».

[75]) *De civ. Dei* XIX, 6 (CSEL 40/2, 381-382): « Ceux qui jugent, en effet, ne peuvent voir la conscience de ceux qu'ils jugent. Aussi sont-ils souvent contraints de chercher des témoins innocents, alors que cette vérité relève d'une cause qui ne les concerne pas. Que dire, même, lorsqu'un homme est torturé à propos de sa propre cause? Il est torturé alors qu'on se demande s'il est coupable, et, pour un crime incertain, un innocent subit les châtiments les plus certains, non parce qu'il a commis ce crime et qu'on l'a découvert, mais parce qu'on ignore s'il l'a commis. Par là, l'ignorance du juge fait, le plus souvent, le malheur de l'innocent ». (Trad. J.-Cl. Fraisse, Saint Augustin, La Lumière Intérieure. Paris 1965).

[76]) Kötting B., Mit staatlicher Macht gegen Häresien? in: *Die Kirche im Wandel der Gesellschaft.* Hg. v. J. Schreiner, Würzburg 1970, 49-50.

liesse, statt ihn zurückzuhalten und binden zu lassen?» (*Ep.* 93,2) Augustinus urteilte und handelte den Häretikern gegenüber als «Seelsorger, nicht als Advokat»[77]) einer staatlichen oder kirchlichen Macht [78]).

Nicht nur der Aufstand der Donatisten gegen die «unreine Kirche» lähmte die Kraft des Christentums, Bischof Augustinus musste sich mit noch anderen Haeretikern und ihren Lehren auseinandersetzen. Er selbst war während 9 Jahren «auditor» der «bemerkenswert beredten und gebildeten» Sekte der Manichäer gewesen [79]). Im Jahre 297 waren die Missionare Manis, des «Apostels Jesu Christi», nach Karthago gekommen und hatten besonders unter den Studenten und der Intelligentsia der Halbchristen Anhang gefunden [80]). Durch die Annahme eines Lichtreiches als Prinzip des Guten und eines Reiches der Finsternis als Prinzip des Bösen bekannten sie sich zu einem Dualismus, der Gott die Allmacht aberkannte und das Gute zur Passivität verurteilte. Als Augustinus Bischof von Hippo wurde, stiess er in seiner Bischofsstadt auf eine manichäische Gemeinde, deren Vorsteher er in öffentlichen Streitgesprächen mit Erfolg widerlegte. «Bis ins hohe Alter hörte er nicht auf, dieses geheimnisvolle System, das Fleisch und Blut verdammte, die menschliche Natur Christi verflüchtigte, eine esoterische Selbsterlösung aus der Finsternis predigte und das in der Praxis auf Sexualangst, Abstinenz und abstruse Gnosis hinauslief, in einer ganzen Reihe von Schriften mehr oder weniger grundsätzlich zu widerlegen» [81]).

Eine weniger grosse Rolle spielten in Nordafrika die Arianer und ihre Leugnung der Wesensgleichheit des Gottessohnes mit dem Vater.

[77]) Lancel S., l.c., I, 268: «Il agissait en pasteur, et non en avocat.»

[78]) Aus den zahlreichen Untersuchungen über Augustins Haltung in der Frage der Religionsfreiheit seien genannt: Baus K./Ewig E., in: *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte.* Hg. v. Jedin H., II/1, Freiburg 1973, 154-162; Maisonneuve H., Croyance religieuse et contrainte. La doctrine de saint Augustin, in: *Mélanges de Science Religieuse* 19 (1962), 49-68; Duval J. M., Saint Augustin et les persécutions du IV^e siècle (Cité de Dieu XVIII, 52), *ibid.* 23 (1966), 175-191.

[79]) *De util. cred.* I, 2 (CSEL 25/1, 4) - Über den Manichäismus cf. Puech H.-Ch., Le Manichéisme. Son fondateur, sa doctrine. (Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque de diffusion, LVI), Paris 1949; Frend W. H. C., The gnosticmanichaean Tradition in Roman North-Africa, in: *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 4 (1953), 13-26; Ries J., Introduction aux études manichéennes, in: *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanieses* 33 (1957), 453-482; 35 (1959), 362-409; Widengren G., Mani und der Manichäismus. Stuttgart 1961.

[80]) Brown P., l.c., 47.

[81]) van der Meer F., l.c., 136.

In seinem Buche *De Trinitate* erläutert Augustin einsichtig und klar die katholische Lehre, wie er auch in verschiedenen antiarianischen Schriften die katholische Lehre abgrenzt gegenüber dem Arianismus [82]).

Gegen die Irrlehren des Pelagius [83]), die hauptsächlich Natur und Gnade, Erbsünde und Kindertaufe betrafen, veröffentlichte Augustinus eine Reihe von Schriften, nachdem Pelagius Ende 410 nach Hippo Regius gekommen war.

In seiner Schrift *De haeresibus* [84]), die Augustinus um 428 auf Bitten des Diakons Quodvultdeus verfasste, zählt er nicht weniger als 88 Häresien auf, « quae post Christi aduentum et ascensum aduersus doctrinam ipsius exstiterunt, et utcumque nobis innotescere potuerunt » [85]).

Neben Schattenseiten bot das Christentum in Nordafrika eindrucksvolle Lichtseiten. Gewachsen auf dem mit Blut unzähliger Martyrer getränkten Boden, konnte die afrikanische Kirche eine unabsehbare Zahl von Heiligen aufweisen, deren Gedächtnisstätten überall zu finden waren. Auch in den Durchschschnittsgemeinden gab es, neben der Spreu auf der Tenne des Herrn, viele Gute (*De cat. rud.* 25,49). Neben Regionallastern und allgemeinem menschlichen Versagen gab es vorbildliche Christen, Eheleute und Jungfrauen, Gebildete und Ungebildete. Vor allem verwirklichten die klösterlichen Gemeinschaften [86]) das Idealbild christlichen Lebens. War Augustinus als Seelenhirt auch gezwungen, Laster und Verbrechen zu rügen, konnte er oft genug mit Dankbarkeit und Stolz auf das stetige Wachsen des Gottesreiches in seiner nordafrikanischen Heimat hinweisen.

[82]) Über den Arianismus cf. Meslin M., Les Ariens d'Occident 335-430. Paris 1967; Boulard E., L'hérésie d'Arius et « La Foi » de Nicée. Paris 1972; Adam A., Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte. I: Die Zeit der alten Kirche. Gütersloh 1965, 255-302; Kelly J. N. D., Early Christian Doctrines. London 1965[3].

[83]) Zu Pelagius: G. de Plinval, Pélage. Les écrits, sa vie et sa réforme. Lausanne 1943; Ferguson J., Pelagius. A historical and theological Study. Cambridge 1956; Lucas J. R., Pelagius and St. Augustine, in: *Journal of Theological Studies* 22 (1971), 73-85; Greshake G., Gnade als konkrete Freiheit. Eine Untersuchung zur Gnadenlehre des Pelagius. Mainz 1972.

[84]) *De haersibus ad Quodvultdeum* (CC. XLVI, 263-345).

[85]) *Ibid.*, Praef., 7. (CC. XLVI, 289).

[86]) Cf. Zumkeller A., Das Mönchtum des hl. Augustinus. Würzburg 1968[2]; Gavignan J., De vita monastica in Africa septentrionali inde a temporibus S. Augustini usque ad invasionem Arabum. Turin 1962.

1. Kapitel

DER BEGRIFF DER BEKEHRUNG

Die starke Verwurzelung Augustins in antiker Bildung, Hl. Schrift und kirchlicher Tradition macht es notwendig, zunächst den Bekehrungsbegriff in der vorchristlichen Antike, im Urchristentum und in der nordafrikanischen Theologie kurz zu skizzieren, um anschliessend den augustinischen Begriff zu untersuchen.

1. Der Bekehrungsbegriff vor Augustinus

A. Der Bekehrungsbegriff in der heidnischen Antike

Der Begriff der Bekehrung [1]) im Sinne religiös-sittlicher Umkehr und Umwandlung findet man kaum in der heidnischen Antike, die in der Sünde und in der Umkehr oft kosmische Ereignisse sah, die sich als Fatum auf den Willen des Menschen auswirkten [2]). Wenn auch bei den Philosophen des Hellenismus [3]) neben dem überwiegend intellektuellen Element das ethische nicht fehlt, muss man mit J. Behm doch feststellen: « Den Ursprung des nt.lichen Verständnisses von *μετανοέω* und *μετάνοια*, des sprachlichen wie des sachlichen, sucht man auf griechischem Boden vergeblich ». [4]) Nur die philosophische Bekehrung gab dem Leben eine neue Wertordnung (*ἀναγωγή*) [5]) und führte den Menschen zur Sinnesänderung und sittlichen Lebenshaltung [6]). Im religiösen Bereich verlangte kein heidnischer Kult von neugewonnenen Anhängern einen Verzicht auf die Zugehörigkeit zu

[1]) Terminologie der Bekehrung in der griechisch-römischen Literatur bei Nock A. D., Bekehrung, in : *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* II, 105-113.

[2]) Le Blond J. M., Les conversions de Saint Augustin (Théologie, 17), Paris 1950, 8; Bardy G., La conversion au christianisme durant les premiers siècles (Théologie, 15), Paris 1949, 9.

[3]) Aubin P., Le Problème de la « Conversion ». — Étude sur un terme commun à l'Hellénisme et le Christianisme des trois premiers siècles (Théologie historique, 1), Paris 1963.

[4]) Behm, *μετανοέω, μετάνοια* in : Kittel, IV, 976.

[5] Nock, l.c., 107.

[6]) Bardy, l.c., 46-89; Marrou, St. Augustin, 169-173; Jaeger W., Paideia. Die Formung des griechischen Menschen. III, Berlin 1947, 19.

andern Kultgemeinschaften. « Deswegen hatte die Annahme eines ausserhalb des herkömmlichen Bereichs stehenden Kultes eigentlich nur die Bedeutung eines Anschlusses, nicht aber den Charakter einer Bekehrung. Erfolgte der Anschluss an einen neuen Kult mit besonderer Intensität, so mochte die religiöse Vorstellungswelt des betreffenden Menschen wohl eine neue Glut gewinnen, aber kein Element der bisherigen Vorstellungswelt wurde ausgelöscht ». [7])

B. *Der Bekehrungsbegriff im Judentum*

Unter den vorchristlichen Religionen nahm die streng monotheistische Nationalreligion der Juden eine Sonderstellung ein. Die prophetischen Droh-und Mahnreden rüttelten die Kinder Israels auf zu reuiger Umkehr (שׁוּב; ἐπιστρέφομαι) zu Jahwe [8]), dem Gott des Bundes, dessen Erinnerungszeichen die Beschneidung war. Trotz ängstlicher Absonderung des auserwählten Volkes von den Heiden und des sich steigernden, engstirnigen Nationalismus ging das von den Propheten so eindringlich eingeschärfte Verantwortungsbewustsein einer Sendung des jüdischen Volkes zur Bekehrung der Heiden nie verloren [9]). Heiden, die als « Gottesfürchtige » sich der jüdischen Religion näherten, schworen dem Götzendienst ab und wurden zum Monotheismus und zur Beobachtung einiger mosaischer Vorschriften verpflichtet [10]). Die eigentlichen Proselyten (gérim) unterwarfen sich, nach einer katechetischen Unterweisung, der Beschneidung und

[7]) Nock, l.c., 112. Cf. Nock A. D., Conversion. Oxford 1952², 7 : Adhesion : « ...acceptance of new worships as useful supplements and not as substitutes..., they did not involve the taking of a new way of life in place of the old. » *Ibid.* : « By conversion we mean the reorientation of the soul of an individual, his deliberate turning from indifference or from an earlier form of piety to another, a turning which implies a consciousness that a great change is involved, that the old was wrong and the new is right ».

[8]) Holladay W. L., The root šûbh in The Old Testament. Leiden 1958. Würthwein, Busse und Umkehr im A. T., in : Kittel, IV, 976-985; Dietrich E. K., Die Umkehr (Bekehrung und Busse) im Alten Testament und im Judentum bei besonderer Berücksichtigung der nt. Zeit. Stuttgart 1936; Über die Bekehrung in der Septuaginta cf. Aubin, l.c., 33-47.

[9]) Lagrange M. J., Le messianisme chez les Juifs (150 av. J.-C. à 200 apr. J.-C.), Paris 1909, 269-270; Heinisch P., Die Idee der Heidenbekehrung im A. T. (Bibl. Zeitfr., 8, 1/2), Münster i. W. 1936.

[10]) Bonsirven J., Le judaisme palestinien au temps de Jésus-Christ (Bibl. de Théol. Hist.), Paris 1934, I, 27; 257.

verpflichteten sich zur gewissenhaften Beobachtung der Gesetze und Vorschriften; sie wurden in die Opfer-und Glaubensgemeinschaft Israels aufgenommen[11]). Die jüdische Religion formte den ersten Begriff einer religiösen Bekehrung durch die Forderung sittlicher Lebenswandlung entsprechend unumstösslichen, durch einen persönlichen Gott gegebenen Gesetzen und den Anschluss an eine theokratische Gemeinschaft, die ihre Erfüllung in einem zu erwartenden Messiasreich finden sollte. Die Umkehrforderung wurde jedoch weniger als einmalig vollzogener Umbruch des ganzen Menschen verstanden, denn als stetig erneuertes, reuiges Hinwenden des sündigen Menschen zu Gott[12]).

C. *Der Bekehrungsbegriff im Neuen Testament*

Die Umkehrforderung der alttestamentlichen Propheten auf das unmittelbar bevorstehende Gottesreich wurde von Johannes dem Täufer in seiner Predigt und Busstaufe aufgegriffen. Christus und seine Apostel machten sie zur grundlegenden Hauptforderung der urchristlichen Verkündigung. Die Metanoia[13]) als radikale, sittlich-religiöse Umstellung des Verstandes und des Willens wie des gesamten Wesens, die im Glauben vollzogene positive Hinwendung zu Jesus dem Christus[14]) und die gnadenhafte Eingliederung in sein Gottesreich durch die Wassertaufe blieben die wesentlichen Forderungen der

[11]) Bonsirven, l.c., 28-34; Bialoblocki S., Die Beziehungen des Judentums zu Proselyten u. Proselytentum. Berlin 1930.

[12]) Hulsbosch A., Die Bekehrung im Zeugnis der Bibel. Salzburg 1967; Dietrich, l.c., 216-217; 372-376; Bonsirven, l.c., II 98-104; Sjöberg E., Gott und die Sünder im palestinensischen Judentum (Beiträge z. Wissensch. v. A. u. N. T., 4. Folge, H. 27), Stuttgart-Berlin 1938, 125-144.

[13]) Cf. Behm J./Würthwein E., μετανοέω, in : Kittel, IV, 972-1004; Goetzmann, μετάνοια in : *Theolog. Begriffslexikon z. N. T.* Hg. von L. Coenen, E. Beyreuther und H. Bietenhard, I, Wuppertal 1967, 72-74; Bultmann R., Theologie des Neuen Testamentes. Tübingen 1953, 73-77; Gewiess J., Die urapostolische Heilsverkündigung nach der Apostelgeschichte (Breslauer Studien z. hist. Theol. Neue Folge. Bd. 5), Breslau 1939, 110-114; id., Metanoia im Neuen Testament, in : *Die Kirche in der Welt.* 1 (1948), Nr. 33, 149-152; Hoffer M., Metanoia (Bekehrung und Busse) im Neuen Testament. Diss. Tübingen 1949; Pohlmann H., Die Metanoia als Zentralbegriff der christl. Frömmigkeit. Leipzig 1938; Schnackenburg R., Typen der Metanoiapredigt im Neuen Testament, in : *Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift* 1 (1950), 1-13.

[14]) Gewiess J., Die urapostolische Heilsverkündigung, 113.

Bekehrung von Juden und Heiden[15]). Diese drei Elemente fehlen in keiner christlichen Bekehrung der apostolischen Zeit, wenn auch der Umfang der Bussforderung verschieden war und die kerygmatische Verkündigung dem Juden-und Heidenmilieu angepasst wurde. Die meisten Apostel beschränkten sich in ihrer Predigt auf die Darlegung der Heilsgeschichte und den Nachweis der Messianität Jesu; daran knüpften sie die Forderung des μετανοεῖν und πιστεύειν, zweier Begriffe, die eng miteinander verknüpft wurden. Bei Johannes tritt der eschatologische Umkehrgedanke und Metanoiaruf an die Nichtchristen in der *Apokalypse* in den Vordergrund (14, 6-7; 16, 9), während er im Evangelium und in seinen Briefen das Heil des Menschen vorwiegend von der wahren Gottesliebe, die in scharfen Gegensatz zur Weltliebe gestellt wird, und dem Glauben an die Offenbarung Gottes im fleischgewordenen Logos abhängig macht[16]). Nach Johannes (*1. Jo.* 2, 13-14; 5, 18-19; *3 Jo.*, 11) ist ebenso wie nach Petrus (*1. Petr.* 1, 14-15; 2, 10; 2, 12; 4, 1-4), die Bekehrung zu Christus ein radikaler Bruch mit der sündigen Vergangenheit, der keine allmähliche Übergänge und keine Rückfälle in Sündenverhaftung zulässt. Paulus, der Heidenapostel und Organisator christlicher Urgemeinden, entwarf durch seine christliche Anthropologie, Christologie und Erlösungslehre, seine Ausbildung der Sakramentstheologie und seine Kirchenlehre dem Bekehrungsbegriff tragende Hintergründe[17]). Die Bestimmung des Wesens der christlichen Bekehrung führt zum Wesen des Christentums schlechthin. Wenn auch bei Paulus die Termini μετάνοια, μετανοεῖν auffällig selten vorkommen[18]), setzt nach ihm jedes

[15]) Cf. Rétif A., Foi au Christ et mission d'après les Actes des Apôtres. Paris 1953; Liechtenhan R., Die urchristliche Mission. Zürich 1946; Meinertz M., Jesus und die Heidenmission. Münster i. W. 1925[2].

[16]) Cf. Kirchgässner A., Erlösung und Sünde im Neuen Testament. Freiburg i. Br. 1950, 256-260.

[17]) Cf. Bultmann, l.c., 183-348; Cerfaux L., La théologie de l'Église suivant St. Paul. Paris 1948[2], 121-141; id., Le Christ dans la théologie de St. Paul. Paris 1951; Grundmann W., Gesetz, Rechtfertigung und Mystik bei Paulus, in: *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 32 (1933), 52-65; Kirchgässner, l.c., 1-173; Nock A. D., Saint Paul. London 1938; Prat F., La théologie de St. Paul. 2 vol. Paris 1930[19]; Schrenk, δικαιοσύνη bei Paulus, in: Kittel, II, 204-214; Schweitzer A., Die Mystik des Apostels Paulus. Tübingen 1930; Sommerlath E., Der Ursprung des neuen Lebens nach Paulus. Leipzig 1927[2]; Wikenhauser A., Die Christusmystik des hl. Paulus. Münster i. W. 1928.

[18]) Kirchgässner, l.c., 131.

Christsein eine konsequente, endgültige Umkehr voraus. Wenn er auch durchblicken lässt, dass manche Christen nach der Bekehrung das Sündenleben nicht ganz aufgeben, und die alte, sarkische Existenz nachwirkt, bleibt das Christsein eine Neuschöpfung (*2 Kor.* 5, 17), ein Sieg des pneumatischen Menschen über Sündigkeit und Ungerechtigkeit [19]). Nach H. Pohlmann erweiterte Paulus den Umkehrbegriff so, dass er totalen Glauben und totale Liebe einschliesst [20]). Die πίστις bleibt der Zentralbegriff der paulinischen Heilslehre; in ihm ist die μετάνοια eingeschlossen, während bei Jesus die Umkehr den Glauben einschloss [21]). Wenn auch die Umkehr als ein Handeln des sündigen Menschen verstanden und als ethische Leistung bei der Taufe vorausgesetzt wird, bleibt es die Gnade Gottes und ihr Wirken, die das Heil schafft [22]). Dieser paulinische Bekehrungsbegriff wird, neben dem Einfluss johanneischer Gedanken, auch den augustinischen Begriff weitgehend bestimmen.

Zu dem Begriff der christlichen Bekehrung fügten die ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte kein neues Moment hinzu. Umkehr [23]) und Glaube blieben die wichtigsten Elemente, zu denen entsprechender Sitten-und Glaubensunterricht als Vorbereitung auf den Empfang der Taufe hinzukommen [24]). Entsprechend den Verhältnissen wurden die pastoralen Richtlinien und moral-juridischen Bedingungen für die Bekehrung festgelegt und genau formuliert. Die « Bekehrung der Heiden » (*Apg.* 15, 3) bedeutete nicht nur einen radikalen Bruch mit der Vergangenheit, der sich tiefgreifend auswirkte in der persönlichen Lebensführung, in Berufs-, Familien- und Eheleben, sie musste auch zu zahllosen Konflikten mit der Staatsgewalt und dem Sozialgefüge der damaligen Gesellschaft führen [25]). Andrerseits lebte in den Christen der Urkirche wie der nachfolgenden Jahrhunderte das übermächtige Bewusstsein, « als Gläubige, d.h. eben durch den Glauben und in

[19]) Kirchgässner, l.c., 58-65.

[20]) Pohlmann H., Die Metanoia als Zentralbegriff der christlichen Frömmigkeit. Leipzig 1938, 72.

[21]) Behm, in : Kittel, IV, 1000.

[22]) Kirchgässner, l.c., 133.

[23]) Nach Behm, l.c., 1003, wäre die Umwandlung ins vorwiegend Moralistische zurückgebogen und in die Busspraxis verlegt worden.

[24]) Cf. Schermann Th., Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung des zweiten Jahrhunderts. Paderborn 1914, 237-239.

[25]) Cf. Bardy, l.c., 211-242; Leclercq H., Accusations contre les chrétiens, in : *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* I/1, 265-307.

ihm, eine Erneuerung erfahren zu haben, deren Art und Bedeutung sie durch 'Wiedergeburt' oder durch Begriffe, die einem solchen Erlebnis nahe stehen, ausgedrückt haben» [26]).

D. *Der Bekehrungsbegriff in der nordafrikanischen Theologie*

Eine besondere Prägung erfuhr der Begriff der Bekehrung in Nordafrika, dessen Christentum zwischen extremstem Rigorismus und weitgehender Nachsicht gegenüber Nationallastern und menschlichen Schwächen schwankte. Tertullian, den seine kompromisslose Strenge zur Sekte der Montanisten führte, sah als Lehrer der Katechumenen [27]), die Bekehrung vor allem in der sittlichen Umkehr. Der «proselytus» [28]) soll aus dem Heidentum, das als «das Schlechte einfachhin» [29]) bezeichnet wird, zu einem Leben höchster Sittlichkeit erzogen werden. Es ist ein Grundgedanke Tertullians, «dass man sich der Bekehrung einmal unterziehen und beständig daran festhalten müsse» [30]). Die Einmaligkeit der Taufe erlaubt keinen Rückfall in die Sünden [31]). Nur die Zuverlässigkeit der Busse ist die Empfehlung für die Taufe. Diese radikale Metanoia-Forderung ist durchzittert von einer knechtischen Furcht Gottes, wie das Furchtprinzip bei Tertullian wieder eschatalogischen Charakter gewinnt [32]). Nicht im Sakrament der Taufe wird die Seele geheiligt, sondern in der vorhergehenden Busse. «Non ideo abluimur, ut delinquere desinamus, quoniam jam corde loti sumus». (*De poen.*, 65. PL 1, 1349) Ausser der Busse gehört nach Tertullian zur Bekehrung primär der Glaube,

[26]) VON HARNACK A., Die Terminologie der Wiedergeburt und verwandter Erlebnisse in der ältesten Kirche. Leipzig 1918, 96; Cf. NOCK, Conversion, 187-253; PRÜMM K., Christentum als Neuheitserlebnis. Freiburg i. Br. 1939.

[27]) Die Katechumenen, für die mehrere seiner Schriften bestimmt sind, nennt er «novitioli» (*De poen.*, 6 PL 1, 1346), «audientes» (*De poen.*, 6. PL 1, 1349); catechumeni» (*De praescr. haer.* 41. PL 2, 68). Über das Katechumenat cf. DEKKERS E., Tertullianus en de geschiedenis der Liturgie. Brussel-Amsterdam 1947, 163-216.

[28]) *Adv. Marc.* 3, 21 (CSEL 47, 413).

[29]) LORTZ J., Tertullian als Apologet. I, Münster 1927, 24.

[30]) *De poen.*, 6 (Übers. KELLNER H., Bibliotheke der Kirchenväter², VII, 234).

[31]) Über die zweite Busse der gefallenen Christen cf. POSCHMANN B., Paenitentia secunda. Die kirchliche Busse im ältesten Christentum bis Cyprian und Origines. Bonn 1940; DEKKERS, l.c., 217-230; RAHNER K., Zur Theologie der Busse bei Tertullian, in: *Abhandlungen über Theologie und Kirche.* Festschrift K. ADAM. Düsseldorf 1952, 139-167.

[32]) ADAM K., Der Kirchenbegriff Tertullians. Paderborn 1907, 18-22.

und zwar der Glaube im Sinne einer Annahme der von Gott geoffenbarten Wahrheiten. Wohl misst Tertullian dem Suchen des Einzelmenschen nach dem rechten Glauben grossen Wert bei [33]), andrerseits aber fordert die Autorität Gottes die Anerkennung der christlichen Wahrheiten, die in den Hl. Schriften niedergelegt sind, auch ohne Verstandeseinsicht [34]). Hüterin der Glaubenswahrheit ist die eine Kirche Christi, die eine Lehrgemeinde, wie das Christentum vor allem eine Lehre ist [35]). Mit Entschiedenheit wendet sich Tertullian gegen die Ansicht, der Glaube an sich sei heilsmächtig und mache eine Heilsnotwendigkeit der Taufe überflüssig. Wohl ist die demütige Hingabe des Glaubenden notwendig für die Wirksamkeit des Heilssakramentes; aber in der gegenwärtigen Heilsordnung, die verschieden ist von der Heilszeit vor Christi Leiden und Auferstehung, genügt die « fides nuda » nicht mehr. Es muss das « Gewand der Taufe » hinzukommen [36]). Die Taufe ist das Sakrament des Glaubens, die « obsignatio fidei » [37]). Zu dem Glauben muss die Beobachtung des Gesetzes hinzukommen [38]), besonders des Gesetzes der Liebe. So finden sich beim ungestümen christlichen Reformator Nordafrikas Begriffselemente, die nicht immer klar geschieden sind, die aber in der nachfolgenden afrikanischen Theologie weiterwirken.

Cyprian von Karthago, den Augustinus besonders verehrte und dessen Werke er gründlich studierte, sieht in der rhetorischen Erzählung seiner eigenen Bekehrung die grosse Umwandlung (tanta conuersio) darin, « ut repente ac pertinaciter exuatur, quod uel genuinum situ materiae naturalis obduruit uel usurpatum diu senio

[33]) Lortz, l.c., I, 223 : « Wer aber sucht, d. h. den guten Willen hat und die Tatsachen kennt, auf die sich der Glaube stützt, kommt beinahe notwendig zum Glauben ».

[34]) *De corona*, 2 (CSEL 70, 156) : « laudo fidem, quae ante credidit obseruandum esse quam didicit ».

[35]) Adam, l.c., 26.

[36]) *De bapt.*, 13 (PL 1, 1215) : « Fuerit salus retro per fidem nudam ante Domini passionem et resurrectionem. At ubi fides aucta est credenti in nativitatem, passionem, resurrectionemque ejus, addita est ampliatio sacramento, obsignatio baptismi, vestimentum quodammodo fidei, quae retro erat nuda, nec potentiam habuit sine sua lege ».

[37]) *De poen.*, 6 (PL 1, 1349). Über die Taufe als « signaculum fidei » cf. Refoulé R. F. in der Einleitung zu Tertullien, Traité du Baptême (Sources chrétiennes, 35). Paris 1932, 49-53; Kolping A., Sacramentum Tertullianeum. Münster 1948.

[38]) *De praescr. haer.*, 43 (PL 2, 71) : « doctrinae index disciplina est ».

uetustatis inoleuit» [39]). Den Spuren des grossen Tertullian folgend, verlangt auch Cyprian, dass die Bekehrung eine «mutatio animi ac mentis» voraussetze und durch die Taufe die Wiedergeburt zu einem neuen Leben herbeiführe. So ernst und gefestigt muss die sittliche Lebensführung vor der Taufe sein, dass eine nachmalige Busse einmalig sein soll. Erst die Verfolgungen und Schismen bewogen Cyprian zu einer Milderung seiner Bedingungen, damit dem allgemeinen Heilswillen Gottes nicht vorgegriffen werde [40]). Auch die Bedeutung des Glaubens in der Bekehrung kommt bei Cyprian zum Ausdruck: die Heiden, welche das Judenvolk ablösen, werden als Glaubenssöhne des gläubigen Abraham und als Volk der Glaubenden bezeichnet [41]). Entsprechend dem cyprianischen Kirchenbegriff als der unumgänglichen Heilsanstalt [42]), sieht er in der Bekehrung ein «venire ad ecclesiam catholicam quae una est» [43]). Eine Bekehrung zum Christentum ist identisch mit dem Anschluss an die Kirche, die durch den rechtmässigen Episkopat dargestellt wird. Eine Häretikertaufe ist ungültig, weil sie in der Trennung von der Kircheneinheit gespendet wird [44]).

Der Donatismus verlegte das Wesen der Bekehrung ausschliesslich in die Spendung der Taufe, deren Gültigkeit von der Person des Spenders abhängig gemacht wurde. Obwohl die Donatisten vorgaben, die reine Gemeinde der Heiligen, der unbefleckten, makellosen Kirche wiederherzustellen, entschieden nicht persönliche Umwandlung und Glaube des Täuflings, sondern die Person des Spenders über die Wirksamkeit der Bekehrung [45]). Die Berührung mit den katholischen traditores [46]) stiess den sich bekehrenden Heiden ins Heidentum zurück und machte eine Wiedertaufe durch die allein gültige, dona-

[39]) *Ad Donatum*, 3 (CSEL 3/1, 5).

[40]) Cf. Grotz J., Die Entwicklung des Busstufenwesens in der vornicäischen Kirche. Freiburg i. Br. 1955, 73-171; Poschmann B., l.c., 368-424; Rahner K., Die Busslehre des hl. Cyprian von Karthago, in: *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 74 (1952), 257-276; 381-438; Koch H., Cyprianische Untersuchungen. (Arbeiten z. Kirchengesch., 4). Bonn 1926; A. d'Alès, La théologie de St. Cyprien. Paris 1922.

[41]) *Ep.* 63, 4 (CSEL 3/2, 703-704).

[42]) *Ep.* 73, 21 (CSEL 3/2, 795) «salus extra ecclesiam non est». *De cath. eccl. un.*, 6 (CSEL 3/1, 214): «habere non potest Deum patrem qui ecclesiam non habet matrem».

[43]) *Ep.*, 70, 1 (CSEL 3/2, 767).

[44]) *Ep.* 70, 2 (CSEL 3/2, 768-769).

[45]) C. litt. Petil. I, 6, 7 (CSEL 52, 7).

[46]) C. litt. Petil. II, 36, 84 (ibid., 69).

tistische Sakramentenspendung notwendig [47]). Der Begriff der Catholica wurde von den Donatisten umgedeutet, die Notwendigkeit einer Zugehörigkeit zur einen, wahren Kirche verdreht. Auch in der Bekehrungspraxis der Katholiken zeigten sich im 4. Jh. bedauernswerte Schäden, die von Augustinus bitter beklagt wurden [48]). Der Begriff der Bekehrung war durch die Wirren des Schismas verdunkelt worden.

2. Der Augustinische Bekehrungsbegriff

A. *Die Entwicklung des augustinischen Bekehrungsbegriffes bis zum Jahre 400.*

Wie Augustins gesamte Theologie « Erlebnistheologie » ist, die « durch ihre Bezogenheit auf das eigene Ich wahrhaft lebendig und fruchtbar » wird [49]), so lässt sich für seinen Begriff der Bekehrung, ebenso wie für seine Kirchen- und Gnadenlehre, eine Wandlung feststellen, die durch seine geistige Entwicklung bedingt ist [50]).

In den *philosophischen Frühschriften*, die den starken Einfluss neuplatonischer Philosophie verraten, gebraucht Augustinus die beiden Begriffe « aversio » und « conversio » im erkenntnistheoretischen und ethischen Sinn [51]). Die vergängliche, begrenzte Körperwelt, der « mundus sensibilis » [52]), steht dem Absolut-Beständigen, Ewigen und Wahren, dem « mundus intelligibilis », gegenüber. Vom Zeitlichen weg muss die in den Leib verbannte Seele [53]) sich abwenden und sich Gott, der höchsten Wahrheit und Weisheit [54]), zuwenden. In einem Weltplan der vollkommenen Harmonie und Ordnung, wie ihn Augustinus in seinen zwei Büchern *De ordine* umreisst, kann der

[47]) Optatus, III, 11 (CSEL 26, 98).

[48]) *In ev. Jo. tr.* 25, 10 (CC 36, 252, : « Quoniam multi non quaerunt Jesum, nisi ut illis faciat bene secundum tempus ! Alius negotium habet, quaerit intercessionem clericorum ; alius premitur a potentiore, fugit ad ecclesiam ; alius pro se uult interueniri apud eum, apud quem parum ualet : ille sic, ille sic ; impletur cotidie talibus ecclesia ».

[49]) Adam, Entwicklung, 10-11.

[50]) Cf. Hofmann, Kirchenlehre, 32-34 ; 375-390.

[51]) Cf. Mayer C. P. Signifikationshermeneutik im Dienst der Daseinsauslegung, in : *Augustiniana* 24 (1974), 21-74 ; über conversio- aversio bes. 53-57.

[52]) *Contra Academicos* III, 17, 37 (CSEL 63, 76).

[53]) *Soliloquia* I, 14, 24 (PL 32, 882).

[54]) *De beata vita* 4, 35 (CSEL 63, 115).

Daseinssinn des Menschen sich nur in der rechten Beziehung zu Gott verwirklichen. Die Unordnung, das Böse, liegt in der Abkehr des menschlichen Willens vom allgemeinen und unwandelbaren Gut und in der Zuwendung zu den niederen, wandelbaren Gütern [55]). Das Sichverströmen der Seele an vergängliche Dinge bedeutet eine Auflehnung der Sinne gegen die Vernunft. Eine Rückkehr (regressus) zur Vernunft [56]), der Führerin zu Gott, eine Befreiung des Geistes vom Sinnlichen [57]) muss sich paaren mit Askese, mit der Lösung von den Fesseln des Triebhaften, mit ethischer Reinigung [58]). Noch steht das antike Weisheitsideal im Blickpunkt Augustins; noch glaubt er, der Mensch könne aus freiem Entscheid [59]), durch Selbsteinkehr oder auf dem Bildungsweg der artes liberales [60]) die « vita beata » erreichen. Doch zeigt sich bereits hier, dass Augustinus als christlicher Neuplatoniker denkt. Philosophie allein, das Vorrecht einer Elite, endet nur zu leicht in haltlosem Skeptizismus. Zu tief ist der Abgrund des Schmutzes und des Irrtums, in den die Seelen hinabgestürzt sind, als dass sie aus eigenem Auftrieb zu wahrer Erkenntnis und unerschütterlichen ethischen Normen finden könnten. Nur eine überweltliche Autorität kann den Menschen binden und ihm einen Halt geben. Diese Autorität [61]) erkannte Augustinus in den Heiligen Schriften, in denen Gott sich den Menschen durch Christus offenbart. Die « traditio » und « interpretatio » dieser Schriften ist der über den ganzen Erdkreis verbreiteten Kirche anvertraut. Die « via purgationis » der platonischen Philosophie, der Aufstieg einiger Auserwählten zur Weisheit, wird von Gott selber als Heilsweg aller Menschen vorgezeichnet. Gott reicht dem menschlichen Wahrheitssuchen seine führende Hand, die der Mensch mit Demut [62]) und Vertrauen im Glauben ergreifen soll.

[55]) *De lib. arb.* III, 19, 53 (PL 32, 1269) : « Voluntas autem aversa ab incommutabili et communi bono, et conversa ad proprium bonum, aut ad exterius, aut ad inferius, peccat ».

[56]) *De ordine* II, 11, 31 (CSEL 63, 169).

[57]) *Ibid.* I, 1, 3 (ibid., 122-123).

[58]) *Soliloquia* I, 10, 17 (PL 32, 879).

[59]) *De lib. arb.* III, 19, 53 (PL 32, 1269) : « quae tamen aversio atque conversio, quoniam non cogitur, sed est voluntaria ».

[60]) *De ord.* II, 26, 44 (CSEL 63, 178).

[61]) Cf. Guardini R., Die Bekehrung des Aurelius Augustinus. München 1950², 222-225.

[62]) Über den Begriff der humilitas als signum veritatis für die ganze Menschheit cf. Ratzinger, Volk und Haus Gottes, 1-35.

Glaube aber bedeutet im Grunde Gehorsam, Annahme eines Geheimnisses, ohne menschliche Einsicht, ohne Wissen und Schauen der Wahrheit. Sachlich mag die Vernunft höher stehen, zeitlich steht an erster Stelle die Autorität. « Tempore auctoritas, re autem ratio prior est » [63]). Erst Glaube, dann Erkennen und Wissen, das Augustinus als höchstes, im Diesseits erreichbares Ideal ansah und das er ungeduldig ersehnte [64]). Das Schauen der Wahrheit kann nur Gott geben, Christus der Logos. Noch fehlt dem mehr philosophisch als theologisch orientierten Augustinus das Verständnis für die christliche caritas als Grundstruktur der mystischen Gemeinschaft aller Gläubigen [65]) und höchste Entfaltung christlichen Lebens. Noch erscheint ihm die Kirche mehr als Hüterin der Weisheit, denn als Vermittlerin der Gnaden. Christus ist mehr der « magister veritatis » als der Mittler zwischen Gott und Menschen, als der Erlöser durch sein Sühneleiden. Doch finden sich bereits wichtige Elemente zur Bestimmung des Bekehrungsbegriffes, der dem Bischof von Hippo in der Betreuung der « rudes » vorschwebt.

Eine Begriffsbestimmung der persönlichen Bekehrung Augustins Grund der *Confessiones* wird erschwert durch die Kontroversen und die verschiedensten Interpretationen, auf die im Rahmen dieser Untersuchung nicht eingegangen werden kann [66]). Doch möchte folgendes festgestellt werden : Es gibt im Leben Augustins nur *eine*

[63]) *De ord.* II, 9, 26 (PL 32, 1007-1008). Cf. O'Meara J. J., A master-motif in St. Augustine, in : *Actes du Ier Congrès de la Fédération Intern. d. Assoc. d'Etudes Classiques*. Paris 1951, 312-317 ; id., The young Augustine. London-New York-Toronto 1954, 156-172 ; Sciacca M., S. Agostino. Brescia 1949, I, 127-128.

[64]) *Contra Acad.* III, 20, 43 (CSEL 63, 80). Über das Verhältnis von Glaube und Vernunft in Augustins Schriften cf. Boyer Ch., Essais sur la doctrine de Saint Augustin. Paris 1932, 11-19 ; Löwith K., Wissen und Glauben, in : *Augustinus Magister* I, 403-410 ; Cushman R., Faith and reason in the tought of St. Augustine, in : *Church History* 19 (1950), 271-294 ; Gilson E., Introduction, 11-55.

[65]) *In ev. Jo. tr.* 29,6 (CC 36,287) : « Quid est ergo credere in eum ? Credendo amare, credendo diligere, credendo in eum ire, et eius membris incorporari... Non qualiscumque fides, sed fides quae per dilectionem operatur ».

[66]) Cf. Neusch M., Structure de la conversion dans les Confessions de saint Augustin. Thèse de doct. en phil. Toulouse 1972 ; Fugier H., Les images de la conversion dans les « Confessions » de saint Augustin. (Dissert.). Paris 1963 ; Holl A., Religionsphänomenologische Analyse der Confessiones. Wien 1963 ; F. Cayré, Le livre XIII des « Confessions », in : *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 2 (1956), 143-161.

Bekehrung [67]), die nach qualvollem Tasten und Irren in Mailand zum Durchbruch kam durch die radikale Abwendung vom Leben « secundum carnem » (*2 Kor.* 1, 17) und die Hinwendung des ganzen Menschen zum Christentum [68]), näherhin zum katholischen Christentum [69]). Augustins Bekehrung bedeutete nicht nur den Wechsel einer philosophischen Weltanschauung [70]), sie war zugleich die Hinordnung der Menschenseele auf Gott, entsprechend ihrem metaphysischen Wesen, des glücklechzenden Menschenherzens auf sein wahres und höchstes Gut, des Wahrheitssuchers auf die ewige Weisheit, die sich kundtut im unfehlbaren Lehramt der Kirche, des Nichtchristen zu Christus, des schuldiggewordenen Sünders zur völligen Weltentsagung und

[67]) Richtig schreibt Le Blond, Conversions, 89 : « Dans l'évolution d'Augustin vers le catholicisme il y a eu une conversion dernière, le changement de cœur à la scène du jardin; mais cette conversion a été préparée par un long itinéraire spirituel, préparation lente et continue, jalonnée par des tournants décisifs ». Wenn er dann jedoch von sukzessiven Bekehrungen spricht : « C'est pourquoi plutôt que de conversion, il faut parler de conversions de saint Augustin » (ibid.), kann dieser These nicht zugestimmt werden. Wohl gibt es eine geistige Entwicklung Augustins, aber nur eine Bekehrung : jene folgenschwere Umstellung des äusseren und inneren Lebens, das « induere Christum », nach dem qualvollen Sichdurchringen zur bedingungslosen Ethik Christi. Der Einfluss des *Hortensius* auf den der Sinnlichkeit verfallenen Jüngling, das Tasten nach der Lösung des Problems des Bösen im Anschluss an die Manichäer, das Sapiantia-Ideal des Neuplatonismus sind nur Phasen auf dem Wege zu neuem Leben.

[68]) Guardini R., Die Bekehrung des Aurelius Augustinus, München 1950², 167 schreibt zwar : « Die Antwort aber scheint jedenfalls zu lauten, dass Augustinus durch jene Bekehrung nicht Christ geworden ist, da er nie Heide war », doch wird es schwierig sein, christliche Einflüsse vom Christsein zu unterscheiden.

[69]) Zu berichtigen wäre das Urteil von Barnaud J., La conversion d'Augustin in : *Mélanges historiques offerts à Mr. Jean Meyhoffer*. Lausanne 1952, 10 : « La conversion de 386 n'est pas une conversion catholique, ni une conversion philosophique ou morale, mais une conversion religieuse, une conversion chrétienne tout court ». Augustins Bekehrung zum Christentum bestand primär im Anschluss an die katholische Kirche und war zugleich eine moralische und philosophische Bekehrung.

[70]) Cf. Mayer C. P., Die Zeichen in der geistigen Entwicklung und in der Theologie des jungen Augustin (Cassiciacum, 24). Würzburg 1969. Die These einer Bekehrung Augustins zum Platonismus vor seiner Bekehrung zum Christentum (Harnack A.; Alfaric P.) wird mit Recht von modernen Augustinusforschern abgelehnt; so besonders von Boyer Ch., Christianisme et Néo-Platonisme dans la formation de Saint Augustin. Rome 1953²; Courcelle P., Recherches sur les Confessions de Saint Augustin. Paris 1968²; id., Litiges sur la lecture des « Libri Platonicorum », in : *Augustiniana* 4 (1954), 9-23; Marrou, St. Augustin, 164-173; id., Retractatio, 628-631; Le Blond, l.c., 126-131.

christlichen Vollkommenheit [71]). In Augustins Bekehrung kommt die ganze Entwicklung seines vorherigen Lebens zum Abschluss, wird der Lebensbereich seiner unteilbaren Persönlichkeit neuorientiert.

Nach der Rückkehr in die afrikanische Heimat drängte es den Neubekehrten zu einer Auseinandersetzung mit den Manichäern. In der gegen sie gerichteten Schrift *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* erscheint als Lebensform des Christen die caritas, die Nächstenliebe als « certior gradus ad amorem Dei » [72]). Die Hinwendung zum Christentum besteht im Anschluss des sarkischen Menschen an Christus, den geistigen Adam [73]), der nicht so sehr durch seinen Sühnetod, als durch seine erleuchtende Lehre und das sichtbare Beispiel, besonders durch seine humilitas, zur ursprünglichen Vollkommenheit zurückführen will. Dieser « moralistisch-rationalistischen Erlösungstheorie » (Scheel O.) entspricht ein Begriff der Kirche, der über die ganze Welt verbreiteten Catholica, als « primär autoritativen Lehrorganisation » [74]), in deren « sanctissimo gremio » [75]) sich alle bergen müssen. Die caritas zu predigen und vorzuleben, ist eine der Hauptaufgaben der Kirche, die bis zum Tage der grossen Scheidung Heilige und Unheilige zählt.

Hatte die klösterliche Stille in Thagaste dem Neubekehrten und seinem Freundeskreis Gelegenheit geboten, in Studium, Meditation und philosophisch-theologischen Gesprächen das Wesen des Christentums tiefer zu verstehen, so wurde Augustins Erwählung zum Presbyter und Bischof für seine theologische Bildung von entscheidender Bedeutung. Neben einem gründlichen Studium der Hl. Schrift [76]), der öffentlichen Tätigkeit als Seelsorger und Vertreter der kichlichen

[71]) Cf. Mausbach, Ethik, I, 351 : « Mit der conversio im Sinne der Annahme des katholischen Glaubens verband sich sofort bei ihm die conversio im Sinne der Wahl des ehelosen, ganz der Erforschung und Betrachtung der Weisheit, d.h. der religösen Wahrheit gewidmeten Lebens ».

[72]) *De mor. eccl. cath.*, I, 26, 48 (PL 32, 1331). Cf. Ratzinger, Volk und Haus Gottes, 38-40; Hofmann, Kirchenbegriff, 56-58.

[73]) *De Genesi c. Manichaeos* II, 8, 10 (PL 34,201) : « Et ideo animalem hominem prius agimus omnes, qui de illo post peccatum nati sumus, donec assequamur spiritualem Adam, id est Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui peccatum non fecit... »

[74]) Hofmann, Kirchenbegriff, 65.

[75]) *De mor. eccl. cath.* I, 17, 32 (PL 32, 1325).

[76]) *Ep.* 21, 3 (CSEL 34/1, 51) : « debeo scripturarum eius medicamenta omnia perscrutari et orando ac legendo agere, ut idonea ualitudo animae meae ad tam periculosa negotia tribuatur, quod ante non feci, quia et tempus non habui ».

Hierarchie zwang ihn der Kampf gegen den Manichäismus zur Verteidigung der Grundwahrheiten des Christentums, während die Bekämpfung des Donatismus eine klare Definition des Wesens und der Disziplin der Kirche forderte, Die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Heidentum, die, wie Ratzinger bemerkt [77]), in ihrer Bedeutung oft nicht genügend gewürdigt wird, die schmerzliche Feststellung zahlreicher unaufrichtiger Bekehrungen und ungebrochenen Heidentums zwangen den Seelenhirten von Hippo zu klaren Bestimmungen des Wesens des Christentums und der christlichen Bekehrung. Wichtiger hierfür als die Erfahrung der eigenen Sündhaftigkeit und der göttlichen Gnadenführung zu neuem Leben wurde für Augustinus die seelsorgliche Praxis [79]), der Umgang mit der Gemeinde, deren konkrete Anliegen täglich an ihn herantraten. « Es ist kein Zweifel, dass ihm damals der Unterschied zwischen seiner bisherigen philosophischen Religion und dem Christentum des gewöhnlichen Mannes deutlich zum Bewusstsein kam; er wollte und musste sich in vielem umstellen; hatte er bisher Selbsteinkehr als Voraussetzung der Erkenntnis gefordert, so oblag es ihm jetzt, « poenitentia » und « confessio » als Voraussetzung der Sündenvergebung zu predigen » [80]). Der allmähliche Übergang vom christlich-philosophischen zum theologisch-kirchlichen Denken führte zur Ausbildung eines theologischen Lehrsystems, das trotz späterer Ausreifung keine wesentlichen Änderungen mehr erfuhr. Der manichäischen Gnosis [81]), die nur einen Glauben auf Grund der Wesenseinsicht anerkannte, setzte Augustinus den Autoritätsglauben der Kirche noch deutlicher und entschiedener gegenüber, stellte jedoch gleichzeitig die Motive zusammen, die den der Autorität geschenkten Glauben vor der Vernunft rechtfertigen. Doch nicht nur im Lehramt

[77]) Ratzinger, Volk und Haus Gottes, 125.

[78]) *En. in ps.* 39, 10 (PL 36, 441): « Quanti fideles agglomerantur, quantae turbae concurrunt, multi vere conversi, multi falso conversi; et pauciores sunt vere conversi, plures falso conversi; quia multiplicati sunt supra numerum ».

[79]) Es bleibt das Verdienst des Professors F. Van der Meer, durch sein Augustinusbuch die Bedeutung der Seelsorge für die Entwicklung und das literarische Schaffen des Heiligen aufgezeigt zu haben.

[80]) Hofmann, Kirchenbegriff, 77.

[81]) Cf. Jonas H., Die mythologische Gnosis. Göttingen 1954, 284-320; Quispel G., Gnosis als Weltreligion. Zürich 1951; Pétrement S., Le dualisme chez Platon, les gnostiques et les manichéens. Paris 1974, bes. 129-304; id., Le dualisme dans l'histoire de la philosophie et de la religion. Introduction à l'étude du dualisme platonicien, du gnosticisme et du manichéisme. Paris 1946.

der Kirche als der Führerin zur Weisheit und Wahrheit sah Augustinus ihre Aufgabe und Bedeutung; die Kirche wird vor allem Heilsanstalt für die sündenverhaftete Menschheit. Sie wird zum mystischen Leibe Christi, in den die Menschen nicht allein durch den Glauben, sondern durch die Taufe als « sacramentum fidei » eingegliedert werden. Die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Dualismus der Manichäer und das Studium der Paulusbriefe führten zu neuen Erkenntnissen des Wesens und der Folgen der Erbsünde und warfen von neuem das Problem der persönlichen Sünde, der Willensfreiheit und der göttlichen Gnadenhilfe auf. Christus erscheint als der grosse Mittler zwischen Gott und Menschen, der durch sein Blut und seinen Kreuzestod die Sünden getilgt und die Menschheit erlöst hat.

Mit der Widerlegung des Donatismus, der durch die Verwirrung des Kirchen- und Sakramentsbegriffes wie der kirchlichen Disziplin auch den Begriff der Bekehrung entstellt hatte, gelang Augustinus eine Klärung und Lösung, um die sich Nordafrikas Theologen und Schriftsteller vergebens gemüht hatten. Tertullian hatte als wesentliches Merkmal der empirischen Kirche die Heiligkeit aufgestellt und die höchsten sittlichen Anforderungen an die Taufbewerber gestellt. Er war an der Sündigkeit der Kirchengemeinde irre geworden. Cyprian war selbst dem Irrtum verfallen, die Gnadenvermittlung der Sakramente von der Heiligkeit des Spenders abhängig zu machen. Optatus war bemüht, in der Sakramentenspendung Amt und Person zu trennen, hatte aber die Gültigkeit der ausserkatholischen Taufe an die Unverfälschtheit des Glaubensbekenntnisses geknüpft. Erst Augustinus gelang es, den idealistischen Kirchenbegriff der afrikanischen Theologie mit der Wirklichkeit der sichtbaren Kirche zu koordinieren, den Begriff der Catholica richtigzustellen und die objektive Wirksamkeit der Sakramente von der Würdigkeit des Spenders zu trennen.

Eine Untersuchung des augustinischen Bekehrungsbegriffes vor der Abfassung des Buches *De catechizandis rudibus* kommt zu folgenden Ergebnissen :

1) Augustinus gibt nirgendwo eine formelle Definition der Bekehrung.

2) Überblickt man alles, was Augustinus in der Zeit vor Abfassung von *De catechizandis rudibus* über die Bekehrung schreibt, so ergibt sich, dass Bekehrung für ihn eine Abwendung von etwas ist, das als falsch, niedrig oder schlecht gilt, und Hinwendung zu etwas, das wahr, edel und gut ist.

3) Im einzelnen begegnen uns bei Augustinus folgende Formen der Bekehrung:

a) Die Bekehrung von einer nichtchristlichen Religion (Heidentum und Judentum) zum Christentum

b) Die Bekehrung vom Schisma zur wahren Kirche oder zur Liebeskirche.

c) Die Bekehrung von der Häresie zum wahren Glauben.

d) Die Bekehrung vom scheinchristlichen Leben zum wahren christlichen Leben.

e) Die Bekehrung vom weltlichen Leben zum Ordensstand.

Berücksichtigt wird in den folgenden Ausführungen nur die Bekehrung von einer nichtchristlichen Religion zum Christentum.

B. *Augustins Bekehrungsbegriff in de Catechizandis Rudibus.*

Was den Bekehrungsbegriff betrifft, der in De catechizandis rudibus vorgetragen wird oder ihm zugrunde liegt, so muss festgestellt werden, dass es nicht in der Absicht Augustins lag, in diesem Leitfaden für die Erstkatechese die Bekehrung begrifflich zu bestimmen. Aber aus all dem, was Augustinus über das Christentum und über die Bekehrung und an sittlichen Anweisungen für die Neubekehrten gibt, lässt sich folgende Begriffsbestimmung eruieren: Die Bekehrung ist die auf Gottes Anruf erfolgende und mit seiner Gnadenhilfe gewirkte Abwendung des heil-losen Nichtchristen von der gottwidrigen Welt, seine Hinwendung zu Christus und Annahme der Heilsordnung Christi durch einen in Demut gesetzten, ausdrücklichen Akt übernatürlichen Glaubens, der sich zu übernatürlicher Hoffnung und Liebe entfaltet und zur vollen Eingliederung in den mystischen Christusleib durch die Taufe führt.

Diese Begriffsbestimmung, die nicht als erschöpfend angesehen werden kann, wird in den folgenden Ausführungen näher zu erklären, zu begründen und auszuwerten sein.

(*Fortsetzung folgt*) Jean-Pierre Belche.

St. Augustine's «notitia sui» Related to Aristotle and the Early Neo-Platonists*

III. Neo-Platonist Self-Knowledge systems and Augustine

Neo-Platonism within the Philosophical tradition

E. L. Fortin has very felicitously expressed two of the characteristic teachings of neo-Platonism. Firstly, of its teaching that the soul was divine he wrote that although this idea went back to Plato it took in neo-Platonism, particularly in Plotinus,

> « a philosophical power and significance which it had never had before and would never have again. It can be asserted without any exaggeration that at no other time in the history of ancient speculation was the divinity of the soul affirmed in a more absolute and more categorical way » [1]).

Secondly, he noted that the high spiritual ideal which it put forward in such purity seemed to make the Incarnation an impossibility.

> « We find at the bottom of the debate between Christians and neo-Platonists not in the first place the impossibility of conceiving a way in which the union of the two natures in Christ would be brought about, still less the Manichaean idea of matter being evil in itself and liable to contaminate a being who was united with it, but the idea of a sovereignly perfect God who is able to enter into direct contact with man and become one with him without losing his transcendence (déchoir). It was just because such a

*) Continuation of *Augustiniana* 27 (1977), pp. 70-132. Some of the notes in the following text refer to those pages.

[1]) Christianisme et Culture Philosophique au Cinquième Siècle, Paris 1959 p. 94. Particularly the introduction of J. Pépin 'Idées Grecques sur l'Homme et sur Dieu', Paris 1971, has a rich study of the occurrence in classical and early Christian writings of the idea of the divinisation of man, with ample references to texts; it is deeper but contains nothing so epigrammatic.

notion was given to God higher than ever before, that its incarnation seemed by comparison unbelievable » [2]).

In its most spiritual conceptions neo-Platonism differed from its philosophical sources, even though it founded itself on a commentary of Platonist, Aristotelian, Stoic and other texts; though probably its greater similarity to authentic Platonism justifies the use of the title it carries. Philo's philosophical judaism of the first century was a tribute to the early strength of the eclectic spiritual philosophy from which it sprang. The identification of the transcendent νοῦς with the Jewish God by Porphyry was a sign of its synthetic power at a later stage. What it could not absorb it attacked : what seemed to be peripheral subversive movements in Christianity and Gnosticism. It took upon itself the task of giving a place to the Graeco-Roman Pantheon, demythologising and enmythologising where appropriate, for its conviction of the transcendent existence of mind was unshakeable.

Whether he intended it or not, the teaching and writing of Plotinus offered an alternative to Christianity which was made to seem by comparison both less spiritual and an intruder into the corpus of Graeco-Roman philosophy, now in process of being organised into a coherent system. With Porphyry, who was more incisive and more tempestuous, neo-Platonist thinking was accompanied with an intellectual onslaught against the Christianity from which he may have apostatised. The evangelists, he said, were not witnesses of Christ but inventors : « criminal sophists » [3]), and the religious possibilities of the system were incapable of leading to the desired ecstasy. His concern extended to other religions, either proposing their incorporation or attacking them : clearly he carried out the eclectic dialogue to the limits of its possibilities. In correspondence with an Egyptian priest he proposed a critical purification of the worship which would make it approximate to philosophical contemplation. He made an important *Commentary*, known to Augustine but now lost [4]), *on the*

[2]) *Op. cit.*, p. 125. For a wider survey of the points of neo-Platonist anti-Christian polemic see R. T. WALLIS, 'Neo-Platonism', London 1972, especially pp. 100-105.

[3]) W. DEN BOER, 'A Historian and his enemies : Porphyry and the Christians'. Lecture given at Cambridge on 14th November, 1972. cf. *eiusd. auct.* 'Porphyrios als historicus in zijn strijd tegen het Christendom', in : '*Varia Historica*' *offered to A.W. Byvanck*, Assen 1954, p. 89.

[4]) The basic works on the corpus of Porphyry's writings are BIDEZ and BEUTLER. cf. *supra* p. 76 (n. 18).

Chaldaean oracles — themselves, as far as appears from their fragmentary remains, a fusion of Chaldaean Mazdaism, Stoicism and middle-Platonist conceptions. He was more concessive than Plotinus towards religious practices, and accepted theurgy as a means of purification of body.

Porphyry died probably in the first decade of the fourth century, about sixty years before Augustine was born. The neo-Platonist movement, after Iamblichus more and more drifting into a predominantly theurgic rather than philosophic form, continued until after Augustine's death. Julian the Apostate had made theurgy fashionable. When he died and Christianity was restored, theurgy was carried on only secretly, handed down in certain families [5]).

The neo-Platonism against which Augustine wrote comes out of the unsettled religious state of the fourth century Roman Empire. In his three years reign (360-3) the Emperor Julian had given personal encouragement to the old paganism, particularly among the upper classes, on the defensive against Christianity which they considered barbarian and often morally corrupt. The arguments of Porphyry were used again against Christianity [6]). With the demise of Julian paganism was not completely repressed. Under the liberal régime of his successor pagans still remained in the highest office [7]), and they were characterised by the development of a « more ardent, more mystical » piety [8]), showing itself in the mystery cults and at least the secret practices of the former Roman religion [9]). Intellectually alien to them were the neo-Platonist thinkers in the Plotinus-Porphyry tradition who yet considered themselves as the intellectual apologists of the Roman tradition : occasionally theurgist, but above mystagogic

[5]) 'In the fifth century it was again openly taught and practised by the Athenian neo-Platonists : Proklos not only composed a *Περὶ ἀγωγῆς* and a further commentary on the Chaldaean oracles, but also enjoyed personal visions (*αὐτοπτουμένοις*) of luminous' Hecate phantasms and was, like the founder of the cult, great at rain making', E. R. Dodds, 'Theurgy and its Relation to neo-Platonism', *Journal of Roman Studies* XXXVII, 1947, p. 59.

[6]) See P. de Labriolle, 'La Réaction Païenne', new edition, Paris 1942, p. 421. For this period see Part IV of this work : « L'opposition intellectuelle sous l'Empire Chrétien », summarised in *auct. cit.* '*Histoire de l'Église*', edited A. Fliche and V. Martin, III, Paris 1936, pp. 196 ff.

[7]) de Labriolle, 'La Réaction...', p. 341.

[8]) *auct. cit.*, 'L'Histoire...', p. 196.

[9]) de Labriolle gives concrete examples, 'La Réaction...', pp. 348 ff.

excesses. Dedication to Cybele and Attis by being drenched in the blood of a bull immolated above them would have been alien to their conceptions; occasionally they might come together in a meeting room [10]). The arrival of neo-Platonist minded refugees in North Africa after the Vandal capture of Rome in 410 could have been the occasion for the seeming change in orientation of *De Trinitate* VIII-XV [11]). The preoccupation with neo-Platonism of a large part of the *De Civitate Dei* is easily shown. The earliest books are concerned to counter the arguments that neglect of the old gods was responsible for the debacle of 410. A great deal of the second half is concerned with refuting pagan arguments taken from at least three works of Porphyry. Thus from popular practice to its most intellectual justification : the whole spectrum of paganism is covered. The *De Trinitate* was also composed over a long period; the publication is dated by Brown in 414, with 419 as a late date. On Brown's dating the sections of the *De Civitate Dei* referring to Porphyry (Book VII onwards) would have been gestating in Augustine's mind at precisely the time in which the second part of the *De Trinitate* would have been written and published. In catering for his newly arrived disputants he would inevitably have found himself arguing against the contention that neo-Platonism was the most intellectual and perfect form of philosophy [12]). The two concerns of the apologist are both present in Augustine : defence — against attack and the prevention of apostasy, and offence — the winning of converts; and Augustine made a critique of both Plotinus and the more incisive Porphry with that in view. For the capacities of the latter he had a wary but profound respect. And as in the sphere

[10]) Contrast Prudentius's description of baptism in bull's blood (DE LABRIOLLE, 'La Réaction...', pp. 348 (and n. 5)-9 with the kind of worship meant for a supposed meeting house for neo-Platonists excavated at Ostia (R. MEIGGS, 'Roman Ostia', Oxford 1960, p. 393).

[11]) The circle for whom Augustine wrote the *De Civitate Dei*, reconstructed by P. BROWN, *Augustine of Hippo*, London 1967, chapter 26, could well fit the recipients for whom the *De Trinitate* was intended : the refugees came to North Africa after the Vandal capture of Rome in 410. « A new generation has come to demand a new approach : for the cultured pagan noblemen of Rome had begun to make their presence felt, as refugees, in the salons of Carthage » (*ib.* p. 300). So many of the circumstances of the writing of the *De Civitate Dei* which BROWN has worked out could be applied to the writing of the *De Trinitate* (to which, given its importance, he devotes unbelievably little attention).

[12]) Cf. p. 103, n. 105.

of world history the City of God was shown to be that to which all previous epochs were leading as to the eschatological phase of humanity, in parallel way the *De Trinitate* may be regarded a statement of divine-human philosophy, a synthesis of Judaeo-Christian and pagan philosophic traditions, a statement of the pre-eschatological stage of humanity's intimacy with God through likeness and cult, the 'temple' of the human soul analysed timelessly — whilst the *De Civitate Dei* viewed the epochs of history under the single unchanging providence of God. In both historical tradition and introspective analysis it was necessary to come to terms with neo-Platonism, to point out the « vestigia Dei » both in history and in the mind, to contravert it in its self and in its flaws where it seemed to propose itself presumptuously against the Church or against the revealed data of the Godhead and its image in man.

H. Dörrie has written about what is in fact the other side of this picture : the tradition-consciousness of Graeco-Roman philosophy, with Porphyry as a kind of judge of this tradition [13]). Likening the situation to the discerning of a new Gospel kerygma, he supposes that there must have been a judgement at work to keep tradition and truth together and in terms of them, to control the incorporation of a new element. And the basic nature for this was that philosophy of all schools had a sense of there being one λόγος behind the different forms of thought, and therefore thinkers must try to discern this same single, ultimate truth. Therefore, « If the Logos is single then must philosophy also... be one » [14]). More than Plotinus, wrote Dörrie, was Porphyry concerned to ensure that nothing which might not be drawn legitimately out of Plato should be tolerated.

But it was in just this spirit that Augustine, with a belief in the single « Veritas », made use of some and rejected other neo-Platonist ideas. He asserted constantly the greater potential coherence of the Christian position [15]), and its ability to fulfil the aspirations of those outside its tradition and to enfold them within it. The Christian sacramental, cultic, biblical and preached means of 'Seelsorge'

[13]) See 'Die Schultradition in Mittelplatonismus und Porphyrios' in : *Fondation Hardt, Entretiens XII, 'Porphyre'*, Geneva 1966.

[14]) *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

[15]) Cf. *De Trinitate* XV 27 49 : 'Quantum vero attinet summam... naturam, per intelligentiam utcumque cernendam, nusquam se melius, regente duntaxat fidei regula, acies humanae mentis exercet...'

were far superior to the use of corporeal theurgy and the search for intellectual ecstasy. That the Christian experience demanded faith was not in question. Rist has shown that πίστις in Plotinus could mean a firm conviction in the invisible but real noetic cosmos [16]). Porphyry had found in the Chaldaean oracles a triad Faith-Truth-Love [17]), and gave an explanation of it which « rests on a Platonic reinterpretation of a Chaldaean doctrine » [18]); and a Platonic interpretation of πίστις with relation to the Gods would have commended it [19]). Later Proklos made πίστις 'the highest degree of knowledge' superior even to γνῶσις : through πίστις, ἀλήθεια and ἔρως, everything is conjoined to this divine. Lewy comments « Thus, Platonism, in its ultimate stage, professes the superiority of illumined Faith over Knowledge, ending with the same doctrine with which Christian theology had started » [20]).

Triadic and Enneadic Structures in the Graeco-Roman Philosophical Tradition and the Christian Trinity

The philosophical world into which the Christian trinitarian conception came was disposed to receive it by virtue of the rich content of its own triadic thinking, and Christian apologists were ready to point out this triadicity as so much foreshadowing of revelation and so many « vestigia Dei ». Broadly speaking, this triadic thinking was in four areas :

a) triads in the divine nature ;
b) cosmological triads in Platonism especially the noetic hypostasis structures of neo-Platonism ;
c) creational or divine relational structures ;
d) epistemic structures [21])

16) See chapter 17 of 'Plotinus : The Road to Reality', Cambridge 1967, especially pp. 235-7.

17) *Πίστις καὶ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἔρως.*

18) H. Lewy, 'Chaldaean Cracles and Theurgy', Cairo 1956 (Recherches d'Archéologie de Philosophie et d'Histoire, XIII), p. 456.

19) For a brief appreciation of πίστις in Plato with relation to Christian belief, see article 'πίστις', in : '*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*', edited by G. Friedrich, translated by G. W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids 1968, vol. VI p. 176-7, v. especially Laws XII 966 C and D for belief in the Gods.

20) Lewy, p. 145 n (h).

21) A locus classicus for triadicity is in Aristotle's *De Coelo* I 1 : 'It is just as the

a) The first type is conspicuously found in Aristotle's divinity of *Metaphysics* XII [22]) : « Therefore νοῦς thinks itself, if it is that which is best; and its thinking is a thinking of thinking ». He argues for this triadic structure systematically : there must be a subject thinking, an act of thought and an object.

According to the *Chaldaean Oracles*, there is a triad of faculties of mind and will and source in the Supreme Being : « The action of the transcendent God is thought, consequently the first entity that issues from Him is His Intellect, the πατρικὸς νοῦς. His will (βουλή) acts in harmony with this entity; for His volition is thought, and his thought is action. Intellect, Will and Power constitute the immediate faculties of the 'Father'; the 'Paternal Monad' » [23]). Other Chaldaean triads include Hecate and the world-soul; and here Lewy's account passes on an impression of imprecision in which triadic schemas are almost submerged in imagery [24]). The same can be said for a subordinated triad in which the Ideas come from « the Father's Intellect, thinking with his vigorous will » [25]).

b) A passage in Plato's *second Letter* [26] is quoted by Plotinus as an authority for the three hypostases Supreme God — νοῦς — ψυχή [27]) : « All things are around the King of all, and that is the cause of all good and beautiful things and all things belong to that, and the second things are around the Second and the third around the Third ». But far more important is a subordinated triad that can

Pythagoreans say, for the whole world and all things in it are summed up in the number three; for *end. middle and beginning* give the number of the whole, and their number is the triad. Hence it is that we have taken this number from nature, as it were one of her laws, and make use of it even for the worship of the Gods' (268 a 10-15). For the whole background v. R. Mehrlein, article « Drei » in : '*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*' IV, Stuttgart 1959.

[22]) Ch. 9 1074 b 34-35.

[23]) So Lewy, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80 : there are two triads here — the first includes the source which the latter ignores, substituting 'power'. The likeness to Augustine's human triad of mens (or memoria) — intelligere — velle (which he finds he cannot project back into God) should not go by unnoticed.

[24]) *Ib.* pp. 82 ff.

[25]) *Ib.* p. 109 ff.

[26]) 312 E. A passage alluded to in Numenius : cf. *supra* p. 93. Described by Bréhier as 'the model of neo-Platonist triads', See Plotin, '*Ennéades* I' (translation) p. 116 n. 1.

[27]) *Ennead* I, 8, 2.

be read into a number of texts in the *Philebus and Timaeus* [28]), which can be systematically related with texts from the *Letters* [29]), to produce an ordered triad of which the elements are firstly the originating principle, secondly either νοῦς or the demiurge, and thirdly ψυχή. To complete the neo-Platonist exegesis of Plato, it is necessary to see some further elements in the *Parmenides* : not only the paradoxical 'one and many' in which Plotinus makes a distinction between one-many and one-and-many [30]), but also the same dialogue's reflection that if One is, it would be a composition of itself and being [31]). This seemed to be in accord with the teaching of the *Republic* that the Good was 'Beyond thought and beyond being » [32]). The composition of itself and being could not, according to Plotinus, belong to the One, though it might belong to νοῦς, and even more so to ψυχή. A rigid triad of three subordinated hypostases of increasing multiplicity is thus formed. Then further, the one-many charcteristics of the lower two were given an extension such as Aristotle had proposed for νοῦς alone, that it was one in itself but embodied in individual man — together with a lesser one-in-manyness of ψυχή, in conformity with the *Timaeus*'s description of a residue of lesser purity making up the soul of the universe [33]).

[28]) *Philebus* 26 D, 28 C, 30 C; *Timaeus* 41 D.

[29]) In addition to *Letter two* (supra cit.), *Letter six* with its 'Father of the Cause'. See *Ennead* V, 1, 8, and cf. W. Neumann and J. Kirchensteiner, 'Platon : Briefe', Munich 1967, pp. 169-70.

[30]) *Parmenides* 156 B. See *Ennead* V, 1, 8 : ἓν πολλά and ἓν καὶ πολλά.

[31]) 142 B ff.

[32]) *Republic* 509 B.

[33]) *Timaeus loc. cit.* cf. J. Trouillard, 'L'Ame du Timée et l'Un du Parmenide dans la perspective néoplatonicienne', *Revue Internationale de Philosophie* 92, 1970. « When neo-Platonists read the *Timaeus* they find there the *Parmenides*... They project a dialectical conflict on to the myth about the creation... Beginning with Plotinus these neo-Platonists are the thinkers who expect to find the secret of Platonism in the *Parmenides*. Plotinus expresses the multiplication and distribution of souls, as that of the powers of the soul in different parts of its own body, by contradictory formulas which recall both the *Timaeus* and the third hypothesis.... In gathering together the extremes, (soul) makes of our universe a single unity living in sympathy with itself (*Ennead* IV 4 32)... That the highest harmony comes about from the connection of opposites is a frequent theme in the *Enneads*. Unity is the relationship which transcends conflict (IV 4 38, III 3 6)... these extremes are interior to soul (III 4 3)'.

c) Creational and divine relational structures can be found more frequently. They do not have the paradoxical unity of the divine triads nor the problem of interconnection by emanation and return of the neo-Platonic hypostases; they straddle the distance in kind and degree between creator and creation.

For example, St. Ambrose's *Hexameron* begins [34]) (I. 1. 1-4) with a reduction to three factors of the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle, and these are both triads of this kind. Plato has the triad, so St. Ambrose wrote, 'Deum, exemplar et materia' : (Deum) « tamquam artificem ad exemplar, hoc est, ideam intendentem, fecisse mundum de materia »; Aristotle has « materia, species, et tertium... operatorium ». In a long and masterful analysis arising out of this small text and going through a vast number of related writings, J. Pépin comes to the conclusion that it bears traces of the largely lost dialogue *De Philosophia* of Aristotle and lost works of Origen and Porphyry [35]). In the case of the Aristotelian triad, which seems in itself to refer to particular actions, Ambrose has put it in a setting of creation. We may think then that the same principles are seen at both a macrocosmic and an immediate and detailed level — as the triad of the ps. - Archytian fragment noted in the previous chapter [36]).

d) The triadic structure within the Plotinian νοῦς (Being-life-thought) derives from a well-known passage in Plato's *Sophist* [37]) in a context more epistemological than noetic - cosmological [38]).

[34]) I, 1, 1-4. PL 14, 123.

[35]) '*Théologie Cosmique et Théologie Chrétienne*', Paris 1964, pp. 11, 392 ff, 525 ff. The book is a model of literary scholarship in discovering the situation of ideas in transmission from Plato and Aristotle through the mazes of eclecticism until the time of Augustine.

[36]) See *supra* p. 94, n. 80. Pépin gives this triad in turn an Aristotelian origin : *ib.* pp. 61-3.

[37]) 248 E —249 A.

[38] P. Hadot has traced the history of the idea in 'Être, Vie, Pensée chez Plotin et avant Plotin', in : *Fondation Hardt, Entreriens V* '*Les Sources de Plotin*', Geneva 1960. He proposed that Plotinus brought the *Sophist* text into relation with Aristotle's *Metaphysica* XII where the 'life of intelligence' is described as 'the best life' (ζωὴ ἀρίστη : 1072 b 28) : 'when Plotinus was inspired by the *Sophist*, life appeared as the act of being. Now under the influence of Aristotle, it is identified with the act of intellection...' (*op. cit.* pp.112-3).

It should be remembered that here 'being' is precisely the intelligible being of the ideas, and that the stranger proposes that they have movement and life in order to explain how they can move an intellect in the act of knowing. With Plato the need

Triadicity in human epistemic structures, seen already in general terms, will be found highly developed in Augustine [39]).

In a way parallel to the Christian search for trinitarian « vestigia Dei » in other triadic structures, Porphyry found parallels to the eclectic-derived neo-Platonist triadic conceptions in the *Chaldaean Oracles*. « He was the first to identify Father-Power-Intellect with Being-Life-Intellect; above all he identified the Father of the *Oracles*, that is to say the Supreme God with existence and pure being, and also with the One of Plotinus » [40]).

Porphyry and later Proclus moved on to make enneadic structures in which the vertical triad of being-life-intelligence was linked horizontally to triads of Father-Power-Intellect. Triadic and enneadic structures were clearly regarded by neo-Platonists as the means of understanding the laws according to which the noetic cosmos was constituted. Here Augustine followed Porphyry and constructed his own ennead, but the discussion of this must be left until later [41]).

Besides these there are other significant triads in Plotinus where willing is involved in the knowledge of an object [42]), where a triad is

for this absolute being, 'awful and holy', to have these qualities is not argued by means of a dissecting analysis; his argument is *a fortiori*: because they cause to know they must also know. But neo-Platonism's method was the induction of a necessary structural pattern into often fugitive philosophical reflections; and here, as so often, it is a triadic pattern. It is at such moments that the hermeneutical transformation which it worked stands out at its clearest. With Porphyry the schematised triad is interpreted as the three moments of νοῦς in the act of motionless self-knowing. 'But (νοῦς) is neither one nor simple with relationship to the distinction of being, life and thought. Thinking (το νοοῦν) and the intelligible exist in identity. But when νοῦς goes from being to become thinking, in order to come back towards the intelligible and to see itself, thinking is then life', (*Commentary on the Parmenides* fr. XIV lines 15-21; See HADOT, 'Porphyre...' II pp. 110-111). Hadot proposes that wheraes the relation between the elements of the triad in Plotinus is only noetic, in Porphyry it becomes 'théogonique' :'Being is the Father of life and thought' (*ib.* I pp. 277-8).

[39]) See *supra* p. 94 and *infra*, chapter 5.

[40]) HADOT, I, p. 272.

[41]) See *infra*, chapter 5.

[42]) *Ennead* III, 8, 6: 'For, again, when they reach what they *want*, the thing which they *wished* to exist, not so that they should not know it but so that they should know it and see it present in their soul...'.

described in the act of self-knowing of νοῦς [43]) and the One [44]), and the self-love of the One [45]). Of their appearing in the thought of Augustine, transferred to the human « mens », we shall be speaking later [46]).

Neo-Platonism : the Maximal Expression of the Eclectic Spirit

A critical and systematic synthesis of inherited principally Greek philosophical traditions was the aim of neo-Platonist speculation; a personal search for a full discovery of the self and noetic reality at the same time was the aim of neo-Platonist life : so the structures of the system would come to life : would turn out to be, when correctly conceptualised, the structure of the noetic world itself. Aperçus from the Platonic dialogues and thoughts from Aristotle on the divine nature of mind and thinking were brought together in critical union with other ideas originating from a wider field and given a systematic development and rigorous coherence which in their sources they had not had.

At the centre of the system was the One of Plato's *Parmenides*, identified with the Good of the *Republic*, the source of reality and the object of desire and love from everything which it created. In Plotinus it was usually described, in conformity with statements in both dialogues, as « above being and above thought », though it is sometimes attributed with a superior kind of reflection [47]), for any act of knowledge implies that there is some ignorance which is being satisfied [48]) which would introduce the imperfection of duality (or triplicity) even into its self-knowing. Yet Porphyry rejected this

[43]) *Ib.* V, 3, 5 : 'Given its intellection identical with its intellectual object and the object identical with the principle itself, it cannot but have self-knowledge'. It is a reformulation of νόησις νοήσεως νόησις. It follows on a dyadic version of the idea.

[44]) *Ib.* VI, 7, 41 : '...since knower, knowing and known are identical, all merges into a unity'.

[45]) *Ib.* VI, 8, 5 : 'He is at the same time object loved, love and self-love' (following Bréhier).

[46]) See *infra*, chapter 4 and 5.

[47]) *Ib.* V, 4, 2; also VI, 7, 38 (translating with Bréhier, 'And nothing belongs to him, except a certain simple intuition relative to himself').

[48]) *Ib.* VI, 9, 6.

paradoxical position and attributed to the One an unambivalent, if superior, kind of knowledge [49]).

According to Plotinus, from the One comes the hypostasis of νοῦς which 'has had the audacity to separate itself from the One' [50]). In the *Parmenides*, Plato made Parmenides himself derive the many from the One, of which it was a necessary condition. The movement of the dialogue depends on the introduction of the genus of 'other', for 'many' turns out to be the 'other' of One [51]). Neo-Platonic interpretation proposed that the conception of pluralising in this part of the dialogue described the movement of νοῦς itself, which was the source of everything manifold. The self-thinking of νοῦς represents the radical otherness which coincides with its own oneness [52]). Its self-thinking was both the originating division into otherness and the means of bringing all otherness into unity. It was at one and the same time epistemological and ontological : creating the binding force for everything which had been smitten with the fact of division which derived from its own separation from the One. It was the highest expression of a principle from which the One alone can be excepted : that 'everything seeks itself' [53]).

Though related to multiplicity νοῦς always remains the same [54]); but having fallen away from the unity of the One it is under a necessity of knowing itself to gather itself together [55]). In νοῦς's

[49]) See fr. 12-14 of the commentary on the *Parmenides* (HADOT, 'Porphyre...' II, pp. 103 ff) which speaks of a second 'One' participating in the first, and two states of 'mind'. For Porphyry's syncretism with Chaldaean notions, which make 'paternal intellect' and 'being' as characteristics of the first hypostasis, see *ib.* I, pp. 266 ff.

[50]) *Ennead* VI, 9, 5 — following BRÉHIER's translation. Cf. III, 7, 15 : 'it could not sustain the power poured upon it and therefore broke it up'.

[51]) 'Same' and 'other' are included with the other supreme genera in *Sophist* 254 D ff. In the *Parmenides* 'other' is introduced at 143 B, when the being of the One is found to be other than the One. For K. H. VOLKMANN-SCHLUCK, the *Parmenides* represents Plato's latest position ('Plotin als interpret der Ontologie Platos', p. 149).

[52]) W. BEIERWALTES, 'Andersheit, zur neoplatonischen Struktur einer Problemgeschichte' (in : '*Le Néoplatonisme : Colloques Internationaux, Royaumont, June* 1969', Paris 1971, p. 366). cf. H. R. SCHWYZER, 'The quaestic vexata of Plotinus' system is this : why didn't the One remain in its own loneliness ? Why did the manifold come into existence ?' (Review of J. KATZ, 'Plotinus' Search for the Good', in : *American Journal of Philology* 74, 1953, p. 200).

[53]) *Ennead* VI, 6, 1.

[54]) *Ennead* VI, 7, 13.

[55]) *Ib.* V, 3, 10.

knowledge of intelligibles other than itself Plotinus fused together the Aristotelian notion of the unity of thought and thinker with his own conception of the triad being-life-intelligence, taken from the *Sophist* [56]: if « perfect being » is not devoid of life and mind, every idea should therefore be the act of thinking. Any doubt in Plato about the existence of a distinction between the idea thought and the thinker is ended by the Aristotle-derived identity. This is the basis of Plotinus's notion that each idea is νοῦς [57]; for in thinking, νοῦς is the intelligible itself [58]). So νοῦς is a « single simultaneous whole of multiple things » [59]). The paradoxes of the One and the Many in νοῦς are best described thus by Plotinus: « every notion (ἕκαστον [εἶδος ?]) is what it is itself in act, and potentially everything else... particular minds are comprised in the universal mind and the universal mind in the particulars » [60]). The triad being-life-thought, in which the components are in one sense equal and the same and at the same time different, is the characteristic perfection of the noetic world, which, bound together in self-knowledge and in its contemplation of the One, was the most assimilable hypostasis to the Christian idea of the divine, in which the ideas were its thoughts, yet were identical with itself.

« In thinking the Good, νοῦς also thinks itself by accident » [61]). But also in thinking the Good, from the power which it receives and inevitably fragments in order to support it part by part [62]), everything else is created, but principally ψυχή which is its image and expressed

[56]) No doubt prepared for by Albinus's identification of the intelligibles as thoughts of God. But the material for this construction lay at hand in Aristotle: in the complete unity of νοῦς and νοητά and the divine activity of νόησις νοήσεως. And if the embodied mind thought itself in its νοητά (See *supra*, pp. 122-123), and the embodied mind and divine mind were one, why need divine thinking to be only of itself? cf. C. J. DE VOGEL, 'La Méthode en Métaphysique d'après Métaphysique A 1-2', in: '*Aristote et les Problèmes de Méthode*', Louvain-Paris 1961: 'But the divine spirit which appears to know in the highest way the form-essences of natural things must so to speak be near to them' (p. 168).

[57]) *Ib.* V, 9, 8.

[58]) *Ib.* III, 9, 1.

[59]) *Ib.* IV, 4, 1, following BRÉHIER's translation.

[60]) *Ib.* VI, 2, 20, again following BRÉHIER.

[61]) *Ib.* V, 6, 5, following BRÉHIER.

[62]) *Ib.* VI, 7, 15.

word [63]). Ψυχή is the intermediary between νοῦς which is unchangeable and the changing world. It too knows itself as separate from the One and from νοῦς, and in its higher part seeks to gather itself together in self-knowledge and knowledge of νοῦς and the One [64]). Its multiplicity is more fault-smitten than the audacity of νοῦς : « we may imagine that it cannot bear to be a single existence when it has the power to be all it is » [65]). In its human embodiments it is drawn to the relative unreality of material things. With soul comes the existence of time, a looser multiplicity than that of the νοητά within νοῦς [66]), and below it again the manifold of bodies in space. Plotinus's judgement is part moral, part metaphysical : with the distance of the lesser realities from their principle imperfections are not surprising [67]). Ψυχή in its human embodiments is the principle of life and discursive thinking [68]), but it is not the ἐντελέχεια of the body [69]). Part turned to νοῦς and part turned to bodies [70]), its union with self-knowing νοῦς prevents it from dissipating itself [71]). Between the unchanging νοῦς and the changeable cosmos it is not only the setting of the soul-drama of fall and return [72]) : it is through its relative imperfection the ultimate reason for the existence of motion and time in the cosmos over which it presides.

In this schema, a man, with his normal and usual place in ψυχή

[63]) *Ib.* V, 1, 3.

[64]) *Ib.* v. especially V, 3, 6 and VI, 9, 3.

[65]) *Ennead* VI, 2, 6 — following BRÉHIER's translation.

[66]) cf. J. TROUILLARD, 'The Logic of Attribution in Plotinus', *International Philosophical Quarterly* I 1961, pp. 130-1 : 'The act which gives birth to time is the act by which... soul, abandoning its search for the necessary being in itself, projects itself outwards toward new things and new states. The act from which time arises is thus very much an ecstasy in the etymological sense of the word... Time is a process of continual alteration through which the simultaneous totality of the Nous is decomposed into successive states'.

[67]) *Ennead* III, 3, 3. But cf. TROUILLARD, 'L'Impeccabilité de l'esprit selon Plotin', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 143, 1953, p. 260 : 'the soul which falls is more without power than a rebel'.

[68]) *Ib.* VI, 7, 17.

[69]) *Ib.* IV, 2, 1.

[70]) *Ib.* IV, 8, 8.

[71]) *Ib.* V, 3, 8.

[72]) *Ib.* IV, 8, 4.

at the higher level of rationality [73]), guided by his daimon [74]) (for good or for evil : the choice is our own), drawn by desire for the Good and love for his engenderer [75]), must gather himself together [76]) and come to know himself. This means the control of the passions by the will and the development of the intellectual virtues — in which will and desire are both sublimated into the pure intelligence of νοῦς (which 'is ours when we use it') [77]). By this unity of himself with the universal νοῦς he will discover that he is all things [78]), and awake to his true self [79]). So reduced to unity [80]) he sees himself to be not distinct from God his object, his centre coinciding with the universal centre [81]), and 'alone with the alone' [82]) becomes, in ecstasy, an object seen — no longer a separate seer [83]).

Without changing the basic principles which he learnt from Plotinus, Porphyry developed his theories, though very often viewing them from a more human standpoint. The *means* of purification were

[73]) *Ib.* I, 1, 7. There seems to be a polarising of interpretation about what constitutes the personality. At one end are those who regard the individual personality as unimportant compared with the One in which it is to be absorbed, so the individual is no more than a shadow. (v. G. P. J. O'Daly, 'Plotinus' Philosophy of the Self, Shannon 1973, p. 28.) At the other end is a reluctance to abondon the individual's importance. So, A. H. Armstrong wrote 'if pushed to its logical extreme (this) would destroy all possibility of a cosmology, or any sort of philosophical thinking... (union with the One) is a temporary unification' ('The Architecture of the Intelligible Universe in the Philosophy of Plotinus', Cambridge 1940, p. 110). Hadot ('Plotin, ou la Simplicité du Regard' Paris 1963, pp. 21 ff) writes of 'levels of the self'. In all strictness the first position (of O'Daly) seems the correct one.

[74]) *Ennead* III, 4, especially 3. Plotinus had « spiritualised and rationalised » ideas from Stoic, Platonic and Pythagorean sources. See article by Andres, 'Daimon', *Pauly-Wissowa RE* Supplement III, col. 313-4.

[75]) *Ennead* V, 1, 6.

[76]) *Ib.* IV, 4, 44.

[77]) *Ib.* V, 3, 3.

[78]) *Ib.* IV, 4, 2. McKenna, fights shy of this identification. Following Bréhier : 'since he is in himself all things (πάντα εἶναι), in thinking himself, he thinks at the same time all things'.

[79]) *Ib.* VI, 7, 15.

[80]) *Ib.* VI, 9, 4.

[81]) *Ib.* VI, 9, 10.

[82]) *Ib.* VI, 9, 11.

[83]) *Ib.* VI, 9, 10.

important to him, and so the philosopher became a « Soul doctor » [84]). Yet the noetic remained the same : its cosmos is single in itself, ubiquitous but not spatially so. And he proposed a way in which the the material world was present to it : « For the undivided and by nature unmultiplied, on the contrary, the divided and multiplied is undivided and unmultiplied, and thus is present to it; that is to say, it is present without division or multiplication or position, according to its own nature, to that which is divided and multiplied and in space» [85]). He repeats Plotinus's injunction to the individual, to discover in νοῦς that he is an all [86]). Similarly ψυχή is one and potentially many, though not by division [87]). His teaching on the virtues resumes and summarises that which Plotinus took from the *Theaetetus*, which equated virtue with becoming divine, and from the *Republic*, which gave a place for 'civil' virtues, which were learnt partly by instruction but primarily through contemplation of the Good [88]). Porphyry tersely divides the virtues into political and purgative degrees, and these latter, which belong to the contemplative life, further into three degrees : at a purification level, in which man is led by his δαίμων ; at an intellectual level in which the man is subsumed into νοῦς ; and at the level at which they exist as exemplars [89]). For Porphyry these are the stages of progressive divinisation, for « he who acts according to the intellectual virtues is God, and he who acts according to the exemplar virtues is the father of the Gods ». This four - degree characterisation of virtue was passed on in Latin form by Macrobius in his commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis* [90]),

[84]) See BEUTLER, 'Porphyrios', col. 301-2. Porphyry did not fundamentally alter the absolute principles of Plotinus, but the need to answer subjective questions led to fill out gaps in his exposition. The view conflicts with W. THEILER : 'Porphyry has made this cosmos really anthropocentric... the basic orientation of his metaphysics is human and ethical' ('Porphyrios und Augustin', in : '*Forschungen zum Neo-Platonismus*', Berlin 1966, p. 171. Originally published among '*Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft*', Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse 10, 1933.

[85]) 'Sententiae ad Intelligibilia Ducentes', published together with Enneads, edited by F. CREUZER and H. MOSER, Paris 1855. See *Sent.* XXXV. (An English translation is in *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* III, St. Louis 1869).

[86]) *Ib.* XLI '...having put away all limitation, you have become an all. Notwithstanding you were all even before...'

[87]) *Ib.* XXXIX.

[88]) *Theaetetus* 176 A. *Republic*, particularly II and VII. *Ennead* I, 2.

[89]) *Sent.* XXXIV.

[90]) *Op. cit.*, I, 8, 5 — where it is attributed to Plotinus.

and become an important element in later scholastic systematisation [91]). Yet he did differ from Plotinus in unambiguously attributing knowledge to God [92]), regarding νοῦς as a second One [93]) and accepting the transmigration of soul from man to animal [94]).

The Place of Self-Knowledge in Neo-Platonism

We must see briefly how the question of self-knowledge arises in Plato, who described in *Alcibiades I* the process by which a friend helped it to come about, and in the *Charmides* how it arose without assistance.

Pépin has summarised the passage in *Alcibiades I* [95]).

> « ... a characteristic of this dialogue is to regard self-knowledge not as direct introspection but as a complex operation which passes through the knowledge of someone else : in the same way that the eye can only see itself if it is reflected in another eye, as in a mirror, to be precise in its pupil, so the soul, to know itself must look at another soul, and that means at its intellectual part ».

And he points out the presence of the same idea in the questionably authentic *Magna Moralia* of Aristotle.

> « The astonishing relationship of a page of this work to Alcibiades I must be pointed out, not only for its definition of man but for the idea that self-knowledge comes about through the mediation of the soul of another : incapable of seeing our own face by ourselves... we do so by looking at it in a mirror; in the same way when we want to know ourselves, we must come to it by looking at our friend, since he is, as it is said, our « other ego » ...[96]).

It is significant that when Plotinus considers that men are capable of self-knowledge, he does not turn to the possibility of

91) See St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* I, II, 61, 5.

92) Fr. 5, see Hadot, 'Porphyre...' II, p. 81.

93) Fr. 12, *ib.* pp. 103-107.

94) See Beutler, *op. cit.*, col. 311.

95) 132 D — 133 B. See *'Idées...'* p. 15. For Augustine's knowledge of this idea see *De Trinitate* IX, 3, 3. (See below, chapter 4)

96) *Op. cit.*, p. 83. See II, 15, 1213 a 10-26. For an account of the divergent views over the authenticity of the *Magna Moralia*, see A.-H. Chroust, 'Some Comments on Aristotle's Major Works on Ethics', in : *Laval Théologique et Philosophique* 21, 1965, p. 63 ff.

knowledge of oneself through a friend, but to knowledge of God :

> « this conversion brings gain : at the first stage, that of separation, a man is aware of self; but retreating inwards, he becomes possessor of all » [97]).

The Plotinian mode of self-knowledge certainly lies behind Augustine's « noverim me, noverim te » [98]). Perhaps also the individualism of Augustine's search for self-knowledge independent of friends also derives from Plotinus; it can also be found in Plato's *Charmides*.

In this dialogue Critias equates the Delphic Oracle's injunction to 'know thyself' with the practice of temperance [99]). Hesitantly the dialogue proceeds to investigate the possibility that this self-reflecting knowledge, analogous to the self-reflecting power of the senses [100]), will in fact turn out to be a superior knowledge — a knowledge of knowledge — [101]) in which the subject being identical with its object, it would be true wisdom. Given the later utilisation of this idea by Aristotle and its significance particularly for Hegel, the resemblance to modern idealisms is not fortuitous.

The problem over what the content of this knowledge would be is left on one side in consideration of the greater one : how could this self-referential self-knowledge, the knowledge of knowledge, be really absorbed by the self? Socrates cannot see how they can be identified :

> « I do not dispute, I said, that when a man has that which knows itself he will know himself; but having that, how is he bound to know what he knows and what he does not know » ?
>
> « Because, Socrates, the two things are the same ».
>
> « I daresay, I said; but I am afraid I am still my old self :

[97]) *Ennead* V, 8, 11.

[98]) *Soliloquia* II, 1, 1 (PL 32, 885) : itself a hardly altered repetition of *Ennead* V, I, 1 : '... to ignore at once themselves and (God)'. W. Thimme wrongly supposed that Augustine's brief response was 'widely distinct from following Plotinus and his phantastically abstract speculation on νοῦς and world-soul, etc' ('Augustins erster Entwurf einer Metaphysischer Seelenlehre', Dissertation, Berlin 1908).

[99]) 164 D cf. the etymological derivation of Porphyry of 'be temperate' (σωφρόνει) from 'conserve wisdom' (σῴζε τὴν φρόνησιν) in his treatise on the *Know Thyself* (fr. 2, Book I. See J. Stobaeus, Anthologium III, Berlin 1894, p. 580).

[100]) *Charmides* 167 D — 168 A.

[101]) 169 B ἐπιστήμης ἐπιστήμη.

I still do not see how knowing what one knows and does not know is the same as (knowledge of the self) » [102]).

Attractive as the notion is, Socrates rejects it somewhat curiously on the grounds that it would not possibly have the omnicompetence which, were it the highest wisdom, it ought to have : it ought not to be a separate kind of knowledge, but a knowledge which contained within itself the knowledge of the separate sciences over which it was presuming to judge. In fact, says Socrates, it may involve some kind of a habit, but it would not possess those insights and habitual familiarity with the subject matter which experts in the particular sciences should have. For far from being a kind of super-wisdom it would be unable to distinguish between a façade of knowledge and real knowledge : the kind of discernment which the professionally competent have in their dealings with others. And so Socrates concludes :

« ... now, I went on, you see that nowhere can any such science be found ».
« I see », he said. [103])

Aristotle saw an intuition of enormous value in this discarded Platonic aperçu : for him it was in the nature of thought to be primarily self-thinking, and this in fact was the divine. As we have seen [104]) he was willing to accept an unbridgeable divide in human subjectivity between pure thinking and everything else in order to preserve intact the valuable insight of the *Charmides*. The parallelism is most striking — even to his facing up in *Metaphysics* XII to the same problem as Plato in the passage : what else would self-thinking know in knowing itself ? Aristotle's reasoned answer is that there is nothing else which it need know, for it is completely absorbed by and completely satisfied in itself ; there is therefore no dissatisfaction which would lead to the arising within it of further desire [105]). It is worth pausing to reflect that perhaps in the characterisation of

[102]) 169 E - 170 A. Not 'the demonstration of a vicious circle', as COURCELLE supposes, but that over which all idealist and anti-idealist philosophy divides : how the knowledge of other things enters into the knowledge of the self. See 'Le 'connais-toi toi-même' chez les néo-platoniciens grecs', in :'*Le Néoplatonisme...*', p. 153.

[103]) *Charmides* 172 A.

[104]) See chapter 2.

[105]) See *Metaphysics* XII, 9. It could be argued that in knowing *νοητά*, *νοῦς* is not knowing something other than itself because of its unity with them.

thought in itself as divine and self-thinking, and yet as temporarily embodied, we have the coping stone or beginning (depending on whether the synthetic or analytic approach is used) of a projected complete system of knowledge, in which thought — self-thinking thought — is not only the unifying point of the system, but illuminates and holds the whole together. It might embrace the subjectivity structure of the *Parva Naturalia* and the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and relate the transcendent structure of the *De Anima* III to the aberrant structure found in scattered unrelated hints. But it would have been no more than a project, depending on the aperçu recovered from the *Charmides*, full of promise because of the splendour of thought in itself which Plato appeared to have missed, but frustrated by the very distinctness that it seemed necessary to give it.

The neo-Platonists proposed an answer to the problem of relating transcendent thinking to any other content and other activity which must have been abundantly clear to them according to the best eclectic traditions. Leaving aside any relevance to self-knowledge of friendship Plotinus rejected self-thinking thought as ultimate [106]) and proposed that the eternal self-thinking νοῦς, which thought itself as a consequence of its contemplation of the ultimate One [107]), knew its objects — the intelligible ideas, with which it was identified — through identity with them in a paradoxical one-in-manyness. This eternal self-thinking νοῦς may be attained by the human soul which then shares its contemplation of the Good, its self-thinking and its object-thinking. But if νοῦς is transcendent in the sense that it is transpersonal, it is really immanent as it is attained in the interiority of individual souls : νοῦς « is ours when we use it, not ours when we do not » and the act of intelligence always comes from above [108]). In the transcendent knowledge of νοῦς is the first presence of multiplicity and its explanation : that the simplicity of its contemplation

[106]) *Ennead* V, 1, 9 and 10; also V, 6, 6 : 'that primal activity, then, is not an intellection, for there is nothing upon which it would exercise intellection since it is the first'.

[107]) *Ib.* V, 6, 5.

[108]) *Ib.* V, 3, 3 : translation follows Bréhier. The use of the dual approach transcendence/immanence as a means of analysis is fraught with dangers. Plotinus's noetic world, and therefore its values, are found 'within' and so transcendence is by definition innerness. Yet it remains true that within this innerness are found realities which are greater than the personality of the looker-within.

becomes pluralised with the loss of intensity when it comes from its source. Without any question of temporal priority because its act is timeless, its consciousness of objects is within a consciousness of itself: « For knowledge knows itself in the intelligibles and every intelligible is the act of knowing itself »[109]). The reason behind Socrates' doubt in the *Charmides* is in this way given an answer in a coherent account of a self-knowing νοῦς whose origin from Aristotle is clear: the passivity of νοῦς in *De Anima* III is rejected but the identity of the intelligible object with νοῦς is accepted, and the virtual simultaneity of one to the other allows this to be set in νοῦς more like that of *Metaphysics* XII — though desire has been displaced from νοητά to the One itself. Against the simplicity of the self-thinking thought of *Metaphysics* XII the consequent multiplicity is in conformity with the One-Many paradox of the hypotheses of Plato's *Parmenides*; whilst the fact of multiplicity adds a positive need for containment through self-knowledge: since νοῦς has multiplicity it has a need to know itself: « 'Know yourself' is a precept for those who, being manifold, have the task of appraising themselves »[110]). Νοῦς is unchangeable; it is so structured that it is made one through its contemplation of the One and through its own self-knowledge. The fact of multiplicity which its dependence and otherness from the One has brought into being makes it need to see itself[111]), to find the complete self-conformity which is a law of the cosmos of Plotinus. The One has no need to search for itself in any way, for the presence of knowledge in general, including self-knowledge, implies that there has been or is the weakness of ignorance which is having to be satisfied. Though the One's being above thought is sometimes qualified in terms of its having a higher kind of unified self-knowing, the usual teaching of Plotinus is that it has no need of self-knowledge[112]).

As the intermediary between the changeless νοῦς and the changing world, in which all change is a demonstration of falling short and imperfection, ψυχή even more needs to know itself: to

[109]) *Ennead* IV, 6, 2 (following Bréhier).

[110]) Cf. *supra*, p. 371. See *Ennead* VI, 7, 41.

[111]) *Ennead* V, 3, 10.

[112]) As in III, 8, 11; V, 3, 13; V, 4, 2; V, 6, 6; VI, 7, 41; VI, 9, 6. But a number of texts do attribute some kind of knowledge to the One: certainly V, 4, 2; and VI, 8 is entitled 'On Free Will and the Will of the One'. See particularly VI, 8, 15 on its self-love. Will and love cannot be without knowdlege.

gather itself together from the greater multiplicity in which it is distended. As νοῦς knows itself in the One, so ψυχή knows itself in νοῦς : « it is because it is a word which seizes things from and adapts them to traces of νοῦς which it has in itself that it knows itself by accident » [113]).

So self-knowledge is present in the noetic cosmos of Plotinus, with the duality of νοῦς denying it the right to be the ultimate reality, but its unity of mind with its proper object as conceived in *De Anima* III, making up not only its structure but its substance. The self-knowledge of ψυχή as well as that of νοῦς is always linked to the dependence of each on a superior principle, which binds the emanation together in a joint knowledge of self and source, not only bringing about its existence but also making the way for it to return to itself from its multiplicity, and thus to bring as near as possible to a conclusion the divisions and flaws in the original unity.

> « It would be already absurd enough to deny (self-knowledge) to the Soul..., but the very height of absurdity to deny it to the nature of the Intellectual-Principle, presented thus as knowing the rest of things but not attaining to knowledge, or even awareness, of itself » [114]).

Plotinus saw two polarities of thinking in νοῦς as humanly embodied. There was the discursive thinking (διάνοια) [115]) which was properly human, and « that which surpasses it (when) one knows oneself as being conformed to νοῦς ; then one knows oneself no longer as a man but as a being quite different from man, raised on high, taking there only the superior part of the soul, which alone can go out to thought, to bring below the ideas one has experienced there » [116]).

The problem of the *Charmides* is re-opened and given a solution wherein the self-thinking thought of Aristotle is epistemologically united with the ideas that it thinks in a paradoxical one-in-manyness. Man can make self-knowing knowledge coincide with the knowledge of everything else and absorb it as true self-knowledge — but he thereby ceases to be a man. A rigorous neo-Platonist development and integration of partial Aristotelian solutions on the lines of an abandoned Platonic aperçu !

113) *Ib.* V, 3, 6.
114) *Ib.* V, 3, 1.
115) *Ib.* V, 3, 6.
116) *Ib.* V, 3, 4 (following Bréhier).

Aristotle related object-consciousness to self-consciousness of νοῦς in *De Anima* III with reference to time. Νοῦς may always be self-conscious and self-thinking in a stage of separation, but in its condition of non-separation from a human personality it needed to know other things in order to know itself, or to turn deliberately on itself [117]). Only in a timeless condition would it 'always' know itself. In the material world it was in some ways dependent on its condition. And this fact connected with the textual question which puzzled the commentators : was it the object or the creative agent intellect which started off thinking ? Plotinus made it one of his main criticisms of Aristotle that νοῦς was always active, never potential [118]), since its activity was essentially in the transcendent-immanent νοῦς, which was always self-knowing, and always knowing all intelligibles. So this self-knowing presence became what it was neither in Plato nor in Aristotle : the necessary condition of consciousness of any thought-object, because self-knowledge is the binding principle of noetic structures and without it the unity of subject thinking and object thought would disintegrate, the pluralising of its activity into many νοητά necessitating its unification in self-knowledge. This conception, at once simple and immensely powerful, became the normal subjectivity structure of neo-Platonism : continuing self-knowing as a condition of knowledge of anything else so far as it alone allowed the coming together of disparate elements — even knower and known in self-knowledge. The structures from *De Anima* III 4 and 5 and *Metaphysics* XII certainly had their influence on shaping the thought of Plotinus, but to unite them together into a system as they stood was even more impossible to Plotinus than it was to Aristotle. However it was possible to take the structure from the *Parva Naturalia* : the continuing consciousness which makes possible the interrelationship of diverse sense data from the same object, strengthened with the presence of thinking as in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and the scattered

[117]) In which case it is knowing itself, for the νοητά have become νοῦς. See *supra*, pp. 112-113, 122-123 (the latter showing that what was implicit in the *De Anima* is explicit in *Metaphysics* XII : 'thought thinks itself through participation in the object of thought').

[118]) See *Enneads* II, 5, 1, II, 9, 1, IV, 6, 2 ('contrary to sensations (intellectual knowledge) springs out from within, whilst sense knowledge comes from without'), V, 9, 5; VI, 6, 6; VI, 7, 40 ('if thought is... united to the essence and makes it exist, it cannot be the principle from which it comes'). Yet a hint of this arises in *Metaphysics* XII, 9 : 1074 b 19-20.

references to an aberrant structure in *De Anima* III [119]). If the activity of νοῦς could be shown to be essentially in a single timeless transcendence, and that all multiplicity, including the manifold in time, derived from it, the obstacle of its intermittency [120]) in making it the centre of subjectivity would be removed. This provided the possibility of system-building for which the Commentators had long searched. Thus Plotinus wrote :

> « Thought takes place when a multiplicity of elements is united together and when there is a consciousness of their being together : that is true of the thought of oneself », [121]) and

> « It is necessary that νοῦς should be linked to thought, that it should have unceasing knowledge of itself, that is should know that it is this thought, and that the two make up only one » [122]).

The explanation is troubled by the fact that νοῦς is already multiple, and that only the One is truly simple. However, the common sense, as analysed by Aristotle, provided an exemplar of epistemological system-making : « if one impression comes from the eye and another through the ear, there must be something single where these two impressions come together. How would we say that these impressions are different if they did not arrive together in the same reality ? There must be this one reality, which is a kind of centre, and that sensations coming from everywhere end in it like rays from the circumference of a circle ; such is the perceiving being, truly one » [123]). Hadot interprets fragment XIII of Porphyry's commentary on the *Parmenides* in this sense. The important passage is :

> « What is this mind which affirms that the thinking differs from the thought » [124]) ?

He links it to the passage in the *De Anima* about the discriminatory power of the common sense [125]), and he comments, « It is this indi-

[119]) See *supra*, pp. 124-128.

[120]) See *supra*, pp. 129-130.

[121]) *Ennead* V, 3, 13 (following Bréhier).

[122]) *Ib.* VI, 7, 41 (following Bréhier).

[123] *Ennead* IV, 7, 6. Porphyry takes up the same image and makes an analogy within intelligence in his *Commentary on the Parmenides*. Fr. XIV, see Hadot 'Porphyre...', II, p. 109.

[124]) *Ib.* 'Porphyre...', II, p. 107.

[125]) *Ib.* I, p. 136, n. 4. References are to *De Anima* III, 2 426 b 8-427 a 14. Plotinus draws his notion of a centre from the idea of a point in 427 a 9-14 : 'The fact

visible act — this point, as Aristotle has said, — which is the basis of the possibility of perception ». And continuing about the noetic of Porphyry : « The mind which cannot return into itself is also the indivisible act which is the basis of the possibility of movement by which mind, in its second state, grasps itself as both mind and an intelligible » [126]).

Even if self-knowing in neo-Platonism involved an extraneous knowing of the source of being at the same time, it was a most fruitful means of a wholesale systematisation : the condition became the nexus of knowledge of everything else. It was a workable relationship, even if it had as a system-builder to make do with the less elegant, even less perceptive, personality structures of Aristotle. It also provided — from the Aristotelian elements it brought over with it — a way out of the impasse of the *Charmides* and the hesitations of Socrates : the self need not hesitate to accept into itself the knowing of knowing as true self-knowledge, because all thinking stems from the united hypostasis of νοῦς, shareable by all men, and shared when they authentically think, a thinking held together by the self-thinking of νοῦς itself. But the aperçu of Plato and the fragmentary solutions of Aristotle have more value than the all-purpose solution of Plotinus, which entailed that when a man has become aware of this unification he has ceased to be a man. And it may not have been the intractability of the problem which discouraged Plato and Aristotle from proceeding to a complete systematisation. They were aware that man was a unity in diversity; that in accordance with his nature he needed to vary his activities, if not by much. Plotinus sought a unity in unity : and from both of their points of view it would have been a fault that transcendent thinking could become so completely dissociated from everything else. Further, the neo-Platonist subjectivity structure was little more than a hardly adorned statement from a number metaphysics : the passage from the One to the Dyad and further multiplicity. It proposed neither a definition nor a description of

is that just as what some thinkers describe as a point is, as being both one and two, in this sense divisible, so too in so far as the judging faculty is indivisible, it is one and instantaneous in action; but in so far as it is divisible, it uses the same symbol twice at the same time. In so far, then, as it treats the limit as two, it passes judgement on two distinct things, as being in itself in a sense distinct, but in so far as it judges of it as only one, it judges by one faculty and at one time'.

126) *Op. cit.*, I, p. 134.

consciousness, but only a very bare and simple statement of a basic condition of consciousness.

The transposition of this teaching in Porphyry was partly in the direction of clearer systematisation, but it did have certain changes. A kind of knowledge was less ambiguously given to the One [127]). Very significantly, and giving a possibility for the development of a less rigorously transcendent system is the idea that « by adverting to love (φιλία) of ourselves, we recover ourselves and are united to God » [128]). Plotinus had seen the place of ἔρως in uniting the soul to the One : it was the desire of the creature for its creating 'Father' ; but self-love or friendship had not entered into his system. It may be indicative of the fact that though the noetic realm of Porphyry was essentially the same as Plotinus's and quite as transcendent, it did have a greater respect for human individuality [129]). Courcelle finds a thought in Porphyry which would take us straight into the equation of self-knowledge and the knowledge of everything else : « By the true knowledge of our essence (the soul) attains to the knowledge of the real essence of things, and comes to the Good in which its well-being consists », but disappointingly his reference is defective [130]).

[127]) Plotinus's difficulty of there being a lack of simplicity in νοῦς also appears in Porphyry. *Sent.* XV says that νοῦς is not the source (ἀρχή) of all things, though *Sent.* XXXI says that νοῦς is in God. Fragments XIII and XIV of the *Commentary on the Parmenides* say that the One is a νοῦς which cannot return to itself, and fr. V (considering Plotinus's objection to there being understanding in the One, that this would imply the satisfaction of ignorance) speaks of his having a kind of knowledge transcending knowledge and ignorance.

[128]) *Sententia* XLI. Cf. 'amor sui' in Augustine's *De Trinitate* IX, 2, 2. The conception was embraceable in Christian terms : 'Si autem nondum nosti diligere te ; timeo ne decipias proximum tuum sicut te' (*Sermo* 128, 5, PL 38 715). Cf. friendship (φιλότης) and hatred as cosmic principles in Empedocles. Further, Porphyry would have known the *Chaldaean oracle* according to which 'all things are governed and subsist' through the triad faith — truth — love (cf. Lewy, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-5) ; and here ἔρως would be very much like the Empedoclean φιλότης, and even more like the Platonic ἔρως.

[129]) *Sententia* XV may be considered as a speculative attempt to unify a position on νοῦς which included, as in Aristotle, its human embodiment. It speaks of intellect being many, and relates the powers of perception, imagination and intellect.

The Bibliographical Position over the Relationship between Augustine and the neo-Platonists

Augustine's own statement of how he was influenced by the reading of certain Platonist books [131]) — which were undoubtedly neo-Platonist [132]) — is the starting point of several centuries of study of his relationship with Plotinus in particular. Scholars were able to work on this aspect particularly because the text of the *Enneads* were made available through the edition of Ficino, first published in 1492. Knowledge of Porphyry was almost entirely confined to his *Life of Plotinus* and his *Isagoge* [133]). The impression was created that although Augustine was of some philosophical interest he was not a thinker of the first rank, but that he was overshadowed by Plotinus on whom he seemed to draw so heavily. Some nineteenth century Protestant criticism became increasingly unfriendly towards Augustine, as it thought it found in him a considerable number of deviations from the truths of Christianity. It turned a displeased attention on what it thought was a man of predominantly neo-Platonist conceptions (who, for good measure, could also be accused of docetism, ebionitism and adoptionism). Later, other Protestant critics took the completely opposite view finding like Harnack, as we have seen, that Augustine was more the man of a new personalist psychological outlook, concerned essentially with the religion of the heart. C. van Crombrugghe summarised these controversies in 1904 [134]).

[130]) 'Le Connais-toi...', p. 156 and n. 15. However this idea does occur in a life of Pythagoras sometime published with Porphyry's life where it is based on the relatively trivial ground that man is a microcosmos. It originates from Photius's '*Bibliotheca*', codex 249 (sometimes wrongly numbered, through an early compositor's error, as 259). Cf. BEKKER edition (of Bibliotheca) 440 b.)

[131]) *Confessions* VII, 9, 13.

[132]) See P. HENRY, 'Plotin et l'Occident', Louvain 1934, pp. 78 ff. This account is now accepted as authoritative.

[133]) I.e. 'Introduction (*Εἰσαγωγή*) to the Categories of Aristotle'.

[134]) In the first part of his 'La Doctrine christologique et sotériologique de St. Augustin et ses rapports avec le néo-Platonisme' (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 5, 1904, pp. 237 ff). The point at issue was whether the soteriology of an exchange of natures — God became man so that man might become divine — was not really neo-Platonist, and not Christian. Van Crombrugghe put forward a perspective very much like that elaborated by Dörrie about the significance of Porphyry in the classical tradition, and his summary of the Christian apologetic attitude coincides with the lines of this present study: 'Neo-Platonism could not only pass itself off as the heir of Hellenism,

The culmination of the original line of nineteenth century criticism was P. Alfaric's « L'Évolution intellectuelle de saint Augustin » of which a single volume appeared in Paris in 1918. Whilst admitting that Augustine had to make some considerable modifications to Plotinus's thinking, it concluded

> « For Augustine, Christ is the Plato of the masses » [135]), « ... for educated people he borrows the language of the *Enneads*. In him the Christian disappears behind the disciple of Plotinus... it has been believed incorrectly that his neo-Platonism was a simple covering of his Catholic faith » [136]).

Partly as an answer to this, C. Boyer, S.J., insisted on Augustine's moral conversion being completely Christian, but proposed that later the neo-Platonist writings provided the assistance he needed, as a man become very materially minded, in his search for a way of contemplation : « He had the faith; he lacked knowledge (science) » [137]). However Boyer limits his attention to the early writings.

In *Plotin et l'Occident*, to which reference has already been made, P. Henry had to take into account a recently published work of very great importance by W. Theiler, *Porphyrios und Augustin* [138]) : a densely compact essay which made Porphyry rather than Plotinus the source of Augustine's neo-Platonism. Henry showed the inadequacy of the matching of passages from Augustine with those of Plotinus and Porphyry and arguing for an 'influence' in these cases. It was discerning to criticise the principle of interpretation presupposed in this superficial inspection of evidence, and to the point to state that it was quite possible that Plotinian ideas had come to Augustine through Porphyry. He asked for a greater use of external criteria : quotation and undoubted allusion, to bring about some discipline into what was becoming a considerable debate. But he did not explore in

but could also assume the pretensions of becoming the religious philosophy of the future... at the same time as combating these pretensions, it was necessary to show the points of contact and agreement of the two rival conceptions, and in this way to make it easy for neo-Platonists to come to Christianity' (p. 238).

[135]) *Op. cit.*, p. 525.

[136]) *Ib.* p. 527.

[137]) 'Christianisme et néo-platonisme dans la formation de saint Augustin', Paris 1920, p. 73.

[138]) *Op. cit.* See *supra*, n. 84.

depth the kind of use which Augustine could be supposed to have made of neo-Platonist thinking.

The clarification of the relationship between Plotinus and Augustine has continued more in the line of interest in the exact textual sources of Augustine's thinking than in the more vital question of an interpretation of the real significance to Augustine of neo-Platonist speculation. Courcelle has proposed that such a source was Ambrose's preaching at the time, in which he had meditated out the connections between Christianity and neo-Platonist thinking, but the general conclusion from his research is that in Augustine's conversion period there are many possible influences working together, and also that he could have read Plotinus and Porphyry at this period [139]). J.J. O'Meara has provided an accessible survey of the work on the relation between neo-Platonism and Augustine which covers the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century [140]).

Recent historical-literary work has given an increasing amount of attention to points of contact with Porphyry. The task is more difficult because so much of Porphyry's work exists now only in quoted fragments. Among other proposals, Theiler's article, recently republished [141]), proposes that *De Trinitate* X I — 16 is in effect an interpretation of the injunction 'know thyself' [142]) on which Porphyry himself wrote a treatise of which only a few fragments remain [143]). This very valuable suggestion turns attention away from the Arian pre-occupation of the earlier books and the much studied triads of the later books to the middle and neglected part of this work where Augustine goes very deeply into the epistemolgical question. Theiler also finds in Porphyry a weight of evidence from a number of places which suggest that he was Augustine's source for much of his triadic conceptions [144]). Impressive and perceptive as Theiler's discovery of

[139]) See chapters 1-3 of Section I Part I, 'Les Confessions de saint Augustin dans la tradition littéraire', Paris 1963.

[140]) In : 'Augustinism and neo-Platonism' (Recherches Augustiniennes I, 1958, pp. 91 ff; and indications of more recent writings can be found in his 'Plotinus and Augustine : Exegesis of Contra Academicos II, 5' (*Revue Internationale de Philosophie* 24, 1970, pp. 321 ff).

[141]) See *supra*, n. 84.

[142]) *Op. cit.*, p. 220.

[143]) *Περὶ τοῦ γνῶθι σαυτόν.* Collected in J. STOBAEUS, 'Anthologium' III, Berlin 1894, pp. 579 ff. French translation in 'Les Ennéades de Plotin', translated and edited by M. N. BOUILLET, II, Paris 1859 and Frankfurt 1968, pp. 615 ff.

parallels is his conclusions fall back on the convention of « influence » : his whole life long Augustine was attached to Porphyrian neo-Platonism [145]).

As the study of the texts of Porphyry progresses, so does the establishment of relationships between him and Augustine. Since Theiler's article a number of important studies have appeared and some dependable conclusions are beginning to emerge [146]).
Two studies which most particularly provide an insight into this relationship which is relatively easy to see but difficult to reconstruct

[144]) *Op. cit.*, pp. 223-5 : including the triad esse — se nosse — se diligere.

[145]) *Ib.* pp. 230 and 248.

[146]) Besides the review of HADOT and the note of MADEC cited in the text, the following contribute to the discernment of traces of Porphyrian ideas in Augustine. COURCELLE, 'Les Lettres...', pp. 166-176 has a rich survey of the position as it remained after THEILER's article and HENRY's critique of it. A. SOLIGNAC, 'Reminiscences plotiniennes et porphyriennes dans le début du *de Ordine* de saint Augustin', *Archives de la Philosophie* 20, 1957, pp. 446 ff, draws parallels between the *Sententiae* and the *De Ordine*. J. J. O'MEARA 'Porphyry's Philosophy from Oracles in Augustine', Paris 1953, identifies Porphyry's *De Philosophia ex Oraculis Haurienda* with his *De Regressu Animae* (known only from Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* X). This thesis was vigorously and lengthily attacked by HADOT in the article referred to in the text. PÉPIN considers *Sermons* 240-242 a 'digest of Porphyrian philosophy' ('Theologie cosmique...' pp. 433 ff). In the same work he considers it is Porphyry's objections against the resurrection as stated in the *Contra Christianos* which provoked Augustine's counter-arguments in the *De Civitate Dei* X, not as in the *De Regressu Animae*, as is usually thought (*Ib.* pp. 443 ff). Based on H. DÖRRIE, « 'Porphyrios' 'Symmikta Zetemata' » (Zetemata 20, Munich 1959), which proposes parallels with Augustine's *Soliloquium* II and *De Immortalitate Animae* (v. pp. 153-4), PÉPIN proposes further traces in the *De Quantitate Animae*, *Soliloquium* I and *De Civitate Dei* XIX, also in *De Trinitate* IX ('Une Nouvelle Source de saint Augustin : le ζήτημα de Porphyre sur l'Union de l'âme et du corps, in : *Revue des Études Anciennes* 66, 1964, pp. 53-107 : the last part (pp. 92 ff) is a rewriting of « Les 'Symmikta Zetemata' de Porphyre et le De Trinitate de saint Augustin », in : '*Die Metaphysik in Mittelalter : Vorträge des II internationalen Kongresses für mittelalterliche Philosophie Cologne 1961*', ed. P. WILPERT, Berlin 1963 pp. 249-254). The images for the union of mens, notitia sui and amor sui which Augustine rejects had also been rejected by Porphyry for the union of body and soul, but both accepted as an image of the union of mind and intelligibles. His suggested parallels between *Sententia* XV (= MOMMERT ed. XLIII) and *De Trinitate* IX, 3, 3 do not really show Porphyry as prompting Augustine's teaching that the soul can know itself through its presence to itself : the *Sententia* text is too brief to permit a detailed comparison with his teaching of a 'conversion' in self-knowledge in his *Commentary on the Parmenides* (cf. HADOT, 'Porphyre...', I, pp. 326-370; II, pp. 110-113). B. Voss in 'Spuren von Porphyrios 'De Regressu Animae' bei Augustin 'De Vera Religione' » (Museum Helveticum 20, 1963, pp. 237-9) has noted a parallel conception of intellectual purification.

are a long review by Hadot of O'Meara's *Porphyry's Philosophy from Oracles*, entitled *Citations de Porphyre chez Augustin* [147]) and a short note by G. Madec : *Augustin : Disciple et adversaire de Porphyre* [148]).

Hadot writes of Augustine's allusions to Porphyry in the *De Civitate Dei* « Three stages can be distinguished in Augustine's use of Porphyry. Chapters 9 to 10 use the *De Regressu*. Chapters 11 to 22 are under the influence of the *Letter to Anebon*. Chapters 23 to 32 return to the *De Regressu* but without completely forgetting the *Letter to Anebon* » [149]). In other words, the structure of a great part of the second half of one of Augustine's major works is built round the examination of certain books of Porphyry : sometimes to bring out inconsistencies, sometimes to incorporate his ideas, sometimes to oppose them. With Porphyry so much in his mind it would not be surprising that a great deal of the matter in the latter part of the *De Trinitate* should, with its related lines of thought, and which was being written at the same time, be related to him as well [150]). The seeming silence of the *De Trinitate* text in this respect is as much explained as it is in its relation to Plotinus by the style of anonymous allusion, and the disappearance of so much of Porphyry's writing makes more difficult than with Plotinus, the identification of references to his thought.

Against an article of H. Dörrie which seemed to look upon Augustine too easily as only the inheritor and passer-on of Porphyrian logic and practical theology, G. Madec emphasises the critical use which Augustine made of Porphyry : Augustine uses Porphyry's works « not only to put himself in his school but also to oppose his doctrine of salvation » [151]). And to put the matter into theological perspective, he says that Augustine « did not cease to set against the false mediations put forward by Porphyry the doctrine of the unique mediator, the incarnate Word, in *Confessions* VII, in the *De Consensu Evangeli-*

147) *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 6, 1960, pp. 205 ff.

148) *Ib.* 10, 1964, pp. 365 ff.

149) *Op. cit.*, p. 224.

150) Cf. *supra*, p. 367.

151) *Op. cit.*, p. 369. DÖRRIE's article is 'Porphyrios als Mittler zwischen Plotin und Augustinus' (*Antike und Orient in Mittelalter* (Miscellanea Mediaevalia I) Berlin 1962, pp. 26-47). Also, in 'Platonismus in der Philosophie des Mittelalters', edited W. BEIERWALTES, (Darmstadt 1969).

starum I, 35, 53, in the *De Trinitate* IV and above all in the *De Civitate Dei* X » [152]).

It begins to be clear that Augustine is a critical user of the noetic themes of Porphyry as well as Plotinus. Judicious acceptance of an observation here or there does not mean acceptance of the whole. Besides which the philosophy of the neo-Platonists would have had a significance for Augustine and his contemporaries which is rather lost on us. Not only history but geography seemed to make the Graeco-Roman world the only significant part of humanity; the Indian yogis and black Africans of whom he had heard were remote and unimportant: their isolation and supposed fewness merited for them only the briefest mentions. Total truth was to be found imperfectly discovered in Graeco-Roman philosophy but totally in Christian doctrine — the noetic triads of the most important philosophers pointing clearly, if imperfectly, to the Christian triune Godhead.

In the *De Trinitate*, Augustine's most important philosophical work, it would be altogether appropriate to find that he had in mind at many points the neo-Platonist theories of Plotinus and Porphyry, that he showed a judicious handling of their ideas with complete familiarity and complete understanding of their value and limitations; and therefore that he had in mind, in the critical utilisation and rejection of their themes, an apologetic intention, and also a permanent memorialisation in the Graeco-Roman-Christian tradition of Christian belief in a triune Godhead and man made in its image, supported from Sacred Scripture and expressed in relation to philosophical works which had reached a stage in which their own search for perfection of expression was relatable to Christianity's own. In some respects the thought of the neo-Platonists was near to Christian thinking. But no more is the distance of Augustine's own thinking greater from them than in the place which he declines to give to self-knowing. But here the critique was not entirely his own. He would have had in mind the significance of self-knowledge in Cicero [153]): not the binding force of transcendent hypostases, but primarily the moral need of the individual. And there he would have found the thought expressed not in the fugitive allusiveness of Greek

[152]) Madec, *op. cit.*, p. 368. This present study insists that Augustine had not so much Book IV in mind in the later part of the *De Trinitate*.

[153]) See Testard, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 349 ff.

thinking mediated through Latin translations, and therefore rendered doubly difficult to comprehend, but in the idiom of Romanitas which was nearer to his own spirit.

Augustine's Critique of Neo-Platonism

The critique which Augustine made of neo-Platonism, whether explicit or by implication, covers the following points.

i) He explicitly rejected the idea that the highest principle was beyond thought and beyond being. « Are we to think that the wisdom which God is, knows other things and does not know itself, or loves other things and does not love itself » [154]) ?

It was a cardinal principle of Augustine that in true being there could be no non-being [155]), and that in the divine essence there was no distinction between it and divine knowledge [156]).

ii) He explicitly rejected Plotinus's view of the mode of dependence of all things on the One, and its perfect remoteness. According to this all things turn to their source, the intellectual beings by way of contemplation, to such a degree that there was no providence watching over the world, only the contemplative gaze of everything else turned towards the One. (This was in fidelity to some of Aristotle's texts, but others are not so decisive) [157]). So Augustine wrote

> « There has been no lack of such doctrine among philosophers, no dearth of men to assert that there is no God to create and

[154]) *De Trinitate* XV, 6, 10 : 'Aut vero putandum est, sapientiam quae Deus est, scire alia et nescire se ipsam, vel diligere alia nec diligere se ipsam ?' cf. *ib.* VI, 10, 11 : 'primus ac summus intellectus, cui non est, aliud vivere et aliud intelligere, sed id quod est intelligere, hoc vivere, hoc esse est, unum omnia'. Also, *ib.* IX, 11, 16 : 'quia nec tantum eum novimus, quantum ipse se'.

[155]) *In Joannis evangelium tr.* XXXVIII, 10 : 'non enim est ibi verum esse, ubi est et non esse' (as a commentary on *Jn.* 8 24, where Christ applies the divine name to himself).

[156]) *Ib.* XL, 5 : 'simplici... naturae veritatis esse et nosse non est aliud atque aliud, sed hoc ipsum'. *Ib.* XCIX, 4 : 'per hoc non sic habet scientiam, ut aliud illi sit scientia qua scit, aliud essentia qua est, sed utcumque unum'. Cf. *De Trinitate* VIII, 1, 2 : 'in essentia veritatis, hoc est verum esse quod est esse'.

[157]) W. J. Verdenius has pointed out the existence of another unresolved problematic. 'In Aristotle's system... there is no real synthesis of divine transcendence and divine providence'. See 'Traditional and Personal Elements in Aristotle's Religion', in : *Phronesis* 5, 1960, p. 64. Cf. L. Elders, 'Aristotle's Cosmology. A Commentary on the *de Coelo*', Assen 1966, pp. 33 ff.

rule all things, but numbers of Gods attending to their own affairs apart from the world and taking no heed of what passes below » [158]).

Perhaps he had in mind a passage from Plotinus :

« the law does not warrant... that the gods should lay aside the divine life in order to direct (man's) daily concerns » [159]).

iii) Augustine found the subordination of the three hypostases impossible to accept, even with an inter-dependence given to the self-knowing of νοῦς and ψυχή through their being contained in the knowledge they had of their source.

With νοῦς O. Perler goes as far as he can in proposing a similarity between the noetic world of ideas in Plotinus and ideas in the mind of God in Augustine [160]), but he has to admit that for Augustine, God, to whom the Word is consubstantial, is the source of all truth and reality whilst being the highest essence and the fullness of being, but that in the νοῦς of Plotinus the 'being' — in the true sense — which exists there comes from the Not-being of the principle of being — the One [161]). The unity of the Plotinian triad breaks down at this point.

J. Ritter approaches the question from the way in which νοῦς and νοητά are united, and notes that Plotinus's ontology makes the whole noetic world correspond with νοῦς — which he identifies with God [162]). Augustine, without diminishing divine knowledge, keeps God and the external objects of his knowledge apart.

But the principle difference — which is the thesis of this part of the paper — is that for Augustine the divine self-knowledge of the

158) *Enarratio 2 in psalmum* 31, 25 : 'Non defuit talis doctrina philosophorum, non defuerunt qui dicerent non esse Deum, qui gubernat omnia et condidit omnia, sed esse multos deos vacantes sibi praeter mundum, non curantes ista'. This text is considered to have the Epicureans in mind, but it could as well be applied to Plotinus.

159) *Ennead* III, 2, 9. Cf. *ib.* VI, 8, 16 : '(All things) stand before (the One) looking upon him, not he upon them'.

160) In particular comparing the teaching on ideas in *Ennead* V, 9, 5 with that in Augustine's *De Diversis Quaestionibus LXXXIII*, 46, 2. (PL 40, 29 — 31). In 'Der Nus bei Plotin und das Verbum bei Augustinus als vorbildliche Ursache der Welt', Freiburg and Paderborn 1931 (Studia Friburgensia).

161) *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

162) 'Mundus Intelligibilis. Eine Untersuchung zur Aufnahme und Umwandlung der Neuplatonischen Ontologie bei Augustimus', Frankfurt 1937, pp. 13, 363.

Word of God is not a sign of inadequacy, of falling short, of having to return to itself in order to maintain itself in unity. Self-consciousness is not in Augustine — nor is it in Aristotle — a weakness, a means of compensating for or stopping a dissipation of energy. As with Aristotle, full self-knowledge is for an intellectual creature an expression of perfection. As ψυχή does not appear in the Augustinian noetic cosmos [163]) its self-knowledge finds no place. What remains of neo-Platonist self-knowing is in the more ethical imperative to look within and to return to oneself; it is dissociated from the articulate noetic world structure of Plotinus where it is not only knowledge but the containing structure. Whilst the expression of this imperative as in *Soliloquium* II, 'Noverim me, noverim te', can be matched with statements from the *Enneads* [164]), in so far as it is a speculative philosophical reflection it is linked more with the individual human need for self-knowledge as found in Plato and more empirical structures of Aristotle, as also with Cicereo, for whom Augustine had such enormous respect [165]).

iv) In Plotinus the falling short of νοῦς from the perfection of the One, and the further falling short of ψυχή from this relative imperfection are the beginnings of a gradation of being stretching out at its limit to material and to evil. Whilst a strong element remained in Augustine's thinking that evil was a falling away from the fullness of being and corresponding goodness to (relative) not-being and badness [166]) he emphasises the sharing in goodness of the created

[163]) Its equivalent, the 'anima mundi', to which he alluded very briefly in the *De Immortalitate Animae* and the *De Musica*, is the subject of a later retraction (*Retractiones* I, 11, 3, PL 32, 602), but even this was not, in Augustine's mind, the equivalent of ψυχή in all its extensiveness and intellectual quality, but rather as a 'spiritalis, vitalis virtus'.

[164]) Cf. *supra*, n. 98.

[165]) Testard's view on the corrective which the reading of Cicero gave te Augustine's attempts at ecstasy are interesting: 'Cicero, by the recognition of his limitations, recalled the truth of Christ to Augustine... Plotinus, in the ignorance of his limitations proposed to the rhetor that he should pass Christ by, worse still, that he should replace him' (*op. cit.*, p. 169). Courcelle notes the significance of 'duce te' in Augustine's account of his return to himself (*Confessiones* VII, 10, 16); setting himself apart from Plotinian pride. (See 'Recherches sur les Confessions de Saint Augustin', new edition, Paris 1968, p. 128).

[166]) This theme has been the subject of a number of studies by E. Zum Brunn: « 'Être' ou 'ne pas être' d'après saint Augustin », in: *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 14, 1968, pp. 91 ff.; « L'Expression Ontologique de la Vie et de la Mort de l'Âme,

world, alluding to, expanding and correcting in *Confessions* X, a text from *Ennead* III [167]). And in the question of time, which, as has already been seen, for Plotinus is a consequence of this cosmos falling short from the timelessness of the One and of νοῦς, whilst he will accept it as being, with some parallelism to ψυχή 's dominations over multiplicity, subjectively a distension of the soul, he will not accept it as having the same illusory nature. With Plotinus the self-consciousness of ψυχή is of a piece with its presiding over temporal succession, and the unconsciousness of the One follows from its eternity. With Augustine the self-consciousness of *mens* provides the condition of thinking anything else, and thinking of all kinds, including deliberate self-thinking, occurs in the timebound memory [168]).

v) Augustine points out the contradictions of neo-Platonism in proposing the re-incarnation of a soul worthy of and enjoying beatitude into the miseries of this world, and of believing in the eternity of the world, and at the same time in an eternal escape into beatitude [169]) which meant each soul would be created anew, and would not have the eternal existence which other parts of neo-Platonist doctrine taught.

In the *De Trinitate* [170]) Augustine speaks with great scorn of (neo-Platonist) philosophers who have such powerful minds and abundant leisure and are familiar with the most subtle teachings, who can come to such contradictory conclusions.

d'après saint Augustin', in : *Augustinus* 13, 1968, pp. 443 ff.; 'Le Dilemme de l'Être et du néant chez saint Augustin', Paris 1969; 'La Dialectique du 'magis esse' et du 'minus esse' chez saint Augustin », in : '*Le Néoplatonisme...*', pp. 371 ff.

[167]) See *Confessiones* X, 6, 9 ff. and *Ennead* III, 2, 3 : the parallelism is quite clear from the dialogue form (cf. Plotinus, 'Do but survey (the cosmos), and surely this is the pleading you will hear : ...'), as by the key expression — 'I am made by a God' in Plotinus, and 'ipse fecit nos' in Augustine. But in Plotinus the cosmos says of itself 'I suffice to myself', whereas in Augustine it acknowledges its total dependence on God.

The same contrast shows in the difference of their two attitudes to time. As expressed by GUITTON, time is for Plotinus 'this eternal disquiet' (ce trouble éternel) ('Le Temps...', p. 59), whereas for Augustine 'these delays, these checks, these slowings down, these distances, these desires and all this bitterness which has its occasion and matter in time, become for the interior man the condition of despoiling himself, by which his true nature returns to him' (pp. 388-9).

[168]) That Aristotle can be the ultimate source of the subjective aspects of time-consciousness in them both, see *supra*, p. 378, n. 73.

[169]) See *De Civitate Dei* XII, 21; *De Trinitate* XIII, 9, 12.

[170]) *Ib.*

vi) It is more than as a mere dialectician that Augustine argues against Porphyry's denial of the possibility of the Incarnation that it is reasonable on neo-Platonist grounds — for if a man could become God, why could not God become man ?

> « You Platonists have, at any rate, so lofty a conception of the intellectual soul (which must be identified with the human soul) that you assert that it is capable of becoming consubstantial with the mind of the Father which is, on your admission, the Son of God. Why then is it incredible that one intellectual soul should have been assumed, for the salvation of many, in some unique and ineffable manner » [171] ?

And if Plotinus asserted at the same time that « we must flee to our beloved country... by becoming like God » and that there can be no direct contact between the purity of the divine and mortal uncleanness, that should necessitate — triad-wise — a Mediator between the two [172].

vii) The question of mediation of salvation was important to Plotinus and Porphyry as it was central to Augustine. All three accepted the place of 'faith' in an unseen. Augustine thought that the whole process of coming to self-knowledge and to ecstasy in neo-Platonism might involve an authentic experience [173], but it was the highest pride to try to achieve it. Salvation was only possible through faith in Christ [174] which alone could make a man have that union with the divine, which was the true, but perverted, object of the search for ecstasy in neo-Platonism.

It will be seen that these points are central points to the structure of neo-Platonist thinking. All of them required substantial modification or partial rejection. Yet there were also for Augustine many points of contact : not surprisingly in the providential meeting of philosophic and judaeo-Christian traditions. Augustine could see a number of important problems in neo-Platonist terms : in the area of the One and the Many, particularly in connection with the divine in-dwelling

171) *De Civitate Dei* X, 29 (translation by H. Bettenson).

172) *Ib.* IX, 17.

173) *Ib.* IX, 16.

174) Cf. *De Trinitate* XIII, 19, 24 : 'Ille autem praecipui gentium philosophi, qui invisibilia Dei, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspicere potuerunt, tamen quia sine Mediatore, id est sine homine Christo, philosophati sunt...'

of the One God in many souls — being 'all in all' [175]); in the pursuit of spiritual perfection; in the mind's sharing in the light of truth and the participation of all good things in the supreme good. He could accept some aspects of the neo-Platonist conception of purification: the removing of what was alien, the progression in virtue, the departing from unlikeness to one's true self. All of these themes arise out of the neo-Platonist quest for self-knowledge, to find in one's innerness the transcendent God. The need to return to oneself and to find God there at the same time was a frequent theme in Augustine's *Sermons* as in the *Confessions*. The relationship of this moral search to the philosophical structure of neo-Platonism could not have been far from Augustine's mind in these works. In the *De Trinitate* he set up their precise philosophical counterpart.

(to be continued) EDWARD BOOTH

[175]) See in particular *De Trinitate* XV, 28, 51: 'Cum ergo perveniremus ad te, cessabunt 'multa' ista quae 'dicimus et non pervenimus'; et manebis unus omnia in omnibus (*1 Cor.* 15, 28): et sine fine dicemus unum laudantes te in unum, et in te facti etiam nos unum. Domine Deus une, Deus trinitas'.

An apologetic which had neo-Platonism principally in mind would very appropriately use an expression of the ineffable one-in-many, carefully relating it to a text of scripture.

Der Predigtband Cod. Berolinensis Lat. Fol. 851 des Erfurter Augustinertheologen Johannes von Dorsten († 1481)

Inhaltsübersicht

I. Kap.: Beschreibung, Inhalt und Entstehung des Manuskripts

I. Handschriftenbeschreibung
II. Verzeichnis der Sermones
III. Entstehung des Predigtbandes: Quellen, Bearbeiter und deren Arbeitsweise

II. Kap.: Neue Aufschlüsse über Johannes von Dorsten

I. Dorstens Herkunft und Kölner Studienzeit
II. Zu Dorstens Wirken in Erfurt
III. Ergänzung der Werkliste Dorstens und Übersicht über die zehn Teilbände seiner « Opera omnia »

III. Kap.: Zum theologischen und geistesgeschichtlichen Ort des Predigers

I. Die Vielfalt von Dorstens geistigen Interessen
II. Zu Dorstens Zitationsmethode
III. Schrift und Väterlehre
IV. Augustinus in Dorstens Predigtband
V. Dorsten und die Theologen seines Ordens
VI. Dorstens sonstige scholastische Autoren
VII. Dorstens Stellung zum Humanismus. Seine Sprachkenntnisse und philologischen Interessen

IV. Kap.: Zeitgeschichtlich interessante Stellungnahmen des Johannes von Dorsten

I. Zeitkritik
II. Dorsten über die Anwendung der Folter im gerichtlichen Beweisverfahren
III. Dorstens Stellungnahme zum Hexenwahn seiner Zeit

Der Erfurter Augustinermagister und Universitätsprofessor Johannes von Dorsten (ca. 1420-1481) erscheint aufgrund neuerer Forschungen zur Geschichte der Erfurter Universität als bedeutender und einflußreicher Theologe, auch wenn seine Lehre noch nicht in

allem erforscht ist [1]). Gleichzeitig hat er in den Jahren 1465-81 als magister regens das Generalstudium der Erfurter Augustiner geleitet und dieses, wenige Jahrzehnte vor dem Beginn der Reformation, nachhaltig beeinflußt. Gerade die Erforschung seiner Lehre könnte deshalb mithelfen, das bis heute ziemlich unbekannte theologische Milieu zu klären, welches Martin Luther im Sommer 1505 bei seinem Eintritt ins Erfurter Augustinerkloster vorfand. So dürfte eine Untersuchung der umfangreichen Sermonensammlung des Dorsten in der Berliner Handschrift Lat. Fol. 851 theologiegeschichtliches Interesse beanspruchen.

Erstes Kapitel:

Beschreibung, Inhalt und Entstehung des Manuskripts

I. *Handschriftenbeschreibung* [2])

Lat. Fol. 851 der Staatsbibliothek Berlin-Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz ist eine Pergamenthandschrift in Folioformat (355×260 mm). Sie umfaßt 286 Blatt, die von alter Hand, wohl der des Schreibers, mit römischen Zahlen durchgezählt sind. Doch fehlen heutzutage Blatt 165-169, die nachträglich herausgeschnitten wurden. Am Anfang

[1]) Vgl. an neuerer Literatur E. Kleineidam, Universitas Studii Erffordensis. Überblick über die Geschichte der Universität Erfurt im Mittelalter 1392-1521, 2 Bände, Leipzig 1964-69, vor allem II, 13f, 106-109, 276-278; Derselbe, Die Bedeutung der Augustinereremiten für die Universität Erfurt im Mittelalter und in der Reformationszeit, in: Scientia Augustiniana, herausgegeben von C. P. Mayer und W. Eckermann, Würzburg 1975, 395-422, S. 397f und 401-404; A. Kunzelmann, Geschichte der deutschen Augustiner-Eremiten V, Würzburg 1974, passim, vor allem 71-78 und 358-360; Derselbe, Die Bedeutung des alten Erfurter Augustinerklosters, in: Scientia Augustiniana 609-629, S. 618f; A. Zumkeller, Der religiös-sittliche Stand des Erfurter Säkularklerus am Vorabend der Glaubensspaltung, in: Augustinianum 2 (1962) 267-284 und 471-506, vor allem 281-284 und 471-485; Derselbe, Jean de Dorsten, in: Dictionnaire de Spiritualité VIII, Paris 1974, 480f; Derselbe, Die Lehre des Erfurter Augustinertheologen Johannes von Dorsten († 1481) über Urstand und Erbsünde, in: «Aus Reformation und Gegenreformation» — Festschrift Theobald Freudenberger, Würzburg 1974, 43-74 (mit Textbeilage).

[2]) Die genauen Angaben über Größe, Einband, Material und Initialen des Manuskripts verdanke ich Herrn Dr. Gerard Achten von der Handschriftenabteilung der Staatsbibliothek — Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin. — Vgl. auch A. Zumkeller, Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner-Eremitenordens in mitteleuropäischen Bibliotheken, Würzburg 1966, 596f Nr. 482c.

findet sich ein ungezähltes Blatt mit dem Verzeichnis der in der Handschrift enthaltenen Predigten. Da dieses Verzeichnis aber erst mit dem 13. Sermo vom Montag nach Reminiscere, d.h. mit Blatt 61 beginnt, muß ursprünglich noch ein weiteres Vorsatzblatt mit dem Anfang der Predigten-Liste vorhanden gewesen sein. Auch am Schluß nach Blatt 286 sind noch vier ungezählte Blätter beigeheftet, auf denen der Schreiber ein « Inventarium » des Bandes, d.h. ein alphabetisches Sachverzeichnis, beigefügt hat. Da dieses aber im Buchstaben D unvollendet abbricht, dürften 6-10 weitere Blätter des « Inventarium » verloren gegangen sein.

Die Handschrift besitzt noch ihren ursprünglichen *Einband*. Sie ist in feste, mit weißem Schweinsleder bezogene Holzdeckel gebunden. Der Einband bietet eine Streicheisenlinieneinteilung mit doppeltem Rahmen. Die Einzelstempel, die sich in allen Feldern und auch auf dem Rücken finden, zeigen : größere und kleinere Rosette im Kreis, Blüte in Raute, Herz mit Pfeil in Raute, Hirsch in Raute mit gepunkteter Umrahmung, Löwe (?) in Raute und Rosette frei. Auf dem vorderen und hinteren Deckel finden sich Eck- und Kantenbeschläge und je 5 Buckel. Erhalten sind auch die zwei Schließen. Auf dem Hinterdeckel sind noch Spuren der Kettenbefestigung erkennbar.

Der Vorderdeckel trägt unter abgerissener Hornplatte das Titelschild : « Sexta pars operum Joh[annis] Dorsten continens sermones ab octa[va] epiphanie ad Pascatis ... » Auf dem Rücken des Bandes findet sich ein Papierschildchen mit der Signatur « C.E.f.49 » (= Codex Erfurtensis fol. 49).

Im Vorderdeckel ist ein Pergamentblatt einer liturgischen Handschrift des 13./14. Jahrhunderts mit gotischer Beschriftung und Choralnoten aufgeklebt. Der Text lautet : « ... non illorum, quia caro unius caro alterius. Sicut. R : Erat autem uterque nudus, Adam et uxor eius, et non erubescebant, quia sine ma ... ». Dieses eingeklebte Blatt trägt auf dem oberen Rand die heutige Signatur des Codex « Lat. Fol. 851 », auf dem unteren Rand die ältere Signatur « Libr. manu script. 49 ».

Auf der Vorderseite des Vorsatzblattes steht am oberen Rand der Eintrag des *Vorbesitzers* : « Sum Bibliothecae FrFr. Erem. S. P. Augustini Erfurti 1732. » Auf dem unteren Rand dieses Blattes und ebenso auf Blatt 1r und auf der Rückseite des letzten Blattes (f. 290v) findet sich der Stempel « Ex Biblioth. Regia Berolinensi ». Außerdem bezeugt ein Stempel der « Koenigl. Pr. Bibliothek zu

Erfurt» auf der Rückseite des Vorsatzblattes, daß die Handschrift nach der Säkularisation des Augustinerklosters Erfurt im Jahre 1820 nicht unmittelbar in den Besitz der Berliner Staatsbibliothek überging, sondern zunächst in Erfurt verblieb.

Wie der erwähnte Eintrag auf dem Vorsatzblatt beweist, gelangte die Handschrift erst durch die Säkularisation in den Besitz des Staates. Bis zum Jahre 1820 war sie Eigentum des Erfurter Augustinerkonvents, der sie auch 1508 (vgl. f. 286vb) schreiben ließ. Sie enthält die « secunda pars voluminis tercii operum reverendi patris et magistri Johannis de Dorsten», wie im Initium auf Blatt 1ra ausdrücklich gesagt ist, nämlich Predigten für die Sonntage nach Epiphanie und für die Sonntage Septuagesima, Sexagesima und Quinquagesima, ferner Predigten für alle Tage der Fastenzeit, die in zwei Quadragesimalia zusammengefaßt sind. Alle Texte wurden unmittelbar aus dem handschriftlichen Nachlaß des Dorsten kopiert. Über die daran beteiligten Personen und die Methode des « Rekollektors » wird weiter unten zu sprechen sein.

Das Manuskript ist von einem *einzigen Schreiber* zweispaltig in einer gut leserlichen Minuskel geschrieben. Am Anfang der einzelnen Predigten finden sich mit Schnörkeln verzierte Lombarden und zwar abwechselnd in roter und blauer Ausführung. Die erste Predigt (f. 1ra) beginnt mit einer qualitätvollen, blau eingerahmten T-Initiale in weinroter Farbe auf Goldgrund, mit weißen Rankenmotiven und eingepreßtem Maiglöckenfleuronné geschmückt.

Der Text beginnt f. 1ra mit den Worten : « Gloriosa virgo, benigna mater, Te rogamus auxiliare nobis. Secunda pars voluminis tercii operum Reverendi Patris et magistri Johannis de Dorsten etc. incipit feliciter. 'Tercia die facta sunt nuptie. Et erat mater Jesu ibi. Vocatus est autem et Jhesus et discipuli eius', Joh. II originaliter.

Eximius doctor Dominus Robertus Linconiensis exponens illam propositionem Aristotelis ... »

Der Text endet f. 286vb mit den Worten :

« ... Tertia premiatio erit confessio nominum eorum in fine mundi per Christum, qui dicit Marci VIII : 'Qui me confessus fuerit coram hominibus' scilicet humiliter, 'confitebor et ego eum coram patre meo', scilicet in extremo iudicio. Sed 'qui me erubuerit, filius hominis erubescet eum, cum venerit in maiestate sua et patris et sanctorum et angelorum', Luc. IX.

Laus deo et gratiarum actio.

Explicit pars secundo tercii voluminis in vigilia beati Bartholomei Apostoli. Anni (!) MDVIII.

Sequitur pars tertia ».

Von einer anderen, ziemlich gleichzeitigen Hand, in Humanistenschrift, ist das Distichon beigefügt :

« Finis adest, grates domino persolve superno,
lector amice, precor tuque perenne vale ».

II. *Verzeichnis der Sermones*

DISTINCTIO PRIMA

PARTICULA PRIMA : [Sermones dominicarum 1-4 post octavam Epiphaniae] fol. 1r-36r.

[Thema] De matrimonio (1.-5. Serm.)

1. Sermo (domin. 1 post oct. Epiph.) :
« *Tertia die factae sunt nuptiae. Et erat mater Jesu ibi. Vocatus est autem et Jesus et discipuli eius*, Joh. 2 (1f) originaliter. Eximius doctor dominus Robertus Linconiensis exponens illam propositionem Aristotelis primo Posteriorum : *Omnis doctrina et omnis disciplina* ... » (fol. 1ra-2vb).

2. Sermo (dominica eadem) :
« *Nuptiae factae sunt*, Joh. 2 (1). Beatus et gloriosus doctor Hieronymus in Apologetico ad Pammachium contra Jovinianum : *Non*, inquit, *ignoramus honorabiles nuptias* ... » (fol. 2vb-4ra).

3. Sermo (dominica eadem) :
« *Nuptiae factae sunt*, ubi supra. Robertus Holkot super librum Sapientiae, lect. 44, tractans illud Sap. 4(1) : *O quam pulchra est casta generatio cum claritate* : *Spiritus Sanctus*, inquit, *volens ostendere castae generationis honestatem* ... » (fol. 4rb-6ra).

4. Sermo (dominica eadem) :
« *Vinum non habent*, Joh. 2(3). Venerabilis Simon de Cassia libro secundo Vitae Christi cap. 25 : *In nuptiis*, inquit, *ac si paranympha seu pronuba foret, virgo mater se invenit* ... » (fol. 6ra-8vb).

5. Sermo (dominica eadem : Predigtkonzept) :
« *Quodcumque dixerit vobis, facite*, Joh. 2(5). Venerabilis Simon de Cassia libro secundo Vitae Christi cap. 25 : *Lucerna* inquit, *mentium omnium humanarum est deifera virgo* ... » (fol. 8vb-9vb).

[Thema] Contra aphrodisiam et de philocaptis (6.-9. Serm.)

6. Sermo (domin. 1 post oct. Epiph.) :
« *Dilectio sine simulatione*, Ad Rom. 12(9). Quamvis doctores de proprietate terminorum tractantes inter haec tria dilectionem, amorem et caritatem ... » (fol. 9vb-11va).

7. Sermo (domin. 2 post oct. Epiph.) :
« *Noli vinci a malo*, Ad Rom. 12(21) originaliter et in hodierna dominica lectionaliter. Distinguunt doctores communiter duplex malum, scilicet malum culpae et malum poenae ... » (fol. 11va-16ra).

8. Sermo (domin. 3 post oct. Epiph.):
« *Dilectio proximi malum non operatur*, Ad Rom. 13(10). Venerabilis Hugo de S. Victore Super Lamentationes Jeremiae cap. 9 tractans illud Jer. 2(3): *Succendit in Jacob quasi ignem* [*flammae*] *devorantis in gyro* ... » (fol. 16ra-17va).

9. Sermo (domin. 4 post oct. Epiph.):
« *Nonne bonum semen seminasti in agro tuo* etc., Matth. 13(27) originaliter. Venerabilis Simon de Cassia libro sexto Vitae Christi cap. 6 tractans parabolam tritici et zizaniorum ad comparationem bonorum et malorum: *Quoniam*, inquit, ... » (fol. 17vb-20ra).

[Thema] De abusu sensuum (10.-13. Serm.)

10. Sermo (domin. 1 post oct. Epiph.: De abusu sensus visus):
« *Solicitudine non pigri*, Ad Rom. 12(11) originaliter et in hodierna epistula lectionaliter. Dominus Johannes Carnotensis, qui et Saroboriensis nominatur, in suo Policratico, quem scripsit ad beatum Thomam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum libro sexto cap. 22: *Sine*, inquit, *prudentia* ... » (fol. 20rb-23rb).

11. Sermo (domin. 2 post oct. Epiph.: De abusu sensus auditus):
« *Solicitudine non pigri*, ubi supra. Regius propheta psalmo 103(26): *Draco iste, quem tu formasti ad illudendum ei*; supple: est in hoc mari magno, id est hoc saeculo. Iste est diabolus, qui ... » (fol. 23va-26vb).

12. Sermo (domin. 3 post oct. Epiph.: De abusu sensus tactus):
« *Solicitudine non pigri*, ubi supra. Beatus Gregorius decimo sexto Moralium: *Sicut solicitudo bene obsequentium famulorum est, ut dominorum suorum vultibus semper sint intenti* ... » (fol. 26vb-29rb).

13. Sermo (domin. 4 post oct. Epiph.: De osculis):
« *Solicitudine non pigri*, ubi supra. Doctores circa illud Matth. 6(31): *Nolite soliciti esse* etc. triplicem distinguunt solicitudinem dicentes, quod quaedam est illa ... » (fol. 29rb-31rb).

[Thema] De chorea (14.-15. Serm.)

14. Sermo (domin. 1 post oct. Epiph.):
« *In circuitu impii ambulant*, Ps. 11(9) hac nocte lecto in divino officio. Beatus pater noster Augustinus super praemissa verba de impiis avaris dicit, quod tales impii ambulant ... » (fol. 31rb-33va).

15. Sermo (domin. 2 post oct. Epiph.):
« *In circuitu impii ambulant*, ubi supra. Venerabilis magister Johannes Gerson, cancellarius Parisiensis, tractatu nono Super Magnificat duplicem circuitum distinguens, scilicet iustorum et impiorum ... » (fol. 33va-36rb).

PARTICULA SECUNDA: [Sermones dominicarum Septuagesimae, Sexagesimae, Quinquagesimae] fol. 36v-44r.

1. Sermo (domin. Septuag.):
« *Simile est regnum caelorum homini patrifamilias, qui exiit primo mane conducere operarios in vineam suam, Matth.* 20(1) originaliter. Dominus Guilhelmus Duranti Menacensis in suo Rationali divinorum inter causas, quare hoc tempus Septuagesimae sit institutum ... » (fol. 36va-38ra).

2. Sermo (domin. Septuag.):
« *Redde illis mercedem incipiens a novissimis usque ad primos*, Matth 20(8). Venerabilis Simon de Cassia ubi supra (libro sexto Vitae Christi cap. 21): *Ordo*, inquit, *praeposterus ad magnum mysterium* ... » (fol. 38ra-39ra).

Sermo ohne Nummer (domin. Septuag.: Predigtkonzept):
« *Sic currite, ut comprehendatis*, 1. Cor. 9(24). Variis utuntur loquendi modis et similitudinibus oratores ad aliquod negotium exhortantes ... » (fol. 39ra-vb).

Sermo ohne Nummer (domin. Septuag.: nur kurze Skizze):
« *Nescitis, quod hi, qui in stadio currunt, omnes quidem currunt, sed unus accipit bravium*, 1. Cor. 9(24) originaliter. Quoniam sancta mater Ecclesia in hac dominica de hominis agit creatione ... » (fol. 39vb).

3. Sermo (domin. Sexag.):
« *Exiit, qui seminat, seminare semen suum*, Luc. 8(5). Quod olim propheta regius in persona Christi dixit: *Aperiam in parabolis os meum* (Ps. 77,2), hic Dominus implet ... » (fol. 40ra-41va).

4. Sermo (domin. Quinquag.):
« *Caritas omnia suffert*, 1 Cor. 13(7). Beatissimus pater noster Augustinus tertio De Trinitate cap. 18: *Caritas*, inquit, *est donum Dei, quo nihil* ... »(fol. 41vb-43rb).

5. Sermo (domin. Quinquag.):
« *Omnis plebs, ut vidit, dedit laudem Deo*, Luc. 18 (43). Guilhelmus Duranti Menacensis in suo Rationali divinorum agens de officio huius dominicae multiplicem distinguit quinquagesimam ... » (fol. 43va-44rb).

DISTINCTIO SECUNDA [Quadragesimalia]
QUADRAGESIMALE PRIMUM: fol. 44v-137r.

[Thema] De poenitentia in generali (1.-8. Serm.)

1. Sermo (feria quarta Cinerum):
« *Poenitentiam agite, appropinquavit enim regnum caelorum*, Matth. 4(17). Ad tractandum de poenitentia tria me inducunt, scilicet ordinis dicendorum exigentia, temporis congruentia, fidelium proficientia ... » (fol. 44va-45vb).

2. Sermo (feria quinta ante Invocabit):
« *Poenitentiam agite, appropinquavit* etc., ubi supra. Magister in quarto dist. 14 poenitentiam appellat gratiam ... » (fol. 46ra-47rb).

3. Sermo (feria sexta ante Invocabit):
« *Poenitentiam agite, appropinquavit* etc., ubi supra. Divina ordinatione duae viae sunt ad salutem secundum duos status naturae ... » (fol. 47va-49va).

4. Sermo (sabbato ante Invocabit):
« *Poenitentiam agite, appropinquavit* etc., ubi supra. Magister in quarto Sententiarum dist. 14 duplicem, ut supra dixi, distinguit poenitentiam, interiorem scilicet et exteriorem ... » (fol. 49va-51ra).

5. Sermo (domin. Invocabit):
« *Poenitentiam agite* etc., ubi supra. Dominus Albertus in tractatu de corpore Christi, ubi agit de graduali, quod canitur post lectam epistulam ... » (fol. 51rb-52va).

6. Sermo (feria secunda post Invocabit):
« *Poenitentiam agite* etc., ubi supra. Beatus Johannes Chrysostomus homilia 23 super illud Matth. (6,28): *Considerate lilia agri*: *Non*, inquit, *est aliquod peccatum* ... » (fol. 52va-53vb).

7. Sermo (feria tertia post Invocabit):
« *Poenitentiam agite* etc., ubi supra. Ordinata sermonis praesentis continuatio exigit, ut omisso tertio pro nunc membro principali ... » (fol. 53vb-55rb).

8. Sermo (feria quarta post Invocabit):
« *Poenitentiam agite etc.*, ubi supra. Venerabilis Simon de Cassia libro decimo quarto Vitae Christi cap. 9 tractans illud Luc. 24(26): *Oportebat pati Christum et resurgere a mortuis tertia die* ... » (fol. 55rb-56rb).

[Thema] De poenitentia in speciali : De contritione (9.-14. Serm.)

9. Sermo (feria quinta post Invocabit):
« *Poenitemini et oboedite Evangelio*, Marc. 1 (15). Cum instans tempus Quadragesimae tempus sit poenitentiae agendae ... » (fol. 56va-57va).

10. Sermo (feria sexta post Invocabit):
« *Poenitemini et oboedite Evangelio*, ubi supra. Dominus Altissiodorensis super quartum Sententiarum, ubi tractat de poenitentia, duas assignat causas ... » (fol. 57vb-59ra).

11. Sermo (sabbato post Invocabit):
« *Poenitemini et oboedite Evangelio*, ubi supra. Venerabilis dominus Robertus Linconiensis in Libro suorum dictorum, dicto 101 : *Poenitentia*, inquit, *catenam peccati dirumpit* ... » (fol. 59ra-60va).

12. Sermo (domin. Reminiscere):
« *Poenitemini et oboedite* etc., ubi supra. Venerabilis doctor Petrus Blesensis Epistula 129 : *Sunt*, inquit, *plerique, qui ad perfectum poenitentiae* ... » (fol. 60va-61va).

13. Sermo (feria secunda post Reminiscere):
« *Poenitemini et oboedite* etc., ubi supra. Beatus pater noster Augustinus Epistula 111 secundum quorundam computationem, et est ad Julianum comitem de perfectissima iustitia : *Paratus est*, inquit, *semper Deus* ... » (fol. 61va-b).

14. Sermo (feria tertia post Reminiscere):
« *Poenitemini et oboedite Evangelio*, ubi supra. Dominus Altissiodorensis Super quartum, ubi agit de poenitentia ... » (fol. 61vb-62vb).

[Thema] De poenitentia in speciali : De confessione (15.-25. Serm.).

15. Sermo (feria quarta post Reminiscere):
« *Poenitemini et oboedite Evangelio*, ubi supra. Beatus Johannes Chrysostomus homilia 62, quae est de poenitentia : *Sciens*, inquit, *Satanas* ... » (fol. 62vb-64vb).

16. Sermo (feria quinta post Reminiscere):
« *Poenitemini et oboedite Evangelio*, ubi supra. Doctorum omnium catholicorum sententia est : Nullum peccatorum mortalium absque poenitentia Deus remittit ... » (fol. 64vb-66rb).

17. Sermo (feria sexta post Reminiscere):
«*Poenitemini et oboedite Evangelio*, ubi supra. Dominus Guilhelmus Parisiensis in libro

suo De sacramentis : *In palam*, inquit, *et in manifesto omnis turpitudo pectoris ...* » (fol. 66va-68va).

18. Sermo (sabbato post Reminiscere) :
« *Poenitemini et oboedite* etc., ubi supra. Dominus Aegidius noster cap. 9 De laudibus divinae sapientiae declarans illud beati Augustini, quod ait in libro De vera et falsa poenitentia ... » (fol. 68va-70ra).

19. Sermo (domin. Oculi) :
« *Poenitemini et oboedite Evangelio* etc., ubi supra. Beatus Augustinus in quodam sermone de poenitentia : *Inter alia*, sic inquit, *baptisatus factus desertor ...* » (fol. 70rb-72rb).

20. Sermo (feria secunda post Oculi) :
« *Poenitemini et oboedite* etc., ubi supra. Quemadmodum philosophia hortatur venerabilem Boetium ad revelationem morbi sui, quo languebat ... » (fol. 72rb-73rb).

21. Sermo (feria tertia post Oculi) :
« *Poenitemini et oboedite* etc., ubi supra. Venerabilis Hugo libro secundo De sacramentis parte 14 cap. 5 : *Valde*, inquit, *difficile est ...* » (fol. 73va-75va).

22. Sermo (feria quarta post Oculi) :
« *Poenitemini et oboedite Evangelio*, ubi supra. Beatus Johannes Chrysostomus in De reparatione lapsi : *Talis*, inquit, *mihi crede, erga homines est pietas Dei ...* » (fol. 75va-76vb).

23. Sermo (feria quinta post Oculi) :
« *Poenitemini et oboedite Evangelio*, ubi supra. Beatus Gregorius libro decimo septimo Moralium tractans illud Job 24(23) : *Dedit locum poenitentiae* etc. : *Quisquis ...* » (fol. 76vb-78rb).

24. Sermo (feria sexta post Oculi) :
« *Poenitemini et oboedite Evangelio*, ubi supra. Beatus dominus et martyr Cyprianus, Carthaginensis doctor praeclarus in Epistula de zelo et livore ad Fortunatum : *Adversarius ...* » (fol. 78va-80va).

25. Sermo (sabbato post Oculi) :
« *Poenitemini et oboedite Evangelio*, ubi supra. Beatus Johannes Chrysostomus in quodam sermone de poenitentia sic exorditur : *Provida mente ...* » (fol. 80va-82vb).

[Thema] De poenitentia in speciali : De satisfactione (26.-29. Serm. : Predigtkonzepte).

26. Sermo (domin. Laetare) :
« *Facite dignos fructus poenitentiae*, Luc. 3(8). Magister in quarto dist. 9 in principio : *Poenitentia*, inquit, *longe ...* » (fol. 83ra-84va).

27. Sermo (feria secunda post Laetare) :
« *Facite dignos fructus poenitentiae*, ubi supra. Dominus Guilhelmus Parisiensis in tractatu de sacramentis : *Satisfactio*, inquit, *est, qua Deo satis fit ...* (fol. 84va-85vb). [3])

28. Sermo (feria tertia post Laetare) :
« *Facite dignos fructus poenitentiae*, ubi supra. Beatus Chrysostomus in quodam sermone de poenitentia : *O*, inquit, *poenitentia rutilantior auro ...* » (fol. 85vb-88rb).

[3]) Dieser Sermo stammt nicht von Dorsten (vgl. unten Anm. 22).

29. Sermo (feria quarta post Laetare):
« *Facite dignos fructus poenitentiae*, ubi supra. Beatus pater Augustinus libro decimo tertio De Trinitate cap. 3: *Est*, inquit, *quaedam eiusdem naturae* ... » (fol. 88va-90ra).

[Thema] De poenitentia in speciali: De restitutione (30.-31. Serm.).

30. Sermo (feria quinta post Laetare):
« *Facite dignos fructus poenitentiae*, ubi supra. Venerabilis Simon de Cassia libro tertio Vitae Christi tractans praedicta assumpta verba: *Omnis*, inquit, *virtus proprios habet fructus* ... » (fol. 90ra-91va).

31. Sermo (feria sexta post Laetare):
« *Facite dignos fructus poenitentiae*, ubi supra. Beatus pater noster Augustinus in epistula quadam ad Macedonium: *Ut nunc*, inquit, *hominum mores sunt* ... » (fol. 91va-93vb).

[Thema] De ieiunio (32.-36. Serm.).

32. Sermo (sabbato post Laetare):
« *Sanctificate ieiunium*, Joel 2 (15) et in officio missali. Legimus Dan. 9 (2f), quomodo ipse sanctus propheta Daniel intellegens tempus desolationis ... » (fol. 93vb-96rb).

33. Sermo (domin. Judica):
« *Sanctificate ieiunium* etc., ubi supra. Sanctus Dionysius [cap.] 12 De divinis nominibus: *Sanctitas est perfecta munditia* ... » (fol. 96rb-97va).

34. Sermo (feria secunda post Judica):
« *Sanctificate ieiunium*, ubi supra. Venerabilis Simon de Cassia libro duodecimo Vitae Christi cap. 18 tractans illud Joh. (17,17): *Pater, sanctifica eos*, ... » (fol. 97vb-99rb).

35. Sermo (feria tertia post Judica):
« *Sanctificate ieiunium*, ubi supra. Quia in praecedenti sermone dictum est de institutione ieiunii, ratione cuius obligamur ad ipsum, ideo, ut ipsum ... » (fol. 99rb-101rb; beigefügt ist fol. 101rb-103rb eine *Determinatio dubii de ieiunio*, die der Schreiber im Nachlaß des Dorsten fand, die aber nicht von seiner Hand geschrieben war: « Quaeritur, utrum patresfamilias, tabernarii, hospites peccent mortaliter cibos in ieiuniis ab ecclesiis praeceptis mane et sero indifferenter omnibus ex familia et hospitibus sicut in aliis diebus ministrantes »).

36. Sermo (feria quarta post Judica):
« *Sanctificate ieiunium*, ubi supra. Testantur physici, quod periculosum sit tempore ieiunii, hoc est quando homo adhuc ieiunus est, nebulam ingredi ... » (fol. 103va-105rb).

[Thema] De mysteriis missae (37.-44. Serm.: Predigtkonzepte).

37. Sermo (feria quinta post Judica):
« *Sanctificate ieiunium*, Joel 2(15). Propheta iste Joel secundum beatum Hieronymum prophetavit filiis Juda ... » (fol. 105va-106vb).

38. Sermo (feria sexta post Judica):
« *Sanctificate ieiunium* etc., ubi supra. Quia per venenum antiqui serpentis infecta est tota natura in homine, ... » (fol. 106vb-108va).

39. Sermo (sabbato post Judica):
« *Sanctificate ieiunium*, ubi supra. Venerabilis Beda super hodiernum evangelium: Sanctificatio nostra fit per Spiritum Sanctum ... » (fol. 108va-109vb).

40. Sermo (domin. Palmarum):
« *Sanctificate ieiunium*, ubi supra. Quicquid peccata aufert, sanctificat ieiunium. Sed oratio aufert peccata, igitur sanctificat ... » (fol. 110ra-113ra).

41. Sermo (feria secunda post Palmarum):
« *Sanctificate ieiunium*, ubi supra. Secundum magistrum in Glossa interlineari ieiunium sanctificatur bona voluntate, oratione et operatione ... » (fol. 113ra-115rb).

42. Sermo (feria tertia post Palmarum):
« *Sanctificate ieiunium*, ut supra. Quemadmodum etiam prius dixi, quod sanctus diversimode accipitur ab authoribus secundum diversam acceptionem verbi ... » (fol. 115va-117rb).

43. Sermo (feria quarta post Palmarum):
« *Sanctificate ieiunium* etc., ubi supra. Cum secundum superiora dicta sanctificare nihil aliud sit quam purum et sacratum facere vel aliquod Deo dicare ... » (fol. 117va-121va).

44. Sermo (feria quinta post Palmarum):
« *Sanctificate ieiunium*, ubi supra. Venerabilis Simon de Cassia libro decimo tertio Vitae Christi ostendere volens, in quibus voluntas Dei consistat quo ad nos ... » (fol. 121va-123rb).

[Thema] De regno Dei (45.-50. Serm.: gepredigt an den Dienstagen der Fastenzeit des Jahres 1466 oder 1477) [4].

45. Sermo (feria tertia post Invocabit):
« *Docebat eos de regno Dei*, Matth. 21 et in evangelio hodierno (richtiger Marc. 4, 2ff). Cum tam evangelium hodiernum quam lectio duo praecipue hodie nobis commendent ... » (fol. 123va-124vb).

46. Sermo (feria tertia post Reminiscere: Predigtkonzept):
« *Docebat eos de regno Dei*, ubi supra. Ante octavam auditum fuit, quomodo salvator noster dominus Jesus Christus docebat utilia ... » (fol. 125ra-va; es folgt fol. 125va-126rb eine *alia forma processus* mit dem Initium: « Beatus pater noster Augustinus libro de decem chordis non longe post principium: *Qui non*, inquit, *propterea christianus est, ut id, quod in fine Christus promittit* ... »).

47. Sermo (feria tertia post Oculi):
« *Docebat illos de regno Dei*, ubi supra. Quoniam, ut infra dicetur, regnum Dei aliquando dicitur lex regni, est autem lex regni ... » (fol. 126va-127ra).

48. Sermo (feria tertia post Laetare):
« *Docebat eos de regno Dei*, ubi supra. In evangelio hodierno habetur (Joh. 7, 17): *Si quis voluerit voluntatem eius facere* scilicet qui misit me, *cognoscet de doctrina mea* ... » (fol. 127ra-128rb).

49. Sermo (feria tertia post Judica: Predigtkonzept):
« *Docebat eos de regno Dei*, ubi supra. Ante octavam audivimus, quale sit regnum caelorum. Possit igitur aliquis quaerere: Qualis est regina caelorum ... » (fol. 128rb-128vb).

[4] F. 128rb wird mitgeteilt, daß der Dienstag nach Judica in jenem Jahr auf das Fest Mariä Verkündigung, den 25. März, fiel; dies war in der Wirkungszeit des Dorsten 1466 und 1477 der Fall.

50. Sermo (feria tertia post Palmarum):
« *Docebat eos de regno Dei*, ubi supra. Ostenso supra, quale sit regnum caelorum et qualis sit ipse rex illius regni, super est nunc videre, quorum sit regnum ... » (fol. 128vb-129va).

[Thema] De conscientia (51.-56. Sermo: Predigtkonzepte).

51. Sermo (was die Einordnung dieser Predigt und der folgenden in die Fastenzeit betrifft, so gibt der Schreiber der Handschrift den Hinweis: *Possunt isti sermones assignari quintis feriis vel alicui alteri*):
« *Ubi non est scientia animae, non est bonum*, Prov. 19(2). Salomon sapientissimus considerans hominem praelatum ceteris rebus visibilibus, quia tam secundum doctrinam theologicam ... » (fol. 129va-131ra).

52. Sermo:
« *Ubi non est scientia animae, ibi non est bonum*, ubi supra. Beatus Bernardus in quodam sermone de dilectione Dei: *Quaerat*, inquit, *homo eminentiora bona* ... » (fol. 131ra-132vb).

53. Sermo:
« *Ubi non est scientia animae* etc., ubi supra. Venerabilis Hugo de S. Victore in quodam tractatu de bona conscientia, qui ab aliquibus asscribitur beato Bernardo ... (fol. 132vb-134ra).

54. Sermo:
« *Ubi non est scientia animae* etc., ubi supra. Quoniam privatio cognoscitur per habitum, igitur malam conscientiam per bonam cognoscimus. Et quia aliqua de ambabus ... » (fol. 134ra-135ra).

55. Sermo:
« *Sanguis Christi emundabit conscientias nostras ab operibus mortuis*, Ad Hebr. 9(14) et in hodierna lectione. Quia dixi ante octavam et in aliis sermonibus de conscientia recta. Recta autem conscientia in Scriptura dicitur ... » (fol. 135ra-136va).

56. Sermo:
« *Ubi non est scientia animae, non est bonum* (Prov. 19,2). Eximius vitae Christi contemplator Simon de Cassia libro decimo tertio Vitae Christi tractans illud (Joh. 13,12): *Scitis, quod fecerim vobis*? exponens: id est scire debetis ... (fol. 136vb-137rb).

QUADRAGESIMALE SECUNDUM: fol. 137v-286v.

Pro dominica Invocabit (1.-9. Serm.):

1. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1473):
« *Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile*, 2. Cor. 6 (2). Ad faciendum verborum assumptorum aliqualem declarationem et ad gratiam quaerandam ... » (fol. 137va-139ra).

2. Sermo:
« *Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile*, ubi supra. Venerabilis magister Henricus de Hassia in Vesperiis hanc movens quaestionem: Utrum sub tempore gratiae constet, quis erit status ... » (fol. 139ra-140rb).

3. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1478):
« *Hortamur vos, ne in vacuum gratiam Dei recipiatis*, 2. Cor. 6(1). Beatus Chrysostomus

libro primo de compunctione sententialiter duo movet circa gratiam considerandam ... » (fol. 140va-141rb).

4. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1474):
« *Nemini dantes ullam offensionem*, 2. Cor. 6(3). Quia divinae Scripturae hoc testantur, quod cupiens in hoc sacro tempore ... » (fol. 141rb-142rb).

5. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1476):
« *Ductus est Jesus in desertum*, Matth. 4(1). Beatus Gregorius papa in hodierna homilia, et est in ordine decima quinta super evangelia: *Dubitari*, inquit, *a quibusdam* ... » (fol. 142rb-143va).

6. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1471):
« *Ductus est Jesus in desertum* etc. Eximius contemplator vitae Christi libro 4 cap. 4 investigans, quare Jesus duci a Spiritu voluit ... » (fol. 143va-145ra).

7. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1477):
« « *Dominum Deum tuum adorabis*, Matth. 4(10) et Deut. 6(13). Magister Sententiarum libro secundo dist. 1 cap. 3: *Si quaeritur, ad quid sit creata rationalis creatura* ... » (fol. 145ra-146rb).

8. Sermo:
« *Dominum Deum tuum adorabis et illi soli servies*, Luc. 4(8) etc. Magister in Glossa super Lucam tractans assumpta verba: *Dominum Deum tuum*, inquit, *adorabis et illi soli servies, qui solus fructu remunerat* ... » (fol. 146rb-147rb).

9. Sermo (Predigtkonzept):
« *Dominum Deum tuum adorabis* etc., ubi supra. Quaerit venerabilis Simon de Cassia libro quarto Vitae Christi, quare beata Maria virgo sustinebat ... » (fol. 147rb-147vb).

Pro dominica Reminiscere (10.-17. Serm.):

10. Sermo:
« *Sic ambuletis, ut abundetis magis*, 1. Thess. 4(1). Magister in Glossa exponit dicens: *Sic ambuletis perseverando in bono* ... » (fol. 147vb-149va).

11. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1477):
« *Haec est voluntas Dei, sanctificatio vestra*, 1. Thess. 4(3). Quaeritur: Unde Apostolus novit hanc esse voluntatem Dei ... » (fol. 149va-151rb).

12. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1473, Predigtkonzept):
« *Haec est voluntas Dei, sanctificatio vestra.* Secundum beatum Augustinum libro de cognitione verae vitae Deus condidit rationalem creaturam ... » (fol. 151rb-152ra).

13. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1480):
« *Hortamur vos, ne in vacuum gratiam Dei recipiatis*, 2. Cor. 6(1). Dominus Guilhelmus Parisiensis in prima parte Summae virtutum definit gratiam dicens ... » (fol. 152ra-152vb).

14. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1478):
« *Haec est voluntas Dei, sanctificatio vestra*, 1. Thess. 4(3). Glossa super illud psalmi 31(11): *Laetamini iusti in Domino et exultate iusti et gloriamini omnes recti corde. Laetitia*, inquit, *et gloria* ... » (fol. 152vb-153rb).

15. Sermo:
« *Haec est voluntas Dei, sanctificatio vestra*, ubi supra. Beatus pater noster Augustinus

libro decimo septimo De civitate Dei cap. 4 exponens illud cantici Annae ... » (fol. 153rb-154rb).

16. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1476):
« *Assumpsit Jesus Petrum, Jacobum et Johannem*, Matth. 17(1) et hodie in divino officio dominicali secundum ordinem Romanum. Quaerunt communiter hic expositores, cur Dominus tantum tres ... » (fol. 154va-155va).

17. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1474):
« *Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi complacui; ipsum* audite, Matth. 17(5). Secundum Philosophum primo Ethicorum praecognitio finis multum confert ... » (fol. 155va-156va).

Pro dominica Oculi (18.-22. Serm.):

18. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1477):
« *Estote imitatores Dei sicut filii carissimi et ambulate in dilectione sicut Christus dilexit nos*, Eph. 5 (1sq.). Evangelium hodiernum beatae virginis, cuius ... » (fol. 156va-158ra).

19. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1474):
« *Estote imitatores Dei sicut* etc., ubi supra. Magister in Glossa exponit: *Imitatores Dei, id est Christi.* Unde notandum, quod Deus Pater ... » (fol. 158rb-159va).

20. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1478):
« *Ambulate in dilectione sicut Christus dilexit nos*, Eph. 5(2). Beatus pater noster Augustinus et ponitur in Glossa 1. Cor. 12: *Inter dona*, inquit, *Dei nullum est maius* ... » (fol. 159va-161va).

Sermo ohne Nummer (Predigtkonzept):
« *Erat Jesus eiciens daemonium*, Luc. 11(14). Venerabilis magister noster Albertus de Padua: *Imago*, inquit, *et umbra daemonis* ... » (fol. 161va-162ra).

Sermo ohne Nummer (kurzes Predigtkonzept):
« *Omnis domus contra se divisa non stabit* etc. (Matth. 12,25). Conscientia ut bene ornata domus Dei dicitur ... » (fol. 162ra).

Sermo ohne Nummer (kurzes Predigtkonzept):
« *Porro si in digito Dei eicio daemonia* etc. (Luc. 11, 20). Notandum, quod digitus Dei in Scriptura dicitur virtus Dei propter duo ... » (fol. 162ra-162va).

21. Sermo:
« *Beati, qui audiunt verbum Dei et custodiunt illud*, Luc. 11(28). Sanctus evangelista in evangelio hodierno ante verba proposita refert, qualiter ... » (fol. 162va-164rb).

22. Sermo:
« *Beati, qui audiunt verbum Dei* etc., ubi supra. Distinguunt grammatici verba dicentes verborum aliud substantivum, aliud adiectivum ... » (fol. 164va-??).
In der Handschrift fehlen die Blätter 165, 166, 167, 168 und 169 mit dem zweiten Teil dieses 22. Sermo und den 23., 24. und 25. Sermones.

Pro dominica Laetare (23.-27. Serm.):

26. Sermo:
« *Abiit Jesus trans mare, quod est Tiberiadis et sequebatur eum magna multitudo*, Joh. 6 (1 sq.). Evangelii hodiernae diei historia est de cibatione ... » (fol. 170ra-171vb).

27. Sermo:
« *Accepit Jesus panes et, cum gratias egisset, distribuit discumbentibus*, Joh. 6(11) originaliter. Venerandissimus Ecclesiae doctor et antistes beatus Ambrosius libro primo de interpellatione David : *In ipsis*, inquit ... » (fol. 172ra-173va).

Pro dominica Judica (28.-35. Serm.):

28. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1477):
« *Christus assistens pontifex futurorum bonorum*, Ad Hebr. 9(11). Secundum institutionem et morem sanctae matris Ecclesiae hodie incipiunt fideles ... » (fol. 173va-174vb).

29. Sermo:
« *Christus assistens pontifex futurorum bonorum*, ubi supra. Beatus pater noster Augustinus homilia 55 : *Tota*, inquit, *Christi passio est nostra expurgatio* ... » (fol. 174vb-176ra).

30. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1473):
« *Christus assistens pontifex futurorum bonorum*, Ad Hebr. 9(11). Magister in Rationali divinorum : *A vespera*, inquit, *sabbati praecedentis huius dominicae incipit celebritas passionis* ... » (fol. 176ra-178va).

31. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1478):
« *Sanguis Christi, qui per Spiritum Sanctum semetipsum immaculatum obtulit Deo, emundabit conscientiam nostram ab operibus mortuis ad serviendum Deo viventi*, Ad Hebr. 9(14). Magister in Glossa : *Nemo potest Deo servire* ... » (fol. 178va-180rb).

32. Sermo (Predigtkonzept):
« *Christus introivit per proprium sanguinem semel in sancta*, Ad Hebr. 9(12). Beatus pater noster Augustinus libro tertio contra Julianum cap. 2 : *Ubi redemptio sonat* ... » (fol. 180rb-181vb).

33. Sermo (Predigtkonzept):
« *Quis ex vobis arguet me de peccato*, Joh. 8(46). Beatus pater noster Augustinus libro De natura boni adversus quaestiones Adamantii solvit quaestionem ... » (fol. 181vb-182va).

34. Sermo (Predigtkonzept):
« *Qui ex Deo est, verba Dei audit*, Joh. 8(47). Pro quorum verborum deductione notandum, quod ad hoc, quod sermones alicuius ... » (fol. 182va-183rb).

35. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1476):
« *Si veritatem vobis dico, quare non creditis mihi*, Joh. 8(46). Cum dominus Jesus proponeret illa verba coram turbis ... » (fol. 183va-185vb).

Pro dominica Palmarum (36.-43. Serm.):

36. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1476):
« *Plurima turba straverunt vestimenta sua in via*, Matth. 21(8) et evangelio hodierno. Apoc. 19(11) beatus Johannes declarat regiam maiestatem Christi dicens : *Videns caelum apertum* ... » (fol. 185vb-188rb).

37. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1474):
« *Alii caedebant ramos de arboribus et sternebant in via*, Matth. 21(8) et in evangelio hodierno. Haec dominica secundum aliquos vocatur dominica olivarum, cuius rationem postea audietis ... » (fol. 188rb-189rb).

38. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1472, Predigtkonzept):
« *Portabant palmas in manibus suis*, Joh. 12 (vgl. 13). Beatus pater noster Augustinus libro octavo De Trinitate: *Notio*, inquit, *boni* ... » (fol. 189rb-190va).

39. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1473):
« *Hoc sentite in vobis, quod et in Christo Jesu*, Ad Phil. 2(5). Secundum Magistrum in Rationali divinorum haec instans hebdomada diversimode ... » (fol. 190va-191va).

40. Sermo (Predigtkonzept):
« *Hoc sentite in vobis* etc., ubi supra. Secundum beatum Hieronymum in argumento Phil. Macedones erant ... » (fol. 191va-192vb).

41. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1478):
« *Hoc sentite in vobis, quod et in Christo Jesu*, ubi supra. Ad obtemperandum huic exhortationi beati apostoli in hoc sacro tempore tria nos debent ... » (fol. 192vb-193vb).

42. Sermo (gehalten im Jahre 1477):
« *Humiliavit semetipsum factus oboediens usque ad mortem*, Ad Phil. 2(8). Mellifluus doctor beatus Bernardus in libro de caritate, castitate et humilitate ad Henricum archiepiscopum Zenonensem: *Humilitas*, inquit, *sola est* ... » (fol. 193vb-195ra).

43. Sermo (Predigtkonzept):
« *Factus oboediens usque ad mortem*, Ad Phil. 2(8). Quia oboedientes tria merentur videlicet Spiritus Sancti gratam infusionem ... » (fol. 195ra-196va).

Pro feria secunda post Invocavit (44.-46. Serm.):

44. Sermo:
« *Cum venerit Filius in sede maiestatis suae*, Matth. 25(31). Ut vult Philosophus primo Ethicorum, id quod maxime habet dirigere hominem ... » (fol. 196va-198rb).

45. Sermo (Predigtkonzept):
« *Sedebit super sedem maiestatis suae*, Matth. 25(31). Beatus pater noster Augustinus super titulo psalmi 118: *Christus*, inquit, *qui* ... » (fol. 198rb-199ra).

46. Sermo:
« *Venite, benedicti Patris mei, percipite regnum* etc., Matth. 25(34). Ut legimus in Chronica Eusebii: *Beatus Petrus ut per* ... » (fol. 199ra-203va).

Pro feria secunda post Reminiscere (47.-48. Serm.):

47. Sermo:
« *Ego vado et quaeretis me*, Joh. 8(21). In hac secunda feria proponit nobis sancta mater Ecclesia ... » (fol. 203va-205ra).

48. Sermo (Predigtkonzept):
« *In peccatis vestris moriemini*, Joh. 8(21). Beatus pater noster Augustinus super his verbis: *Tota*, inquit, *incredulitas* ... » (fol. 205ra-206va).

Pro feria secunda post Oculi (49.-51. Serm.):

49. Sermo (Predigtkonzept):
« *In diebus illis Naaman princeps militiae regis Syriae*, 4. Reg. 5(1). In qua historia principaliter notandus est modus ... » (fol. 206va-207va).

50. Sermo:

« *Quanta audivimus a te facta in Capharnaum*, Luc. 4(23). Evangelium istud dividitur in tres partes ... » (fol. 207va-208vb).

51. Sermo:
« *Repleti sunt omnes in synagoga ira*, Luc. 4(28). Quia cum secundum beatum Ambrosium libro primo Officiorum ... » (fol. 208vb-211vb).

Pro feria secunda post Laetare (52.-53. Serm.):

52. Sermo:
« *Venerunt duae mulieres meretrices ad regem Salomonem*, 3. Reg. 3(16). Dum peregrinantes ad medium itineris sui ... » (fol. 212ra-212vb).

53. Sermo:
« *Prope erat pascha Judaeorum et Jesus ascendit Hierosolymam* etc., Joh. 2(13). Eusebius in Ecclesiastica historia : *Cum enim*, inquit ... » (fol. 212vb-214rb).

Pro feria secunda post Judica (54.-56. Serm.):

54. Sermo:
« *Et crediderunt Ninivitae Domino*, Jon. 3(5). Beatus pater noster Augustinus libro primo De civitate Dei cap. 9 : *Ad hoc*, inquit, *speculatores* ... » (fol. 214va-215va).

55. Sermo:
« *Surge et vade in Niniven civitatem magnam etc.*, Jon. 3(2). Hesterna die, ut audistis, incepit ... » (fol. 215vb-217ra).

56. Sermo:
« *Si quis sitit, veniat ad me et bibat*, Joh. 7(37). Quia secundum Philosophum primo Posteriorum ... » (fol. 217ra-217vb).

Pro feria secunda post Palmarum (57. Serm.):

57. Sermo:
« *Dominus aperuit mihi aurem et ego non contradico*, Is. 50(5). Magister in Rationale divinorum ... » (fol. 217vb-219vb).

Pro feria tertia post Invocavit (58.-60. Serm.):

58. Sermo (Predigtkonzept):
« *Quaerite Dominum, dum inveniri potest*, Is. 55(6). Beatus Bernardus sermone 88 super Cantica super illud : *In lectulo* ... » (fol. 219vb-220va).

59. Sermo:
« *Cum intrasset Jesus Hierosolymam, commota est universa civitas dicens : Quis est hic*, Matth. 21(10). Quia dominus noster Jesus Christus auctor et reparator generis humani ... » (fol. 220va-221va).

60. Sermo:
« *Eiciebat Jesus vendentes de templo*, Matth. 21(12). Quia in isto sacro tempore quadragesimali plus ceteris temporibus ... » (fol. 221vb-222vb).

Pro feria tertia post Reminiscere (61.-64. Serm.):

61. Sermo:
« *Praecepi mulieri viduae, ut pascat te*, 3. Reg. 17(9). Gloriosus pontifex et martyr Cyprianus in libro de opere et misericordia ... » (fol. 222vb-226rb).

62. Sermo:

« *Super cathedram Moysi sederunt scribae et pharisaei* etc., Matth. 23(2). Ut habemus ex veteris novique testamenti praeceptis ... » (fol. 226rb-227vb).

63. Sermo:

« *Omnes vos fratres estis*, Matth. 23(8). Igitur vobis mutuo fideles esse debetis. Beatus Hieronymus Contra Helvidium ... » (fol. 227vb-229ra).

64. Sermo:

« *Qui autem se exaltaverit, humiliabitur, et qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur*, Matth. 23(12). Magister in Summa vitiorum sex distinguit species exaltationis ... » (fol. 229ra-231va).

Pro feria tertia post Oculi (65-67. Serm.):

65. Sermo:

« *Illi offerebant vasa et illa infundebat*, 4. Reg. 4(5). Haec verba dicta sunt de quadam sancta muliere, quae ad iussum » (fol. 231va-232vb).

66. Sermo:

« *Si peccaverit in te frater tuus, corripe eum inter te et ipsum solum*, Matth. 18(15), ut sic conservetur probitas morum in civitate. Beatus pater noster Augustinus libro secundo Contra epistulam Parmeniani ... » (fol. 233ra-235rb).

67. Sermo:

« *Dicit ei Jesus: Non dico tibi usque septies, sed usque septuagies septies*, Matth. 18(22) et Luc. 17 (vgl. 4). Beatus Augustinus super psalmum 117: *Ut laudemus Deum, non potuit* ... » (fol. 235rb-236vb).

Pro feria tertia post Laetare (68.-72. Serm.):

68. Sermo:

« *Moyses orabat Dominum Deum suum pro populo suo*, Ex. 32(11). Dominus Johannes Saroboriensis, episcopus Carnotensis, in libro secundo Policraticus sui ... » (fol. 237ra-238ra).

69. Sermo:

« *Iam die festo mediante ascendit Jesus in templum et docebat*, Joh. 7(14). *Quoniam mansuetudo*, ut ait Cassiodorus in quadam epistula ... » (fol. 238ra-239rb).

70. Sermo:

« *Iustum iudicium iudicate*, Joh. 7(24), ut conservetur iustitiae aequitas pro conservatione civitatis. Inter omnia secundum beatum Bernardum ... » (fol. 239rb-241ra).

71. Sermo:

« *Totum hominem salvum feci in sabbato*, Joh. 7(23). Beatus pater noster Augustinus: *Magnus*, inquit, *venit medicus* ... » (fol. 241ra-244rb).

72. Sermo:

« *Mihi indignamini, quia totum hominem salvum feci*, Joh. 7(23). Beatus pater noster Augustinus in sermone de quarta dominica adventus Domini: *O infelix* ... » (fol. 244rb-245rb).

Pro feria tertia post Judica (73.-75. Serm.):

73. Sermo:

« *Ambulabat Jesus in Galilaeam*, Joh. 7(1). Magister in Rationali divinorum de praesenti tertia feria : *Haec feria tertia ad patientiam* ... » (fol. 245va-246rb).

74. Sermo (Predigtkonzept) :
« *Vos ascendite ad festum*, Joh. 7(8). Beatus pater noster Augustinus super illud psalmi 83(6) : *Ascensiones in corde* ... » (fol. 246rb-va).

75. Sermo :
« *Vos ascendite ad diem festum*, ubi supra. Venerabilis magister Matthaeus de Cracovia in suo Rationali divinorum tract. 3 cap. 5 : *Quilibet*, inquit, ... » (fol. 246vb-247vb).

Pro feria tertia post Palmarum (76.-78. Serm.) :

76. Sermo :
« *Tu autem, Domine, demonstrasti mihi*, Jer. 11(18). Sancta mater Ecclesia sponsi sui excessivum amorem ... » (fol. 247vb-248va).

77. Sermo :
« *Venite, mittamus lignum in panem eius et eradamus eum de terra viventium et non memoretur nomen eius ultra*, Jer. 11(19). Johannes Damascenus, Graecorum doctor praeclarissimus, libro quarto ... » (fol. 248va-250ra).

78. Sermo :
« *Venite, mittamus lignum in panem eius*, Jer. 11(19). Ista verba triplicem habent expositionem, scilicet historicam, allegoricam ... » (fol. 250ra-252rb).

Pro feria quarta post Invocavit (Predigtkonzept ohne Nummer) :

« *Sanctificate ieiunium* etc., ut supra (Joel 1, 14). Duo agam : Primo quomodo ieiunium sanctificetur in se ... » (fol. 252rb-va).

Pro feria quarta post Reminiscere :

79. Sermo :
« *Sanctificate ieiunium*, ut supra. Beatus Augustinus in sermone, qui incipit : *Iam vero animae reditus* ... » (fol. 252va).

Pro feria quarta post Reminiscere (Predigtkonzept ohne Nummer) :

« *Nolite timere*, Ex. 20(20). Notandum : Naturae accedit exercitatio et usus bonus vel malus ... » (fol. 252va-b).

Pro feria quarta post Laetare :

80. Sermo :
« *Quis peccavit, ut hic caecus nasceretur*, Joh. 9(2). Beatus Gregorius in prologo Moralium ponit diversa genera ... » (fol. 252vb-254va).

Pro feria quarta post Judica :

81. Sermo (Predigtkonzept) :
« *Sanctificate ieiunium*, ubi supra. Cassiodorus super psalmo 2 : *Brevis*, inquit, *et plena* ... » (fol. 254va-255rb).

Pro feria quarta post Palmarum (Predigtkonzept ohne Nummer) :

« Magister in Rationali : *In hac*, inquit, *quarta feria Dominus venditus est, quia non* ... » (fol. 255rb-va).

Pro feria sexta post Cinerum (82.-84. Serm.):

82. Sermo:
« *Annuntia populo meo scelera eorum*, Is. 58(1). Testante matre Ecclesia quadragesima est tempus poenitentiae et reconciliationis ... » (fol. 255va-256va).

83. Sermo:
« *Diligite inimicos vestros*, Matth. 5(44). Beatus Hieronymus in Commentario super Isaiam tractans illud ... » (fol. 256vb-258va).

84. Sermo (Predigtkonzept):
« *Benefacite*, Matth. 5(44). Quale debeat esse ieiunium nostrum, olim Deus per os prophetae ... » (fol. 258va-259va).

Pro feria sexta post Invocavit (85.-87. Serm.):

85. Sermo (Predigtkonzept):
« *Anima, quae peccaverit, ipsa morietur*, Ezech. 18(4). Beatus Augustinus in libro Meditationum : *Heu*, inquit, *peccatum nomen horrendum* ... » (fol. 259va-b).

86. Sermo:
« *Erat dies festus Judaeorum*, Joh. 5(1). Ut beato Johanni Chrysostomo videtur, iste dies festus, ad quem Dominus ... » (fol. 259vb-260rb).

87. Sermo:
« *Ecce, sanus factus es*, Joh. 5(14). Beatus pater noster Augustinus super illud psalmi 97(1) : *Salvabit sibi dextera eius* ... » (fol. 260va-261ra).

Pro feria sexta post Reminiscere (88.-90. Serm.):

88. Sermo:
« *Malos male perdet*, Matth. 21(41). Magister Nicolaus de Lyra declarans illum versum psalmi 18(8) : *Lex Domini immaculata* ... » (fol. 261ra-262ra).

89. Sermo:
« *Lapidem, quem reprobaverunt aedificantes, hic factus est in caput anguli*, Matth. 21(42) et originaliter psalmo 117(22). Beatus Augustinus Super Johannem homilia 56 ... » (fol. 262ra-263rb).

90. Sermo:
« *Auferetur a vobis regnum Dei et dabitur genti facienti fructus illius*, Matth. 21(43). Quia fructus veri regni ... » (fol. 263rb-vb).

Pro feria sexta post Oculi (91.-92. Serm.):

91. Sermo (Predigtkonzept):
« *Da mihi bibere*, Joh. 4(7). Sanctus doctor Dionysius ad Timotheum ... » (fol. 263vb-264rb).

92. Sermo:
« *Qui biberit ex hac aqua, quam ego dabo, non sitiet in aeternum*, Joh. 4(13). Dionysius primo De ecclesiastica hierarchia ... » (fol. 264rb-265rb).

Pro feria sexta post Laetare (93.-96. Serm.):

93. Sermo:
« *In hoc cognovi, quia vir Dei es tu et verbum Domini in ore tuo verum est*, 3. Reg. 17(24). Haec verba sunt cuiusdam matrisfamilias ... » (fol. 265va-267va).

94. Sermo:
« *Quivis, qui venit et credit in me, non morietur in aeternum*, Joh. 11(26). Glossa : *Omnis qui in hac vita tenuerit* ... » (fol. 267va-268rb).

95. Sermo:
« *Voce magna clamavit* : *Lazare, veni foras*, Joh. 11(43). Beatus Augustinus homilia 49 Super Johannem : *Inter omnia miracula* ... » (fol. 268rb-vb).

Sermo ohne Nummer (Predigtkonzept):
« *Lazare, veni foras*, ubi supra. In quibus verbis tangitur evocatio peccatoris de sepulchro concupiscentiae ... » (fol. 269ra-b).

96. Sermo (Predigtkonzept):
« *Solvite eum et sinite abire*, Joh. 11(44). Quia solvere respicit vincula, videndum est, quae sint illa vincula ... » (fol. 269rb-va).

Pro feria sexta post Judica (97.-99. Serm.):

97. Sermo:
« *Collegerunt pontifices et pharisaei concilium*, Joh. 11(47). Istud concilium etiam ante praevisum fuit ... » (fol. 269vb-270va).

98. Sermo (Predigtkonzept):
« *Expedit vobis, ut unus moriatur homo pro populo*, Joh. 11(50). Secundum beatum Anselmum libro Cur Deus homo ... » (fol. 270va-271va).

99. Sermo:
« *Domine Deus, qui te derelinquunt, confundentur*, Jer. 17(13). Universi christiani in hac hebdomada ... » (fol. 271va-272va).

Pro Sabbato post Reminiscere (Predigtkonzept ohne Nummer):
« *Abiit in regionem longinquam*, Luc. 19(12). Dominus Jesus, benedictus mundi Salvator, volens nobis » (fol. 272va-273ra).

Pro Sabbato ante Palmarum (Predigtkonzept ohne Nummer):
« *Quis est iste filius hominis*, Joh. 12(34). Ad veniendum ad haec verba sciendum, quod, cum quadam vice Dominus ... » (fol. 273ra-b).

THEMATA PRO PASSIONE PRAEDICANDA : fol. 273va-285ra.

1. Thema:
« *Non enim misit me Christus baptizare, sed evangelizare* ... (1. Cor. 1, 17). In quibus verbis docet beatus Apostolus, qualiter se habere debeat ... » (fol. 273va-274ra).

2. Thema:
« *Qualis est dilectus tuus, o pulcherrima mulierum*, Cant. (5, 9). Quamvis ista secundum allegoriam possunt exponi de Ecclesia ... » (fol. 274ra-va).

3. Thema:
« *Recordare paupertatis et transgressionis meae, absynthii et fellis*, Thren. 3(19). In quibus verbis hortatur nos Propheta ... » (fol. 274va-275ra).

4. Thema:
« *Respice in faciem Christi tui*, Ps. 83(10). Secundum Glossam super illo versu : *Posui faciem meam ut petram durissimam* (Is. 50, 7), dicit, quod per faciem debemus intelligere ... » (fol. 275ra-b).

5. Thema:
« *Ecce rex vester* », Joh. 19(14). Legimus in libris canonicis, scilicet 3. Reg. 22(30), quomodo rex Israel Achab intraturus bellum ... » (fol. 275va-276ra).

6. Thema:
« *Super dorsum meum fabricaverunt peccatores*, Ps. 130 (128, 3). Proverbialiter dicitur de eo, qui patiens est ... » (fol. 276ra-va).

7. Thema:
« *Secundum legem debet mori*, Joh. 19(7). Hodie auctor et fons totius gratiae ... » (fol. 276va-277vb).

8. Thema:
« *Baiulans sibi crucem exiit*, Joh. 19(17). Ut iuxta praesentem dominicae crucis solemnitatem gratiam ... » (fol. 277vb-278vb).

9. Thema:
« *Ego quasi agnus mansuetus, qui portatur ad victimam*, Jer. 11(19). Beatus Bernardus Super Cantica : *Haec*, inquit, *est summa sapientia* ... » (fol. 278vb-279vb).

10. Thema:
« *Quid me facere videritis, hoc facite*, Jud. 7(17). Beatus Bernardus in libello Ad milites de templo cap. 11 ... » (fol. 279vb-280rb).

11. Thema:
« *Ubi non est scientia, non est bonum*, Prov. (19, 2). Beatus Bernardus in Meditationibus suis cap. 3 : *Totus*, inquit, *mundus* ... » (fol. 280rb-vb).

12. Thema (gepredigt im Jahre 1474):
« *Pacem et veritatem diligite*, ait Dominus omnipotens (Zach. 8, 19). Beatus pater noster Augustinus in oratione : *Domina mea misericordissima* ... » (fol. 280vb-281rb).

13. Thema:
« *O vos omnes, qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte* ..., Thren. 1(12). Magister in Glossa : *Proprium*, inquit, *est miserorum* ... » (fol. 281va-285ra).

100. Sermo de dominica Palmarum supra omissus :
« *Humiliavit semetipsum factus oboediens usque ad mortem* ..., Ad Phil. 2(8). Circa istam dominicam Palmarum tam ratione evangelii quam ratione epistulae ... » (fol. 285ra-286vb).

III. *Entstehung des Predigtbandes : Quellen, Bearbeiter und deren Arbeitsweise*

Die Predigten, die die Berliner Handschrift enthält, sind nur zum Teil von Dorsten in dieser Form auf der Kanzel vorgetragen worden, — die meisten übrigens nicht in lateinischer, sondern in deutscher Sprache [5]). Auch die Anordnung, in der sich die Sermones heute

[5]) So vermutet mit gutem Grund E. Kleineidam, Die Bedeutung der Augustinereremiten für die Universität Erfurt 398. — Lateinische Predigten wurden damals wohl nur noch vor dem Klerus oder als Universitätspredigten gehalten. — Vgl. auch

finden, ist nicht vom Prediger selbst geschaffen. Dies beweisen eindeutig die vielen exakten Mitteilungen über die Entstehung der Handschrift, welche der Schreiber an vielen Stellen den Predigten voraus- oder nachgestellt und bisweilen auch in ihren Text eingefügt hat.

Die einzigen *Quellen* für die Erstellung des Predigtbandes bildeten Dorstens « rapiaria sermonum », d.h. die Sammelbände seiner Predigten (vgl. f. 8rb, 41va, 41vb, 194va usw.), ja in vielen Fällen auch nur « schedulae » (= Zettel) und « sexterniculae » (= Heftchen) aus dem Nachlaß des Predigers [6]). Die Rapiaria waren anscheinend mit großen Buchstaben bezeichnet; jedenfalls erwähnt der Schreiber einmal ein « rapiarium A » (f. 226ra). Ein andermal spricht er von einem « rapiarium rubrum », das er selbst nur vom Hörensagen kannte, aber nicht zu finden vermochte; in ihm sollte Dorsten « multa notabilia » gesammelt haben (f. 219vb). In den Rapiaria fand der Schreiber den Text der Predigten nicht immer vollkommen ausgeführt, sondern in nicht wenigen fällen bloße Predigtkonzepte [7]). Vor allem aber die « schedulae » boten regelmäßig nur unvollkommen ausgeführte Konzepte [8]) und waren zum Teil, wie der Schreiber gelegentlich mitteilt, nichts anderes als Gedächtnisstützen, die sich Dorsten für den Vortrag auf der Kanzel geschrieben hatte [9]). Außerdem gab es unter Dorstens « schedulae » solche, die nicht einmal ein Predigtkonzept, sondern nur eine Materialsammlung boten [10]).

Angesichts dieser Quellenlage handelte es sich bei der Herstellung des uns erhaltenen Manuskripts in nicht wenigen Fällen, wie der Schreiber bezeugt, um mehr als eine bloße Kopierung von Texten. Tatsächlich ist an dem Nachlaß des Dorsten, und zwar nicht nur

Fl. Landmann, Das Predigtwesen in Westfalen in der letzten Zeit des Mittelalters, Münster 1900, 107f.

[6]) Vgl. f. 9vb, 20ra, 159rb, 181vb usw. — Von Dorstens Aufzeichnungen « in schedulis et sexterniculis » ist f. 20ra und 31ra die Rede.

[7]) Vgl. etwa f. 220va : « Hec pater reverendus [Dorsten], ut in predicando prosecutus fuit, non reliquit perfecta et scripta in rapiariis ». — In vielen Fällen ist diesen Sermones das Wort « conceptus » beigefügt.

[8]) Vgl. f. 159rb, 194va, 264rb usw.

[9]) « [Conceptus] in quadam schedula, qua usus fuit in declamando. » — f. 273rb. — Ähnlich f. 181vb.

[10]) « [Lector] poterit ex his, que sequuntur ex pluribus schedulis collectis, pro beneplacito facere sermones. Non enim hanc materiam integre et perfecte per patrem [Dorsten] reperi nec per sermones distinctam, sed tantum, ut dixi, in schedulis diversis quasi pro memoriali notatam. » — f. 9vb. — Vgl. auch 20ra, 31ra-b usw.

ordnend, sehr fleißig gearbeitet worden. Wer waren der oder die *Rekollektoren*? Der Schreiber berichtet mehrfach, daß ihm durch den Nachfolger Dorstens auf dem Universitätslehrstuhl der Erfurter Augustiner Johannes von Paltz, den er ausdrücklich als « discipulus » des Dorsten bezeichnet, wertvolle Vorarbeit geleistet wurde [11]). Paltz mag auch der Inaugurator des Planes gewesen sein, die Bände mit den « Opera omnia » Dorstens zusammenzustellen. Wie eingehend er sich mit dem schriftlichen Nachlaß seines Lehrers befaßt hat, beweisen nicht zuletzt seine zwei Hauptwerke « Celifodina » (Erfurt 1502 und oft) und « Supplementum celifodine » (Erfurt 1504 und sonst), in die auch einzelne Stücke Dorstens aufgenommen sind [12]). Auf diese zwei Hauptwerke des Paltz hat übrigens der Schreiber der Berliner Handschrift die Leser für weitere einschlägige Stoffe oder zwecks Abrundung lückenhafter Predigtkonzepte des Dorsten oftmals hingewiesen [13]). Bei der Sichtung und Ordnung von Dorstens Nachlaß war außerdem noch ein nicht mit Namen genannter « alter quidam » oder « alius frater », offensichtlich ebenfalls Mitglied des Erfurter Augustinerkonvents, mit beschäftigt. Von ihm sagt der Schreiber, er sei ein « familiaris » (Gehilfe) sowohl des Dorsten wie auch des Paltz gewesen [14]). Daß dieser Unbekannte mit dem Schreiber selbst identisch ist, erscheint möglich, läßt sich aber nicht mit Sicherheit behaupten.

Über die *Arbeitsmethode*, die bei der Zusammenstellung des Predigtbandes angewandt wurde, ergibt sich aus den den Mitteilungen des Schreibers folgendes Bild : Die heutige Anordnung der Sermones, vor allem die Zusammenstellung der zwei Quadragesimalia, stammt erst von den Bearbeitern [15]). Beispielsweise wurden die hundert

[11]) « ... nonnulla in quibusdam sexterniculis ac schedulis confuse hinc inde comportata et, ut videbatur, manu reverendi magistri Paltz ac cuiusdam alterius tam eidem magistro quam reverendo magistro supra sepe nominato familiaris, in sermones sequentes distinxi » (f. 20ra). — « ... licet ipse [Dorsten] in forma hac, ut prescriptum est, non predicaverit, sed particulatim in quibusdam aliis sermonibus et alio tempore secundum extractionem reverendi magistri Johannis de Paltz, discipuli (*Ms* : discipulo) eius. Sermones vero sequentes ... pater reverendus [Dorsten] pene, ut ita habentur, collegit nonnullis demptis, quos reverendus pater Johannes Paltz ex conceptibus relictis et alius frater comportaverunt » (f. 36rb).

[12]) Zu diesen bei Paltz abgedruckten Stücken des Dorsten siehe Zumkeller, Manuskripte 224ff Nrr. 473b, 475, 479, 480, 483.

[13]) Vgl. f. 2 vb, 4va, 5va, 61vb, 62vb, 283vb, 285ra usw.

[14]) Siehe die beiden Belegstellen in Anm. 11.

[15]) Vgl. etwa f. 44rb-va : « Primum igitur quadragesimale continet sermones, qui sub uno themate et de certa materia specialiter predicati sunt. Et quia tempus

Predigten, die das zweite Quadragesimale bilden, von Dorsten nicht nach einem einheitlichen Themenplan ausgearbeitet, sondern von den Rekollektoren aus verschiedenen Zyklen von Fastenpredigten, die Dorsten zwischen 1471 und 1480 gehalten hatte, zusammengestellt. Da der Schreiber zu Beginn der einzelnen Sermones, wenigstens bei denen der Fastensonntage, vielfach das Jahr der Predigt mitgeteilt hat, ergibt sich für die Abfassung der Sermones dieses zweiten Quadragesimale folgende Übersicht. Dorsten predigte :

1471 : Serm. 6;
1472 : Serm. 38;
1473 : Serm. 1,12,30,39 und 44;
1474 : Serm. 4,17,19 und 37 [16]);
1476 : Serm. 5,16,35 und 36;
1477 : Serm. 7,11,28,29 und 42;
1478 : Serm. 3,14,20,31 und 41;
1480 : Serm. 13.

Die vielen Stücke, die sich in Dorstens Nachlaß als bloße Predigtskizzen vorfanden, weil sie der Prediger selbst nicht « in debitam formam et perfectam » gebracht hatte [17]), hat der Schreiber im Manuskript regelmäßig mit einem beigefügten « conceptus », d.h. als Predigtkonzept, gekennzeichnet. Für den Benützer der Handschrift findet sich bei solchen Predigtskizzen wiederholt die Aufforderung, die Predigt selbst nach seinen Fähigkeiten zu vervollkommen : « Comple et perfice, ut vales ! » [18])

Bisweilen scheinen den Bearbeitern aber auch *größere Eingriffe* notwendig gewesen zu sein. So wurden nicht selten ursprünglich nichtzusammengehörige Stücke in einem Sermo vereinigt [19]). Außerdem

quadragesimale tempus est penitentie, ideo presens quadragesimale primum a penitentia incipiamus. Invenimus autem in rapiariis patris [Dorsten] multiplices conceptus et sermones de penitentia non uno tempore quadragesimali, sed pluribus, sed ad minus in tribus quadragesimalibus temporibus sub tribus thematibus distinctos predicasse ... »

[16]) In diesem Jahr behandelte Dorsten das Thema des Friedens : « Anno 1474 reverendus pater per quadragesimam predicavit de pace » (f. 280vb).

[17]) Vgl. f. 181vb.

[18]) f. 263vb. — Ähnlich f. 246vb und sonst.

[19]) Siehe dazu die in Anm. 11 zitierten Texte. Vgl. ferner f. 82vb : « De tertia parte penitentie, scilicet satisfactione ... predicavit etiam reverendus pater, ut ex conceptibus diversis colligere potuimus, licet imperfecte sub themate, quod sequitur ». — Ähnlich f. 181va : « Iste sermo prefatus multum imperfectus est, quia ex diversis conceptibus signatus ».

hat der Schreiber wiederholt Material des Dorsten, das dieser zusammengetragen, aber nicht in seinen Sermones benützt hatte, in predigtähnlicher Weise zusammengefaßt und einem bestimmten Tag des Kirchenjahres zugeordnet, damit der Benützer des Manuskripts nach eigenem Belieben daraus Predigten gestalten könnte [20]).

Wenn somit die Eingriffe in Dorstens schriftlichen Nachlaß, die man sich bei der Rekollektion gestattete, zum Teil auch nicht unbedeutend waren, so hat der Schreiber doch regelmäßig und gewissenhaft vermerkt, wo und wie das von Dorsten übernommene Material bei der Aufnahme in die Handschrift Veränderungen erfahren hat. Auch spricht es für die *Genauigkeit seiner Redaktionsarbeit*, daß er mehrfach sogar mitgeteilt hat, wenn ein Sermo in Dorstens Nachlaß nicht von dessen eigener Hand geschrieben war [21]). Schließlich ist als Positivum festzustellen, daß Material aus anderen Autoren zur Ausfüllung von Lücken so gut wie nicht Verwendung fand. Nur an einer Stelle wurde, wie der Schreiber treulich berichtet und begründet hat, ein Sermo aus einem Traktat des Wilhelm von Paris in die Handschrift eingefügt [22]). Im übrigen aber läßt sich mit ziemlicher Sicherheit sagen, daß der Inhalt des Predigtbandes, wie er uns vorliegt, Dorstens geistiges Eigentum darstellt, auch wenn er die Stoffe nicht alle als Predigten vorgetragen hat.

Zweites Kapitel:

Neue Aufschluesse ueber Johannes von Dorsten

I. *Dorstens Herkunft und Kölner Studienzeit*

Was man bis jetzt mit Sicherheit über Johannes Bauer von Dorsten wußte, bezog sich auf den relativ kurzen Zeitraum vom

[20]) Vgl. oben Anm. 10.

[21]) « Iste sermo ... non fuit scriptus manu patris, sed alterius » (f. 196va). — Ähnlich f. 41va und f. 214v auf dem unteren Rand.

[22]) Vgl. f. 85vb: « Istum sermonem predictum non inveni in rapiariis patris [Dorsten], sed de tractatu domini Guilhelmi Parisiensis de sacramentis excerptus est. » — Es handelt sich um den 27. Sermo von Dorstens « Quadragesimale primum ». — Gelegentlich findet sich außerdem in einer Predigt ein Exempel aus dem Jahr 1488 (f. 75ra), das natürlich erst von Paltz oder vom Schreiber stammt. Ähnliches gilt von einem zweimaligen Hinweis auf den berüchtigten « Malleus maleficarum » (f. 13vb und 29rb), den 1487 die Dominikaner H. Institoris und J. Sprenger veröffentlichten. Möglicherweise haben sich die Bearbeiter auch sonst solche kleinere Zutaten gestattet.

Sommer 1454, dem Datum seiner Immatrikulation in Erfurt, bis zum 3. Januar 1481, dem Tag seines Todes. Durch das Berliner Manuskript empfangen wir nun aus dem Mund des Predigers selbst ein paar neue wertvolle Aufschlüsse über seine Person.

Wie schon sein Name bezeugt, stammte Johannes Bauer aus Dorsten, das er selbst einmal als sein « oppidum nativum » bezeichnet [23]). Von seinem *Vater* hat er in einer Predigt einen Ausspruch überliefert, der diesen als erfahrenen und lebensklugen Mann mit nüchternem Urteil erscheinen läßt. Wie der Prediger berichtet, lebte nämlich in seiner Familie ein Verwandter, der von seinem Vater aufgezogen worden war. Er selbst, damals im Elternhaus wohl nur noch gelegentlich zu Gast, wurde gebeten, seinen Vater zu bestimmen, dem jungen Mann seine Zustimmung zur Heirat eines bestimmten Mädchens aus begüterter Familie zu geben. Dorsten berichtet, daß sein Vater ihm die Antwort erteilte : er halte diese Heirat nicht für zuträglich ; denn das Mädchen sei nicht gut erzogen und mit vielen Fehlern behaftet, und es sei für gewöhnlich doch so, daß die Kinder die Fehler der Mütter erbten und nachahmten.[24]) — Lokalgeschichtlich dürfte es von Interesse sein, daß, wie der Erfurter Prediger gelegentlich erwähnt, in Dorsten damals schon eine Bibliothek (libraria) bestand, in der er unter anderem den « Liber de homine » des Raymundus de Sabunde († 1436), eines katalonischen Arztes und Philosophen, fand [25]).

Vor allem aber bezeugt Johannes von Dorsten in einer Predigt für sich selbst als Faktum, daß er in jungen Jahren *in Köln Student* war [26]). Es besteht somit kein vernünftiger Grund zu bezweifeln, daß der « Johannes Buer de Dursten », welcher im Sommer 1437 an der Kölner Universität unter dem Rektorat des Magisters der Medizin Johannes von Breda immatrikuliert wurde [27]), mit dem späteren

[23]) Siehe Anm. 25.

[24]) « Sic olim, cum rogatus pro una puella competenter divitiis abundante (*Ms* : abundans) ut apud patrem meum agerem, ut cognatus meus apud patrem meum enutritus illi daretur, respondit pater : Fili, puella illa est minus disciplinata et defectuosa ; et quia communiter filii geniti patiuntur et imitantur defectus matrum, igitur non expedit. » — f. 7va.

[25]) « Venerabilis Raymundus de Sabunde, arcium et medicine doctor, in preclaro quodam opere de homine et eius debito, quo Deo obligatur, quod olim in opido nativo Dorsten intra libros librarie ibidem comperi ... » — f. 10ra.

[26]) Siehe unten Anm. 32.

[27]) Die Matrikel der Universität Köln I, Bonn 1892, 302. — Der Bearbeiter der Matrikel H. Keussen hat dies schon damals in einer Fußnote behauptet.

Erfurter Augustiner identisch ist, auch wenn man sich darüber verwundern mag, daß Johannes von Dorsten erst 21 Jahre später den Titel des « magister artium » erwarb. Der Kölner Matrikeleintrag erwähnt nicht nur, daß der Student den Bedellen die vorgeschriebene Gebühr in voller Höhe entrichtete, also offenbar nicht unbegütert war; er macht auch die wichtige Mitteilung, Johannes Buer sei damals « famulus » des Magisters Bernardus de Loen gewesen. Dieser stammte aus der Diözese Lüttich und hatte sich den Grad des magister artium in Paris erworben, wo er auch lange Zeit als magister regens tätig war [28]). Im Jahre 1421 in Köln immatrikuliert, ist er zuerst 1427 als « doctor medicinae » bezeugt und war als solcher 1427 und 1435 Rektor der Universität und 1437 Dekan der medizinischen Fakultät. Die letzten 20 Jahre seines Lebens 1438-59, besaß er ein Kanonikat in Sankt Severin zu Köln [29]). Vielleicht hat Dorsten sich als « famulus » dieses angesehenen medizinischen Magisters jene Einzelkenntnisse in der medizinischen Literatur erworben, von denen seine Predigten da und dort Zeugnis geben [30]).

Der Eintrag in der Kölner Matrikel läßt den sicheren Rückschluß zu, daß Dorsten um 1420 oder bald danach geboren wurde und somit 1458 bei seinem Eintritt in das Erfurter Augustinerkloster schon zwischen 35 und 40 Jahre alt war. Bei seinem Sterben im Jahre 1481 muß er demnach ungefähr im 60. Lebensjahr gestanden haben.

Was Dorsten aus seiner Studentenzeit in Köln berichtet, ist folgendes: Man hatte im Kreis der Studenten am Abend einen « beanum » gehabt, d.h. wohl ein geselliges Beisammensein [31]). Der Universitätslehrer machte darüber am nächsten Morgen folgende Bemerkung: « Meine Studenten haben am Abend getanzt. Ich hoffe, daß es dabei keine Sünde gab, weil ich nichts anderes als ganz natürliche Tanzbewegungen (saltus) wahrnahm » [32]).

[28]) Die Matrikel der Universität Köln I, 178. — Sie nennt den Neuimmatrikulierten « antiquus magister artium et notabilis, qui diu rexit Parisius in eisdem ».

[29]) l.c. Anm. 62.

[30]) Vgl. unten S. 49.

[31]) Mit « beanus » bezeichnete man die Anfänger unter den Studenten. Vielleicht meint Dorsten mit dem Wort hier eine festliche Veranstaltung zur Begrüßung der Neuimmatrikulierten.

[32]) « Unde quadam vice, dum essem Colonie studens et de sero habuissemus beanum, dixit de mane doctor: Studentes mei de sero chorisaverunt. Ego spero, quod non fuerit ibi peccatum, quia non vidi nisi saltus naturales ». — f. 31va.

Wielange Dorsten in Köln studierte, ist unbekannt. Auch hat er sonst nichts mitgeteilt, was über sein weiteres Leben in den Jahren vor seiner Erfurter Immatrikulation Aufschluß geben könnte.

(*Fortsetzung folgt*) ADOLAR ZUMKELLER, O.S.A.

Die Geschichte des Augustiner-Eremitenklosters Mariakron von der Gründung bis zu seinem Untergang

Einleitung

In der Nähe des Dorfes Budigsdorf, auf einem vom Zohseefluss umspülten Hügel, erblickt man die Ruinen des einstigen Augustinereremitenklosters Mariakron. Vom eigentlichen Klostergebäude sind nur noch die Grundmauern zu erkennen. Von der Klosterkirche hingegen ragen noch Teile der Hauptmauern mit den hohen gotischen Fensternischen empor. An der vorderen Mauer, der Stirnseite, wurde eine hölzerne Glockenkammer angebaut, in der sich die kleinste der drei Glocken der ehemaligen Klosterkirche befand. Sie trägt die Inschrift : « Ave Maria gracia plena benedicta tu ». So ist mir die Klosterruine, die ich wiederholt besuchte, in Erinnerung geblieben.

Die Gründung des Klosters Mariakron steht am Anfang der Besiedlung des heutigen Kreisgebietes von Mährisch Trübau und bildete ohne Zweifel einen ersten Brennpunkt für das religiös-kirchliche Leben der deutschen Neusiedler.

Die Nachrichten über das Kloster und die Kirche von Mariakron sind spärlich. Trotzdem will ich den Versuch unternehmen, das Wenige uns Überlieferte zu einem, wenn auch lückenhaften Gesamtbild, zusammenzustellen.

Was lässt sich über den Ursprung des Augustinereremitenklosters Mariakron historisch einwandfrei und exakt sagen? Auf welche geschichtlichen Quellen können wir zurückgreifen? Josef Edmund Horky, der ehemalige Stadtschreiber von Mährisch Trübau, der im Jahre 1823 nach Brünn berufen wurde, um die Redaktion des « Brünner Wochenblattes » zu übernehmen, veröffentlichte in der eben genannten Zeitschrift eine Arbeit mit dem Titel : « Fragmentarische Nachrichten von den Schicksalen des Augustinerklosters

Mariakron im nördlichen Mähren» [1]). Darin beklagt er es, dass die Nachrichten von Pessina [2]) und Schwoy [3]) über das Kloster Mariakron spärlich und unsicher seien. In einer Fussnote seines oben erwähnten Beitrages [4]) bemerkt er, er selbst habe das Nachrichtenmaterial über Mariakron von seinem verstorbenen Vater Franz Wilhelm Horky übernommen, das dieser in « verschiedenen Archiven » entdeckt habe. Vom verstorbenen Bischof von Leitmeritz, Josef von Hurdalek, sei seinem Vater ferner die Abschrift eines in der Bibliothek des genannten Bischofs befindlichen Manuskriptes, das Kloster Mariakron betreffend, überlassen worden. Ausserdem konnte sein Vater Einsicht in das im Besitz des Bischofs befindliche Necrologium — Totenbuch — des Klosters Mariakron nehmen.

In einer berichtigenden Erwiderung zu einigen von Horky gemachten Angaben verwies ein Unbekannter [5]) auf das vom Prälaten und Abt des Augustinereremitenstiftes St. Thomas in Brünn, Mathäus Pertscher [6]), im Jahre 1745 herausgegebene Urkundenbuch « Liber Magnus et Novissimus », in dem wichtige Urkunden und Dokumente über das genannte Brünner Augustinereremitenkloster enthalten sind. Ausserdem verwies Cyrill Napp — so heisst der Anonymus — in in seiner Erwiderung auf zwei handschriftliche, nicht im Druck erschienene Werke, welche die Geschichte des Brünner Augustinerklosters behandeln. Es sind die « Historia antiqui et celebris monasterii S. Thomae Apostoli Brunae » aus dem Jahre 1744, verfasst von P. Hieronymus Haura, dem damaligen Stiftsarchivar und die vom gleichen Verfasser im Jahre 1769 zusammengestellte « Historia in annales Monasterii Brunensis aliorumque Vicariatui Moraviae incorporatorum Conventuum Ord. Erem. S. P. Augustini ». Beide handschriftlichen Werke befanden sich im Archiv des Brünner Augustiner-

[1]) *Brünner Wochenblatt* 3 (1826), 29-31; 39-40.

[2]) Pessina von Czechorod, Thomas, *Mars Moravicus*. Prag (1677).

[3]) Schwoy, Franz Josef: *Topographie vom Markgrafenthum Mähren*. Wien (1793). Bd. 1 : Olmützer Kreis.

[4]) *Brünner Wochenblatt*, ebenda, S. 29 in Anm.

[5]) Der Anonymus ist der spätere 5. Abt des S. Thomasstiftes in Brünn, Prälat Cyrill Napp, ein gebürtiger Gewitscher, der vom 11.3.1824-22.7.1867 das Thomaskloster leitete!

[6]) Mathäus Pertscher wurde am 17.12.1752 zum ersten Abt des Augustinereremitenklosters S. Thomas in Brünn geweiht, nachdem die bisherigen Vorsteher des Klosters nur den Titel « Prälat » führen durften. Abt Pertscher leitete das Kloster von 1740-1777.

eremitenstiftes und wurden von Cyrill Napp eingesehen [7]). Die genannten Werke enthalten auch Nachrichten über das Kloster Mariakron. Abt Cyrill Napp betont : « Dem Verfasser dieses Aufsatzes — seine Erwiderung auf Horkys Arbeit, abgedruckt im Brünner Wochenblatt (1826) auf S. 81-83, S. 95-96, S. 111-112 und S. 122-124 — stehen die Handschriften und obiges Urkundenbuch zu Gebote, und er holt auch von daher seine Nachrichten, Angaben und Berichtigungen » [8]). In neuerer Zeit hatte sich der damalige Stiftsarchivar von S. Thomas, P. Clemens d'Elpidio Janetschek sehr eingehend mit der Geschichte des Thomasstiftes in Brünn und soweit einschlägig bedingt, mit der der anderen mährischen Augustinereremitenklöster beschäftigt [9]). P. Janetschek konnte auf alle im ehemaligen Stifts-

[7]) In einem Brief des Dr. V. Orel, Direktors des « Mendelianum Musei Moraviae » in Brünn, vom 30.7.1973 an mich wird mitgeteilt, dass sich die Archivalien des aufgehobenen Augustinereremitenklosters in Brünn jetzt im Brünner Staatsarchiv und die Bücher der Stifsbibliothek in der Universitätsbibliothek in Brünn befinden.

[8]) *Brünner Wochenblatt* (1826), 81 f.

[9]) Janetschek, Clemens d'Elpidio OSA, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift S. Thomas in Brünn.* Brünn (1898). Derselbe, *Necrologia patrum et fratrum Ord. Erem. calceat. St. Augustini in Vicariatu Moraviae ab Anno 1363-1888 defunctorum.* Brunae (1894). Derselbe, Die ehemaligen Augustiner-Eremitenklöster Mariakron bei Budigsdorf und S. Bartholomaei in Mähr. Kromau. In : *Notizenblatt Brünn* (1888), S. 2-8 und S. 10. — Nach einer Mitteilung des kürzlich verstorbenen P. Dr. Ferdinand Miksch OSA. an mich wurde P. Janetschek in Frankstadt bei Mähr. Schönberg geboren. Kunzelmann, Adalbero, *Die Geschichte der Augustiner-Eremiten in Deutschland* 7 Bände, Würzburg, Augustinusverlag, 1969-76. Das Kloster Mariakron wird erwähnt : Bd. 1, S. 139-140, Bd. 3, S. 163-165, Bd. 6, S. 101. Bedingt durch den weitgespannten Rahmen des monumentalen Werkes, behandelt der verdienstvolle Verfasser die Geschichte des Klosters Mariakron nur in einem zusammenfassenden Überblick und geht daher auf die besonderen, strittigen Punkte der Klostergeschichte nicht ein. Gavigan, Johannes, OSA, The Augustinian Province of Austro-Moravia. In : *Augustiniana.* XXI (1971), S. 541-593. Derselbe : The Augustinian Province of Bohemia-Austria. In : *Augustiniana.* XXI (1971), S. 151-217. Gavigans Arbeiten, in denen ein reiches Archivmaterial benützt wird, sind von grosser Bedeutung für die Geschichte des Augustiner-Eremitenklosters St. Thomas in Brünn. Da die Prioren des Brünner Klosters, die Landesprälaten geworden waren und in der Mitte des 18. Jahrh. sogar die Abtswürde erlangten, wiederholt im besonderen Auftrag des Ordensgenerals für die Rückgewinnung des in der Reformation verloren gegangenen Klosters Mariakron tätig wurden, interessieren in dieser Hinsicht die Arbeiten Gavigans. Für die eigentliche Geschichte des Klosters Mariakron bringen sie nichts Neues. Am Rande vermerkt seien die vom selben Autor gemachten Veröffentlichungen, die in bisher 7 Fortsetzungen, erschienen im *Cor Unum. Mitteilungen an die deutsche Augustinerfamilie.* Würzburg, seit Jahrg. 32 (1974), über « Das Wiener Augustinerkloster nach Luther » handeln. Vereinzelte personelle Beziehungen zwischen dem Wiener- und dem Mariakroner-, sowie dem Brünner-Kloster sind erwähnenswert, besitzen aber für unsere Arbeit keine wesentliche Bedeutung.

archiv vorhandenen Originalurkunden und Abschriften, sowie auf die bereits genannten handschriftlich vorhandenen, einschlägigen Arbeiten zurückgreifen. Ausserdem stand ihm durch die Vermittlung des bekannten mährischen Geschichtsforschers Christian d'Elvert der Codex 8423 der königlichen Bibliothek in München zur Verfügung, der Exzerpte aus den Akten des Generalarchivs des Augustinereremitenordens in Rom enthält, die der Augustinereremit P. Fulgentius Mayer um das Jahr 1730 in Rom gemacht hat [10]).

Dass schliesslich die von Ritter von Chlumecky u. a. herausgegebene « Landtafel des Markgraftums Mähren [11]) und der « Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae », ediert von Anton Bocek u. a., als Quellenwerke benutzt wurden, sei ergänzend erwähnt. Auf die sonst noch verwendete Literatur werde ich an Ort und Stelle verweisen [12]).

Historisch gesichert ist der Name des Klostergründers von Mariakron, eines Borso von Riesenburg. Er entstammte dem reichen und mächtigen Geschlecht der Riesenburge, das seinen Stammsitz in Böhmen hatte, weitere Güter in Meissen besass und in verwandschaftlichen Beziehungen zu deutschen Adelsgeschlechtern in Thüringen und Obersachsen stand [13]). Die Besitznahme des Mährisch Trübauer Gebietes durch Borso von Riesenburg scheint mit dem Aufstand des Kronprinzen Premysl Ottokar gegen seinen Vater, König Wenzel I. in Verbindung zu stehen [14]). Borso, der unter König Wenzel I. das Amt des obersten Landkämmerers bekleidete, hatte während dieses Aufstandes die Partei des Königs ergriffen und diesem bei der Niederschlagung der Empörung seines Sohnes aktiv wertvolle Hilfe geleistet. Wie aus mehreren Urkunden hervorgeht, in denen Borso als Zeuge erscheint, weilte er im November des Jahres 1248

[10]) Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift...* ebenda, S. 14, Anm. 2.

[11]) *Landtafel des Markgrafentums Mähren.* Herausgegeben v. Chlumecky, Ritter von-Chytil, Josef-Demuth, Carl und A. R. v. Wolfscron. Brünn (1856). Zitiert : OC = Olmützer Cuda, BC = Brünner Cuda.

[12]) *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae.* Herausgegeb. von Boczek, Anton-Chytil, Josef-Chlumecky, Ritter von-Brandl, Vincens-Bretholz, Berthold. 15 Bde. Olmütz-Brünn. (1836-1903). Zitiert : CM.

[13]) Susta, Josef, *Dve knihy ceskych dejin.* Prag (1917), I. S. 167 und 217. Korkisch, Gustav, *Geschichte des Schönhengstgaues.* München (1966). I. S. 38.

[14]) Bretholz, Berthold, *Geschichte Böhmens und Mährens bis zum Aussterben der Premysliden* (1306). München-Leipzig (1912). S. 420 f. Korkisch, Gustav, *Geschichte...* I., S. 38.

mit König Wenzel I. in Mähren. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt dürfte Borso das Gebiet des späteren Trübauer Distriktes, das Gebiet am Oberlauf der Mährischen Triebe und am Mittellauf der Mährischen Zohsee erhalten haben [15]). Für die Geschichte des Mariakroner Klosters ist es nicht unwichtig, kurz auf das spätere Verhältnis Borsos zum nachmaligen König Premysl Ottokar II. hinzuweisen.

Bald nach der erfolgten Aussöhnung mit seinem rebellischen Sohn starb König Wenzel I. (1253). Sein Nachfolger war Ottokar, dem Borso während des Aufstandes eine entscheidende militärische Niederlage bei Brüx in Böhmen beigebracht hatte. Es ist daher nicht verwunderlich, dass Borso ein Jahr später, im Jahr 1254 verhaftet und unter Anklage gestellt wurde, er habe während der Regierung Wenzel I. sein Amt als Oberstkämmerer missbraucht und unrechtmässig königliches Gut an sich gebracht. Die Annahme, dass darunter das Trübauer Gebiet gemeint sein könnte, liegt nahe, da dieser Distrikt noch im Jahre 1236 landesfürstlicher Besitz gewesen war [16]).

Nach kurzer Zeit erhielt Borso jedoch seine Freiheit zurück und verblieb auch im Besitz des Trübauer Gebietes. Die alte Feindschaft zwischen ihm und König Premysl Ottokar scheint aber niemals völlig erloschen zu sein. Denn 20 Jahre später berichten die Prager Jahrbücher zum Jahr 1274 : « Anno dom. 1274 nobilis vir Borso recessit a rege amisso gratia sine culpa, aemulis ipsius sinistra regi referentibus... » [17]). Und wiederum zwei Jahre später steht Borso bereits im offenen Aufruhr gegen König Ottokar II. Die Gründe zu diesem Verhalten waren eindeutig politischer Natur [18]). Aus dieser Zeit sind uns zwei Briefe erhalten, die Borso an den im Jahre 1273 erwählten deutschen König Rudolf von Habsburg geschrieben hat. Sie zeigen, dass Borso im Kampf um die deutsche Königskrone sich auf die Seite des erwählten Königs, Rudolf von Habsburg, gegen Premysl Ottokar gestellt hatte, und dass daher die Anschuldigungen,

15) Novotny, Vaclav, *Ceske dejiny*. Prag (1928) Bd. 3, S. 805 und 812. Korkisch, Gustav, *Geschichte*... I., S. 39.

16) CM II. S. 249. Vgl. Novotny, *Ceske dejiny*, 3. Bd. S. 801 und Korkisch, *Geschichte*... I., S. 39.

17) *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*. Thomus II. Prag (1874) S. 301. Vgl. Korkisch, *Geschichte*... I., S. 39, Anm. 39. Übersetzung zu (17) : « Im Jahre 1274 zog sich der edle Herr Borso vom König zurück, nachdem er infolge falscher Anschuldigungen von Seiten seiner Neider schuldlos beim König in Ungnade gefallen war ».

18) Susta, *Dwe knihy*... II., S. 251.

die gegen ihn bei Ottokar erhoben wurden, nicht grundlos waren [19]). Borso stand mit seinem Abfall von Ottokar II. nicht allein. Gleichzeitig mit ihm erhob sich das mächtige, südböhmische Geschlecht der Rosenberge. Durch den Abfall dieser beiden mächtigen böhmischen Adelsgeschlechter wurde Ottokar II. gezwungen, die erst vor wenigen Jahren nach dem Aussterben der Bamberger (1246) erworbenen österreichischen Länder, die nunmehr Rudolf von Habsburg als Reichsgut beanspruchte, herauszugeben [20]). Damit war ein erster von Premysl Ottokar II. unternommener Versuch, die böhmisch-mährisch-österreichischen Gebiete zu einem machtvollen, politischen und wirtschaftlichen Staatskörper zu vereinigen, am Widerstand der um ihre Machtstellung besorgten böhmischen Adelsgeschlechter gescheitert. Der Historiker mag sich die durch den tatsächlichen Verlauf der Geschichte überholte Frage stellen : Wie wäre die Entwicklung dieses Grossraumes und der in diesem Gebiet siedelnden Deutschen verlaufen, wenn Premysl Ottokars II. Werk Bestand gehabt hätte ? Ottokar fühlte sich als deutscher Reichsfürst und betrachtete die deutschen Siedler der böhmisch-mährischen Länder als tragendes Element seines Staatswesens. Wäre es zu einer Assimilation der slavischen Bewohner gekommen, ein Vorgang, wie er sich in den östlich der Elbe erworbenen Gebiete vollzogen hat ?

Gegen Ende des Jahres 1277 wurde Borso mit anderen Adeligen von den Truppen Ottokars II. gefangen genommen und kurze Zeit darauf hingerichtet [21]).

In diesen kurz skizzierten zeitgeschichtlichen Rahmen fallen Gründung und Anfänge des Mariakroner Augustinereremitenklosters. Es bedarf keines besonderen Hinweises, dass die Geschichte dieses Klosters, seine Anfänge, seine Entfaltung, seine Höhepunkte, aber

[19]) *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae.* Prag (1855-1890) Pars I-IV. Hier ; II., S. 927 und 1062. Zitiert : RB mit Angabe des Bandes.

[20]) Redlich, Oswald, *Eine Wiener Briefsammlung zur Geschichte des Deutschen Reiches und der österreichischen Länder in der zweiten Hälfte des XIII. Jahrhunderts.* Mitteilungen aus dem Vaticanischen Archiv. Herausgegeben v. d. kaiserlichen Akademie d. Wissenschaften. Bd. 2, Wien (1894). Hier : Briefsammlung Nr. 83. Vgl. Korkisch, *Geschichte...* I., S. 39.

[21]) Redlich, *Briefsammlung* Nr. 107. In einem Schreiben der Königin Kunigunde an Bischof Bruno von Olmütz heisst es : « Praeterea scripseremus vobis de captivitate domini Bursonis et aliorum nobilium... ». Ausserdem wollen wir Euch von der Gefangennahme des Herrn Burso (Borso) und anderer Adeliger schreiben. Vgl. Korkisch, *Geschichte...* I., S. 39, Anm. 42.

auch seine Rückschläge und schliesslich sein Untergang, in engstem Konnex mit den Geschehnissen und geschichtlichen Abläufen der jeweiligen Zeitepochen stehen. Deshalb werde ich in meiner Arbeit den Versuch unternehmen, die Klostergeschichte Mariakrons im Zusammenhang mit den politischen, kirchlich-religiösen und sozialen Entwicklungen der jeweiligen Zeitepoche darzustellen.

Die ältesten Nachrichten über Borsos von Riesenburg Siedlertätigkeit weisen demnach auf die nördlichen Teile des Mährisch Trübauer Gebietes und beziehen sich auf die Klostergründung Mariakron. Borso selbst hatte auf dem Burgberg bei Mähr. Trübau eine Burg erbaut, auf der er sich um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts mit seiner Gemahlin Richardis zeitweise aufgehalten hat.

Wie bei den meisten alten Klostergründungen rankt sich auch um die Entstehung des Mariakroner Klosters eine Legende. Borso soll nach dieser auf einer Jagd, und zwar an der Stelle, wo sich jetzt die Klosterruinen erheben, mit seinem Pferd gestürzt sein und sich so schwer verletzt haben, dass er einem langen Siechtum verfiel. Erst als er das Gelöbnis getan, am Orte seines Unfalls ein Kloster zu gründen, sei er plötzlich gesund geworden. So weit die Legende. Tatsächlich wird es so gewesen sein, dass Borso in dem dünn besiedelten Gebiet, in dem es noch keinen kirchlichen Mittelpunkt gab, mit seiner Klostergründung einen solchen für die geistlich-seelsorgerische Betreuung der Siedler und zugleich ein Hauskloster mit Grablege für sein Geschlecht schaffen wollte. Dieses Kloster sollte nach seinem Willen von den Augustinereremiten besiedelt werden.

Der Orden der Augustinereremiten war erst durch die Bulle des Papstes Alexander IV. « Licet Ecclesiae catholicae » vom 4. Mai 1256 aus einer Reihe von Einsiedlervereinigungen, die nach der Ordensregel des hl. Augustinus lebten, geschaffen worden und hatte eine den Bettelorden der Franziskaner und Dominikaner ähnliche demokratische Verfassungsform erhalten [22]). Der Gesamtorden der Augustinereremiten wurde zunächst in 4 Provinzen aufgeteilt, von denen eine Deutschland mit all seinen Nebengebieten umfasste.

An der Spitze einer jeden Provinz stand der Provinzial, dessen vordringliche Aufgabe zunächst darin bestand, alle innerhalb der Grenzen der Provinz bereits bestehenden Einsiedlergemeinschaften nach den Vorschriften der päpstlichen Bulle vom Jahre 1256 zu

[22]) Vgl. *Lexikon f. Theologie u. Kirche.* I. Sp. 1084. Freiburg/Bsg. (1957).

reformieren und sie dem Orden einzugliedern, dessen oberste Leitung in der Hand des in Rom residierenden Ordensgenerals lag. Es gab, wie bereits angedeutet, eine beträchtliche Anzahl solcher Eremitengemeinschaften, die ohne äussere Bindung zueinander, ihren Ursprung vom hl. Augustinus herleiteten. Die Mehrzahl dieser Klöster befand sich in Italien, aber auch in Deutschland waren sie verbreitet [23]). Um das Werk der Einigung unter den verschiedenen in Deutschland lebenden Einsiedlergenossenschaften voranzutreiben und eine möglichst rasche Durchführung der Unionssatzungen zu erreichen, wurde dem Provinzial der deutschen Provinz, der italienische Augustinereremit P. Guido Salanus mit einer Anzahl italienischer Ordensbrüder, die in die einzelnen Klöster verteilt wurden, beigegeben. Ohne erkennbare Schwierigkeiten gelang das Einigungswerk. Denn in kürzester Zeit hatten sich die Augustinereremiten in Deutschland so stark verbreitet, dass die deutsche Provinz oder das « Regnum Alemanniae » bereits im Jahre 1298 in vier, streng von einander geschiedene Provinzen aufgeteilt werden konnte : in die rheinisch-schwäbische, bayerische, kölnische und thüringisch-sächsische Provinz. Das Augustinereremitenkloster Mariakron gehörte demnach bei seiner Gründung zur deutschen Provinz und wurde im Jahre 1298 der neu entstandenen bayerischen Provinz zugeteilt. Ebenso gehörten die bis zum Jahre 1357 gegründeten weiteren mährischen Klöster des Augustinereremitenordens : St. Thomas in Brünn (1353) und St. Barnabas in Mähr. Kromau (1355) noch kurze Zeit zum bayerischen Provinzverband. Im Jahre 1357 wurden jedoch auf Verlangen Karl IV. wohl aus kirchenpolitischen Gründen, alle Augustinereremitenklöster in Böhmen, Mähren und Polen aus dem Verband der bayerischen Provinz herausgenommen und vom Generalprior Gregor von Rimini zu einer selbständigen Ordensprovinz vereinigt. Zum ersten Provinzial wurde der Prior des Prager Klosters, P. Wenzel ernannt [24]). Aus uns nicht ersichtlichen Gründen aber konnte sich dieser Provinzverband nur 34 Jahre lang behaupten. Im Jahre 1391 kamen die mährischen Augustinereremitenklöster, die unterdessen um zwei

[23]) Pamphilus, Josef, *Chronica ord. Fr. Fr. s. Aug.* Romae (1584).; S. 30 werden 11 solcher Genossenschaften angegeben. Vgl. Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift...* S. 1, Anm. 1.

[24]) CM IX. 58. Cod. 8423, 105, 358-362. Vgl. Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift...* S. 14, Anm. 2.

Neugründungen vermehrt worden waren — St. Clemens bei Osvetiman (1358) und Gewitsch (1370) — erneut zur bayerischen Provinz.

Bei dieser erneuten Eingliederung der mährischen Klöster wurde aber für sie eine Lösung gefunden, die ihnen die praktische Selbständigkeit sicherte und damit eine eigenständige Entwicklung gewährleistete. Die mährischen Augustinereremitenklöster erhielten nämlich innerhalb der bayerischen Ordensprovinz den Status eines Vikariates, d. h. eines selbständigen Distriktes. Die Leitung des mährischen Vikariates hatte der Prior des Klosters von St. Thomas in Brünn inne, der von nun an auch den Titel « Provinzvikar », « vicarius provincialis » führte. Im Jahre 1604, als das Kloster Mariakron nicht mehr existierte, schieden alle mährischen Augustinereremitenklöster aus der bayerischen Provinz endgültig aus, ohne jedoch den Status einer Provinz zu erlangen. Vielmehr wurden sie zu einem Generalvikariat erklärt, das dem Ordensgeneral unmittelbar unterstellt wurde. Der Prior des Brünner Klosters, der zu dieser Zeit bereits den Prälatentiel führte, erhielt als « Generalvikar », « vicarius generalis » die Leitung der mährischen Klöster und war nur mehr der obersten Ordensleitung in Rom allein verantwortlich.

Obwohl das Kloster Mariakron die älteste und daher ehrwürdigste Gründung des mährischen Augustinereremitenordens ist, kann man es nicht als das « Mutterkloster » für die weiteren, später gegründeten mährischen Klöster des gleichen Ordens bezeichnen. Vielmehr wuchs diese Rolle schon sehr bald nach der Gründung dem Kloster St. Thomas in Brünn zu. Für diese Entwicklung waren meines Erachtens zwei Gründe massgeblich und entscheidend. Das Kloster St. Thomas in Brünn war eine Gründung der Markgrafen von Mähren, also der mährischen Landesherren Johann und Jodok, Brüder Karls IV. Diese vermochten das Kloster vor den Übergriffen der besitzhungrigen und landgierigen Ritter und Standesherren wirkungsvoller zu schützen. Die jeweiligen Landesherren wussten auch in den späteren Zeiten ihre Rechte als Schutzvögte und Schirmherren dieses Klosters durchzusetzen. Die anderen mährischen Augustinereremitenklöster waren hingegen private Gründungen und wechselten daher durch Kauf und Verkauf oder Schenkung häufig die Grundherrschaft. Während die mährischen Landesherren auch in der Zeit der Hussitenwirren und später in der Zeit der Reformation katholisch blieben, wurden die meisten Standesherrschaften hussitisch und lutherisch. Durch gewaltsame Wegnahme und Säkularisierung setzten diese dann alles

daran, um die Klostergüter in ihren Besitz zu bekommen. Es ist verständlich und war ein Gebot der Stunde, dass sich die mährischen Augustinereremitenklöster eng an das Kloster St. Thomas in Brünn anlehnten, bei ihm Schutz suchten und zeitweise sogar ihren Besitz ihm zur Verwaltung übertrugen, wie wir im Laufe dieser Arbeit hervorheben werden. Aber noch ein zweiter Umstand trug dazu bei, dass das Kloster St. Thomas in Brünn seit seiner Gründung innerhalb der mährischen Klöster des Ordens sich einer besonderen Stellung erfreuen konnte.

Während die Vorsteher, « die Prioren » aller Klöster des Augustinereremitenordens von den wahlberechtigten Ordensbrüdern auf dem alle drei Jahre stattfindenden Provinzkapitel gewählt wurden, besassen die durch die ewigen Gelübde an den Orden gebundenen Brüder des St. Thomasklosters in Brünn das Recht, ihren Prior selbst zu wählen. Mit dem Amte des Priors von St. Thomas, das im Gegensatz zum Priorenamt aller anderen Augustinereremitenklöster auf *Lebenszeit* übertragen wurde, war, wie wir sahen, zugleich das Amt das « Vicarius provincialis » und seit dem Jahre 1604 das des « Vicarius generalis » verbunden. Damit aber erhielt der Prior und mit ihm das Thomaskloster in Brünn eine nicht nur unter den mährischen Klöstern, sondern im gesamten Augustinereremitenorden herausgehobene Stellung. Aber nicht nur im Orden, sondern vor allem im politisch-gesellschaftlichen Bereich Mährens erreichte der Prior von St. Thomas und sein Kloster eine bedeutsame Stellung. Da es sich beim Klosterbesitz in der Mehrzahl um landesherrliche Güter handelte, die dem Kloster gestiftet worden waren, war es das Bestreben des Priors, vom jeweiligen Landesherrn die ausdrückliche Bestätigung für den Besitz zu erhalten, was dazu führte, dass jeder neu gewählte Prior und spätere Abt des Klosters sofort nach seiner Wahl und deren kirchlicher Approbation durch den Ordensgeneral, vom Landesherrn förmlich belehnt wurde. Auf diesem Weg wurde der Prior des Thomasklosters in Brünn schliesslich *Landesprälat* von Mähren und als solcher Standesherr und Mitglied des mährischen Landtages.

Es schien mir notwendig, wenigstens mit kurzen Strichen, die einmalige Stellung des Priors von St. Thomas in Brünn und seines Klosters auf dem Hintergrund der geschichtlichen Entwicklung herauszustellen, weil das Augustinereremitenkloster Mariakron nicht nur infolge der ordensrechtlichen Verfassung stets in einer relativen Abhängigkeit zu Brünn gestanden hat, sondern in den schwierigen

Zeiten seine zeitlichen Geschäfte ganz dem Prior von St. Thomas, als dem Leiter des mährischen Ordensvikariates überliess. Ich betone dies deshalb, weil fast alle bisherigen Historiker, die sich mit der Geschichte des Klosters Mariakron befasst haben, in Unkenntnis der hier dargestellten geschichtlichen Entwicklung die Behauptung aufstellten, das Kloster Mariakron sei so heruntergewirtschaftet gewesen, dass es « unter Kuratel » gestellt werden musste, bis es schliesslich an innerer Auszehrung eingegangen sei. Eine solche Feststellung trifft den Sachverhalt nicht.

1. *Das Kloster Mariakron unter der Schirmvogtei des Gründergeschlechtes der Riesenburg-Schönburg.*

Die älteste, urkundliche Nachricht, auf die wir bei der Geschichte des Klosters Mariakron zurückgreifen können, ist der von Borso von Riesenburg in Luszt ausgestellte Stiftungsbrief [1]). Er trägt das Datum « Sexto Calendas May 1267 », nach unserer heutigen Zeitrechnung, das Datum vom 26. April 1267. Ungewissheit besteht über den Ausstellungsort der Urkunde, beziehungsweise über dessen Identifizierung. Die Mehrzahl der Schönhengster Heimatforscher sieht in « Luszt » das heutige Dorf Lussdorf bei Landskron. Janetschek lässt es hingegen offen, ob nicht Loschitz damit gemeint sein könnte [2]).

Veranlassung und Zweck der Klostergründung wurden bereits angedeutet, bedürfen jedoch noch einer eingehenderen zeitbezogenen Betrachtung!

Der Grundherr von Trübau, Borso von Riesenburg führt in dem erwähnten Stiftungsbrief aus, dass er das Kloster « zu seinem, seiner Vorfahren und seiner Gattin Richardis Seelenheile » stiften wolle. Das Hauptmotiv zur Errichtung des Klosters bildete demnach der Wunsch des Gründers, eine Stätte zu schaffen, an der man sich um sein und seiner Familie Seelenheil sorgt. Damit sich die Insassen des Klosters dieser ihnen aufgetragenen Aufgabe in Gebet und Gottes-

[1]) CM III. 395, RB II. 549, Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen Augustiner Eremitenklöster...* S. 2. *Brünner Wochenblatt* (1826), S. 29ff., S. 82 ff., Korkisch, *Geschichte...* I., S. 40, Anm. 44 erwähnt, dass nach Sebanek Jindrich, *Kriticky komentar k moravskemu diplomatari.* Prag (1952), S. 35, das Original der Urkunde, das sich zuletzt im Troppauer Landesarchiv befand, während der Kämpfe im Jahr 1945 vernichtet worden sei.

[2]) Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen Augustiner Eremitenklöster...* S. 2.

dienst widmen können, nahm er ihnen durch angemessene Schenkungen weitgehend die Sorge um die täglichen Bedürfnisse ab.

Es war also nicht zuerst die Sorge um die religiöse Betreuung der Neusiedler, die Anlass zur Klostergründung war. Denn mit der Gründung der Schönhengster Dörfer wurde zugleich die kirchliche Organisation geschaffen, indem Pfarreien errichtet wurden, denen die gewöhnliche Seelsorge oblag. Wie bei der Errichtung von Pfarreien verfahren wurde, verrät uns die Lokationsurkunde des Dorfes Pohler [3]). Die Bewohner des entstehenden Dorfes Pohler wurden in die bereits bestehende Pfarre Greifendorf eingegliedert, dessen Pfarrer im Ort Pohler eine Hufe Land zugewiesen erhielt, die von den Siedlern kulturfähig zu machen war. Dafür wurde der Pfarrer verpflichtet, einmal in 14 Tagen im Dorfe Pohler den Gottesdienst abzuhalten.

Auf solche oder ähnliche Weise dürften alle Pfarreien im Schönhengstgau errichtet worden sein. Die meisten von ihnen waren bis zum Jahre 1945 mit Grundbesitz ausgestattet. Zur Zeit der Mariakroner Klostergründung bestanden im Trübauer Distrikt die Pfarreien in (*Alt*) *Trübau*, die für das Jahr 1270 zum ersten Mal belegt ist [4]) und die noch ältere Pfarrei in Krönau. Diese Feststellung ist ein erneuter Beweis dafür, dass die Klostergründung Mariakron am Anfang der Besiedlung des Mähr. Trübauer kreises stand und die weiteren Dörfer erst in den nachfolgenden Jahrzehnten entstanden.

Das Kloster Mariakron übte die gewöhnliche Pfarrseelsorge nur im engeren Umkreis seiner Besitzungen aus, was daraus hervorgeht, dass nach einer Urkunde [5]) bereits um das Jahr 1347 in seiner unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft, nämlich in Tattenitz, Lussdorf und Schönwald Kirchen bestanden, von denen die erst genannte wohl der Mittelpunkt eines Pfarrsprengels war.

Dem Kloster Mariakron fiel jedoch zusammen mit den im gleichen Jahrhundert entstandenen Klöstern der Bettelorden eine überpfarrliche Aufgabe zu, eine Aufgabe für die gesamte Kirche im böhmisch-mährischen Raum, die Aufgabe, an der Reform des kirchlichen Lebens massgeblich mitzuwirken, beziehungsweise alte Übelstände des kirchlichen Lebens in den neu zu gründenden Gemeinden

[3]) CM IV. 51. Vgl. Hübel, Ignaz, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation im Schönhengster Land. In : *Mitteilungen zur Volks- und Heimatkunde d. Schönhengster Landes.* 20. Jahrg. (1924), S. 5 ff. Zitiert : Hübel, Beiträge... S.

[4]) CM IV, 59. Vgl. Hübel, Beiträge..., S. 6.

[5]) CM VIII, 47.

von Anfang an auszuschliessen. Damit will ich nicht behaupten, dass dem Klostergründer von Mariakron diese Aufgabe seines Klosters ausdrücklich bewusst war, oder dass solche Überlegungen eines seiner Motive für die Klostergründung bildete. Um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts war es einfach modern, nicht Klöster der alten Orden, der Benediktiner oder Prämonstratenser, sondern solche der neu entstandenen Bettelorden, der Franziskaner und Dominikaner und seit dem Jahre 1256 auch der Augustinereremiten zu stiften. Schon im Jahre 1263 hatte Papst Urban IV. dem König Premysl Ottokar II. die Augustinereremiten warm empfohlen, sodass diese bald nach der Gründung ihres Ordens die erste Niederlassung im Premyslidenreich und zwar in St. Benigna bei Beraun beziehen konnten [6]).

Dem Beispiel der Herrscherfamilie eiferten die Adelsgeschlechter von Böhmen und Mähren nach [7]). Die Gründung von Klöstern für die im 13. Jahrhundert entstandenen Bettelorden lag im « Zug der Zeit ». Denn gerade diese Klöster mit ihrer neuen Spiritualität waren auch für die Kirche im böhmisch-mährischen Raum lebenswichtig geworden.

In der Zeit der Premyslidenkönige (13. Jahrh.) blühten Böhmen und Mähren politisch, wirtschaftlich und kulturell auf. Der wachsende Reichtum mit der verfeinerten Kultur kam auch der einheimischen Kirche zugute.

Prächtige Gotteshäuser entstanden. Die Stiftungen für die Kirche wurden immer zahlreicher und brachten ihr wachsenden Reichtum. « Das Hochmittelalter in seinem Glanz, wenn auch nur als Widerschein vom Süden und Westen, entfaltete sich im Sudetenraum » [8]). Gegen die zunehmende Macht und den Reichtum der Kirche erhob sich aber alsbald ein wachsender Widerstand im gewöhnlichen Volk und im niederen Klerus und die Idee von der armen Kirche und besonders von dem armen Klerus in der Kirche konnte zum gefährlichen Zündstoff werden. Obwohl also die Kirche äusserlich mächtig dastand, die Bischöfe und Äbte reich waren und einen starken politischen Einfluss ausübten, war die religiöse Lage im Lande keines-

[6]) WINTER, Eduard, *Tausend Jahre Geisteskampf im Sudetenraum.* München (1955), S. 51.

[7]) Mähren stand von 1253-1333 unter der direkten Herrschaft des böhm. Königs, der als Landesherr auch Markgraf von Mähren war.

[8]) WINTER, *Tausend Jahre...*, S. 42.

wegs günstig. Die Sorge, die der höhere Klerus der Verwaltung der zeitlichen Güter widmete, zehrte an seiner geistlichen Kraft und liess ihm seine seelsorgerischen Pflichten vielfach ganz vergessen, während viele Geistliche aus dem stark vermehrten Weltklerus — dem niederen Klerus! — keine Pfründen erhielten und von Ort zu Ort zogen und geradezu zu einer Landplage wurden. Dies geht aus der vom Papst angeforderten und von Bischof Bruno von Olmütz erstellten « Relatio de statu ecclesiae in regno Alemaniae » hervor [9]). Diese Relatio über den Stand der Kirche im Königreich Deutschland vom 16.12.1272 war ein wichtiger Beitrag zur Vorbereitung des II. Konzils von Lyon im Jahre 1274. In diesem Dokument beklagte sich Bischof Bruno sehr über den vagabundierenden Klerus, den er für eine grosse Gefahr hielt und der nach seinen Worten in den Sudetenländern bereits sehr zahlreich gewesen sein muss.

Aber nicht nur mangelnde Seelsorge und Verfall der Disziplin brachten die böhmisch-mährische Kirche in Gefahr. Bischof Bruno glaubt zwar in seinem Lagebericht, Gott besonders dafür danken zu müssen, dass keine Häresie in der Diözese Olmütz verbreitet sei, beklagt sich aber über Laien, die sich von der kirchlichen Autorität losgelöst haben und ein sehr freies Leben führen. Ohne Zweifel handelt es sich bei diesen Laien um die Vereinigung der Brüder und Schwestern vom freien Gesit — Beguinen und Begharden — die sich in einem übersteigerten Subjektivismus um ein persönliches, verinnerlichtes Leben bemühten, während sie dem objektiven Heilskult und den Sakramenten der Kirche keinen besonderen Wert beimassen. Neben diesen Brüdern und Schwestern vom freien Geist, müssen in Böhmen und Mähren auch die « Armen von Lyon », die sich nach ihrem Gründer, dem reichen Kaufmann Petrus Waldes, so nannten, sehr verbreitet gewesen sein. Petrus Waldes hatte seinen Reichtum unter die Armen verteilt, um ganz nach dem Evangelium leben und dieses überzeugend predigen zu können, freilich in Auflehnung gegen die kirchliche Autorität. In einer Instruktion des Papstes Alexander IV. aus dem Jahre 1257 für zwei Minderbrüder-Franziskaner, die als Inquisitoren für Böhmen, Mähren und Polen — Schlesien — bestimmt wurden, heisst es : So sehr sei der Irrtum der Häresie verbreitet, dass dort

[9]) Vgl. Hüber, Augustinus Kurt, Das Verhältnis der Bischöfe von Prag und Olmütz zu einander. In : *Archiv f. Kirchengeschichte v. Böhmen-Mähren-Schlesien.* III., S. 64. Königstein/Taunus (1973).

sehr viele vom Wege der Wahrheit vollständig abgewichen sind und durch ihre verpestende Lehre das Gebäude des rechten Glaubens erschüttern [10]). In dieser für die gesamte Kirche gefährlichen Lage kam die «franziskanische Idee» von der evangelischen Armut auch der Kirche in Böhmen und Mähren entgegen und half ihr über «tiefe Abgründe» hinweg. Der Ruf des Franz v. Assisi zur Nachfolge des «demütigen und armen Christus» und zwar — im Gegensatz zu Petrus Waldes — in Bindung an die kirchliche Autorität, fand begeisterte Anhänger und führte zur Gründung des Bettelordens der Minderbrüder oder Franziskaner. Die Idee von der Armut aber war, wie wir oben sahen, so lebendig, dass Franz von Assisi nicht nur — ohne sein Wollen — zum Gründer seines Ordens wurde, sondern mit seinen Grundgedanken auch bei den Ordensgründungen der Dominikaner und Augustinereremiten wesentlich mitwirkte. Nachdem die Minderbrüder und die Predigerbrüder auf die Initiative der Agnes aus dem Premyslidengeschlecht bereits in den zwanziger Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts in Böhmen und Mähren Eingang gefunden hatten, nimmt es nicht wunder, dass die Augustinereremiten bald nach ihrer Ordensgründung Eingang und Förderung im Sudetenraum fanden.

Die Bettelorden waren aber nicht nur durch die Herausstellung des im Evangelium begründeten Armutsideals — am kompromisslosesten geschah es bei den Franziskanern — und der Verwirklichung dieses Ideals im Leben ihrer Mitglieder für die durch Reichtum und weltliche Macht in eine gefährliche Glaubens- und Existenzkrise geratene Kirche providentiell. Die Bettelorden waren aufgrund ihrer demokratischen-genossenschaftlichen Verfassung und der Verbindung von aktivem und beschaulichem Leben auch in der Lage, die ersten geeigneten Seelsorger für die im Sudetenraum zahlreichen, neu entstehenden Städte zu stellen. Die alten Orden der Benediktiner, Zisterzienser und Prämonstratenser hatten auch nach ihrer Reform die Einsamkeit gesucht und im Gegensatz zu den Bettelorden an ihrer Stabilitas loci, d. h. an ihrer Ortsgebundenheit festgehalten. Sie hatten das offene Land einst nicht nur urbar, sondern auch christlich gemacht. Doch der Seelsorge in den Städten, in denen sich neue gesellschaftliche Strukturen und Gruppen bildeten, waren sie nicht gewachsen. Die im 13. Jahrhundert unter deutscher Initiative und

[10]) Winter, *Tausend Jahre...*, S. 44.

Einfluss in Böhmen und Mähren entstehenden Städte waren daher die geeigneten Orte für Niederlassungen der Bettelmönche, die ihre Lebensexistenz nicht wie die alten Orden auf Grund und Boden gründeten, sondern wie die Bürger der Stadt, auf ihre Arbeit in einer neuen Art von Seelsorge. Von den Bürgern der Städte wurden diese volksverbundenen und ihnen sozial gleichgestellten Mönche sehr begehrt. Von dieser grundsätzlichen Betrachtung her, erhebt sich die Frage, ob die Wahl des Ortes, nämlich das offene Land, für die Errichtung des Mariakroner Klosters richtig war, oder ob es nicht sinnvoller und der Aufgabenstellung des Augustinereremitenordens besser entsprochen hätte, dafür die neu erstehende Stadt Mähr. Trübau zu wählen, wo die Mönche für ihre eigentliche Aufgabe in Predigt, Stadtseelsorge und Studien bessere Möglichkeiten gefunden hätten.

Es ist beachtenswert, dass alle später gegründeten Augustinereremitenklöster in Mähren — ausgenommen die kleine Residenz S. Clemens bei Osvetiman, die als Erholungsort für die Mönche des Brünner Klosters diente — sich in Städten befanden.

In der bereits erwähnten Gründungs- und Dotationsurkunde vom 26. April 1267 heisst es, dass Borso von Riesenburg die Kirche und das Kloster « auf dem Hügel » « aus göttlicher Eingebung », was wohl heissen soll, in Erfüllung seines Gelöbnisses gestiftet habe [11]). Die Frage nach der Herkunft und Volkszugehörigkeit der ersten Augustinereremiten in Mähren lässt sich an Hand der vorhandenen Dokumente nicht eindeutig beantworten. Wir gehen jedoch kaum fehl in der Annahme, dass die ersten Bewohner des Mariakroner Klosters aus Bayern kamen und Deutsche waren. Dafür sprechen zwei Gründe : Die mährischen Augustinereremitenklöster standen von Anfang an in engster Beziehung zu den bayerischen Klöstern des gleichen Ordens und gehörten auch rechtlich zunächst zur grossen deutschen Ordensprovinz und als diese geteilt wurde, zur bayerischen Provinz. Vor allem aber deuten die Namen der wenigen uns bekannten Brüder des Mariakroner Klosters auf ihre deutsche Herkunft hin. Ebenso ungewiss ist die Zahl der ersten Ordensbrüder, die das Kloster besiedelten. Die Angabe Horkys [12]), dass Kloster und Kirche für zwölf Brüder erbaut worden sei, lässt sich aus der Stiftungsurkunde

[11]) *Brünner Wochenblatt*, S. 30.

[12]) *Brünner Wochenblatt*, S. 30.

nicht erhärten und beruht wohl auf einer unkritisch übernommenen, legendären Überlieferung, bei der die Zahl zwölf wegen ihres symbolhaften Charakters und Hinweises auf die Apostelzahl eine Rolle spielt. Diese älteste Urkunde macht aber auch keine Aussage über den Namen « Mariakron ». Der Abt des Brünner St. Thomasklosters, Cyrill Napp, betont in seiner Stellungnahme zu den Ausführungen Horkys : « Gewiss ist es, dass in der von Borso zu Lucz ausgestellten, bekanntlich ältesten Urkunde vom Jahre 1267 ... weder von einer Bezeichnung des Ortes für das Kloster, weder von der Anzahl der Individuen etwas steht, ja dass darin der Name « Maria Kron » gar nicht vorkommt » [13]). Auch in einer zweiten, späteren von Borso am 5. November 1275 — Nonas Novembris 1275 — zu Riesenburg in Böhmen ausgestellten Schenkungsurkunde [14]) kommt für das Kloster weder die Bezeichnung « Mariakron » vor, noch wird eine bestimmte Anzahl der dort lebenden klösterlichen Insassen genannt.

Für den Unterhalt der Ordensbrüder wurde vom Gründer hinreichend gesorgt. In der Stiftungsurkunde vom Jahre 1267 begabte Borso mit « Einwilligung seiner Gemahlin Richardis und seiner Kinder » das Kloster mit der Hälfte des Dorfes « Tetnitz » — Tattenitz — im Ausmass von 24 Lahnen und allen auf diesem Besitz ruhenden Rechten. Dieser Teil des Dorfes Tattenitz trug seither den Namen « Mönchseite ».

Auf der Gemarkung des Dorfes Triverndorf — Triebendorf — wurden dem Kloster vier Lahnen, ferner eine von dem dortigen Richter Konrad von Jeres, einem Bekannten Borsos, gekaufte Mühle und schliesslich der Zehent eines dort gehaltenen Gestütes als Stiftung vermacht [15]). Aber nicht nur der Klosterstifter selbst bedachte das

[13]) *Brünner Wochenblatt*, S. 82 mit Anm. 1. Abt Cyrill Napp beruft sich bei seiner Richtigstellung der von Horky gemachten Angaben auf die Einsichtnahme in die « Historia antiqui et celebris Monasterii S. Thomae Apostoli Brunae » v. P. Hieronymus Haura, in der eine Kopie der Urkunde sich findet.

[14]) CM IV. 166. Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...* S. 2. *Brünner Wochenblatt*, S. 82, Anm. 2. Die Urkunde beginnt mit den Worten : « Quod nos Fratres Eremitas Ordin. S. Augustini in nostra haereditate locavimus... ». Da wir die Eremitenbrüder v. Orden des hl. Augustinus in unserer Herrschaft angesiedelt haben...

[15]) CM. 395, RB II. 549. Vgl. *Brünner Wochenblatt*, S. 30 und S. 82. Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen ...*, S. 2. Wolny, Georg, *Die Markgrafschaft Mähren. Bd. V. Brünn* (1846²), S. 377. Korkisch, *Geschichte...* I., S. 40. 1 Lahne früher 1 Hufe oder Hube hat 70-120 mähr. Metzen. Die Hufe — Lahne — zerfiel im Trübauer Gebiet in 12 Ruten. Nur im Dorfe Reichenau war sie in 18 Ruten unterteilt. Korkisch, Gustav, *Die Trübauer*

Kloster mit Stiftungen. Gleichzeitig machte auch ein Hirso von Klingenberg dem Kloster eine nicht näher beschriebene Schenkung, die Premysl Ottokar II. im Jahre 1268 in Pecka in Böhmen bestätigte [16]). Acht Jahre später — im Jahre 1275 — wurde der Klosterbesitz nochmals bedeutend vermehrt. In der bereits erwähnten Dotationsurkunde vom 5. November 1275 bestätigte Borso von Riesenburg zunächst dem Kloster Mariakron die auf Triebendorfer Gebiet gelegenen vier Lahnen und die Mühle. Wie aus der Urkunde hervorgeht, lag dieser Besitz zwischen Triebendorf und der Zohsee, « quatuor mansos et molendinum inter villam dictam Tribersdorf et praenotatam aquam (Zazaviam) ». Dazu erhielt das Kloster an neuem Besitz noch einen Hügel und einen Wald zwischen « Vudiczdorf » — Budigsdorf und der Zohsee, ferner den Wasserlauf der Zohsee beginnend von der Mühle bis zur Grenze des Besitzes mit dem Fischrecht und schliesslich noch weitere zwanzig Lahnen in Triebendorf [17]). Mit diesen neuen Besitzungen bekam das Kloster auch die auf diesen Gütern ruhenden Rechte.

Eines der wichtigsten Rechte, das dem Kloster nun zustand, war das Recht der Gerichtsbarkeit über alle auf dem Territorium des Klosters wohnenden Untertanen. Diese Gerichtsbarkeit beschränkte sich jedoch auf die kleineren Straftaten und Streitfälle, wie sie auch den Erbrichtern in den neu entstehenden Dörfern des Schönhengstgaues zustand. Die Kriminaldelikte wie : Ehebruch, Mord und Diebstahl blieben weiterhin das Reservat des städtischen Gerichtes in Mähr. Trübau und wurden vom Grundherrn, beziehungsweise von seinem Stellvertreter abgeurteilt.

Ein weiteres Recht, das in der Urkunde von 1275 ausdrücklich genannt wird und daher erwähnenswert erscheint, war der auf der Triebendorfer Mühle ruhende « Mahlzwang ». In der genannten Urkunde heisst es : « ... ut nulli hominum residentium in Triebersdorf praeter praefatum molendinum molere absque causa audeat evidenti nec ulli in Vicino aliud construere liceat, quod huic damnum valeat

Stadtlandschaft auf Grund des ältesten Trübauer Urbars v. 1538-1548, München (1960), S. 31.

[16]) Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 2. In : Extractus ex specie facti inter monasterium Coronense et Crumlavii. Mähr. Landesarchiv in Brünn, 5224. Das genaue Datum des Ausstellungstages ist der 27.3.1268.

[17]) CM IV. 166. RB II. 413. Vgl. Brünner Wochenblatt. S. 30 u. S. 82. Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 2. Wolny, *ebenda*, S. 377. Korkisch, *Geschichte...* I., S. 40.

generari». — Es solle also keiner der Triebendorfer Bewohner es wagen, ohne evidenten, d. h. zwingenden Grund irgendwo auswärts mahlen zu lassen; auch sei es keinem erlaubt, in der Umgebung eine andere Mühle zu errichten, weil der Triebendorfer Mühle dadurch Schaden entstehen würde — [18]). Zur «Nachbarschaft», auf die sich der Mahlzwang der nunmehrigen Klostermühle erstreckte, gehörten auch die beiden neu erstehenden Dörfer Reichenau und Blosdorf. Der «Mahlzwang» bestand für die Reichenauer und Blosdorfer Bauern viele Jahrhunderte hindurch und bereitete ihnen, vor allem als die Bevölkerung der beiden Dörfer stark zugenommen hatte, in steigendem Masse Schwierigkeiten. Diese Schwierigkeiten hatten ihren Grund zunächst in der weiten und beschwerlichen Wegstrecke, die nach Triebendorf zurückzulegen war und später in der verminderten Leistungsfähigkeit der Triebendorfer Mühle. Erst im Jahre 1773, also 220 Jahre nach dem Untergang des Mariakroner Klosters, gelang es den Reichenauern und Blosdorfern, sich wenigstens teilweise vom Mahlzwang zu befreien. Am 1. Januar 1773 wurde zwischen dem Liechtensteinischen Amt in Hohenstadt einerseits und dem in Reichenau ansässigen Bauer Wenzel Blössl und dem Erbrichter Johann Habiger in Blosdorf andererseits ein Verkaufs- und Kaufvertrag abgeschlossen, durch welchen den beiden genannten Bauern gestattet wurde, in Blosdorf und in Reichenau je eine kleine Mühle «auf einen Gang» zu errichten, «mit deren Beyhülfe der Triebendorfer Müller die ihm zugetheilte Blosdorfer und Reichenauer Mahlgäste, so zu dieser Trübendorfer Mühl von uhralten Zeiten gehörig seyend, befördern zu können in Stand gesetz würde.» Für den Ausfall an Verdienst mussten die beiden «Hilfsmühlen» dem Besitzer der Triebendorfer «Hauptmühle» einen genau festgesetzten jährlichen Zins zahlen. Diese Zinszahlungsverpflichtung wurde sogar alsHypothek auf den gesamten Besitz des Blosdorfer und Reichenauer Hilfsmühlenbesitzers eingetragen [19]).

In keiner der beiden Urkunden von 1267 und 1275 kommt der Name «Mariakron» als Bezeichnung des Klosters vor. Abt Cyrill Napp stellt es als wahrscheinlich hin, dass die Klostergemeinde selbst mit Bezugnahme auf das Marienbild, das in der Klosterkirche hoch

[18]) *Brünner Wochenblatt*, S. 82.

[19]) Eine Abschrift des Vertrags, erstellt v. Dr. Moritz Grolig, befindet sich im Schönhengster Archiv in Göppingen.

verehrt wurde und als Paladium über dem Hochaltar tronte, sich den Namen « Mariakron » beigelegt hat [20]). Die Richtigkeit dieser Annahme glaube ich darin bestätigt sehen zu dürfen, dass der Name « Mariakron » erstmalig in einer Urkunde vorkommt, die vom damaligen Klostervorstand, dem Prior und seinem Konvent, der Klostergemeinde, im Jahre 1270 gefertigt wurde [21]). Die Urkunde lautet im Auszug : « Nos Frater Ulricus, Prior Fratrum eremitarum Ord. S. Augustini in Corona S. Mariae una cum Conventu eiusdem loci notum facimus ... quod Petrus et Sidelmanus frater eius Judices mediae partis Villae Tribersdorf, debitum videlicet quinque marcarum, pro quo nos citaverunt et traxerunt ad Judicium civile, quod tamen Chunrado... patri eorum, qui praetaxatum judicium domui nostrae vendidit, fuerat persolutum... cognoscentes, Nos indebite gravasse et injuriose ... nobis benevole relaxantes. In cujus rei testimonium praesens scriptum fecimus ... sigilli civit. Triboviensis munimine roborari... » [22]). Aus dieser Urkunde geht mit Gewissheit hervor, dass das Kloster bereits im Jahre 1270 den Namen « Mariakron » sich beigelegt hatte und der erste uns bekannte Prior ein Frater Ulrich war, dessen Name ihn als einen Deutschen ausweist [23]). Aus dieser Urkunde erfahren wir weiter, dass sich das Kloster schon bald nach seiner Gründung gegen ungerechte Geldforderungen vor dem Stadtgericht in Mähr. Trübau zur Wehr setzen musste. Die beiden Richter des Dorfes Mittel-Triebendorf, Peter und Sidelmann, Söhne des bereits genannten Konrad-Chunradus-hatten nämlich vor dem Stadtgericht in Trübau gegen das Kloster Klage auf Zahlung einer angeblich noch ausstehenden Schuld in Höhe von fünf Mark erhoben. Um diesen Preis hatte das Kloster das Gericht in Triebendorf, das seither « Münich-Mönchs-gericht » genannt wurde, vom Vater der beiden Kläger gekauft. Wie die gerichtliche Verhandlung ergab, hatte das Kloster jedoch den genannten Betrag bereits an deren Vater voll bezahlt. Dieser Streitfall muss unter der Bevölkerung Aufsehen erregt haben, denn

[20]) CM IV. 59. RB II. 286. *Brünner Wochenblatt* S. 82.

[21]) Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 2. Korkisch, *Geschichte...* I., S. 40. Horky kennt diese Urkunde nicht.

[22]) Auszug in : *Brünner Wochenblatt*, S. 82 und Anm. 3.

[23]) In Unkenntnis dieser Urkunde meint Horky (*Brünner Wochenblatt*, S. 30), dass der im Jahre 1343 genannte Prior Stephan der erste urkundlich bekannte Prior des Mariakroner Klosters gewesen sei.

die Ordensbrüder fühlten sich ungerecht und schuldlos in ihrer Ehre verletzt, weil sie von den Erben des Konrad als Betrüger, die eine offenstehende Schuld einfach ableugneten, hingestellt wurden.

Damit der gute Ruf des Klosters und seiner Brüder, sofern er Schaden gelitten haben sollte, wieder hergestellt und jeder Zweifel an ein unlauteres Verhalten beseitigt werde, wurde vom Prior und dem Klosterkonvent der Streitfall und das Ergebnis der gerichtlichen Verhandlung in der genannten öffentlichen Urkunde niedergelegt und der Inhalt derselben auf seine Wahrheit hin durch Zeugen und das Siegel der Stadt Trübau bestätigt. Unter den Zeugen wird ein Herold, Richter von Chuncendorf — Kunzendorf —, Heinricus, Richter von Triverndorf, Chunradus de Via — « von der Gasse », d. i. — Dittersdorf — und der Pfarrer Christian aus Alt-Trübau — Altstadt — genannt. Wir sehen, dass das Mariakroner Kloster vom Anfang seiner Gründung an mit Schwierigkeiten zu kämpfen hatte.

In eine gefährliche Lage geriet das Kloster jedoch im Laufe der politischen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen König Rudolf von Habsburg und König Premysl Ottokar II. Borso von Riesenburg hatte seit dem Jahre 1274 mit Ottokar II. gebrochen und war ein entschiedener Anhänger des deutschen Königs Rudolf geworden, mit dem er in regem Briefverkehr stand. Die beharrlich fortgesetzte und durchgeführte Einlösung aller von seinen Vorfahren verpfändeten Krongüter hatte Ottokar II. bei den mächtigen Geschlechtern, die den Zuwachs der königlichen Macht fürchteten, verhasst gemacht. Musste das Kloster nicht um seine Existenz fürchten, da Borso bereits im Jahre 1254 einmal verhaftet und mit der Beschuldigung unter Anklage gestellt worden war, er habe sich unrechtmässig königliches Gut angeeignet, worunter wahrscheinlich das Trübauer Gebiet gemeint war? Auch der Friede von Wien, den Ottokar II. am 21. November 1276 mit Rudolf von Habsburg zu schliessen gezwungen war, weil eine grosse Anzahl böhmischer Adeliger unter Führung des Zawisch von Falkenstein und des Borso von Riesenburg sich in offener Empörung gegen ihn gestellt hatten, vermochte keine ruhigen und sicheren Verhältnisse zu schaffen. Wohl war den Aufständischen vom böhmischen König Straffreiheit zugesichert worden, aber Ottokar, der diese Zusage nur unter dem Zwang der ihm ungünstigen Verhältnisse gemacht hatte, betrachtete nachher diese Amnestie als eine Verletzung der Hoheitsrechte der böhmischen Krone

und belegte die Empörer mit Strafen, Borso liess er sogar anfangs des Jahres 1278 hinrichten [24]).

Nach dem Tode Borsos konnte sein Sohn Bohuslaus die Riesenburgischen Güter sowohl in Böhmen, als auch im Trübauer Distrikt behaupten. Bohuslaus dürfte nach Korkisch [25]) mit jenem Borlaus identisch sein, den Rudolf von Habsburg im Jahre 1278 einem seiner Freunde in einem Schreiben empfiehlt. In diesem Brief wird Borlaus — Bohuslaus — ein « noblis vir, quondam Borsonis filius » genannt.

Bohuslaus erfreute sich der Herrschaft seiner Güter nicht lange. Schon für das Jahr 1280 ist sein Tod bezeugt [26]), so dass er für die Geschichte des Mariakroner Klosters ohne besondere Bedeutung blieb.

Nach dem Tode des Bohuslaus übernahm Agatha von Riesenburg, eine Geborene von Schomburg — Schönburg — die Verwaltung und Herrschaft auf den Riesenburgischen Gütern in Böhmen und Mähren. Agatha war in erster Ehe mit Günther von Crimmitschau verheiratet gewesen und hatte sich nach dem Tod ihres Gatten in zweiter Ehe mit Bohuslaus von Riesenburg verehelicht. In einer zu Trübau am 12. November 1280 ausgestellten Urkunde wird Agatha, die Schwester Friedrichs von Schomburg — Schönburg —, als Witwe des Bohuslaus « relicta praefati dom. Bohuzlai de Ryzemburg » bezeichnet [27]). Agatha musste in einer schweren und unsicheren Zeit das Riesenburgische Erbe übernehmen, dem sie nicht gewachsen war.

Nach dem Tode Premysl Ottokars II. verfiel die königliche Gewalt, so dass Sicherheit und Ordnung der Gewalttat und Recht-

[24]) In der Darstellung des Schicksals des Borso habe ich mich der Ansicht von Korkisch : Geschichte... I., S. 39, angeschlossen. Ältere Geschichtsschreiber wie : Horky, Janetschek u. a. meinen, Borso wäre aus Ottokars Ländern verbannt, von einem eigens dazu eingesetzten Gericht aller seiner Güter für verlustig erklärt worden und im Jahre 1277 als Verbannter in Ungarn gestorben.

[25]) Korkisch, *Gesichte...*, I., S. 53 und Anm. 75. Der Verfasser : Die Burg am Schönhengst. In : MVHSchL (1910), S. 41, bezeichnet Bohuslaus ebenfalls als Sohn des Borso von Riesenburg.

[26]) Horky, Janetschek und andere Geschichtsforscher vertreten die Meinung, dass Bohuslaus ein Bruder Borsos gewesen sei und in der Schlacht auf dem Marchfeld im Jahre 1278 umgekommen sei. Der Hinweis von Korkisch auf den Brief Rudolfs (RB II. 1162) scheint jedoch seiner Auffassung Recht zu geben, dass Bohuslaus der Sohn Borsos gewesen sei.

[27]) CM IV. 240. Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 3. Vgl. Korkisch, *Geschichte...* I., S. 53. *Im Brünner Wochenblatt*, S. 82, wird als Ausstellungsdatum fälschlich der 13. November 1282 angegeben.

losigkeit weichen mussten. Besonders trostlos war die allgemeine Lage in Böhmen. Für den minderjährigen Sohn des verstorbenen Ottokar, Wenzel II., führte der schwächliche Markgraf Otto von Brandenburg die Regentschaft. Aber auch der damalige Prager Bischof Eberhard war keine Führerpersönlichkeit und seine Verwaltung war kraftlos. Dank der vortrefflichen Regierung und Verwaltung des Olmützer Bischofs Bruno (1241-1281) waren die Verhältnisse in Mähren zunächst noch geordnet und sicher. Aber schon bald nach Brunos im Jahre 1281 erfolgten Tod verschlechterte sich auch in Mähren die allgemeine Lage. Zu allem Unglück kam es infolge einer Missernte zu einer grossen Hungersnot in Mähren, das nun von Abenteuerern und plündernden Horden, die das Land beunruhigten, heimgesucht wurde.

Auch das Kloster Mariakron und dessen Untertanen wurden wiederholt belästigt und hatten viel zu leiden. Deshalb beklagten sich die Ordensbrüder bei der Witwe des verstorbenen Bohuslaus, Agatha, und schilderten, wie sie « mit allerhand Exactionen und Erpressungen, vielen Molestien und Drangsalen öfters perturbiert und angefochten worden seyen und dass sie deshalb nicht ruhig im Gottesdienst verharren oder demselben obliegen könnten » [28]). Da sich Agatha zur Ausübung ihrer Pflichten und Wahrnehmung ihrer Rechte zu schwach wusste, übertrug sie die Wahrnehmung des Schutzrechtes über das Mariakroner Kloster ihrem Bruder Friedrich von Schönburg, den sie auch zum Vormund ihrer Kinder aus der Ehe mit Bohuslaus eingesetzt hatte [29]).

Friedrich von Schönburg war den Augustinereremitenbrüdern des Mariakroner Klosters sehr gewogen. Schon am 12. November 1280 stellte er ihnen in Mähr. Trübau die bereits erwähnte Urkunde aus, in der er die Klosteruntertanen gegenüber der jeweiligen Grundherrschaft für robotfrei erklärte. Zugleich bestätigte er dem Kloster in Gegenwart seines uns bereits bekannten Burggrafen Konrad von Jeres, sowie des Advokaten Gottfried, des Magisters Bernegerus und der Zeugen Heinrich von Porstendorf, Heinrich und Berthold von Gewitsch

28) *Brünner Wochenblatt*, S. 30. Vgl. JANETSCHEK, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 3.

29) RB II. 1244, heisst es : « loco do. nostri Friderici de Schonburg, tutoris puerorum de Rysenburg. WOLNY, *ebenda*, S. 377. JANETSCHEK, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 3, der Friedrich fälschlich als Vormund der Kinder des Borso von Riesenburg bezeichnet. *Mitteilungen zur Volks- und Heimatkunde des Schönhengster Landes. Mähr. Trübau* (1910), S. 42, zitiert : *MVHSchL* mit Angabe des Jahrganges und der Seitenzahl.

aufs neue das Recht der kleinen Gerichtsbarkeit über die Klosterbauern [30]). Gleichzeitig überliess er dem Kloster ein Wäldchen « syluulam » zwischen den Dörfern Zudendorf und Budigsdorf [31]) und bestätigte schliesslich die früher von Konrad von Jeres gemachte Schenkung, welcher dem Kloster den uns schon bekannten Busch zwischen Budigsdorf und der Zohsee überlassen hatte. Denn, so heisst es, « wir wollen, dass die ehrwürdigen Mönche weder durch Widerwärtigkeiten, noch durch andere Beschwerden gehindert, für unser und unserer Schwester Seelenheil, sowie auch für unsere Eltern und Verwandten, Lebende und Abgestorbene, zu Gott dem Allmächtigen beten können ».

Im Jahre 1281 war Bischof Bruno, « der zweite in dem leuchtenden Dreigestirn Heinrich Zdik, Bruno von Schaumburg und Franz von Dietrichstein » gestorben [32]). Nach seinem Tod schwand, wie bereits angedeutet wurde, Friede und Ordnung, deren sich Mähren auch nach Ottokars II. Sturz im grossen und ganzen erfreut hatten. In dieser Zeit galt die stärkere Faust, so dass das Raubrittertum wieder rasch um sich greifen konnte. Der Schönhengstgau wurde vor allem von Hochstein her bedroht. Dort hatte sich der berüchtigte Raubritter Mathison auf seiner Burg eine unangreifbare Feste geschaffen, von der aus er die ganze Gegend unsicher machte. Auch das Mariakroner Kloster hatte darunter zu leiden. Dies lässt sich aus einer Urkunde, die am 18. Juli 1281 — XV. Cal. Augusti 1281 — in Mähr. Trübau ausgestellt wurde, ersehen [33]). Konrad von Jeres, der Burggraf von Mähr. Trübau, bestätigte im Namen Friedrichs von Schönburg den Mariakroner Mönchen für einen, ihnen zugefügten

[30]) Siehe Anmerkung 27.

[31]) Das nur in dieser Urkunde belegte Zudendorf, welches dem Kloster Mariakron benachbart war, ging wohl in den Hussitenkriegen vollkommen unter, so dass heute die genaue Lokalisierung der Siedlung nicht mehr möglich ist. Vermutungen, dass es sich bei « Zudendorf » um Zohse oder Lusdorf (*MVHSchL.*, VI., S. 42, Anm. 10) handelt, sind sicher falsch. Möglich, dass der « Zutengrund » (= Neustift) bei Triebendorf die Erinnerung an den einstigen Ort wachhält! Vgl. Hübel, Zur Geschichte des Dorfes Reichenau. In : *MVHSchL*, XVII, S. 8, welcher meint, dass Zudendorf bald nach seiner Gründung eingegangen sein müsse, da es in den Quellen des 14. Jahrhunderts nicht mehr erwähnt wird.

[32]) Roder, Julius, *Geschichte von Olmütz.* Steinheim. (1973), S. 10.

[33]) CM IV. 252. *Brünner Wochenblatt*, S. 30. Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 3.

Schaden in Höhe von 5 Mark, nochmals den Hain — nemus —, welcher sich von Budigsdorf bis zur Zohsee hinzog.

Zu Lebzeiten seiner Schwester Agatha hielt sich Friedrich von Schönburg in Schranken. Nach ihrem bereits im Jahre 1283 erfolgten Tod aber schloss er sich mit seinem Burggrafen Konrad von Jeres dem berüchtigten Raubritter Mathison an. Entgegen den Bestimmungen des Landfriedens vom Jahre 1284 baute er die in der Nähe von Porstendorf auf dem Schönhengst von Borso von Riesenburg als Vorwerk für Mähr. Trübau angelegte Burg aus und unternahm von da aus seine Raubzüge. Zu den berüchtigtsten Raubnestern zählten neben der Burg auf dem Schönhengst, die bereits genannte Hochsteiner Burg, ferner Helfenstein und Obrzan, sowie das Kloster Reigern bei Brünn, dessen sich eine Schar von Räubern bemächtigt hatte. Mit Gewalt drängte Friedrich den fahrenden Kaufleuten sein Geleite auf oder plünderte im Weigerungsfalle ihre Frachtwägen. Er konnte dies umso leichter tun, als die Hauptstrasse aus Böhmen nach Mähr. Trübau über den Schönhengst führte und die Handelsleute, welche nach Polen — Schlesien — oder von dort zurückreisten, laut eines Privilegiums des mähr. Markgrafen vom Jahre 1251 für die Stadt Neustadt [34]) bei Androhung einer Strafe von fünf Mark ihren Weg über Trübau zu nehmen gezwungen waren. Aber damit nicht zufrieden, überfiel Friedrich im Verein mit anderen Rittern von seiner Burg auf dem Schönhengst aus die Besitzungen des Olmützer Bischofs. Dadurch geriet er in eine heftige Fehde mit dem Bischof Theodorich Dietrich von Neuhaus. Da die Schönhengster Burg auf bischöflichem Boden lag, verlangte Dietrich von Neuhaus die Schleifung derselben. Friedrich hingegen wollte sich nur einem Schiedsspruch unterwerfen. Durch die Bemühungen des Jarloch von Slavko, Komtur des deutschen Ordens, Hermann von Holstein und des mähr. Unterkämmerers Gerhard, kam am 29. Juli 1285 (IV. Cal. Augusti 1285) [35]) in Brünn ein Vertrag zustande, der aber von Friedrich nicht eingehalten wurde. Daraufhin entschied der unterdessen mündig gewordene König Wenzel II., in seiner Eigenschaft als Mährischer Markgraf, dass die Burg auf dem Schönhengst mit allen ihren Gebäuden, Mauern und Wallgräben zu schleifen, die Gefangenen auf

[34]) CB III. 140. Vgl. Die Burg am Schönhengst, *MVHSchL*, VI, S. 45, Anm. 16.

[35]) CM IV. 297. Brunae IV. Cal. Aug. 1285. Vgl. Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 3. *MVHSchL*, VI, S. 46.

beiden Seiten ohne Lösegeld freizulassen seien und Friedrich verpflichtet sein solle, auf seine Kosten dem Bischof von Olmütz 50 bewaffnete Ritter für jeweils 14 Tage zu stellen, wenn dieser sie gegen seine Feinde anfordere [36]). Friedrich brach jedoch abermals die beschworenen Bedingungen und versetzte durch neuerlichen Aufruhr das mährische Land in Verwirrung. Daraufhin sah sich Wenzel veranlasst, den Gehorsam mit Gewalt zu erzwingen.

Zawisch von Rosenberg, dem Stiefvater Wenzel II. gelang es, die Anhänger des Gerhard von Obrzan zu schlagen, ihre Burgen zu zerstören und deren Städte zu erobern. Friedrichs Hauptmacht wurde zwar über die Grenze zurückgeworfen, ohne dass es jedoch gelungen war, sich seiner Person zu bemächtigen. Nachdem Obrzan genommen war, musste sich Gerhard geschlagen geben. Am 28.2.1286 verpflichtete er sich durch einen Schwur auf dem Spielberg, für immer Frieden halten zu wollen. Friedrich aber wurde auf Bitten mehrerer Adeliger begnadigt, nachdem er 2 Bürgen gestellt und feierlich versprochen hatte, sich in Zukunft jeder Gewalttat zu enthalten. Da Friedrich aber auch dieses Mal sein Versprechen brach und dadurch die beiden Bürgen selbst in eine schlimme Lage brachte, überrumpelten ihn die Nachbarritter, nahmen ihn gefangen und brachten ihn nach Königgrätz, wo Wenzel II. Hof hielt. Das Todesurteil über Friedrich war bereits gefällt. Doch König Wenzel begnadigte ihn abermals, liess ihm aber zur Strafe einen Finger der rechten Hand abhauen. Von da an gab Friedrich seine Gewalttätigkeit auf und wurde sogar ein vertrauter Freund des Königs [37]), an dessen Hof er im Jahre 1289 lebte. In diesem Jahr erscheint er als Zeuge bei der Unterwerfung Kasimirs von Oppeln unter die böhmische Krone [38]). Die Chronik

[36]) Vgl. Die Burg auf dem Schönhengst. *MVHSchL*, VI., S. 46, Anm. 20.

[37]) *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum IV.* Prag (1883), S. 30 berichtet der Königssaaler Chronist, Peter von Zittau : « Deinde rex processit versus Moravicalem Tribouiam, ubi magnam spoliatorum multitudinem intellexerat congregatam. Hunc denique civitatem mox capiens Fridericus de Schonburg, turbatorem pacis compescuit et ne amplius contra regem excederet, cautione fide jussoria obligavit, sed quia rapinas evitare noluit, a fidejussoribus suis detentus regie potestati presentatus fuit. Rex vero, quem meritis suis exigentibus mortis sententia condemnare debuit, misericordia motus, quorundam quoque mitigatus precibus, in dextra manu solum sibi digitum amputavit, quatenus sic correptus ab importunitate sua quiesceret et pro misericordia citra debitum sibi exhibita regi de cetero ad beneplacita quelibet oberdiret. Sic Fridericus factus regis amicus » ...

[38]) Palacky, *Geschichte Böhmens.* II. Bd., A., S. 327.

von Königssaal drückt den Gesinnungswandel Friedrichs so aus : « Fridericus est factus regis amicus » — Friedrich wurde ein Freund des Königs —.

Über die Schicksale des Klosters Mariakron in diesen Jahren berichtet keine schriftliche Quelle. Es bedarf jedoch keiner grossen Phantasie, um annehmen zu können, dass das Kloster in jenen unruhigen Zeiten Not und Drangsale zu erleiden hatte, da Friedrich ihm kaum helfen konnte. Erschütternd sind die Klagen des Chronisten, Peter von Zittau, wenn er über die Bedrängnisse, Leiden und Heimsuchungen dieser Jahre berichtet. Wohl beziehen sich die Worte des Chronisten auf die um Landskron, Wildenschwert und Trübau (Böhm.) gelegenen königlichen Güter und deren Untertanen. Wir dürfen aber annehmen, dass auch Mariakron, das in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft liegt, seinen Teil abbekommen hat [39]).

Es ist nicht bekannt, in welchem Jahr Friedrich von Schönburg seinem Neffen, Borso, dem Sohn des im Jahre 1280 verstorbenen Bohuslaus, die Trübauer Herrschaft übergeben hat. Seit dem Jahre 1287 begegnet uns Friedrich in keiner Geschichtsquelle mehr, die sich auf das Trübauer Gebiet bezieht. Und da Friedrich nach seiner Unterwerfung unter die königliche Macht sich oft am königlichen Hof aufgehalten hat, — 1289 erscheint er als Zeuge ! — dürfte er wohl bald nach seiner Versöhnung mit Wenzel II. die Trübauer Herrschaft übergeben haben. Dem Mariakroner Kloster aber blieb Friedrich stets gewogen. Er bestimmte die Klosterkirche als letzte Ruhestätte für sich. Er starb im Jahre 1309 in Mähr. Trübau und wurde seinem Wunsche gemäss in Mariakron beigesetzt [40]). Ohne Zweifel darf man Friedrich von Schönburg als eine der bedeutendsten Gestalten des mährischen Rittertums und Landadels jener Zeit bezeichnen. Und was der Königssaaler Chronist — wohl nicht ohne Übertreibung — bei ihm als Raubrittertum sieht, könnte man eine zielbewusste, allerdings vor Gewalttaten nicht zurückschreckende Realpolitik nennen. Angesichts einer schwachen, königlich-markgräflichen Zentralgewalt und der durch die Olmützer bischöflichen Besitzungen bedrohlichen Umklammerung seiner erst jungen Grund-

[39]) *Fontes rerum Bohemic.* IV, 166. Vgl. Korkisch, *Geschichte...*, I., S. 91.

[40]) Horky, Franz Wilhelm, *Versuch eines historisch diplomatarisch chronologischen Jahrbuches der Stadt und Herrschaft Mähr. Trübau.* Manuskript. 3 Bd. Mähr. Trübau (1812 u. folg.), I. ad annum 1309. Zitiert : *Hist. dipl. Jahrbuch* m. Angabe des Bd. u. der Seitenzahl. Vgl. Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 3.

herrschaft, wird es verständlich, dass Friedrich alle Möglichkeiten und Mittel zur Festigung, Ausweitung und Sicherung der Trübauer Herrschaft eingesetzt hat.

Über die Beziehungen Borsos (II.) zum Kloster Mariakron wissen wir gar nichts. Borsos Name begegnet uns erstmals in einer am 7. April 1295 in Udelitz ausgestellten Urkunde, in welcher er die von seinen Oheimen mütterlicherseits, Friedrich und Theodorich von Schönburg, gemachten Schenkungen bestätigt [41]). Borso (II.) scheint seinen *böhmischen* Besitzungen grössere Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet zu haben, da uns sein Name zwischen den Jahren 1300 und 1315 in einer Reihe Urkunden begegnet, die das Osseger und Brüxer Gebiet betreffen [42]). Auch das Todesjahr Borsos ist unbekannt. Im Jahre 1325 war jedoch das Trübauer Gebiet nicht mehr in seinem Besitz. Wahrscheinlich hat er es zu einem früheren, uns unbekannten Zeitpunkt verkauft. Nach Horky soll Borso II. kinderlos verstorben sein und seine letzte Ruhestätte ebenfalls in der Mariakroner Klosterkirche gefunden haben [43]). Da aber Horky seine Angaben oft ohne Quellenangabe macht, sind diese mit grosser Vorsicht zu nehmen.

2. *Das Augustinereremitenkloster Mariakron in der Zeit der Luxemburger bis zum Beginn der Hussitenwirren.*

Am Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts kam es in Böhmen und Mähren zu einem Dynastiewechsel, der sich in der zweiten Hälfte dieses Jahrhunderts auf allen Gebieten segensreich auswirkte. Schon Rudolf von Habsburg hatte Böhmen — Mähren in seine Hausmachtpolitik einbezogen. Wohl blieb nach dem Tod Premysl Ottokars II. das Premyslidengeschlecht in Böhmen und Mähren an der Herrschaft, aber Rudolf von Habsburg hatte es verstanden, durch eine seiner Töchter, die mit dem Sohn König Wenzels II. vermählt wurde und über seinen Verwandten, Heinrich von Kärnten, der die ältere Tochter Wenzels II., Anna geheiratet hatte, in verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen zu den Premysliden zu treten, aus denen sich zu gegebener

41) RB II. 1684. Vgl. Korkisch, *Geschichte...* I., S. 92.

42) RB II. 1913, 2759, 1971-1973, RB III. 105, 183, 242. Korkisch, *Geschichte...* I., S. 92.

43) Horky, *Hist. dipl. Jahrb. ad annum 1325.* Vgl. Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...* S. 3.

Zeit Erbansprüche herleiten liessen. Nach der in Olmütz im Jahre 1306 erfolgten Ermordung Wenzels III., war das Premyslidengeschlecht in der männlichen Linie ausgestorben. Albrecht I. von Osterreich, der älteste Sohn Rudolfs von Habsburg, der nach der kurzen Regierung Adolfs von Nassau (1292-1298) deutscher König geworden war, erklärte Böhmen — Mähren als erledigtes Reichslehen und zwang in einem siegreichen Feldzug die böhmischen Stände, seinen Sohn Rudolf als böhmischen König anzuerkennen. Da aber Rudolf bereits im folgenden Jahr — 1307 — plötzlich starb, wählte die habsburgfeindliche Partei in Böhmen Heinrich von Kärnten, den Gemahl der älteren Tochter Wenzels II., zum König. Doch auch Heinrichs Herrschaft dauerte nicht lange. Als nämlich im Jahre 1308 Albrecht I. von seinem Neffen, Johann von Böhmen (Paricida) ermordet wurde, verlor Habsburg wiederum für genau 130 Jahre die deutsche Königskrone. Nach der Wahl des Grafen von Luxemburg, Heinrich (VII.) zum deutschen König, erzwang eine böhmische Partei, gestützt auf ein Urteil der Reichsfürsten, die Absetzung Heinrichs von Kärnten, worauf der neue deutsche König, Heinrich VII., seinen Sohn Johann (« König ohne Land »), der die jüngere Tochter Wenzels II., Elisabeth geheiratet hatte, mit Böhmen belehnte. So gelangte Böhmen — Mähren an die Luxemburger.

Unter dem böhmischen König Johann, der die meiste Zeit seines Lebens Abenteuern nachging und sich ausser Land aufhielt, blieben die Verhältnisse in Böhmen — Mähren unsicher und unruhig. Erst mit seinem Sohn Karl, der seit dem Jahre 1346 deutscher König war und später (1355) auch die Kaiserkrone erlangte, kamen für Böhmen — Mähren die goldenen Jahre.

Karl IV. und seine beiden Söhne, die Markgrafen von Mähren waren, schenkten allen kirchlichen Einrichtungen ihr Augenmerk. Besonders aber förderten sie die Augustinereremiten, die in kurzer Zeit mehrere Klöster in Mähren errichten konnten. Das Zeitalter Karls IV. wurde auch für die mährischen Augustinerklöster eine Zeit hoher Blüte, an der das Mariakroner Kloster seinen Anteil hat. Während in den vorangegangenen Jahrzehnten, besonders zwischen 1325-1350, wenig über das Schicksal des Mariakroner Klosters bekannt ist, ausser dass im Jahre 1343 eines Mariakroner Priors mit Namen Stefan Erwähnung geschieht [1]), werden in der karolingischen Zeit die Nachrichten über das Kloster zahlreicher.

[1]) Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 3.

Ein wichtiges und entscheidendes Ereignis für die Kirche im Schönhengstgau, von dem aber das Mariakroner Kloster nicht unmittelbar betroffen wurde, war die Gründung des Bistums Leitomischl im Jahre 1344 durch Papst Klemens VI. In seiner Topographie [2]) stellt Schwoy die Behauptung auf, dass auch das Kloster Mariakron der neu gegründeten Diözese Leitomischl angegliedert wurde, und dass es bis zum Untergang derselben in ihrem Verband verblieben sei. Mit dieser Ansicht ist jedoch Schwoy ganz offensichtlich einem Irrtum und einer Verwechslung erlegen. Im Februar des Jahres 1350 hatte Bischof Johann von Olmütz dem neu errichteten Bistum das « Coenobium Ord. S. Benedicti, quod vulgo dicitur Claustrellum » — das Kloster des Benediktinerordens, das im Volksmund « Klösterle » genannt wurde — abgetreten. Dieses kleine Benediktinerkloster, von dem noch im Jahre 1826 einige Überreste seiner Grundmauern zu sehen waren, lag tatsächlich etwa eine Meile (7-5 km) nördlich von Hohenstadt, nahe an den Grenzen der Herrschaft Eisenberg. Dieses Benediktinerkloster verwechselte Schwoy mit dem Augustinereremitenkloster in Mariakron, das in den letzten Jahrzehnten seines Bestehens, ebenfalls im Volksmund « das Klösterle » genannt wurde [3]). Der erste Bischof des Bistums Leitomischl war ein Prämonstratensermönch aus dem dortigen Kloster. Für die Ausstattung des neu errichteten Bistums mit zeitlichem Besitz wurden die Güter und Einkünfte des Prämonstratenserklosters in der Weise verwendet, dass die eine Hälfte davon der Bischof, die andere Hälfte das Domkapitel und das nach wie vor bestehende Kloster erhielt. Da aber diese Temporalia für die Erfüllung der Aufgaben nicht ausreichten und zudem das Bistum zu klein war, ersuchte der damalige Erzbischof von Prag, dem als Metropoliten das neue Bistum unterstand, im Jahre 1349 Papst Klemens VI. um Zuweisung weiterer Güter und Pfarreien [4]). Am 4. November 1350 wurden die endgültigen Grenzen der Leitomischler Diözese festgelegt, wobei sowohl das Prager Erzbistum, als auch die Olmützer Diözese eine Anzahl von Kirchensprengeln oder Dekanaten abtreten musste. Prag gab die Dekanate

[2]) Schwoy, *Topographie...* I., S. 261.

[3]) *Brünner Wochenblatt.* (1826), S. 31.

[4]) CM. VII. 677. Vgl. *Glückselig*, Legis, *Die Geschichte des untergegangenen Bistums Leitomischl. Illustrierte Chronik von Böhmen.* Bd. 1, Prag (1853), S. 148ff. Korkisch, *Geschichte...* I., S. 94f.

Politschka, Landskron, Chrudim und Hohenmauth ab [5]). Vom Dekanat Lanskron kamen u. a. die dem Mariakroner Kloster unmittelbar benachbarten Pfarreien von Lukau, Thomigsdorf, Königsfeld und Rudelsdorf zum neuen Bistum, während die kleinen Dörfer Türpes zu und Ziegenfuss weiterhin dem Kloster Königssaal (bei Prag) verblieben. Einen letzten Zuwachs erhielt das Bistum, als ihm am 3. Januar 1358 alle ostböhmischen Besitzungen des Klosters Königssaal, ausgenommen die beiden oben genannten Dörfer, einverleibt wurden. Aber auch das Olmützer Bistum verlor an Leitomischl eine Reihe von Pfarreien [6]). Diese Abtretungen hielten sich jedoch in Grenzen.

Zu den vom Olmützer Bistum abgetretenen Pfarreien gehörten die in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft des Mariakroner Klosters liegenden Orte Tattenitz, Lussdorf, Schönwald, Hochstein und Hohenstadt. Das Augustinereremitenkloster Mariakron selbst verblieb im Verband der Olmützer Diözese und nur seine Besitzungen in Tattenitz lagen ausserhalb derselben.

Eine Stärkung für Mariakron bedeuteten die in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts neu errichteten Augustinereremitenklöster in Mähren. Vor allem das im Jahre 1353 von den Brüdern Karls IV., den mährischen Markgrafen Johann und Jodok, gegründete Augustinereremitenkloster St. Thomas in Brünn entwickelte sich zum bedeutendsten Kloster dieses Ordens in Mähren und übernahm sehr bald die führende Rolle unter den anderen Augustinerklöstern [7]). Auch mit dem im Jahre 1370 in Gewitsch errichteten Kloster trat Mariakron bald in sehr enge Beziehungen.

Bereits im Jahre 1350 hatte der Markgraf Johann (1349-1375) den Plan zur Errichtung des Brünner Klosters gefasst. Dieser Plan musste aber wegen der damals wütenden Pest zunächst zurückgestellt

[5]) Frind, Anton, *Die Kirchengeschichte Böhmens.* Bd. 2, Prag (1860), S. 110f. Korkisch, *Geschichte...* I., S. 95.

[6]) Rojek, J. K., Biskupstvi Litomyslske. Pamatky. in : *Listy pro archeologii a historii.* (1874) S. 747f. Korkisch: *Geschichte...* I., S. 95.

[7]) Nicolaus Crusenius, *Monasticon Augustinianum.* Monachi (1623), S. 156. Hier heisst es : « In Germania totius fere Ordinis celeberrimum tunc praeparabatur Monasterium Brunae quae est Moraviae Metropolis, a Joanne Marchione Moraviae... ». Damals wurde das wohl berühmteste Kloster des ganzen Ordens in Deutschland vom mährischen Markgrafen Johann in Brünn, der Hauptstadt Mährens erbaut... Vgl. Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift...* S. 8.

werden. Erst im Jahre 1353 kam er zur Ausführung. Die Oberaufsicht über den Bau des Klosters und der Kirche führte der Generallektor, Magister Thomas von Strassburg, Konventuale des Augustinereremitenklosters in Hagenau im Elsass und einstiger Lehrer an der Universität in Paris. Die Arbeiten schritten rasch voran, so dass der Kirchenbau bereits im Jahre 1356 soweit gediehen war, dass die Konsekration der im gotischen Stil erbauten Kirche am Montag nach dem 1. Fastensonntag durch den Olmützer Bischof Johann VIII. vorgenommen werden konnte. Die Kirchweihe wurde zu einem grossen und prachtvollen Ereignis. Denn auch Karl IV., der eben erst als neu gekrönter Kaiser von seinem ersten Römerzug zurückgekehrt war, kam nach Brünn und wohnte mit zahlreichen Adeligen der Kirchweihe bei. Bei dieser Gelegenheit machte er dem neu errichteten Kloster ein kostbares Geschenk. Er übergab seinem Bruder, dem Markgrafen Johann, ein Bild der sogenannten « Schwarzen Madonna », das er aus Italien mitgebracht hatte. Markgraf Johann liess für dieses Bild eine eigene Kapelle bauen, in der das Bild unter der Bezeichnung « Muttergottes von St. Thomas in Brünn » zur öffentlichen Verehrung ausgestellt blieb.

Aber, kehren wir nach Mariakron zurück!

Nach dem Tode Borsos II. von Riesenburg, der kinderlos gestorben war, wechselte das Trübauer Gebiet wiederholt seinen Besitzer. Zunächst kam die Trübauer Herrschaft in den Besitz des Landesfürsten, des böhmischen Königs und mährischen Markgrafen Johann von Luxemburg. Aber schon im Jahre 1327 übertrug er den Trübauer Distrikt, wie aus einer Urkunde hervorgeht, im Wege des Tausches für das verpfändete Gut Tobischau an seine Verwandte Agnes von Blankenstein [8]). Über Agnes von Blankenstein, die Heinrich den Jüngeren von der Leipe geehelicht hatte, gelangte die Herrschaft Trübau schliesslich in den Besitz der Herren von der Leipe. Da die Herren von der Leipe infolge ihrer Verschwendungssucht und aufwendigen Lebensführung in der Folgezeit immer mehr verschuldeten, waren sie gezwungen, um ihre Gläubiger befriedigen zu können, viele ihrer Güter zu verkaufen. Auf diese Weise kam die Trübauer Herrschaft im Jahre 1365 durch Verkauf an den mährischen Markgrafen Johann Heinrich von Luxemburg, einen Bruder Karls IV. Mit dem Wechsel der Trübauer Herrschaftsbesitzer war auch ein Wechsel

[8]) CM VII. 247. Vgl. Korkisch, *Geschichte...* I., S. 93.

der Schutzvogtei über das Kloster Mariakron verbunden, soweit dieses seine Güter im Trübauer Distrikt hatte.

Das Kloster Mariakron besass aber auch, wie wir bereits wissen, Güter in Budigsdorf und Tattenitz. Diese beiden Dörfer gehörten damals zur Herrschaft der Herren von Sternberg, die um das Jahr 1350 Besitzer der Hochsteiner Burg waren. Nach der Niederwerfung des Raubritters Mathison unter Wenzel II. und der Zerstörung der Hochsteiner Burg, blieb der Burgbann von Hochstein landesfürstlicher Besitz. Der Plan König Wenzels II., der im Jahre 1289 auf dem Tauschweg Gebiete der Markgrafschaft Meissen für sich gewinnen wollte, und dem Markgrafen Friedrich von Meissen dafür Hochstein, Hohenstadt und die Vogtei über das Kloster Leitomischl angeboten hatte, kam nicht zur Ausführung [9]). Der Besitz des Hochsteiner Burgbannes in der Hand der Herren von Sternberg seit 1350 ist urkundlich erwiesen. Aus dieser Urkunde erfahren wir auch, dass Jaroslaus von Sternberg im Jahre 1355 dem Richter von Budigsdorf ein Privilegium erteilte [10]). Aus diesem Dokument geht weiterhin hervor, dass die Herren von Sternberg nunmehr, wie auch Janetschek festgestellt hat, die Schutzherrschaft über das Kloster Mariakron ausübten [11]).

Um den Besitz des Klosters urkundlich zu sichern, wandte sich der Prior von Mariakron mit einer persönlichen Bitte an den Kaiser Karl IV. Karl IV. kam dieser Bitte nach und bestätigte in seiner Eigenschaft als böhmischer König am 30. Dezember 1364 — tertio Calendas mensis januarii — dem Kloster Mariakron die Stiftungsbriefe und alle von Borso von Riesenburg und Friedrich von Schönburg dem Kloster gemachten Schenkungen [12]).

Das Wohlwollen Karls IV., das er dem Augustinereremitenorden entgegenbrachte, kommt in einer weiteren Urkunde zum Ausdruck. Von der Augustinereremitenordensregel und den Statuten

[9]) RB II. 1467. Korkisch, *Geschichte...* I., S. 90. Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...* S. 3 und Jirecek, *Cod. iuris Boh.* I., S. 236, übersehen, dass der Tauschplan Wenzels II. nicht zur Ausführung kam und berichten, dass Hochstein im Jahre 1289 in den Besitz Friedrichs von Meissen gekommen sei.

[10]) *Diplomatorium monasterii Gewicensis.* II., S. 86, i. Landesarchiv in Brünn. Vgl. Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...* S. 3.

[11]) Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...* S. 3.

[12]) Das Original befand sich im Archiv des St. Thomasklosters in Brünn. Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...* S. 3. *Brünner Wochenblatt,* S. 83, mit Anm. 6.

her war es dem Orden untersagt, Güter von Privaten zu erwerben. Papst Urban V. erteilte jedoch dem Orden das Privilegium zum Erwerb von Besitz aus privater Hand [13]). Um dieses päpstliche Privileg jedoch in Anspruch nehmen zu können, war die Zustimmung des Landesherrn notwendig. Deshalb wandten sich die Augustinereremiten von ganz Deutschland an Kaiser Karl IV. mit der Bitte, er möge den Klöstern ihres Ordens gestatten, bewegliche und unbewegliche Güter von Privatpersonen erwerben zu dürfen. Karl IV. kam der Bitte nach und erteilte dazu seine Erlaubnis. Dieses Bittgesuch der Augustinereremiten dürfte vom mährischen Markgrafen Johann unterstützt worden sein, weil sein Name unter den Zeugen dieser Urkunde erscheint [14]). Papst Urban V. (1362-1370), der zu Karl IV. die besten Beziehungen unterhielt, hatte übrigens im Jahre 1364 die Erlaubnis zum Bau eines Augustinereremitenklosters in Olmütz gegeben. Es ist nicht bekannt, aus welchen Gründen die Ausführung dieses Vorhabens unterblieben ist [15]).

Unter der Herrschaft des Luxemburgers nahm das Kloster Mariakron eine geordnete, friedliche und gedeihliche Entwicklung. In einer Handschrift des Stiftes Raigern bei Brünn « Monasteria Moraviae » wird über unser Kloster gesagt : « Floruit admodum pacifice haec sacra familia toto saeculo et inde Carolo IV., Imperatore et Rege Bohemiae multum aucta est » [16]) — in diesem ganzen Säculum konnte sich diese ehrwürdige Familie überaus friedlich entfalten und wurde vom Kaiser und böhmischen König Karl IV. sehr gefördert —. Es darf aber nicht übersehen werden, dass eine solche Förderung und vor allem das Anwachsen des zeitlichen Besitzes grosse Gefahren für die Disziplin der Ordensbrüder und für die Einhaltung des Armutsgelübdes in sich schloss. Dieser Gefahr waren sich sowohl die Ordensoberen, wie auch die Stifter bewusst. Dass dem so war, zeigt uns das Beispiel einer Schenkung an das Augustinereremitenkloster in Brünn. Der für das St. Thomaskloster in Brünn zuständige Provinzobere Ulrich von Wien und der Hausobere, Prior Johannes Nicolaus nahmen für das genannte Kloster am 1.1.1358 eine sehr reiche Schenkung an, die dem Lebensunterhalt der 42

[13]) CM IX. 218. Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift...* S. 12, Anm. 5.
[14]) Pelzl, *Urkundenbuch zu Karl IV.*, S. 345.
[15]) Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift...* S. 18.
[16]) Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...* S. 3.

Ordensbrüder dienen sollte. Um nun zu verhindern, dass bei nicht voller Besetzung des Klosters die für die fehlenden Ordensbrüder bestimmten Anteile zum Vermögen des Klosters genommen werden und auf diese Weise der Reichtum anwachse, wurde in die Schenkungsurkunde die Klausel aufgenommen, dass die entsprechenden Beträge für die fehlenden Brüder an die markgräfliche Kasse abzuliefern seien [17]). Noch gefährlicher war die klösterliche Armut von einer anderen Gewohnheit bedroht, die das persönliche Leben der einzelnen Ordensbrüder unmittelbar betraf und mit dem Armutsideal eines Bettelordens, wie der Augustinereremitenorden einer war, in keiner Weise sich vereinbaren liess. Ein gewisser Boresch hatte am 23. Juni 1361 dem Kloster in Brünn ein Hofgut in Zelezna bei Tischnowitz unter der Bedingung vermacht, dass dem Kloster als solchem und dem Bruder Johannes, der ein Sohn des Boresch war, jährlich 3 Mark, den übrigen Ordensbrüdern aber je 1 Mark « pro pitancia » ausgezahlt werden [18]). Da man feststellen musste, dass solche Einkünfte für einzelne Ordensbrüder, « Vitalitien » genannt, dem Gelübde der Armut ganz und gar entgegen waren und durch solche Privateinnahmen ganze Ordensfamilien ihrem Beruf entfremdet wurden, entschloss sich das Brünner Kloster, den Hof in Zelezna am 27. Juli 1366 wieder zu verkaufen [19]). Vom Kloster Mariakron sind uns derartige Schenkungen nicht bekannt. Ohne Zweifel bestand aber auch für dieses Kloster die Gefahr einer solchen, den klösterlichen Geist und die Armut gefährdenden Entwicklung, zumal, wie wir noch sehen werden, ihm ebenfalls Vermächtnisse gemacht wurden.

Zu einem wichtigen Markstein für die drei mährischen Augustinereremitenklöster Mariakron (1267), Brünn (1353) und Mähr. Kromau (gegründet von Zdenek von Lipa im Jahre 1355), sollte nach dem Willen Karls IV. das Jahr 1357 werden. In diesem Jahr wurden, wie eingangs kurz erwähnt, die genannten Klöster zusammen mit den böhmischen und schlesischen Niederlassungen des Ordens, vom

[17]) Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eeremitenstift...* S. 14.

[18]) CM IX. Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift...*, S. 19, Anm. 1. Unter einer Pitanz (aus dem lateinischen Wort « pietas » = Frömmigkeit, Pietät) versteht man eine fromme Stiftung an Klöster zum Zweck der Abhaltung von Gottesdiensten zum Jahresgedächtnis eines Verstorbenen. Ein Teil des Ertrages war für die am Gottesdienst teilnehmenden Geistlichen oder für namentlich genannte Ordenspersonen bestimmt, anfangs in Form eines Mahles, später in Geld.

[19]) Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift...* S. 19, Anm. 2.

Verband der bayerischen Provinz abgetrennt und zu einer eigenen Ordensprovinz vereinigt. Zum ersten Provinzoberen wurde der Prior des Prager Klosters P. Wenzel bestimmt [20]). Diese Massnahme geschah auf persönliches Verlangen Kaiser Karls IV. und war kirchenpolitisch begründet. Nach Karls Willen sollte die Kirche in den Ländern der böhmischen Krone von der bisherigen Abhängigkeit der Reichskirche frei werden. Deshalb war das Bistum Prag (973) auf Betreiben Karls IV. bereits im Jahre 1344 zum Erzbistum erhoben worden, nachdem es seit seiner Gründung bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt der Mainzer Kirchenprovinz unterstellt gewesen war. Die neu geschaffene Augustinereremitenordensprovinz hatte jedoch keine lange Dauer. Schon im Jahre 1391 wurde sie wieder aufgelöst und die mährischen Klöster aufs neue der bayerischen Provinz angegliedert.

Gegen Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts erhält das Kloster Mariakron eine grössere Bedeutung als Grablege für verschiedene Herren aus dem Ritterstand, die sich ihre letzte Ruhestätte in der Klosterkirche gewählt hatten.

Schon im Jahre 1378 hatte Smilo von Sternberg zugunsten seines Bruders Zdenek auf das Gebiet von Hochstein Verzicht geleistet [21]). Im Jahre 1398 erneuerte er nochmals diesen Verzicht auf Hochstein und Schildberg samt allem Zugehör und allen Rechten zugunsten seiner Brüder Zdenek und Jeschek, sowie deren Erben. Als Smilo im Jahre 1398 tatsächlich kinderlos gestorben war, erhob Wilhelm von Pernstein im Namen des Markgrafen Jodok, des ältesten Sohnes des am 12.11.1375 verstorbenen Markgrafen Johann, Einspruch gegen diese Besitzübertragung. Jodok liess seinen Einspruch mit der Geltendmachung des Heimfallrechtes begründen. Die Herren von Sternberg seien einst mit landesherrlichen Gütern belehnt worden, die nun nach dem kinderlos verstorbenen Smilo wiederum an den Landesherrn zurückgegeben werden müssten. Aber auch Andreas von Lesnitz erhob Einspruch gegen diese testamentarische Verfügung Smilos. Sein Protest bezog sich auf die beiden Ortschaften Piwonin und Wazlsdorf, welche Smilo einst mit Gewalt an sich gerissen hatte [22]). Die Erben des Smilo konnten sich jedoch durchsetzen und das Erbe

[20]) CM IX. 58. Cod. 8423, 105 und 358-362. Vgl. Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift...* S. 14, Anm. 2.

[21]) OC (Cud. Olom.) III. 434. Vgl. Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift.* S. 3.

[22]) OC VI., 797-799 (Landtafel des Markgrafentums Mähren).

antreten. Smilo selbst wurde seiner Anordnung gemäss in der Klosterkirche von Mariakron beigesetzt. In seinem Testament, ausgestellt « dominica proxima post Festum O.O.S.S. — am Sonntag nach dem Feste Allerheiligen im Jahre 1398 — hatte Smilo auch das Kloster Mariakron bedacht. Für das alljährlich abzuhaltende Gedächtnis seines Todestages — das Anniversarium — bestimmte er den Betrag von 50 Mark Groschen, den seine Erben dem Kloster auszuzahlen hätten [23]). Die Erben Smilos anerkannten diese Verfügung. Zdenek und Jeschek von Sternberg, sowie deren Söhne Albert, Mathäus und Albert gaben dem Kloster Mariakron darüber eine schriftliche Bestätigung, wobei sie eigens betonten, dass sie « ut veri haeredes Bonorum praefati Dni Smilonis » — als die *berechtigten Erben* der Güter des genannten Herrn Smilo — das dem Kloster gemachte Legat anerkennen. Da jedoch Smilos Erben nicht in der Lage waren, die genannte Summe sofort zu erlegen, verpfändeten sie dem Kloster zur Sicherstellung der Schenkung die Hälfte des Dorfes Krasikow — Budigsdorf —, die den Namen « Zitna » trug. Zugleich verfügten sie, dass das Kloster, falls die obig genannte Summe innerhalb von 3 Jahren nicht « in parata pecunia » — in bar — erlegt werde, so lange im Besitz und Nutzgenuss des Pfandes bleiben sollte, bis die ganze Summe ausgezahlt sein würde [24]).

Zur Auszahlung der 50 Mark Groschen an das Kloster scheint es nie gekommen zu sein, da die Mariakroner Augustinereremiten seit dieser Zeit im Besitz der Güter in Budigsdorf geblieben sind. Später gelangte der Budigsdorfer Besitz an das Gewitscher Kloster des gleichen Ordens.

So wie vor mehr als hundert Jahren in Triebendorf, bemühte sich das Kloster nunmehr auch in Budigsdorf, in den Besitz der dortigen kleinen Gerichtsbarkeit zu kommen. Tatsächlich gelang es, das Gericht zu kaufen. In einer Urkunde des Jahres 1401, ausgestellt « proxima dominica ante festum Joannis Baptistae » — am Sonntag vor dem Feste Johannes des Täufers —, bestätigte nämlich der mährische Markgraf Prokop als Landesherr unter Wahrung der auf dem Gericht etwa ruhenden Rechte « hoc excluso, si quod servitium in eodem iudico exstituit, quod Domino nostro et sequacibus Castri Hohenstein

[23]) *Archiv Cesky.* Bd. I. Prag (1881), S. 141.

[24]) *Dipl. mon. Gewic....* I., S. 121. Vgl. Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 4. *Brünner Wochenblatt.* S. 31 und 83.

non debeat derogare» dem Kloster den Erwerb des Budigsdorfer Gerichtes [25]). Der Kauf des Budigsdorfer Gerichtes führte jedoch zu einem jahrelang andauernden Rechtsstreit zwischen dem Mariakroner Kloster und den Brüdern Nikolaus und Hnatek Bibnar aus Blauda, die ihrerseits Ansprüche auf das genannte Gericht erhoben hatten. Erst durch die Vermittlung des obersten Kämmerers der Markgrafschaft Mähren, Peter von Krawarsch, kam es im Jahre 1406 zu einem vertraglichen Ausgleich. In diesem Vertrag, abgeschlossen am Freitag nach Christi Himmelfahrt 1406 in Hohenstadt, versprach das Kloster, den beiden Brüdern innerhalb eines Jahres als Abgeltung ihrer Ansprüche, den Betrag von 10 Mark zu zahlen. Die Brüder Bibnar hingegen verpflichteten sich, das Kloster in dem neu erworbenen Besitz zu schützen [26]). Aus den beiden Urkunden der Jahre 1401 und 1406 geht überzeugend hervor, dass das Kloster Mariakron im Besitz von Budigsdorf war und deshalb das grösste Interesse am Kauf des dortigen Gerichtes hatte. Die wirtschaftliche Lage des Mariakroner Klosters war um 1400 gut. Ausser seinen liegenden Gütern muss das Kloster auch ein beachtliches Barvermögen besessen haben. Denn ohne erkennbare Schwierigkeiten vermochte das Kloster innerhalb eines Jahres den Brüdern Bibnar die vertraglich zugesicherte, beachtliche Summe von 10 Mark auszubezahlen. Ja noch mehr. Das Kloster trat in diesen Jahren sogar als Geldverleiher auf. So schuldete Jeres, ein Sohn Gerhards von Mürau, dem Kloster im Jahre 1414 die ansehnliche Summe von 21 Mark, die er sich ausgeliehen hatte [27]).

Neben Smilo von Sternberg, der das Schutzrecht über Mariakron ausübte, wählten auch andere Standespersonen die Mariakroner Klosterkirche zu ihrer letzten Ruhestätte und bedachten das Kloster mit Schenkungen. Namentlich erwähnt werden die Ritter Johann Kowacz für das Jahr 1403, Johann Plawec, Johann Gablenz ,welcher im Jahre 1406 dem Kloster ein Pferd stiftete und Johann Richnowez. Sie alle wurden in der Klosterkirche bestattet und hatten Stiftungen errichtet [28]).

[25]) *Dipl. mon. Gewic.* I., S. 121. Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 4. « mit Ausnahme der auf dem genannten Gericht (in Budigsdorf) etwa ruhenden Servitute, welche unserem Herrn und den Erben der Burg Hohenstein nicht abgesprochen werden dürfen ».

[26]) CM V. Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 4. Vgl. *Brünner Wochenblatt.* S. 83.

[27]) Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 4. *Brünner Wochenblatt*, S. 95 mit Anm. 10.

[28]) Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 4. *Brünner Wochenblatt.* S. 31.

Die Schenkungen an die Klostergemeinde waren mit Verpflichtungen verbunden, verlangten also von ihr Gegenleistungen geistlicher Art. Man darf ruhig sagen, dass das Begräbniswesen und der Begräbniskult, die geistliche Betreuung derer, die in der Klosterkirche ihre letzte Ruhestätte gefunden hatten, einen wichtigen Teil der klösterlichen Aufgaben von Mariakron ausmachten.

Vom allgemeinen Kirchenrecht her gehörte das Begräbniswesen in die Zuständigkeit der Pfarrseelsorge und unterstand dem Bischof. Aber schon Papst Bonifaz VIII. befreite den Augustinereremitenorden durch die Bulle « sua Nobis » [29]) vom 11. März 1295 von der Jurisdiktion, d. h. von der unmittelbaren Leitungsgewalt des Diözesanbischofs und gestattete seinen Mitgliedern durch eine weitere Bulle « Inter sollicitudines nostras » [30]) vom Jahre 1302 die Vornahme von Beerdigungen an Laien in ihren eigenen Ordenskirchen, Kreuzgängen und auf den um die Klosterkirchen liegenden Friedhöfen. Von dieser bevorzugten Art der Beerdigung waren nur Wucherer und mit dem Kirchenbann oder dem Interdikt belegte Personen ausgeschlossen. Sollte jedoch der Prior diesem letzteren genannten Personenkreis das Begräbnis auf klostereigenem Boden gestatten, so sollte er sofort und für immer seines Amtes verlustig gehen. Auch der Nachfolger des Papstes Bonifaz VIII., Papst Klemens V. (1304-1314), bestätigte auf dem Konzil von Vienne (1311-1312) den Augustinereremiten das oben erwähnte Beerdigungsprivilegium [31]), machte ihnen aber zur Auflage, dass sie, ebenso wie die Franziskaner und Karmeliten, ein Viertel der Beerdigungsgebühren sowie der Zuwendungen und Legate, welche die in der Ordenskirche bestatteten Laien zugunsten des Klosters gemacht hatten, an die Pfarr- beziehungsweise Ortsgeistlichkeit abtreten.

Wenn die Päpste dem Augustinereremitenorden derartige Privilegien und Vorrechte gewährten, dann darf man darin nicht nur einen besonderen Hulderweis dem Orden gegenüber erblicken. Vielmehr war es der eindringliche Wunsch gehobener Laien, in Klosterkirchen begraben zu werden, dem die Päpste entgegenkamen. Welche Gedanken aber lagen dem Wunsch der Laien nach Bestattung innerhalb einer

[29]) Empoli, *Bullarium Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini.* Rom (1628), S. 42. Vgl. Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift...*, S. 12 mit Anm. 2.

[30]) Empoli, *ebenda*, S. 50.

[31]) Hefele, Karl Josef, *Konziliengeschichte.* I-VII Freiburg (1855-1874)., VI., S. 479.

Klosterfamilie zu Grunde? Die im Klosterbezirk Bestatteten galten als in die Mönchsfamilie aufgenommen und erhielten nach damaliger frommer Meinung Anteil an allen Gnaden, die aus den täglichen Gottesdiensten, Gebetsübungen, Bussen und Werken der Nächstenliebe der Ordensbrüder erflossen. Vor allem war es auch die Überzeugung von der fürbittenden Macht der Mönche, die sich einem vollkommeneren Leben im Kloster geweiht hatten, welche in vielen Christen den Wunsch weckte, möglichst in der Nähe der lebenden und verstorbenen Ordensbrüder bestattet zu werden. Von einer solchen Beisetzung inmitten der verstorbenen Mönche erhoffte man sich schliesslich Hilfe in der Stunde der Auferweckung am Jüngsten Tag, weil man ja von den mitauferweckten Mönchen vor Gottes Richterstuhl geleitet werde. Diese Gedanken, die man bis in die ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte zurückverfolgen kann, waren den mittelalterlichen Menschen sehr gegenwärtig. Viele mittelalterliche Klostergründungen verdanken — in der Stiftungsurkunde von Mariakron wird das sehr deutlich — ihre Entstehung dem Wunsche weltlich gesinnter, auch vor Gewalttaten nicht zurückschreckender Herren, nach geistlicher Hilfe und stellvertretender Sühne für sich und ihre Sippe. Wir heutige Menschen werden wahrscheinlich eine solche Einstellung kaum begreifen und darin möglicherweise einen geistlichen Handel erblicken wollen. Aber spricht daraus nicht doch der starke Glaube des mittelalterlichen Menschen an das jenseitige Leben, das man erlangen muss, wenn das diesseitige nicht sinnlos gewesen sein soll? Und bekundet sich in einer solchen Einstellung nicht auch das Eingeständnis des eigenen Versagens und das Bekenntnis eines im Grunde wahrhaften Menschen, der sich seiner Schuld bewusst ist, der aber auch weiss, dass er bei der Erreichung seines eigentlichen Lebenszieles der tragenden Mithilfe anderer, der Gemeinschaft, bedarf? Diese Erwägungen scheinen mir nicht überflüssig zu sein, um das mittelalterliche Kloster in seiner ganzen, hintergründigen Bedeutung für die Menschen jener Zeit zu sehen.

Die Klostergemeinde ist sich dieser Zusammenhänge bewusst. Erfüllt von einer tiefen Pietas, pflegt sie die Grabdenkmäler der ihr anvertrauten und durch die Stiftungsurkunden auch rechtlich verbundenen Toten. Sie begeht gewissenhaft an den in der Schenkungsurkunde genau verzeichneten Tagen, vor allem am Jahrestag des Todes, mit feierlichen Totenmessen, Fürbittgebeten und Werken der Caritas das Gedächtnis dieser Verstorbenen.

Neben dem Privilegium, in ihren Ordenskirchen Laien zu bestatten, erhielten die Augustinereremiten noch andere, nach dem allgemeinen Kirchenrecht dem Pfarrklerus vorbehaltene Rechte, zur Ausübung der Seelsorge. In der bereits erwähnten Bulle des Papstes Bonifaz VIII. «Sua Nobis» wurde ihnen das weitere Privilegium zugestanden, in ihren Kirchen allen Gläubigen die Beichte abnehmen zu dürfen und zu predigen. Diese Privilegien waren allerdings dadurch eingeschränkt, dass die Vollmacht zum Beichthören beim Diözesanbischof nachgesucht und die Erlaubnis zum Predigen beim zuständigen Pfarrer eingeholt werden musste und auf einzelne Ordensbrüder je nach Bedarf begrenzt werden konnte. In dem Fall, dass einzelne Bischöfe die Gewährung der Beichtvollmacht verweigern, konnte sie unmittelbar vom Papste erbeten werden.

Der Pfarrklerus der Diözese Olmütz scheint zunächst die Mitarbeit der Augustinereremiten gern in Anspruch genommen zu haben. Die stille und erspriessliche Seelsorgearbeit der mährischen Augustinereremiten wurde jedoch bald gestört. Einzelne Pfarrer in Brünn begannen den Augustinermönchen das Predigen und Beichthören zu verbieten und bereiteten sonstige Schwierigkeiten. Deshalb wandten sich die Provinziale der böhmischen und bayerischen Augustinerordensprovinz an den Papst und baten um Abhilfe. Papst Urban VI. beauftragte daraufhin im Jahre 1384 die Erzbischöfe von Salzburg und Prag, sowie den Bischof von Würzburg, die Augustinereremiten entweder selbst oder durch Bevollmächtigte in der Ausübung ihrer Rechte und Privilegien zu schützen. Der Erzbischof von Prag Johann, beauftragte als Metropolit der Olmützer Diözese den Abt des Prämonstratenserklosters in Obrowitz, dafür zu sorgen, dass die Augustinerbrüder ungehindert ihre Rechte und Privilegien ausüben könnten. Eine am 18.4.1384 eigens dafür ausgestellte Urkunde erwähnt nur das Augustinereremitenkloster in Gewitsch [32]). Aus dieser Tatsache lässt sich der Schluss ziehen, dass das Gewitscher Kloster die ärgsten Anfeindungen und Schwierigkeiten erdulden musste. Das Kloster Mariakron hingegen scheint am wenigsten in der Ausübung der Seelsorgerechte behindert gewesen zu sein, da es ja für seinen Bereich die normale Pfarrseelsorge inne hatte. Aber auch in den anderen mährischen Augustinereremitenklöstern besserte sich bald wieder das Verhältnis zum Welt- und Pfarrklerus.

[32]) Vgl. Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift*... S. 35 mit Anm. 3.

Aus einer Urkunde des Jahres 1400 [33]) erfahren wir die Namen dreier Ordensbrüder, die in dieser Zeit im Kloster Mariakron lebten und wirkten. Der Prior des St. Thomasklosters, der zugleich Provinzvikar aller fünf mährischen Augustinereremitenklöster war, machte im genannten Jahr beim Olmützer Diözesanbischof Johann IX. im Namen aller Klöster des Ordens — in Brünn, Gewitsch, Mariakron, Mähr. Kromau und Osvetiman — eine schriftliche Eingabe um Erteilung der Beichtvollmacht für die aus den einzelnen Klöstern vorgeschlagenen Ordenspriester. Unter den vom Bischof mit der Beichtvollmacht betrauten Priestern befanden sich, namentlich genannt, aus dem Kloster Mariakron : Fr. (Frater) Petrus, der das Amt des Priors inne hatte, Fr. Christian, der als Prediger tätig war und Fr. Hanko [34]). Von diesen drei Ordensbrüdern kennen wir auch das Todesjahr. Fr. Petrus starb im Jahre 1417 als Prior in Mariakron. Fr. Christian, der sich den Ruf eines hervorragenden Predigers erworben hatte, starb im Jahre 1427 im Mariakroner Kloster. Fr. Hanko, der das wichtige Amt des Sakristans in der Klosterkirche versehen hatte und für den würdigen und geregelten Ablauf der Gottesdienste verantwortlich war, war bereits im Jahre 1410 verstorben [35]).

Aus dem Umstand, dass der Prior von St. Thomas in Brünn, P. Johannes Retz, im Namen der mährischen Klöster des Augustinereremitenordens beim Olmützer Bischof um die Erteilung der Beichtjurisdiktion eingab, schliesst Janetschek, « dass das Kloster Mariakron bereits in einem gewissen Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zum Augustinerstift St. Thomas in Brünn stand » [36]). Diese Schlussfolgerung von Janetschek ist falsch und kann daher nicht unwidersprochen bleiben. Johannes Retz war nicht nur « Prior perpetuus » — Prior auf Lebenszeit — des Brünner Klosters, er war, wie ich schon dargetan habe, als Prior des Brünner Klosters zugleich Provinzvikar der mähr. Klöster seines Ordens und damit der vom bayerischen Provinzial delegierte Jurisdiktionsträger und Repräsentant aller mährischen Klöster des Ordens. Die Abhängigkeit des Mariakroner Klosters von St. Thomas in Brünn

[33]) Original befand sich im Archiv des St. Thomasklosters in Brünn. Vgl. JANETSCHEK, *Die ehemaligen...* S. 4.

[34]) Original befand sich im Archiv des St. Thomasklosters in Brünn. Vgl. JANETSCHEK, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift...*, S. 44. Die Urkunde wurde in Melitz ausgestellt.

[35]) JANETSCHEK, *Necrologia...* S. 7. Vgl. *Brünner Wochenblatt.* S. 95.

[36]) JANETSCHEK, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift...* S. 4.

kann daher nicht als ein Zeichen fortschreitender Unselbständigkeit gewertet werden, sondern lag in der Verfassung des Ordens begründet.

Die oben erwähnte Urkunde erschliesst die Möglichkeit, uns eine ungefähre Vorstellung vom seelsorgerischen Wirken des Mariakroner Klosters in der Zeit um 1400 zu machen. Auffallend erscheint zunächst die Tatsache, dass für die kleine Pfarre des Klosters drei Priestern die Vollmacht zum Beichthören erteilt wurde, und dass Fr. Christian als « hervorragender » Kanzelredner bekannt geworden war. Dies ist aus folgendem erklärlich. Obwohl der Seelsorgebezirk des Klosters nur klein war, reichte sein seelsorgerisches Wirken weit über die engen Grenzen seines Bezirkes hinaus, da die Klosterkirche zu einem berühmten Wallfahrtsort geworden war. Leider besitzen wir keine zeitgenössischen Quellen über den « Wallfahrtsort » Mariakron. Erst 119 Jahre nach der Auflösung des Klosters, im Jahre 1669, berichtet der Prior von St. Thomas in Brünn, Prälat Hieronymus Hufnagel (1661-1668), über den Wallfahrtsort Mariakron [37]). Aus diesem Bericht erfahren wir, dass grosse Wallfahrten aus Böhmen und Schlesien nach Mariakron veranstaltet wurden, wie denn auch das in der Klosterkirche zur Verehrung ausgestellte Marienbild dem Kloster den Namen gegeben habe.

Nach Thomas de Herrera war das hochverehrte Marienbild, ein Bild « s. Mariae de Fuccisene », also ein Bild der « Schwarzen Madonna » [38]). Weiterhin wird in dem Bericht von Hufnagel erwähnt, dass Budigsdorf auch « Bussdorf » genannt wurde, ein Name, der mit den nach Mariakron veranstalteten Wallfahrten in Verbindung gebracht wird. Der ältere Horky, Franz Wilhelm erklärt das näher : « Noch heute zeigt man den Ort und die Häuser, welche schon damals gestanden sind, wo diejenigen Wallfahrer, welche ihre Andacht bei dem allda gewesenen Marienbild verrichteten, zuvor ihre Kleidung ablegten und eine Art Busskleider anlegten und in solcher Kleidung den Gnadenort zu besuchen pflegten » [39]). Wir werden diese Berichte, vor allem den von Horky, mit der gebotenen kritischen Zurückhaltung zur Kenntnis nehmen. Ausser Zweifel aber steht, dass Mariakron,

[37]) Bericht des Prälaten Hieronymus Hufnagel im ehemaligen Archiv des St. Thomasstiftes in Brünn. Jetzt : Staatsarchiv in Brünn. Vgl. JANETSCHEK, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 4.

[38]) HERRERA, Thomas, *Alphabetum Augustinianum* (Madrid) 1644.

[39]) HORKY, Franz Wilhem, *Hist. Dipl. Jahrb....* I., ad annum 1282 (Randbemerkung !).

wie schon der Name sagt, eine Stätte mittelalterlicher Marienverehrung gewesen war und durch den dort gepflegten Marienkult weit über seine engeren Grenzen hinaus Bedeutung erlangte.

Welche Formen entwickelte dieser Marienkult des Mariakroner Klosters? Leider fehlen uns darüber direkte, schriftliche Zeugnisse. Aber wir wissen einiges über die Gestaltung des Marienkultes im St. Thomaskloster in Brünn! Es dürfte kein abwegiger Schluss sein, wenn ich annehme, dass der Marienkult in allen Augustinerklöstern gewisse gleiche Formen angenommen hatte. Wie der Marienkult im Augustinereremitenkloster St. Thomas in Brünn im einzelnen sich gestaltete, erfahren wir aus einem Ablassbrief, der dem Kloster — beziehungsweise der Marienkapelle — im April des Jahres 1409 gewährt wurde. Kardinal Landulf, der sich am 16. Februar 1409 wegen des in Pisa abzuhaltenden Konzils mit König Wenzel IV. in Brünn traf, verlieh auf Bitten des damaligen Priors von St. Thomas, Johannes de Corona, — Johannes von Mariakron, — der Brünner Marienstätte einen Ablass von 100 Tagen [40]). Johannes de Corona war vor seiner Wahl zum Prior von St. Thomas in Brünn (1408-1423) viele Jahre Prior in Mariakron gewesen. Ihm war Mariakron so sehr ans Herz gewachsen, dass er sich auch nach seinem Fortgang von dort, Johannes «de Corona» nannte. Wir dürfen mit Recht annehmen, dass Prior Johannes während seiner Mariakroner Amtszeit den Marienkult und die Wallfahrt des dortigen Klosters gefördert hat, und dass er möglicherweise sogar für die Marienstätte in Mariakron einen Ablass erwirkte, da er über Beziehungen zu Rom verfügt haben mochte, wo er sich im Jahre 1389 studienhalber für längere Zeit aufgehalten hatte [41]).

Der von Cardinal Landulf gewährte Ablass konnte von allen gewonnen werden, welche der Enthüllung des Gnadenbildes in der St. Thomasstiftskirche in Brünn oder der anschliessenden Prozession mit dem Gnadenbild beiwohnten oder die zur Ausschmückung der Marienkapelle einen Beitrag leisteten. Aus dem Ablassbrief des Landulf erfahren wir, dass das Brünner Gnadenbild mit einem kostbaren Schleier verhüllt war, der bei festlichen Anlässen abgenommen wurde. Weiterhin ersehen wir, dass mit dem Gnadenbild Prozessionen ver-

[40]) Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift...*, S. 52, Anm. 1.

[41]) Cod. 8423, 144, 278, 283, 288, (München). Vgl. Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift...*, S. 39. *Brünner Wochenblatt*, S. 31.

anstaltet wurden. Es liegt die Annahme nahe, dass auch in Mariakron bei der Verehrung des Gnadenbildes das gleiche oder ein ähnliches Zeremoniell in Übung war.

Obschon alle Nachrichten über das innere, klösterliche Leben der Mönche in Mariakron fehlen, darf man aus dem Umstand, dass der Mariakroner Prior im Jahre 1408 von den Ordensbrüdern in Brünn zum Prior ihres Klosters gewählt wurde, schliessen, dass im Mariakroner Kloster eine gute Ordensdisziplin geherrscht habe und Johannes sein Prioramt in Mariakron hervorragend geführt hatte, sodass man ihn trotz der eigenen durch Wissenschaft und Frömmigkeit ausgezeichneten Brünner Ordensbrüder an die Spitze des bedeutendsten Klosters stellte.

Ohne Übertreibung lässt sich feststellen, dass das Kloster Mariakron um das Jahr 1400 seine höchste Entfaltung und Blüte erreichte. Im Kloster selbst waren in diesen Jahren 12 Priester.

Neben den seelsorgerischen Aufgaben, die das Kloster innerhalb des eigenen Pfarrbezirkes und für die zahlreichen Pilger zu erfüllen hatte, sowie der Pflege des klösterlichen Lebens, nahm die Bearbeitung und Verwaltung des ausgedehnten landwirtschaftlichen Besitzes einen breiten Raum ein. Dass dem so gewesen ist, geht aus der Tatsache hervor, dass unsere geschichtlich fundierten Kenntnisse über das Kloster Mariakron in der Mehrzahl aus den erhaltenen Urkunden stammen, welche die klösterlichen Besitzverhältnisse betreffen. Diese Urkunden markieren geradezu die Schwerpunkte der Entwicklung des Klosters Mariakron. Der Besitz von Grund und Boden, sowie der Erwerb von Rechten, bildete im Zeitalter der vorherrschenden Agrarwirtschaft und Grundherrschaft die Grundlage für die Lebensexistenz der Ordensbrüder und gab ihnen eine relative Unabhängigkeit für die Erfüllung ihrer Aufgaben. Es ist daher nicht verwunderlich, dass sich das Kloster Mariakron in der Sorge um die Erhaltung seiner Güter und Rechte immer wieder an die neuen, jeweiligen Landesherren wandte und sich seinen Besitzstand bestätigen liess. Als im Jahre 1411 der mährische Markgraf Jobst, ein Bruder König Wenzels IV., gestorben war, suchte man bei König Wenzel, der nun auch mährischer Markgraf geworden war, sofort um die Bestätigung des klösterlichen Besitzes und der darauf ruhenden Rechte und Privilegien nach. Dabei ist bemerkenswert, dass dieses Ansuchen sowohl für das Brünner, als auch für das Kloster von Mariakron vom Brünner Prior P. Johannes de Corona gestellt wurde.

Noch im gleichen Jahr 1411 bestätigte « Weceslaus Romanorum et Bohemiae rex » — Wenzel römischer und böhmischer König — dem Eremitenkloster St. Thomas in Brünn alle Privilegien und Schenkungen und bestimmte, dass der Prior und der Konvent St. Thomas für alle zu diesem Kloster gehörigen Güter, eingeschlossen die Güter des Klosters Mariakron oder Krasikow — « cum bonis Claustri beatae Virginis in Corona seu Krasikow » — eine allgemeine Landessteuer in Höhe von 33 Mark (mährisch) und 20 Groschen zu entrichten habe [42]).

Diese Urkunde bestätigt aufs neue die von mir wiederholt getroffene Feststellung, dass das Mariakroner Kloster niemals eine unbeschränkte Selbständigkeit besessen hatte, sondern dem Verband des mährischen Vikariates der Augustinereremiten angehörte, dessen Vikariatsoberer der jeweilige Prior von St. Thomas in Brünn war. In unserer Urkunde tritt der Prior von St. Thomas und sein Kloster als Rechtsperson auf, der auch für das Mariakroner Kloster bindende Abmachungen und Rechtsgeschäfte abzuschliessen berechtigt ist. Ausdrücklich wird in der Urkunde hervorgehoben, dass der Prior und das Kloster St. Thomas für die « zu diesem Kloster gehörigen Güter » — einschliesslich der Güter des Klosters Mariakron — die genannte Summe an Landessteuer zahlen muss. Der Prior und das Kloster in Brünn werden also für die Entrichtung der zu zahlenden Steuern haftbar gemacht. Daraus darf man dann wiederum den Schluss ziehen, dass auch der Prior, beziehungsweise das Kloster von Mariakron dem Brünner Kloster gegenüber zur Leistung von Abgaben verpflichtet war.

Abschliessend lässt sich zusammenfassend feststellen : Um das Jahr 1400 hatte das Mariakroner Kloster der Augustinereremiten den Höhepunkt seiner Entfaltung und Blüte erreicht. Mariakron besass hinreichenden Besitz und stand mit den mährischen Klöstern des gleichen Ordens, besonders mit St. Thomas in Brünn, in engster Verbindung. Unter den Ordensbrüdern gab es Männer, die durch Wissenschaft und Predigttätigkeit bekannt waren, andere, wie etwa Johannes de Corona erfreuten sich eines hohen Ansehens und Vertrauens und auch das innere Ordensleben der Mariakroner Klostergemeinde war diszipliniert und geordnet. Diese Feststellung lässt

[42]) Original einst im Archiv von St. Thomas in Brünn, jetzt Brünner Staatsarchiv. *Brünner Wochenblatt*, S. 83. Haura, *Historia in annales Mon. Brun. Ms.* S. 81-83.

sich nicht zuletzt deshalb treffen, weil uns über die Interna des Mariakroner Klosters nichts berichtet wird. Auch für das Kloster Mariakron trifft zu : « Von Klöstern lässt sich zumeist ausser von der ersten Stiftung, dem Verzeichnis der Vorsteher und dem Gütererwerb wenig berichten, da in den alten Klosterchroniken mehr die äusseren Kriegswirren, als das stille Wirken einförmigen Klosterlebens geschildert werden. Gewöhnlich sind die Verwüstungen der Fluren und Weiler durch Raubritter und feindliche Horden sorgfältiger geschrieben, als die Urbarmachung desselben Bodens durch Mönche. Sorgfältiger ist aufgezeichnet, wenn ein Ritter mit seinen Raubgenossen die Umgebung verwüstet, als wenn ein Abt mit seinen Mönchen die das Kloster umgebende Wildnis in fruchtbares Land verwandelt. Der wilde Krieger bleibt im Andenken, der friedliche Abt wird vergessen » [43]).

(Fortsetzung folgt) F. Ryschawy

[43]) Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift* ... S. 52, Anm. 2.

Boekbesprekingen — Comptes rendus

Gordon LEFF, *William of Ockham. The Metamorphosis of Scholastic Discourse.* Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1975, XXIV-666 pp., £ 15.

The introduction to this book ends with the words : « However we may regard his effects, scholasticism after Ockham was never again the same » (XXIV). This sentence clearly restates the sub-title of Leff's work, *Metamorphosis of Scholastic Discourse.* Leff's judgment, however, distances itself from that of the earlier handbooks : before Ockham the bloom period of High Scholasticism, with him the beginning of decadence. Leff has succeeded in refuting this commonplace judgment of the handbooks. The author is already well-known through his study on Gregory of Rimini and other late medieval theologians, and he has a very meritorious work on the history of medieval philosophy to his name. He considers his « Ockham » as a *retractatio* of his earlier works. This Augustinian feature indicates his scientific vitality. With the help of the insights of Hochstetter, Vignaux, Moody, Boehner, Baudry, to name but a few of the innovators in the interpretation of Ockham, Leff now offers us the first comprehensive study in English of O's system of thought. Copleston in his *History* had already achieved something similar on a limited scale, but Leff's work is deeper and more comprehensive. Leff's method follows a recent tendency not simply to sketch the broad outlines of relationship and influence between Ockham and his predecessors and successors, but first to allow O. himself to speak by attending closely to his texts. « We must know the terms before we can know they are related » (XIV). Leff's work is divided into three parts, corresponding to the system of thought on uncreated and created reality. The first part deals with thought itself (2-317). This comprises almost half the book, for, according to Leff, O's greatest achievement in the realm of thought is to be found in his logical-epistemological speculations. That is not to say, however, that O. was a logician devaluing theology and metaphysics. O. rejects an all too superficial connection between thinking and being, prefering to lay bare the depth structure in which the relationship between our thinking and reality is mediated through language. In this first part, entitled the cognitive order, Leff considers the different sorts of knowledge (ch. 1), the status of the concept (ch. 2), and logic (ch. 3). The question can be asked if it would not have been better to have treated logic before epistemology, seeing that logic for O. provides the very best instrument for exploring other fields such as theory of knowledge and theodicy.

The second part, the theological order (320-526), is concerned with the possibility of knowledge about God (ch. 5), God's essence and attributes, the divine ideas and persons (ch. 6), God's salvific relation to creation and the relationship of man to God (ch. 7). In contrast to many other O. scholars, Leff devotes a number of pages to the doctrine of the Trinity, in a section which he entitles « The divine persons » (ch. 6, p. 411-436). It is regrettable, however, that at the beginning of this section he renders O.'s opinion concerning the distinction between the divine persons incorrectly. Leff states on p. 411 : « The divine persons, unlike the divine attributes, are distinguished formally ». O. himself, however, in his *Commentary on the Sentences* I, d. 2, q. 11, A writes : « Utrum cum unitate numerali divinae essentiae stet realitas personarum realiter distinctarum » and in L « ex distinctione reali personarum et identitate essentiae cum personis et relationibus contingit inferre distinctionem formalem relationis et essentiae ». The persons are therefore according O. really distinguished from one another; the formal distinction is between essence and the persons/ relations.

The third part, the created order (528-643) deals with O's anthropology, more specifically with the structure of the soul (ch. 8), cosmological problems such as the structure of things, time, place, and movement (ch. 9). It is within this framework that the doctrine of the Eucharist is treated. This is perhaps methodologically correct, in that O. here considers the separation of substance and accidents. But by making of O's doctrine of the Eucharist a merely philosophical problem his theological concern is too easily lost sight of. In the last chapter, O's political ideas are considered. At the beginning of the work an overview of O's life and work is presented (XI-XX), and at the end a bibliography is to be found (645-649), together with an index of persons (651-654) and a subject index (654-666).

Because of the high standard of this work we hesitate to mention a couple of small errors. On p. 654 we find Rome*s*, Giles of; on p. XXII om*i*nipotence; on p. 645 certain references to the periodical *Archives...* are imprecise; and on the same page, the title of Ghisalberti's work is given as *Guglielmo di Ockham. Vita e Pensiero*, thereby including the publisher, « Vita e Pensiero », in the title.

M. Schrama, O.S.A.

Zr. Hereswitha, *Inleiding tot de Geschiedenis van het Kloosterwezen in de Nederlanden. A : Orden ontstaan in de Middeleeuwen. II. 1.f : Orde van het Heilig-Graf* (Archief- en Bibliotheekwezen in België extranummer 15). Brussel, 1975, 270 pp., 600 BF.

De ondernemende redactie van *A.B.B.* is een veelbelovend initiatief rijker geworden door de verwezenlijking van een nieuw

project, dat de monastieke geschiedschrijving van de Nederlanden in belangrijke mate zal bevorderen.

Als eersteling in deze jonge reeks verschijnt binnen de orden volgens de regel van de H. Augustinus de H.-Graforde door Zr. Hereswitha (Turnhout). Het eerste caput is een bibliografie (overlevering en literatuur) over de orde, de regel en statuten, het bullarium, de kapittelakten, de liturgie, de algemene kronieken en het geestesleven. De twee volgende hoofdstukken behandelen de figuur van de stichter (de vierde Latijnse patriarch van Jeruzalem, Arnulf van Choques, † 1118) en de stichting (van seculier kapittel in 1099 tot regulier kanunnikenkapittel van de H.-Grafkerk in 1114).

Dan volgt het kernstuk over de verspreiding van de orde in de Nederlanden. Na de opsomming van de archivalische bronnen in België en in het buitenland wordt de ordesgeschiedenis in kort bestek geschetst sedert haar ontstaan in het H. Land (tot 1291) en haar uitbreiding naar Europa in Perugia (*caput totius Ordinis* tot 1489/1560), van waaruit de provincies werden gevormd: de Poolse provincie (tot 1819), de Silezisch-Slovaakse provincie (resp. tot 1810 en 1784), de Spaanse provincie (tot 1852) en de Germaanse provincie (gesplitst in Opper-Germanië tot de Hervorming en Neder-Germanië tot de Franse Revolutie, behalve de Sepulcrinessen die in l.g. nog bestaan). Onder dit laatste provincieonderdeel ressorteerde de H.-Graforde van de Nederlanden. We beperken ons tot een geografische lijst der kloosters binnen de hedendaagse staatsgrenzen. De mannelijke tak in België was vertegenwoordigd te Bierbeek, Kinrooi, La Xhavée (Wandre), Neerkanne, Oetsloven (Berlingen), Putkapel (Wilsele) en achtereenvolgens Wimmertingen-Henegouw (Hasselt); in Nederland te Culemborg, Hoogcruts (Noorbeek-Slenaken), St.-Odiliënberg en Venlo. De vrouwenhuizen in België waren Bouillon, Bouvignes (Dinant), Hasselt, Henegouw (Hasselt), opeenvolgend Herve-Jupille, Hoei, Kinrooi nadien Maaseik, Luik (vier stichtingen), Malmédy, Marchienne-au-Pont, Mariembourg, St.-Truiden, Tongeren, Turnhout (heropgericht in 1826), Verviers, Visé, Waremme; in Nederland hadden ze slechts Maastricht, Nieuwstadt (nadien Luik) en St.-Odiliënberg. Nog binnen dit vierde hoofdstuk wordt het interne kloosterleven onderzocht: o.m. het *Opus Dei* (voornaamste doel *propter chorum*), de liturgie (verrijzenisspiritualiteit: verlengde paastijd tot advent), het apostolaat (*cura monialium*, zielzorg, onderwijs en opvoeding van de jeugd), de naleving van de kloosterobservantie (vernieuwingsgeest door Jan van Abroek, prior van St.-Odiliënberg, † 1510), het kunstpatrimonium.

Het voorlaatste kapittel handelt over het bestuur van de orde: het ambt van patriarch-prior der H.-Grafkerk van Jeruzalem werd sedert 1120 ontdubbeld; de prior-generaal of aartsprior, de provinciaal of vicaris-generaal, de centrale provinciepriorij, de circuitoren die een ruimer gebied inspecteerden dan de visitators, de *ordinarius loci* (bij ontstentenis van een provincialaat), de kapittelvergaderingen op beide niveaus. In laatste instantie maken we kennis met de soorten kloos-

bewoners; hun kledij wordt beschreven en hun functies aangeduid. De mannen, zowel de priesters-kanunniken als de conversen werden aangesproken met *frater*, alhoewel e.g. ook *patres* genoemd werden. De vrouwen werden algemeen *sorores* geheten, inclusief de leke- of werkzusters; aan de kanunnikessen gaf men eveneens de naam van besloten of gesluierde zusters; daarnaast bestonden de *dames données* (donaten) en de poort- of buitenzusters. Om te besluiten worden in bijlage de mannen- en vrouwenconventen alfabetisch per plaats opgesomd met vermelding van de kloosternaam, de patroon, de stichtings-, erkennings- en afschaffingsdatum.

Een *index nominum* verhoogt vanzelfsprekend de bruikbaarheid van deze studie, waarvan het belang nauwelijks onderstreept dient te worden. Niettemin bevat ze enkele onnauwkeurig- en onduidelijkheden, alsook een goed aantal storende drukfouten, waarover we hier niet uitweiden. Daarenboven missen we een paar kaarten, die de algemene verspreiding van de orde en haar lokalisatie in onze streken hadden moeten illustreren.

F. Hendrickx

Itinerarium Italicum. The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations. Ed. by Heiko A. Oberman with Thomas A. Brady Jr. (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 14). Leiden, Brill, 1975, xxviii-471 pp., Fl. 96.

This *Festschrift*, in contrast to many others, contains a series of articles that has obviously been well planned. The *Festschrift* was prepared in honour of Paul Kristeller whose merit it has been to have given clearer dimensions to the sometimes rather vague concept « humanism ». Kristeller describes his own attempt to do this in the following way : « We must liberate ourselves from the narrow limitations of a single school, and be ready to learn from all schools and thinkers of the past... ».

According to him « renaissance humanism as such was not christian or pagan, catholic or protestant, scientific or antiscientific, civic or despotic, platonist or aristotelian. What they all have in common, is something else : a scholarly, literary, and educational ideal based on the study of classical antiquity ».

The title given to this *Festschrift* is a happy combination of an allusion to Kristeller's magnum opus *Iter Italicum* (London/Leiden, 1965/1967) and a reference to that itinerary which in all its windings and complexities ultimately finds its way to Italy. With the words of Pico della Mirandola « quoscunque tulit foecunda vetustas », Oberman begins his introduction to the work in which he outlines certain considerations about the articles that follow (IX-XXVIII). The renaissance discovery of stoicism brought about a new relationship to Augustine. Bouwsma in his article *The Two Faces of Humanism.*

Stoicism and Augustinianism in Renaissance Thought (3-60), shows that the more a humanist was inclined to stoicism the less augustinianist he was and the less he was attracted by the Reformation. Bouwsma sees instances of this trend even in the Counter-Reformation, and, as far as stoicism is concerned, in Lipsius, Charron and Grotius. Calvin is taken as the example of Reformation augustinianism. The serious opposition between stoicism and augustinianism is to be found principally in their diverse points of departure. For the stoics cosmology determines the idea of man, while for Augustine the idea of man determines what can be known of the world. Augustinianism is therefore *a priori* humanistic. It is also more socially conscious than stoicism; it denies the privileged position of a philosophically enlightened class. It is love and not obligation that is the mainspring of action. The emphasis that augustinianism places on the absolute dependence of the creature on the creator is important for reformation thought. Stoicism stresses the self-sufficiency of man. M. Gilmore in his *Italian Reactions to Erasmian Humanism* (61-115) sketches the relations between Erasmus and Luther, the Reformation, Alberto Pio, the Counter-Reformation. Then, follow four articles on humanism in France (S. Dresden, *The Profile of the Reception of the Italian Renaissance in France*, 119-189), in the Low Countries (J. IJsewijn, *The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries*, 193-301, with two bibliographies), in England (D. Hay, *England and the Humanities in the Fifteenth Century*, 305-367) and in Germany (L. Spitz, *The Course of German Humanism*, 372-436). These contributions each present a *status quaestionis* and all four stress the influence of Italian humanism. The work has an index of persons (437-467) and of place-names (468-471). The augustinians are well represented. The following names occur in the text: *Bernard André*; *Robert Barnes*; *Aurelio Lippo Brandolini*; *John Capgrave*; *Giles of Viterbo*; *Gregory of Rimini*; *John Lang*; *Martin Luther*; *Antonio Columbella de Recaneto*; *Jerome Seripando*; *John Staupitz*. There are also interesting pages devoted to *Augustine* himself.

In conclusion we offer two small remarks which naturally take nothing away from the quality of the work's contents. On p. 298 the name « Rovelinck » should be « Rolevinck »; and, despite its being mentioned in the register of names, one looks in vain for *Capgrave* on p. 342.

M. Schrama, O.S.A.

Ontvangen boeken — Livres reçus

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Aimé Becker, *L'appel des béatitudes. A l'écoute de saint Augustin.* Paris-Fribourg, Saint Paul, 1977, 262 pp.

Pierre-Patrick Verbraken, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin* (Instrumenta Patristica 12). Den Haag, Nijhoff-Steenbrugge, Abbatia S. Petri, 1976, 267 pp.

Pedro Rubio OSA, *Take and Read. The Augustinian Answer.* Manila, Arnoldus Press, (1976), xi-186 pp.

Catalogus Verborum quae in operibus Sancti Augustini inveniuntur. I : Tractatus in Evangelium Joannis. Ed. L. Verheijen OSA. Eindhoven, Thesaurus Linguae Augustinianae (Augustijnendreef 15, Eindhoven, Nederland), 1976, 268 pp.

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Index vol. 27, 1977

J. Belche, Die Bekehrung zum Christentum nach Augustins Büchlein De Catechizandis Rudibus (*Fortsetz. folgt*) 26-69, 333-363

E. Booth, St. Augustine's « notitia sui » Related to Aristotle and the Early Neo-Platonists (*to be continued*) . 70-132, 364-401

B. Bubacz, Augustine's « visio intellectus » and Perceptual Error 133-138

L. Ceyssens, Chrétien Lupus O.E.S.A. Sa période ultramontaine 1660-1681 (*à suivre*) 238-282

L. Ferrari, Halley's Comet of 374 AD. New Light upon Augustine's Conversion to Manicheism 139-150

P. Kubalek, Der Wiener Augustiner-Eremit P. Ferdinand Hartisch 1642/43-1699 (*Schluß*) 283-310

C. O'Reilly, « Without Councils We Cannot Be Saved... ». Giles of Viterbo Addresses the Fifth Lateran Council . . 166-204

P. Rousseau, Augustine and Ambrose. The Loyalty and Singlemindedness of a Disciple 151-165

F. Ryschawy, Die Geschichte des Augustiner-Eremitenklosters Mariakron von der Gründung bis zu seinem Untergang (*Fortsetzung folgt*) 431-477

F. Secret, Notes sur Egidio da Viterbo 205-237

L. Verheijen, O.S.A., Éléments d'un commentaire de la Règle de saint Augustin 5-25

A. Zumkeller, O.S.A., Der Predigtband Cod. Berolinensis Lat. Fol. 851 des Erfurter Augustinertheologen Johannes von Dorsten († 1481) (*Fortsetzung folgt*) 402-430

Boekbesprekingen — Comptes rendus . . . 311-330, 478-482

Ontvangen boeken — Livres reçus 331, 483-484

Index vol. 27, 1977 485

25. 8. 78

17. Jan. 1983