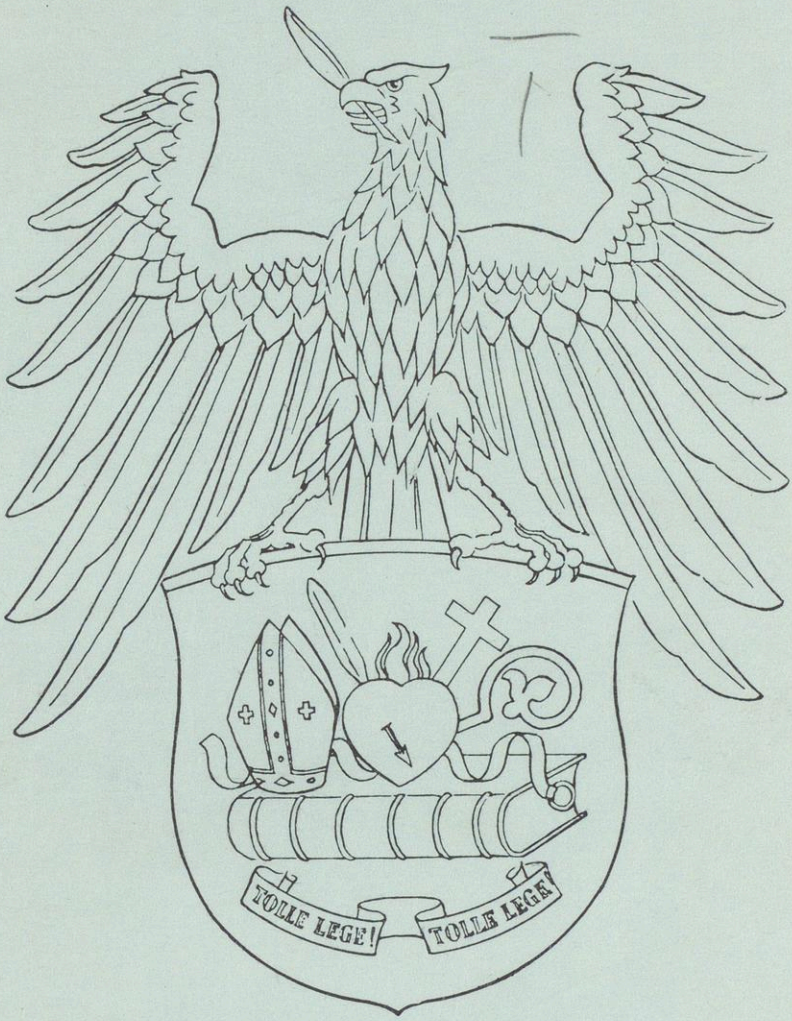
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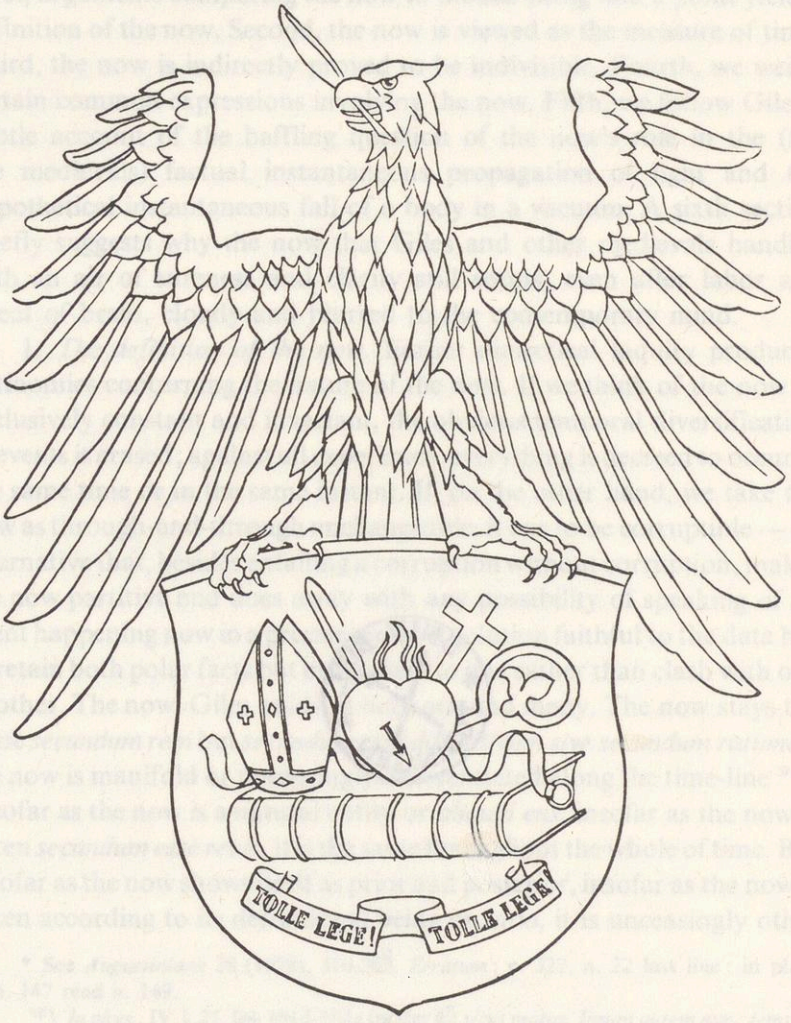
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The Concept of Time in Giles of Rome*

The Meaning of the Now

The analysis of time remains incomplete without an analysis of the now, and it is to this elusive feature of time we here direct our attention. First, arguments comparing the now to mobile being and a point yield a definition of the now. Second, the now is viewed as the measure of time. Third, the now is indirectly proved to be indivisible. Fourth, we weigh certain common expressions involving the now. Fifth, we follow Giles's subtle account of the baffling question of the now's role in the (for the medievals) factual instantaneous propagation of light and the hypothetical instantaneous fall of a body in a vacuum. A sixth section briefly suggests why the now that Giles and other medievals handled with an air of sureness and clarity still seems, even after labor and sweat of brain, cloudy and blurred to the contemporary mind.

1. *The definition of the now.* Earlier dialectical inquiry produced antinomies concerning the nature of the now. If we think of the now as exclusively constant and invariant, the obvious temporal diversification of events is erased; against all experience, everything is decreed to occur at the same time or in the same instant. If, on the other hand, we take the now as through-and-through unchangeable, it has to be corruptible — an alternative that, besides entailing a corruption without corruption, makes the now partitive and does away with any possibility of speaking of an event happening now in a precise sense. A solution faithful to the data has to retain both polar facts but bring them to jibe rather than clash with one another. The now, Giles holds, is both one and many. The now stays the same *secundum rem* but *secundum esse diffinitivum sive secundum rationem* the now is manifold or unceasingly differentiated along the time-line [98]). Insofar as the now is a natural entity or *aliquid ens*, insofar as the now is taken *secundum esse reale*, it is the same throughout the whole of time. But insofar as the now shows itself as prior and posterior, insofar as the now is taken according to its definitional being or *ratio*, it is unceasingly other

* See *Augustiniana* 28 (1978), 310-352. *Erratum*: p. 322, n. 22 last line: in place of n. 147 read n. 149.

[98]) *In phys.*, IV, l. 21, fol. 101d-102a (under *Et sicut motus*, *Ipsum autem nunc tempus*, *and Ipsum autem nunc est*).

along the time-line. Each of these claims, however, calls for proof that will enable us to construct a sound definition of the now. (i) Comparison with a mobile thing shows that the now is the same *secundum rem*. (ii) Differently viewed, this analogy informs us that the now is differentiated *secundum rationem*. (iii) The now, it becomes clear, is the number of time.

(i) A double comparison establishes the unvarying identity of the now: (a) the mobile is to motion as a point to a line, and (b) the now is to time as a mobile to motion [99]) (a) We are invited to imagine a geometrical point moving so as to generate a line, with the point touching on every individual position. If the positions were not really different, there would be no motion and no line generated. The making of the line remains one motion because the same point is borne along the various positions. If the point were not really the same, there would be no motion, no line generated, and no prior and posterior positions assigned along the path of motion. A similar stability obtains in the course of a motion. We can observe and make sense out of the rolling af a stone down a hill only because the stone remains a stone throughout its rolling. In rolling, the stone plainly does change; but in abiding as a stone or invariant mobile subject, the stone does not change. If the stone ceased to be a stone in midcourse, we could not speak of the rolling of the stone. Without the unchanging, change does not occur. A stone becomes other only because subjectively, in its mobile-thingness, it does not become other. A stone rolls only because its very stoneness does not roll.

(b) This brings us to the second of the two comparisons: the now is to time as a mobile thing is to motion. Just as one mobile thing perdures throughout any one given motion, so one and the same now exists *realiter* throughout time. The now, it is implied, is the unit, bearer, and subject of time. Since there is only one time, since there is only one time-line, there can be only one now in time. As with a mobile thing, so with the now :if the subject is radically altered, if the subject is transmuted into something else, the oneness of time disappears and the continuity of the time-line may be dissipated into a series of discrete jumps or, with equal incongruity, into a congeries of radically distinct times nested one within the other. *Secundum rem* then there is only one now in the cosmos.

But, a *dubitaret* wonders, is not the parallel between point-to-line and mobile-to-motion a fuzzy one? For whereas there can be only one

[99]) *Ibid.*, fol. 102a-b (*Sequitur enim sicut*). See also *In lib. de caus.*, prop. 32C, fol. 109: «Et sicut realiter est idem tempus et motus, sic realiter sunt idem nunc temporis et substantia rei mobilis».

mobile thing in one motion, a number of points are distributed along any line. The two relationships, Giles responds, are similar but not the same [100]). The similarity consists in this: just as we cognize and mark the parts of a line through a point, so we know and distinguish the phases of motion through the same mobile thing. Dissimilarity enters and the comparison breaks down when we recognize that a point is ordinarily a *punctum stans*. But here we are asked to imagine a point moving and, through its motion, generating a line. It is the flowing point that causes the line. So too, it is the flowing mobile that causes the motion. So, further, it is the flowing now that causes time [101]). Clearly the flowing now does not cause time in the way parents generate offspring or in the way a vital principle informs a body or in the way seeing causes, or is the reason for, eyes. The causality seems to be material: as the mobile thing as moved is the substrate of motion, so the now as flowing is the substrate of time. Taken precisely as the thing-*moved*, the flowing mobile thing constitutes the motion and is the motion. Taken precisely as the *flowing* now, the flowing now constitutes time and is time. In any case, because there can be only one time in the universe, there can be only one now *secundum rem* or *realiter fluens* throughout time.

(ii) But a mobile thing successively occupies (or strictly goes through) several places in its passage [102]). *Secundum rationem*, formally

[100]) *Ibid.*, fol. 102b-c.

[101]) *Ibid.*: « ... sicut mobile fluens causat motum et sicut intelligitur punctum fluens causat lineam, sicut intelligitur nunc esse fluens causabit tempus, Propter quod sicut ex fluxu unius mobilis causatur unus motus et ex fluxu unius puncti una linea, sic ex fluxu unius nunc causatur unum tempus ». Cf. *In lib. de caus.*, prop. 32B, fol. 109: « ... nunc fluens causat tempus: ita quia tempus est fluxus nunc. Nunc vero est id quod fluit ». (To accord with this last proposition, the adage *Tempus fugit* might be strictly revised to read *Nunc fugit*. It is not time but the now that flows or passes).

Appointing this causation to the now seems to derive from Averroes, who writes: « ... instans ... est agens tempus ... » (*In phys.*, IV, com. 103, fol. 182G). « ... instans est causa in mensuratione temporis ... » (*ibid.*, com. 104, fol. 183C). « ... instans agit tempus ... » (*ibid.*, fol. 183G). Aquinas's language varies a bit from Averroes's: « ... nunc ... suo fluxu tempus facit ... » (*In phys.*, IV, l. 18, 4). In one place Giles's formulation agrees with that of Aquinas: « ... nunc fluens facit tempus » (*In phys.*, IV, l. 25, fol. 108a, toward the bottom of the column [under *Mensurabitur autem tempus*]).

[102]) *Ibid.*, fol. 102c-d (under *Ratione autem aliud*). Giles's way of differentiating the now as the same and diverse varies somewhat from that of Averroes, who says: « ... instans est unum secundum subjectum et duo secundum rationem: ergo instans est unum in subjecto et duo ratione ... » (*In phys.*, IV, com. 104, fol. 183F). « ... instans est idem secundum subjectum et plura secundum definitionem ...» (*ibid.*, fol. 183M). Aquinas's handling of the distinction seems to follow Averroes: « ... nunc mensurat tempus, non secundum quod est idem subjecto, sed secundum quod ratione est alterum et atlterum ... » (*In phys.*, IV, l. 18, n. 2). Aquinas repeats the distinction in nn. 3 and 4.

(from the angle of place), a mobile thing shows itself successively other in its movement. The Sophists's contention that movement from the theatre to the marketplace changes Coriscus into an utterly different person harbors a core of truth. To be sure, in identifying the per accidens with the per se, the Sophistic claim commits the fallacy of accident. From the angle of substance, Coriscus remains unaffected by his walk from the theatre to the marketplace. Yet from the angle of local motion, Coriscus does become other in going from one place to another. So by proportional resemblance, the now that remains always the same *secundum rem* manifests itself as always other throughout time. Not in terms of the oneness of time but in terms of the numerability of time, each now is a formally different now. More exactly, since the now as subject causes and centrally determines time, it is the formally other now that makes the time-line diverse at every juncture. It is the always varying now that makes the poles of time prior and posterior, which are the boundaries by which we number time. As we have seen, the *nunc fluens* materially causes time, so that in one sense time is nothing but the flow of nows. Time is formally number, and the now may be said to flow, only because the now is never the same and always other *secundum rationem.*

(iii) If the now is other *secundum rationem*, if it is always different *secundum esse diffinitivum*, the now of time may be briefly defined as the formally other subject of time [103]). In addition, since the incessant pluralization of nows makes for the endless variance of the time-line, the now may be said to number time: it may be defined as the number of time [104]). We become aware of time, we proved earlier, when we count two nows as the prior and posterior limits of motion. Approached from the standpoint of motion, time is the number of motion. But looked at within the framework of time itself, the now numbers time; that is to say, it is the diversity of the nows that makes the number that we call time. To put it in a slightly different fashion, the prior and posterior limits of a motion are, when counted, the number that is time. But the prior and posterior limits are prior and posterior nows: the nows constitute the number that is time. Because the one now is formally diversified as prior and posterior, we may speak of the now as the number of time.

2. *The now as measure of time.* The proportional likeness, the relationship of the now to time as the mobile to motion, also determines

[103]) *Ibid.*, fol. 102c: « Sic secundum esse diffinitivum et secundum rationem [nunc] est alterum ».

[104]) *Ibid.*, fol. 102d (under *Et notum autem*).

that the now be the measure of time. A measure is that by which the quantity of a thing is known [105]). By extension it is that by which something is made known. A mobile thing is the measure of its motion; i.e., in virtue of its abidingness we know its place-to-place passage. It is in virtue of the now, which may be called a quasi-substance in the line of time, that we know time or the time-line. As a perduring indivisible unit that manifests time, the now is the measure of time [106]). One serious difficulty does arise: an indivisible now paired with a divisible time would seem to nullify any essential commensuration. The analogous use of measure, Giles replies, sanctions a looser sort of paralleling of measure and measured [107]). The *ratio* of measure is found *per prius* or most properly in the arithmetical one that is the principle of number. Extended from discrete quantity to quality and substance, the notion of measure is somewhat modified. A certain likeness, not an absolute identity, joins the meaning of measure in quantity to its use in other categories. White is the measure of color but is plainly not commensurate in every way with all other colors. Because intrinsically more knowable, the primary substance is the measure of all substances, yet it is not identical in every respect with other substances. Similarly, because the now is intrinsically more knowable and because we know time in virtue of the now, it is really the measure of time in spite of the fact that the indivisibility-divisibility opposition rules out a perfect commensuration between the now and time.

3. *The now as indivisible.* Though not *ex professo* established till somewhat later on in physical inquiry, we may note here that the now has to be indivisible. It can be shown by induction that the now is indivisible: briefly, a finite line implies an indivisible term, and the term of the time-line is of course the now. However, it seems preferable to take the path of an indirect demonstration that exposes the absurdity involved in the denial of what is inductively evidenced. We will confine ourselves to one argument with two parts [108]). If the now is not indivisible, it is not the same. First, as a common term, the now is related to both past and future (taken in the broad sense). But if it were a divisible common term, one of its parts would include some of the past, and another terminal part something of the future. Since the now terminates the past and principles the future, something of the past would be contained in the future. A now

[105]) *Quaestiones metaphysicales*, X, q. 1., fol. 36a-b.
[106]) *In phys.*, IV, l. 21, fol. 102d (under *Et notum autem*).
[107]) *Ibid.*, fol. 102d-103a.
[108]) *Ibid.*, VI, l. 6, fol. 143a-b (under *Si autem divisibile* and *Simul autem et*).

in which past and future intermingle cannot be said to be one and the same now. Second, as a common term, the now is a *divisio*, a divisor: it is that in virtue of which a divisible is divided. It is impossible for a divisible now functioning as a divisor to be totally divisible. Part of such a now would be in potency to division; the other part would be that according to which the part potential to division is actually divided. A now that is simultaneously what is divided and that by which it is divided cannot exist; the self-identity of the now dissolves in the diversity of factors it is deputed to terminate and join.

The now undoubtedly belongs to time, but the indivisible identity of the now bars our calling the now a part of time in the strict sense. The nows on the time-line serve to link without break or seam the material parts of time. If the now were only a special sort of material part, two nows in contact would coincide in position, i.e., merge into one now [109]). Thus common contact would reduce the cluster of nows, even an infinity of nows, to one now. Time not formalized by nows is impossible, and time materially composed of nows is impossible also. A time-segment is always a divisible interval bounded by indivisible nows. Time cannot exist without nows, but it cannot exist with nows as material parts; it can exist only in virtue of indivisible nows, instants that do not compose it.

4. *Expressions concerning the now.* The preceding analysis of the now equips us to supply warranty for certain expressions about the now, which have a currency among the educated, if not among men in the street. First, time, we hear it said, cannot exist without the now. Second, the now is said to continue time. Third, the now does not seem to be a part of time. Fourth, the now is held to terminate and number time; and accounting for this yields a third definition of the now.

(i) The now is inseparably joined to time, and vice versa. Without time there is no now, and without the now there is no time [110]). Just as the mobile and its movement are indissociably linked in the concrete, so the now and the number of motion are indissociably yoked together in the concrete. The now may be called the number of mobile being; it numbers and measures the mobile itself [111]). This designation, however, must be

[109]) *Ibid.*, l. 1, fol. 136c (under *At vero neque*).

[110]) *Ibid.*, IV, l. 22, fol. 103a-b (under *Manifestum autem est*).

[111]) *Ibid.*, Giles introduces what we shall shortly call a third definition of the now: the now is *numerus mobilis*. This expression is similar to Averroes's: « ... instans est numerus translati ... » (*In phys.*, IV, com. 105, fol. 184H; the Latin translation of the Arabic Aristotelian text has « numerus translati »). It is exactly the same as Aquinas's: « Sicut igitur nunc temporis intelligitur ut numerus mobilis, its nunc aeternitatis ... ut unitas rei semper

taken in the broad sense. More properly, the now is *unitas numeri*; it bespeaks « more the unity of number than the number of unity » [112]). Every number, we may say, lies virtually in unity: the one measures each and every number[113]). So the designation of the now as number is virtually contained in the designation of the now as unity of number. The now is without question the number of the mobile thing; but, properly, it is *aliquid numeri* rather than number.

(ii) A second recourse to a comparison of the now with the mobile and a point explains why the now is said to continue time [114]). As we noted a few pages back, no change can occur without a changeless substratum. If the subject as such is changed during the motion, the motion breaks down into two or several (or even an infinity of) motions. It is the mobile that is responsible for preserving the unity of motion. Similarly, the now that remains the same *secundum rem* bestows unity on time. The continuity in time has its source in the subjectively one now.

The correspondence of the now to a point also shows the rootage of temporal continuity in the now [115]). A point continues the parts of a line; it terminates one point while being principle of its immediately adjacent neighbour. So the now serves as the continuant that terminates one part and principles a following part of time. Two dissimilarities, however, shorten the scope of the comparison [116]). For one thing, a point is *stans*, a

eadem modo se habentis». (*In phys.*, IV., l. 18, n. 4). Interestingly, when commenting on the *Manifestum est autem* portion, Aquinas does not describe the now as «numerus mobilis» but simply duplicates the words of the Aristotelian text, «numerus eius quod fertur».

Though the number of the mobile, the now is here spoken of as *unitas numeri*, Giles holds, because it is indivisible « ...nunc habet rationem unitatis cum sit quoddam indivisibile. Et quodammodo videtur habere rationem numeri cum etiam numeret et mensuret ipsum mobile ». This distinction may exhibit some dependence on Aquinas: « ... ipsum autem nunc comparatur ad id quod fertur, non quidem sicut numerus (quia nunc indivisibile est) sed sicut unitas numeri » (*In phys.*, IV, l. 18, n. 8).

[112]) *Ibid.*, fol. 103b: « ... nunc magis dicitur unitas numeri quam numerus unitatis ».

[113]) *Ibid.* Giles credits this to Boethius: « ... Boetius ait quod unitas est quodammodo numerus omnis, quia omnis numerus virtualiter continetur in unitate et per unitatem numeratur ». Evidently he is not directly quoting but paraphrasing a passage from Boethius's *De institutione arithmetica*, II, 8: « ... nam si [unitas] cunctorum mater est numerorum, quiquid in his, quae ab ea nascuntur, numeris invenitur, necesse est ut ipsa naturali quadam potestate contineat ». We are using the edition reprinted by Minerva G.M.B.H., Frankfurt a. Main, 1966: Anicii Manlii Torquati Severini Boetii, *De institutione arithmetica* (et) *De institutione musica*, ed. Gotfried Friedlein (Leipzig, 1867), p. 93.

[114]) *Ibid.*, fol. 103b (under *Et continuum autem*).

[115]) *Ibid.*, fol. 103b-c (under *Sequitur enim hoc*).

[116]) *Ibid.*, fol. 103c-d (under *Sed cum sic*).

fixed entity unaffected by and uninvolved in process. But the now does not dwell in a static world apart. It never stops, it is incessantly borne along with its mobile subject, so that coupled with an uninterrupted motion is a continual time unbroken by a stasis. For another thing, the one point may be taken as the term of one part of a line. But the supposition of a single now does away with time. Time as we know it cannot exist without two formally different nows serving as boundaries of a time-segment. True, Giles adds, we are dealing with time when we view an instant as principle of the future and term of the past. This is, however, only a secondary or derivative consideration of time. The one now does finish the past and start the future, but a conceptually two-phased now remains only one now. If we make the one now that continues prior and posterior parts the primary paradigm of time, we virtually suppress the actual plurality requisite in time — the two nows that bound an intermediary continuum.

(iii) Since we have already briefly proved that the now is not a part of time, a few lines are enough to substantiate this expression [117]) A magnitude is always divisible into smaller magnitudes. Hence time as a continuum is always divisible into smaller continua or time-segments. No divisible can be made up of indivisibles. A line composed of points would have no continuity or parts at all; it simply could not exist. So a motion made up of moments and a time constituted by nows would be forever a nonmotion and a nontime.

(iv) Finally, the now is said to be a term and number in reference to time [118]). As a term, the now belongs to time; it is of time; it is tied to or present in time as in a subject. But as number and measure, the now enjoys a wider ambit of formally causative influence. A number is applicable to an assortment of physical objects, and time mensurationally encompasses

[117]) *Ibid.*, fol. 103d (under *Et adhuc manifestum*).

[118]) *Ibid.*, fol. 103d (under *Secundum quidem igitur*). Here Giles makes two references to Averroes. « ... ipsum nunc est terminus vel est finis, ut habet littera Commentatoris, ipsius temporis. Non est tempus sed tamen accidit tempori, id est, est aliquid in ipso tempore, sicut accidens est aliquid in subjecto ». The passage in Averroes reads: « ... instans non est pars temporis, est accidens ei, id est, instans secundum quod est finis in motu, non est tempus, sed ipsum esse finem est accidens ei » (*In phys.*, IV, com. 107, fol. 186B). A second reference relies on Averroes for the difference between number and term: « ... secundum Commentatorem haec est differentia inter numerum et terminum ». Averroes writes: « ... quoniam fines sunt in eo cuius sunt fines, et instans non invenitur in aliquo proprio, et non in alio, sicut est dispositio in numero, unde dictum est in definitione eius, quod est numerus translati » (*ibid.*).

a variety of movements; so the now mensurationally embraces many mobile beings. Interwoven with the now as the continuant of time, this consideration of the now as number and measure leads to a deeper probing of the meaning of the now. Whereas the indivisible points continue and divide a permanent entity like a line, the moments do not principally furnish continuity for motion. It is, as we have repeatedly seen, the mobile thing itself that gives continuity to motion. Nevertheless, though time imitates motion, it is its own fluent punctiform unit, the now, that serves as the principal font of its continuity. Like the mobile in reference to motion, the now is the continuant of time. The complex proportion remarked on earlier still holds: the now is to time as the mobile to motion. But a simple switching of terms (similar to the interchange of denominator and numerator in an equivalence of fractions) gives a relationship that puts in sharp relief the kinship of the now with the mobile: the now is to the mobile as time is to motion [119]). This leads to a precision concerning the now *secundum substantiam* or *secundum quod est*. Time, we saw earlier, is materially identified with motion itself, and similarly the now may be said to be a « nothing other than the very substance of the mobile thing » [120]). Formally it is of course otherwise. Formally time is not motion but the number of motion ;motion viewed as marked by a numerable prior and posterior culminates in the *ratio* of time. Formally the now is not the *ipsum mobile* but the mobile as marked by a prior and posterior. All this leads to a possible third formulation of the now. We may define the now as the number of the mobile thing [121]): it is the mobile as differentiated *secundum rationem*; the mobile as differentiated according to prior and posterior; the mobile as numbered according to prior and posterior. But one additional precision seems indispensable. Earlier Giles emphatically set down his preference for *unitas numeri* over *numerus mobilis* as a formula for the now, since unity bespeaks the identity of the now while virtually

[119]) *Ibid.*, fol. 104a (under *Quod quidem igitur*): « Habebit se ergo nunc ad tempus sicut mobile ad motus. Et per locum a permutata proportione se habet nunc ad mobile sicut tempus se habet ad motum ». So far as I know, this altered proportional relationship is not found in Averroes. But it is employed by Aquinas: « Sic igitur se habet nunc ad tempus, sicut mobile ad motum: ergo secundum commutatam proportionem sicut tempus ad motum, ita et nunc ad mobile » (*In phys.*, IV, l. 18, 4). The similarity of wording makes it probable that Giles borrowed this « changed proposition » from Aquinas.

[120]) *Ibid.* : « Nunc ergo materialiter nihil est aliud quam ipsa substantia rei mobilis ».

[121]) Giles twice speaks of the now as *numerus mobilis* in *ibid.*, fol. 103a-b (under *Manifestum autem est*). See n. 110 above.

containing the notion of number [122]). The upshot, we may suggest, is a third definition of the now not fully explicitated by Giles: the now is the *unitas numeri mobilis*, it is unity-of-the-number of the mobile thing. This formulation captures both the material and formal notes of the now, yet puts the primary stress on the now in its *esse reale* or self-identity. For, as regards this latter point, Giles is careful to insist that the now *secundum rem* is one with the substance of the mobile. This formal side of the now, its *ratio* or number of the mobile, is a superadded feature that arises from our intentional acts numbering the prior and posterior phases of the mobile. This permutated proportional resemblance also undergirds the response to the question :does the now measure mobile things [123])? Time, it was argued earlier, does not measure the primary motion in which it resides as a *passio* in its subject. But it does measure all other mobile things, in which it has no subjective existence. Correspondingly, the now does not measure the *primum mobile* in which it is subjectively situated, but it measures all the other mobiles precisely as mobiles.

In the perspective of the first proportional relationship — the now is to time as the mobile is to motion — we defined the now, first, as the formally other subject of time and, secondly, as the number of time (the second definition carries with it the implication that the now is the measure of time). In the light of the second proportional relationship, a permutation of the first — the now is to the mobile as time is to motion — we defined the now, thirdly, as the number of the mobile or, more exactly, as the unity-of-the-number of the mobile, a definition bearing within it the corollary that the now is the measure of all mobile things other than the primary mobile.

5. *Special problems.* Only one now oversees or measures the instantaneous positioning of all mobile things other than the primary mobile. This measurational unicity of the now provides the key for understanding (i) the factual instantaneous propagation of light and (ii) the hypothetical instantaneous fall of a body in a perfect vacuum.

(i) In spite of appearances, the occurrence or the emission of light is not a motion. Because the air has no contrary disposition to light, no time is required for the introduction of the new form, i.e., the air can be completely illuminated in an instant [124]). Yet it remains true that light

[122]) *Ibid.*, fol. 103b. See n. 111 above.

[123]) *Ibid.*, fol. 104a (under *Quod quidem igitur*).

[124]) *Ibid.*, l. 27, fol. 111c (under *At vero prius*). Earlier Giles mentions the nontemporal or instantaneous transmission of light: « ... lux multiplicat se in non tempore

seems to be a movement, so that to account for a stream of light we apparently must posit the existence of several *mutata esse* or moments to differentiate the various positions taken by the light along its path through the air [125]). The several moments (without an intervening track of motion) that mark the diverse places occupied by the transmission of light are measured by one and the same instant. As time is related to motion, so, Giles argues, is the instant related to a moment or set of moments. Nature cannot abide a plurality of times: seated in the one primary motion, a single time measures all cosmic movements. Correspondingly, the oneness of the instant in the primary mobile dictates that, despite the plurality of moments, there be only one instant measuring a particular transmission of light or set of moments. This is admittedly a position that not all will deem satisfying, but its alternatives are paradoxical. If we posit several instants for the transmission of light, we are, in effect, introducing several *mutata esse* in the heaven or primary mobile and thus abolishing the unicity *secundum rem* of the now. Again, opting for a noninstantaneous transmission would entail the illumination of air in an interval of time (since two instants, if really two, must have an intervening segment) — a consequence that runs counter to the view of Aristotle and to the already proven oneness of the primary motion and of time. The point of conflict with the oneness of time would seem to be this: the time-interval posited for the transmission of light would be paired in the primary motion not with a like time-interval but with an instant. In other words, an incongruous matching of the cosmic instant with a time-interval is tantamount to claiming two ontically diverse times, which is of course physically impossible.

(ii) Giles proposes a partially similar solution to the measurement of the fall of a body in a perfect vacuum. In contrast to the previous question, which turns on what is, for Giles, established fact, the second problem concerns a hypothetical case. Let us conduct a thought-experiment, Giles seems to be saying, and suppose that there actually occurs what is ordinarily not directly observable. In a resistance-free medium the fall of a body has to be instantaneous. Yet the incontestable fact that the falling body occupies diverse points or parts of space requires several *mutata esse* [126]). This raises a nettlesome question : is such a fall

in toto medio quia non invenit in eo contrariam dispositionem ... » (*ibid.*, l. 13, fol. 91c-d [under *Si enim quatuor*]).

[125]) *Ibid.*, fol. 111c-d.

[126]) *Ibid.*, fol. 111d.

measured by one instant or several instants [127])? A complete parallel with the illumination case is impermissible, for a vacuum lacks a proper ordination to the primary mobile. Thus the several moments marking the fall have to be measured, it would seem, by several instants. No continuum binds these instants together, for the continuity of time derives from that of motion, and no motion as such is possible in a vacuum [128]). Indeed since the instants in a vacuum do not make up a time-line, we may think of them as reducible to one instant: in effect, the fall occurs, in some sense, in one instant alone. The instants are pluralized and diversified *secundum rationem*, but *secundum rem* the instant remains one and the same [129]). Another, a most formidable question suggests itself: is there any succession among the instants viewed *secundum rationem?* Experiencing a certain intellectual anguish, Giles observes that this difficulty is a veritable labyrinth [130]). In whatever direction the mind gropes, the way seems blocked, each apparent exit becomes a stone wall, and the mind, lost in maze of wrong turnings without detectable egress, continues to stumble about in search of the daylight outside. The suppression of succession is absolutely untenable; to exclude diversity of position is to do away with the possibility of a fall. A heavy falling body would have to simultaneously occupy all the diverse parts of a vacuum. If we opt for succession, as apparently we must, we are driven into the position, contradictory on its face, that there can be succession in one and the same instant (for here succession over several instants amounts to succession in one instant). As partless, an instant properly measures a thing or change that is partless, whereas succession in a vacuum, however carefully qualified, remains a succession — a partitive series in some real sense. Instantaneity and succession are diametrically opposed: if there is succession, it cannot occur in one and the same instant; if the several instants come down to or are effectively equal to only one instant, there can be no succession. However piercingly put, the contradictoriness is only apparent, Giles contends, and those who surrender to the dilemma as inevitable are being hoodwinked by illusory image-thinking [131]). Once we rise above the clouds of image-ideas, we can analytically liberate

[127]) *Ibid.*, fol. 111d-112a.
[128]) *Ibid.*, fol. 112a-b.
[129]) *Ibid.*, fol. 112b.
[130]) *Ibid.*
[131]) *Ibid.*, fol. 112b-c.

ourselves from the sophisms that deny the congruity of successiveness and instantaneity. The first sub-difficulty — if there is succession, there cannot be only one instant — topples in the light of the distinction between a comprehensive and a proper measure [132]). Viewed as a proper measure, the one now cannot contain a diversity of positions marked by instants, but viewed as a comprehensive or assisting measure, it can embrace a succession of positions and instants. The now of eternity properly measures only the being or duration of God, but as a comprehensive measure it takes in and assists — i.e., supports the functioning of — all times. The eternal now's comprehensive measuring of the diversity and succession of times does not imperil in any way its absolutely simple and indivisible character. Analogously, one temporal instant can comprehensively, but not properly, measure a succession of instants. The plural instants measuring the plural moments *in vacuo* are comprehensively measured by the one celestial instant. The second sub-difficulty — if there is only one instant, there can be no succession — is also overcome by image-free reflection. No quantitative addition is required to guarantee a succession [133]). Black can suddenly, instantaneously succeed white. A segment of time, let us say, is succeeded by an instant, but the span comprising the instant added to time is no longer than the time-segment alone. Hence the comprehensive folding up of several instants in one instant does not nullify succession. Thus succession without temporal extension accompanies a plurality of instants punctuating a vacuum — instants really encompassed by the one instant. Thus the fall of a heavy body in a vacuum is truly successive and truly instantaneous.

At the end of this consideration Giles appends a note of caution that may allay the fears of discerning readers who may be alternately amazed and appalled at dialectical intricacies that put an attractive face on what some may only label physical fantasizing. Strictly speaking, he prudently adds, neither motion nor time can exist during the fall of a heavy body *in vacuo* [134]). Hence from the viewpoint of strict observation we have been hypothesizing physical impossibilities. *Mutata esse* that are not properly correlated with and measured by their celestial equivalent are impossible.

[132]) *Ibid.*, fol. 112c.

[133]) *Ibid.*

[134]) *Ibid.* To undo a copyist's error, it may be noted, we should read (six lines from the end of Giles's consideration here) « descensus alicuius gravis » rather than « alicuius levis ».

It is impossible also for a vacuum to be marked by several instants devoid of an intervening segment of time. A perfectly vacuous space in which a body falls is physically unthinkable. Thus we have been pondering a purely hypothetical case, one not physically observable or reproducible in experience or experiment. But we can abstractly ruminate about such a hypothesis, and if we posit such an impossible state of affairs [135]), if this impossible situation can be thought of as possible, it could be justified only along the lines already astutely laid down: some *mutata esse* would not be properly measured in the instant of celestial motion but broadly comprehended by the one now of time; the instants marking the position along the path of the falling body would be physical but discontinuous, untied to an intervening tract of time; succession would occur among the several instants yet the several instants would be comprehensively measured by, and effectively amount to, only one instant [136]).

[135]) *Ibid.*: « Tamen si tale impossibile poneretur, sequeretur quod essent aliqua mutata esse non reducta in motu caeli... ».

[136]) Throughout this discussion Giles sticks unswervingly to the instantaneous character of any fall in a vacuum. This position rests upon or reflects the more common interpretation of the sixth paradox that, Aristotle argues, militates against the possibility of the separate void posited by Atomists. According to Aristotle, the evacuation of all intervening matter and therefore of all resistance would enable a falling body to traverse a distance in no time at all, i.e., instantaneously. Giles writes: « Ergo quia nihil est ibi impediens, nullum requiretur ibi tempus. Motus ergo in vacuo neque erit velox neque tardus. Immo nullus erit ibi motus cum de ratione motus sit quod fiat in tempore » (*In phys.*, IV, l. 12, fol. 91a [under *Id igitur in*]). Again: « ... si esset aliquid spatium vacuum et in eo tolleret omne medium resistens, mobile pertransiret illud spatium in non tempore. Dicerem enim quod sicut lux multiplicat se in non tempore in toto medio quia non invenit in eo contrariam dispositionem; sic si esset spatium vacuum corpus gravis vel leve transiret illud in non tempore. Quia non inveniret ibi corpus medium impediens eius motum » (*ibid.*, fol. 91b-c). Avempace or Ibn-Badja, a twelfth-century Spanish Moslem, rejects this sixth inconvenience, claiming that even with the removal of the medium a body would travel a distance in some time. Averroes devotes a lengthy rejoinder to turning back this attack (*In phys.*, IV, com. 71, fol. 160H-162C); and in essentials Giles makes these counter-arguments his own (*In phys.*, IV, l. 13, fol. 91b-92b). (We say « in essentials » advisedly, for, as we shall see presently, Giles introduces a remarkable refinement). In opposition to Averroes, however, St. Thomas maintains that Aristotle's argument is strictly a classic *argumentum ad hominem*: « ... ratio Aristotelis inducta est ratio ad contradicendum positioni, et non ratio demonstrativa simpliciter » (*In phys.*, IV, l. 12, n. 10). In Aquinas's view, Aristotle is granting for the moment, but not conceding, that the resistance of the medium is the sole reason for the different velocities of falling bodies: remove the medium, and the movement occurs in no time at all. What Aristotle holds apart from this particular dialectical tactic, Aquinas contends, is really this: because the nature of the body plays a decisive role in the speed of its fall, a body will cover a certain distance in a certain time even in the absence of a medium. With the exception of the material on Giles, a very illuminating survey of this problem is to be found in James A. Weisheipl, O.P., « Motion in a Void: Aquinas and Averroes », in *St. Thomas Aquinas: Commemorative Studies 1274-1974* (Toronto: Pontifical

6. *Obscurity of the now.* Conceptual familiarity with certain objects can induce a false security of understanding by pushing to the fringes of attention incomprehensible, untidy, and inscrutable features of an object.

Institute of Medieval Studies, 1974), I. pp. 467-488. In showing that Galileo was aware of Aquinas's opinion (the great scientist refers to St. Tomas, along with others, as supporting the position that motion in a void would take place in time), Fr. Weisheipl points up the importance of this question in the development of early modern science. Though Fr. Weisheipl's study is admirably searching and balanced, the question of the temporality of a resistance-free fall remains unsettled and perplexing. Even if we grant the basic cogency of Aquinas's refutation of Averroes, St. Thomas's position does not seem entirely immune to objection. Implicit in Aquinas's view is the continuity of the motion through empty space; but space devoid of actual matter is space without the physical magnitude that is the source of continuity for motion and time. Zero resistance means zero magnitude, and zero magnitude means zero continuity. This is what is sharply focused and clearly set forth in Giles's approach: movement even through a void must contain succession, but succession without continuity, the succession of discrete *mutata esse*. Out of fealty to the prima facie meaning of the Aristotelian text as elaborated by Averroes, Giles clings, even in the face of fresh paradox, to the notion that a vacuum entails instantaneous movement. Supposing Aquinas's strictures on Averroes to be valid, we can discard the emphasis on instantaneity and retain Giles's picture of a body whose trip through a vacuum is marked by discontinuous moments corresponding to the pluralized positions in an empty space. Though we should never leave off reminding ourselves that here we are engaged in empirical speculation about the empirically nonobservable and physically unthinkable, Giles's scheme of bodily transition or succession without magnitude seems to represent conditions in an absolutely or radically evacuated space more accurately than Aquinas's retantion of magnitude and continuity. As regards the impact on Galileo of the Thomistic case for motion in a vacuum, Fr. Weisheipl's concluding remarks are commendably circumspect: «... we do not mean that Thomistic natural philosophy prepared the way for classical physics. This would be to claim too much ... a specifically Averroist physics did exist in medieval philosophy [which] was vigorously opposed by St. Thomas and others. Only when Averroist physics was rejected could modern classical physics begin» (*loc. cit.*, p. 488). Yet two further specifications suggest that the Thomistic influence on Galileo was still less marked than Fr. Weisheipl indicates. First, Galileo's reliance on Aquinas among others was an appeal to authority — a dialectical move of the weakest probative value. Secondly, Galileo was aiming at establishing movement in an experimental vacuum, i.e., one from which all observable or accountable matter has been removed, which is a far cry from the separate void of the Atomists. He was concerned with what our contemporaries, with more sophisticated instrumentation, have achieved in the so-called vacuum tube, which is, from the angle of the Atomists's void, a *façon de parler*. Electrons move through a vacuum with differential direction and strength that would be of course, impossible in a strictly separate void (cf. Vincent Edward Smith, *The General Science of Nature* [Milwaukee: Bruce, 1958], p. 302). So far as I know, Averroes did not rule out as impossible an experimental vacuum of the sort that Galileo was advocating. Perhaps some of Averroes's later medieval disciples did leap from his interpretation of Aristotle's sixth difficulty as involving instantaneous movement (a conclusion in general or fundamental natural philosophy) to the hardline position that no experimental evacuation of ponderable matter was conceivable (a conclusion in specialized natural science). In that event the allegedly retarding influence of Averroistic physics on the rise of modern science would rest on a misreading of Averroes and a misunderstanding of

A theologian systemizing the givens of faith about Jesus may be so caught up in his explanations as to tend to blot out the deeply mysterious, super-rational aspects of the God-man. So, too, a philosopher of time can expatiate on the now, analyzing, defining, demonstrating attributes without adverting to what is, for the contemporary mind, a specific core of obscurity and even mystery in the now. Though we cannot effectively penetrate the specific mystery of the now, we can briefly indicate why after apparently acceptable analysis and crystal-clear definition the now still seems dim, shadowy, vaporous — so easy to talk about, so hard to catch hold of! The ancients and medievals did not experience this mixed sense of clarity and bafflement, because in their simpler geostatic universe they were able to point to the movement of the outermost sphere in the heavens as the cosmic clock. The now was thus concretely specifiable as the « quantity » of the first mover within nature or the number of the primary mobile. Advances in instrumentation have irrevocably razed that tidy world picture. There are no fixed stars, and our solar system is only one tiny portion of an enormous galaxy that is itself only one among roughly a billion galaxies in the universe. We are no longer able to make an intelligent guess concerning the particular natural clock, let alone give its exact specifications. The staggering size and complexity of the cosmos rule out any real possibility of our pinpointing the precise physical subject of the now. While we can, in general, lay hold of the now, the particulars of its physical situation apparently lie forever beyond our reach. Thus the definitional clarity in our cognition of the now is inescapably accompanied by thick darkness that shrouds its particular contours and location. A sound natural philosophy of the general meaning of the now must humbly accept as unavoidable a seemingly unfathomable natural mystery concerning its particular what and where.

The Existence of Time

With the main analyses of time and the now securely behind us, we still have to clear up certain quasi-dialectical problems concerning the

the role of general natural philosophy. It would seem more judicious to lay such misconceptions at the door not of Averroistic physics in general but of certain individuals of the Averroistic persuasion. In short, since there still remain to be unraveled a great many strands that went into the making of the minds of Galileo and other pioneers along with precursors of modern science, the whole business of apportioning philosophical praise or blame for the birth and development of early modern science appears to be a risky and perilous enterprise demanding the utmost restraint and caution.

existence and the oneness of time. This section will handle the question of time's existence, and the concluding section will deal with temporal unicity.

For convenience we will treat, first of all, under the head of existence the question of the universality or ubiquity of time, the cosmic scope of its existence. Then we will go on to the more troublesome question of time's relationship to the soul.

1. *Universality of time.* Time's linkage with motion furnishes sufficient warranty for its presence throughout all of nature. Time is the *passio* of local motion, and all mobiles are in some way in place [137]). It measures not only actual motions but potential motions or states of rest as well. As ubiquitous, time shows three features [138]). First, it is a measure, which is the primary factor in a genus that is the *raison d'être* of all else in the genus. Second, it is quantitative measure; through replication, it is equal to what is measured (whereas God as the measure of all substances is not replicatively equivalent to His creatures). Third, as we have noted previously, time is the *passio* of the first motion and extrinsically measures all other motions. Yet difficulties arise out of the apparent conflicting roles of time in relation to motion. On the one hand, we insist that time is materially identical with motion; on the other hand, we maintain that time is founded on, i.e., different from, motion. A material identity of time with motion also clashes with time as a *passio* of motion, i.e., an attribute distinct from its subject. A comparison with the universal-particular relationship lets in the necessary light [139]). A universal is materially or existentially identical with the particular, but formally and intentionally the universal differs from the particular. Similarly, time is materially or existentially one with motion, but its

[137]) *In phys.*, IV, l. 28, fol. 112d (under *Aut quia motus*). Being in place, Giles notes, is taken in the broad sense since, as has been shown earlier (*ibid.*, IV, l. 8, fol. 82c [under *Caelum autem sicut*]), the heaven or outermost sphere is properly and per se not in place, since, as ultimate, it obviously cannot have beyond it another body containing it. In *I Sent.*, d. 19, q. 2, fol. 112K, which is concerned with whether all trues are measured by the one truth in God, Giles describes in the one-many relation of time to temporals an analogy to the one truth measuring the many trues. « Comparatur ergo veritas prima simpliciter loquendo ad omnia entia sicut mensura ad mensurata. Igitur sicut tempus quod est mensura omnium temporalium comparatur ad omnia temporalia. Et omnia quae sunt huiusmodi temporalia dicuntur, non quia tempus est in eis, sed quia ipsa sunt in tempore. Ideo non oportet tempus plurificari secundum numerum temporalium, sed est unum tempus omnium temporalium. Ita veritas divina comparatur ad omnia entia creata. Omnia talia dicuntur vera, non quia veritas est in eis, sed quia ipsa sunt in veritate. Propter quod non oportet unitatem multiplicari secundum multiplicationem verorum ».

[138]) *Ibid.*, fol. 112d-113a.

[139]) *Ibid.*, fol. 113a.

distinct formal *ratio* is founded on motion. The universal-particular parallel, however, seems deficient in two respects: a universal is not the *passio* of a particular; and unlike *passio* and subject, universal and particular are not located in different categories. Shifting to a physical comparison, Giles's answer points to action as a *passio* of motion that is categorically different from *passio*. So too is it physically thinkable that in spite of being predicamentally different from motion, time be a *passio* of motion [140]).

2. *Objectivity of time*. The problem of the ontic status of time is a rugged one with which minds have wrestled for centuries and concerning which, even within the scholastic tradition, no consensus seems achievable. Very few are disposed to assign to time a completely mindfree niche in nature. Time does not seem to be out there in the same way a tree and the green of its leaves and their peculiar shape lie before us, requiring no intervention of mind to round off their make-up. On the other hand, most would shrink from going as far as Kant does in consigning time exclusively to the furniture of the mind, in this instance, an inner form of sensibility. Most thinkers, or at least most realists, have found in the concept of time an intermixture of physical and mental features. It is with this company that Giles leagues himself: time is a basically physical reality that is completively mental. Time is both independent of and dependent upon the soul. The difficulty lies in properly balancing the mind-independent and mind-dependent components. Giles argues first of all that because time is number, it cannot exist without the soul. The tie-in of time with motion, he maintains secondly, assures time a firm foothold in nature. Materially one with motion, time in its complete conceptualization exists formally in the soul.

(i) As number, time without a soul seems impossible [141]). In the line of possibility number and a subject capable of numbering are reciprocally related. If a subject capable of numbering is possible, things able to be numbered are possible; and the converse is true. This co-implication obtains in the line of impossibility also. If a subject capable of numbering is impossible, things capable of being numbered are impossible also. If no soul capable of numbering can exist, no number can exist. Thus in the

[140]) In *ibid.*, fol. 113a-b, Giles shows that the correlation between the now and time is not exceptionless. While time is the *passio* of motion, the now is not the *passio* of the mobile, for the now is materially identified with the substance of the mobile, and a *passio* is no more than an accident.

[141]) *Ibid.*, fol. 113b (under *Utrum autem cum*).

absence of a numbering human intellect, time cannot exist. Underlying the argument, Giles notes, is a co-implication of cause and effect. Wherever we observe effects or natural phenomena, we search for their proper causes. But if certain proper causes cannot exist, their corresponding effects are likewise impossible. Specifically, if the proper cause of enumeration that is a soul cannot exist, number is impossible; and time, whether taken as numbering number or numbered number, simply cannot exist. Though Giles does not accord the point explicit attention, it seems worth nothing that the argument turns not on the factual existence but on the possibility of the soul [142]). The argument does not run: if the soul does not exist, number and therefore time do not exist. A reciprocal relationship does not obtain between the existence or nonexistence of the soul and the existence or nonexistence of time. As will be evidenced shortly, time does exist in some bare physical sense apart from the soul. We cannot simply say: if the soul does not exist, time does not exist. The reasoning is pitched on the plane of possibility and impossibility, and on this plane we can apodictally maintain: if there can be no soul, there can be no number or time.

(ii) Time finds its physical residence in motion. It is *utcumque ens*, a discernible physical entity in virtue of its union with motion. As identified with motion, time is independent of the soul [143]). It seems undeniable that motion with its prior and posterior phases exists apart from the soul. But time is nothing but the prior and posterior in motion taken as numerable. Hence if motion can exist without the soul, time also can exist in independence of the soul. Certain entities such as sensible things (like a horse and the brown of its coat) are unaffected by the soul. Other things totally rely upon the soul for any objective existence; the fire-

[142]) Giles undoubtedly relies heavily on Averroes throughout his analysis of the connection between time and the soul. His reading of this argument clearly follows Averroes, who takes Aristotle to argue: if there can be no soul, there can be no action that is numbering; if no numbering, there can be no number; and if no number, there can be no time (*In phys.*, IV, com. 111, fol. 202D-E). Taking a flatly counter view, however, Aquinas holds that Aristotle is posing a question rather than giving an answer. The problem raised is: if number depends on the numeration of the soul, time must be completely dependent on the soul. Aquinas's solution, implicit in Aristotle, distinguishes between possible and actual numbering. If numbering is impossible, so reciprocally is number; and, by corollary, so is time. But the actual number of things, say the four of a dog's egs, does not depend on your or my numbering them as four. Sensibles can exist without a sense power and intelligibles without a created intellect; so too can numerables exist apart from the soul. Hence it is only the very act of numbering that depends on the soul. (*In phys.* IV, 1. 23, nn. 4-5).

[143]) *Ibid.*, fol. 113b (under *Sed autem hoc*).

breathing monster called the chimera falls into this class. Entities in a third group draw part of their objective existence from the soul [144]). Viewed materially, a universal such as dog or dogness is identified with the very nature of these beloved domestic animals. In some unassailable sense, the feature we call dog does exist as the primary principle in certain physical particulars. But viewed formally, the universal is the nature thought apart from the particulars physically exhibiting it. The formal universal is the nature denuded of individualizing conditions; it is the nature detached from reference to any particular dog. The universal is thus constituted in its formality by the intellect. Without a human mind dogs would go on existing; but without the intentional acts of the human mind, the universal dog, as stripped of its individuating integuments, would not exist. A similar distinction between physical materialization and intellectual formalization accounts for time's independence from and dependence upon the soul [145]). Taken materially, time does exist without the soul; it is, we have just seen, nothing other than the prior and posterior in motion viewed as numerable. But taken formally, time is absolutely dependent on the soul. Without the numbering of the soul its formal *ratio* that is number could not be completed. The numbering activity of the soul is strictly necessary to lift the prior and posterior of motion to the estate of actuality and insure the attainment of the formal *ratio* of time [146]).

[144]) *Ibid.*, fol. 113b-c. The chimera illustration is found in Averroes, *In phys.*, IV, com. 111, fol. 202E. The comparison of the formal-material factors in time with those in the universal and particular seems clearly original with Giles. According to Anneliese Maier, *Metaphysische Hintergründe der spätscholastischen Naturphilosophie* (Roma: Edizione di Storia e Letteratura, 1955), pp. 70-73, Henry of Ghent, who also adopts Averroes's position, borrows the universal-particular parallel from Giles. « Wir haben damit also dieselbe Entscheidung, und dieselbe Parallele zu den Universalien, wie bei Aegidius Romanus und sicher nicht ohne Abhängigkeit von ihm » (p. 73).

[145]) *Ibid.*, fol. 113c: « ... ipsa enim prius et posterius in motu sunt tempus materialiter. Completur tamen ratio formalis ipsius temporis ex eo quod talia sunt numerabilia ab anima ». The affinity with Averroes is again evident. Averroes writes: « ... tempus nihil aliud est quam prius et posterius in motu, sed secundum quod sunt numerata » (*In phys.*, IV, com. 131, fol. 202G). As mentioned in n. 22 above, Averroes has express recourse to the formal-material distinction in one place only (*ibid.*, com. 109, fol. 187C): « ... substantia temporis, quae est in eo quasi forma est numerus, et quod est in eo quasi materia est motus continuus ...».

[146]) *Ibid.*: « Oportet ergo ipsa prius et motu numerari ab anima. Et anima facit ad quoddam complementum temporis. Inquantum numerando et signando ipsa prius et posterius in motu facit ad quamdam actualitatem eorum ». Cf. Averroes, *In phys.*, IV, com. 131, fol. 202F: « ... secundum quod prius et posterius sunt in eo [motu] numerata in potentia, est tempus in potentia. Et secundum quod sunt numerata in actu, est tempus in actu ».

Motion is continuous, and therefore its prior and posterior features are lodged in it only potentially. The prior and posterior become actualized, they become discrete limits only through the designation of the soul. Points, for example, are only potentially present in a line. They become actualized only when, running our finger along the line, we designate this point, then that point. The soul runs its eye, so to speak, along the line of motion, marking this motion-point, then that, saying « now », then again « now », i.e., counting the prior and posterior of motion as the two nows that delimit the motion-continuum, which at this juncture we recognize as the time-line. Thus a nice consistency joins the solution of the objectivity of time with the determination of its definitional content [147]). Definitionally, we saw earlier, time is formally number but materially continuous or one with motion. In terms of its objectivity or ontic status, time is again seen as formally number and materially continuous. As formally number, it is formally dependent on the soul; as materially continuous, it is a physical entity, *utcumque ens*, materially one with motion and thus independent of the soul [148]).

[147]) In dealing with the definition of time, Giles touches on the formalizing and actualizing role of the soul that makes for the completion of the *ratio* of time. « ... hic magis erit manifestum circa finem hujus capituli ubi ostendetur quod ad esse motus nihil facit anima sed ad esse temporis aliquo modo facit anima, quia prius et posterius in motu quae complent rationem temporis sunt in actu per significationem animae »; *ibid.*, l. 20, fol. 101c (under *Quoniam autem numerus*).

[148]) Other works, concurring almost word for word with this commentary on the *Physics*, reinforce this position. « ... sequitur quod ad esse temporis faciat anima ... Nam cum tempus habeat rationem numeri numerati; cum non sit aliquid actu numeratum nisi sit anima actu numerans; licet esse potentiale possit habere tempus absque anima, actualitatem tamen ab anima suscipit » (*I Sent.*, d. 19, q. 2, art. 1, fol. 106D). Again: « Ipsa enim prius et posterius, ut sunt numerata ab anima, complent rationem temporis... Quare, si consideretur tempus, quantum ad id quod est formiliter numerus, est numeratum ab anima, quia est numerus numeratus. Nam, ut diximus, ipsa prius et posterius in motu, uti sunt numerata ab anima, complent rationem temporis » (*Quodlibeta*, V, q. 20, p. 325).

In this and nn. 50, 85, 86, 87, 88, 96, 100 and 135 above, we have drawn attention to passages closely corresponding to the views in *In phys.* from *I Sent.* (1275), *Quodl.*, V (1290), *In lib. de caus.* (1290), and *II Sent.* (1309). With the exception of *In lib. de caus.*, the approximate dates in the parentheses rest on the authoritative judgment of Gerardo Bruni in his *Una inedita Questio de natura universali de Egidio Romano* (Naples : Morano, 1935), pp. 26-39. The date for *In lib. de caus.* is certified in Nicola Mattioli, *Studio critico sopra Egidio Romano* (Rome : Cuggiani, 1896), p. 142. If we situate the writing of the commentary on the *Physics* around 1272, a notable consistency binds together Giles's reflections on time over some thirty years. Moreover, just to touch on a point we have hypothecated elsewhere, this substantial unvarying stance on time may be one large sign that the concepts in the exposition of Aristotle, especially those in the physical commentaries, shape the foundation and framework — mold and indeed become the ingrained ideational idiom — of practically all of Giles's later works.

If all human beings vanished from the natural scene, time would still exist [149]). It is an ineradicably natural motion in its numerable prior and posterior features. But the disappearance of the human mind would render impossible the objective envisagement of time as the actual number of the prior and posterior in motion. From this angle, the physical entity called time that is one with motion is foundationally physical. Taken formally, it is completively a being of reason, an entity whose objective existence, or existence as an object for thought, rests upon the activity of the mind [150]).

The Unity or Unicity of Time

Here and there in the preceding pages we have already touched on the numerical unity of time. Now we propose, first, to offer a brief *ex professo* treatment of the matter. Secondly comes a contrast of numerical with specific unity. Finally, we shall say another word or two on the reason for the specific unsatisfactoriness of a realistic analysis of temporal unicity.

[149]) *In phys.*, IV, l. 28, fol. 113c (under *Sed autem hoc*): « Bene ergo dictum est quod si non esset anima quod esset tempus utcumque, quia esset materialiter. Non esset tamen secundum suum formale complementum. Essent enim ipsa prior et posterius in motu ut sunt materialiter tempus, etiam si non esset anima ». Cf. Averroes: « Tempus igitur in actu non erit, nisi anima sit. In potentia vero erit licet anima non sit » (*In phys.*, IV, com. 131, fol. 202F).

[150]) Though earlier reflections aligned Aquinas with Averroes's handling of the time-soul relationship, in his commentary he shifts to a new position: not motion but the now is the *utcumque ens* that affords time a mind-independent foothold in the physical world, for as a successive continuum, motion, like time, depends on the soul for its totality. « ... motus non habet esse fixum in rebus, nec aliquid actu invenitur in rebus de motu, nisi quoddam indivisible motus, quod est divisio motus: sed totalitas motus accipitur per considerationem animae comparantis priorem dispositionem mobilis ad posteriorem ... tempus, non existente anima, est utcumque ens, id est, imperfecte; sicut et dicatur quod motum contingit esse imperfecte » (*In phys.*, IV, l. 23, n. 5). Giles's response to a *dubitaret* in the dialectic of the existence of time (see n. 9 above) seems somewhat like Aquinas's later view: time is physically founded not on motion but on the now, with perhaps an in-between-the-lines suggestion that the now is the *utcumque ens* of time. « Tempus fundatur in ipso nunc quod est principium unius partis et finis alterius. Licet ergo de tempore non sit nisi nunc et nunc non sit pars temporis, cum eo ipso quod est nunc tempus est, quia in ipso nunc fundatur ordo partium temporis, ex quo ordine partium tempus dicitur habere esse » (*In phys.*, IV, l. 18, fol. 98a (under *Adhuc autem omnis*). This formulation is repeated in *ibid.*, fol. 98d (under *In eadem quidem*): « ... intantum tempus est inquantum est ordo partium temporis. Et quia ille ordo fundatur in nunc, ideo ex hoc quod nunc est in quo fundatur ordo partium temporis dicitur tempus esse ... ». So far as I know, Giles does not return to this stress on the now as the physical foundation of time anywhere else in his discussion of time.

1. *Numerical unity*. Earlier in our dialectical portion we met with and dismissed the claim that there can be a plurality of simultaneous times. Here, we repeat, such a multiplicity of times is impossible [151]). Unequal times can plainly coexist; a minute coexists with the hour that includes it. But two minutes, two segments of time that are equal, cannot coexist. If the two minutes are equal, if they are absolutely the same in every respect, then they are not really two but one span of time. Two times that are temporally indistinct from one another are really identical. Two different times that are in no temporal way different are really one and the same.

The unity of time is located in the motion of the first or outermost sphere [152]). In accord with the science of his day, Giles thought that the diurnal motion of the first heaven caused the circular motion of the whole firmament and affected the mutability of all natural things. Endowed with the most regular and all-influential revolution, the first heavenly sphere was properly named the *primum mobile*, the sovereign among mobile things. As primary, it is naturally qualified to serve as the primary seat of time.

Some confirmatory indicators of this concrete designation seems worth mentioning [153]). The opinion, rejected earlier, that identifies time with the heavenly sphere confusedly hints at the numerically one subject of time. Moreover, certain popular expressions about the cyclical behavior in living things and in human affairs support, or are supported by, this philosophic analysis. These instances of cyclical behavior reflect in a crude way the cyclical or circular motion of time itself.

Only in a modified sense can we speak of time as the measure of the primary motion [154]). From the angle of totality, time does not measure the primary motion, for it does not embrace the whole of the primary motion : «There was no time prior to that motion [155]). Each part of the primary motion, however, is contained and therefore measured by time. Time's role as measure is severely limited and appears somewhat defective only because of its peculiar relationship with the primary motion. As its

[151]) *In phys.*, IV, l. 18, fol. 99b (under *Amplius autem si*). See n. 14 above. *Ibid.*, l. 28, fol. 113d (under *Sed est nunc*).

[152]) *Ibid.*, l. 28, fol. 113c-d (under *Dubitabit autem aliquid*). Also, *ibid.*, fol. 113d (under *Aut non omne*), and *ibid.*, fol. 114c-d (under *Propter hoc autem*).

[153]) *Ibid.*, fol. 114c-d (under *Propter hoc autem*).

[154]) *Ibid.*, fol. 114d.

[155]) *Ibid.*: « Non enim fuit ante tempus quam esset ille motus ».

passio, as subjectified in the primary motion, time is a measure that turns out to be more dependent on what is measured than the measured on it [156]).

In any case, whatever the mensurational function of time vis-a-vis the primary motion, our definition is now expanded to full determination: time is the number of the primary motion. Giles goes so far that, strictly speaking, only primary motion is properly placed in the definition [157]). Time measures any particular motion only because every particular motion depends on the primary motion. The definition, we have seen, is given an even more particular determination by the erroneous astronomical knowledge of the day: time is the number of the primary revolution of the heavens.

Two additional comments may be in order. First, whatever its defects, medieval science cannot be taxed with being rigidly deductive and aprioristic. Recent cultivation of the history of medieval science has helped scotch a good many lingering elements of the old baseless prejudices about the alleged unempirical cast of the medieval mind [158]).

[156]) This view echoes Averroes, *In phys.*, IV, com. 132, fol. 203L: «Tempus igitur sequitur hunc [primum] motum, et iste motus accipitur in definitione ejus. Et ipsum mensurat illum, non secundum quod numerus mensurat numeratum, sed secundum quod mensurat aliquid quod est forma in re. Alios vero motus mensurat secundum quod numerus mensurat numeratum scilicet secundum quod numeratum non accipitur in definitione numeri». On Averroes's reckoning, time does measure the primary motion in a special manner, whereas for Giles time does not measure the primary motion. Yet the discord may be somewhat more verbal than real. Giles admits the role Averroes deputes to time as regards the primary motion but declines to call this role mensurational. In other words he accepts the Commentator's analysis without accepting his looser signification of measure. If we add the feature of containment to Averroes's notion of measure (or what amounts to the same thing, if we subtract it from Giles's notion of measure), Giles's view essentially coincides with that of Averroes: because of its ultimacy, the primary motion is a privileged case to which time is singularly related.

Traces of the influence of this passage can be discerned elsewhere in Giles. Probably one odd use that Giles makes of the distinction between absolute or mathematical number and physical or numbered number owes its origin to Averroes. As mentioned earlier (see n. 52 above and the accompanying material in the body of the article), the time that numbers the primary motion is numbered number because time is materially identified with this motion (or, logically speaking, because the primary motion is included in the definition of time). But the time that numbers sub-primary motions is absolute or mathematical number, because time is not subjectified in them (or, from the angle of logic, these motions have no place in the definition). (See *In phys*: IV, l. 20, fol. 101d). Furthermore, this passage from Averroes very probably lies behind Giles's exclusion of all but primary motion from the definition of time (cf. the following note, n. 157).

[157]) *In phys.*, IV, l. 28, fol. 113c-d (under *Dubitabit autem aliquis*).

[158]) Growing side by side with the surprising intensification of scholarly interest in every aspect of medieval life and thought has been serious and sustained research into

As in other branches of natural science, its astronomical findings were solidly grounded on careful observations. Unfortunately, its empirical base was much, much too narrow. The telescope was still over three centuries away, and without its invaluable assistance the medievals could only count on the naked eye to compute and analyze the complex circlings of the heavenly bodies. The medievals had the will but not the way. The lack of the proper technology denied them the instruments for penetrating beyond the partly deceptive veil of astronomical phenomena. Second, no doubt the rise of modern science decisively overturning the view that the first sphere has the simplest and swiftest motion nullifes the last particular determination noted in the previous paragraph. Surely it is physically impossible for time to be the number of the primary spherical revolution in any ordinary sense. But the advance of modern science does not alter the prior determination : time remains the number of the primary motion, this motion being of course unspecified. Certainly also the overthrow of the old astronomy does not bear on the general definition of time as the number of motion according to the prior and posterior.

2. *Distinction from specific unity*. Existentially, time is numerically one, but quidditatively, it is specifically one [159]). Things are said to be specifically one which are identical in *ratio* or quiddity. Things are said to be numerically one which enjoy the same *esse* or being. Accidents find their oneness in the unity of their subject. A white wall, e.g., differs specifically from a black wall, but two whites, one in a wall, the other in a wooden stick, are specifically the same but numerically distinct. Taken quidditatively, time is number, and it is in its formal *ratio* that its specific unity consists. Taken existentially, time is one with motion, and it is in its material subject that its numberical unity lies. This is the sense in which we are to understand Aristotle's example of the sameness and difference of sevenness in seven dogs and seven horses. Seven dogs are concretely, physically different from seven horses, but the seven of the dogs is identical with the seven of the horses [160]). So seven posterior days differ as units of time from seven prior days, but the seven of the two remains the

medieval science. We need only instance here A.C. Crombie, *Medieval and Early Modern Science* (Anchor paperback; New York : Doubleday, 1959) and a bit later, William A. Wallace, *Causality and Scientific Explanation*, I (*Medieval and Early Classical Science*) (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972).

[159]) *In phys.*, IV, l. 28, fol. 113d-114a (under *Aut non omne*).

[160]) *Ibid.*, fol. 114a; and *ibid.*, fol. 114a-b (under *Si enim et*).

same. The specific unity of time is then rooted in its *unitas numeri* (not to be confused with its numerical or individual oneness) which we may here translate as its sameness insofar as it is number. But the numerical unity of time derives from the oneness or unicity of the primary motion in which it resides. Species is related to individuals, Giles adds, as form to matter. Time is specifically number and materially or individually motion. Hence time's specific unity springs from number, and its numerical unity arises from its subjectification in the primary motion.

The strength and consistency of this analysis, however, seem mortally threatened by a telling objection. Rather than being absolute number or the number whereby we number, time is numbered number or number applied to the physical world. In the language of the Aristotelian example, if time is like seven, it remains the same. But as numbered number it is like seven dogs or seven horses: this would mean, it seems, that time physically varies from subject to subject. In short, if time is numbered number, it cannot be numerically one. True, Giles replies, each numbered number is numerically or individually diversified in its various physical subjects, but it remains specifically the same number [161]). Surely, he goes on, the seven in dogs differs from that in horses, but the difference is numerical or individual. The sevenness in this or that physical group remains specifically the same numbered number. Time remains specifically one and the same even when the various motions it numbers and measures are specifically different.

The analogy of time with number returns in the illustration of ten sheep and ten dogs [162]). The two groups of animals are identical as ten but not as sheep and dogs. Two logical principles are operative here. First, we do not differentiate species in the light of a remote genus; and, second, we do not differentiate individuals in the light of a proximate genus. Scalene and equilateral are not distinguished as figures — this they have in common, but are sorted out as different species of triangle. So man and lion are identical as ensouled thing but differentiated as species of animal. So in the case of the two sets of ten, the ten serves as a remote genus in reference to specific differences. Formally, in the light of ten, sheep and dogs are the same. Materially, in terms of ten embodied in animals, they are different. Physical number, Giles adds, carries with it a hint of the *species specialissima*, which is the last, or «atomic», i.e., not-further-

[161]) *Ibid.*, fol. 114a-b (under *Si enim et*).
[162]) *Ibid.*, fol. 114d-115a (under *Dicitur autem recte*).

dividable, species in a descending physical chain [163]). The entities to which number is applied are not able to be further differentiated.

The analogy fixes attention once more on the diverse formal and material faces of temporal unity, with perhaps a shade more stress laid on the material unity [164]). As number, time shows no difference save in virtue of the matter or subject in which it resides; but unlike ten, which as physical number is multiple and varied in the groups to which it is applied, time is not pluralized in the multiple and various motions that it measures. A plurality of times is inadmissible, here for the new reason that several primary motions are impossible. Time is seated in the one and only primary motion. As the *passio* of this first movement, it strictly numbers it, and in virtue of numbering measures every other motion in the cosmos. Subjectively restricted to one special movement, time extends its mensurational hegemony throughout the cosmos. In virtue of the formal causality of mensuration, time is unique yet omnipresent throughout the length and breadth of nature.

3. *Specific unsatisfactoriness.* A certain vagueness still clings to the notion of the primary motion in the universe. For fear that we may throw out the baby with the bathwater; for fear that some may succumb to the temptation to brush aside pre-Galilean endeavors in physical analysis as pitiable mythologizing of the Dark Ages prior to the glorious Dawn of Science and Enlightenment; for fear that some may think that not to know all about time is to not know anything at all; it might be well to set down summarily our warranted knowledge of the unity of time. First, there can be only one time in nature. Two equal coexisting times, we have seen, reduce to one and the same time. Second, without pursuing the point with any rigor, let it suffice here to mention in passing that relativity theory does not annul any possibility of a unity of time. The translation, so to speak, of the particular data of one coordinate system into those of another coordinate system presupposes a common physical background or unity of time to which the local times of the diverse coordinate systems are commonly referred. Thirdly, though this is not the place to prosecute the inquiry, it can be demonstrated that in terms of the chain of physical efficient causes there has to be a primary motion within nature. In contrast to the Newtonian view of an absolute time disengaged from all observable process; in contrast to the view still potent in the popular and

[163]) *Ibid.*, fol. 115a.
[164]) *Ibid.*

educated scientific imagination that time is an abstract dimension or sovereign coordinate presiding over all change; time is, for Giles, imbedded in, concretized in the primary motion that causes all other motions. Hence the one time is virtually present as measure in all the motions caused by the primary motion. Time is the number of the primary motion in nature. But with this our assured knowledge is brought to an abrupt halt. Beyond this we cannot go. We reach a point of no advance. We cannot even take one provisional step forward. We lack even the slightest glimmer of what and where the primary motion might be in precise detail. To our *ignoramus* we are most probably safe in adding an *ignorabimus*: we do not know and most probably we will never know. Thus our account of time ends not with a period but with one large questionmark; this portion of our inquiry terminates in a baffling indetermination. Though our prior determinations are secure, a significant, unclosable gap in our knowledge of time remains. Some simple-minded academic souls, dupes of the softheaded empiricism and sociologistic irrationalism of the day, mindlessly parrot the view that the glory of science consists in its being open-textured and open-ended. Openness undoubtedly sparks the start of an investigation, but as an inquiry draws to a finish, any serious thinker in any branch of learning who hungers after the hard answers we call truth does not exult in openness but reluctantly accepts it as a sign of defeat, a loss rather than a gain, a debit not easily erased. The terminus of Giles's account of time then leaves the contemporary inquirer with a sense of frustration. The desire to pinpoint the specific locus of the primary motion, to identify the cosmic clock, is, and will most probably always remain, unsatisfied.

Some Difficulties

However much we may want to dissociate ourselves from A. N. Whitehead's substance-denying organismic picture of the universe, anyone who has grappled over a period of years with the vexing problems of nature, especially that of time, will probably assent wholeheartedly to his poignant reflection: « It is impossible to meditate on time and the creative passage of nature without an overwhelming emotion at the limitations of human intelligence»[165]). The cosmos is so vast and so

[165]) A.N. Whitehead, *The Concept of Nature* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1920), p. 73. Cf. A. Cornelius Benjamin, « Ideas of Time in the History of Philosophy », in J. T. Fraser, (ed.), *Voices of Time*. (New York: Braziller, 1966), p. 8. Whitehead's

intricate, and our philosophic and scientific probings so paltry and coarse. The obvious facts of time especially seem to slip through the nets of our analyses, resisting systemization and nice coherence. Time also can easily entangle minds in a sticky web of inconsistencies. When trying to define time, Berkeley picturesquely wrote, « I am lost and embrangled in inextricable difficulties» [166]). Even when we can clearly focus the general lines of the meaning of time, as in Aristotle's definition and its corollaries, we may still find ourselves dogged by paradoxes, troubled by imprecisions, and beset by frustrations springing from the seemingly endless job of fitting together all the muddy, loose ends of details into a clean consistent whole. It is not surprising then that some thorny difficulties apparently sprout from Giles's ordinarily deft and careful elucidation of the Aristotelian concept. His generally acute treatment seems somewhat marred by three major flaws and a number of lesser mistakes. The major difficulties involve paradoxes concerning the objectivity of time, instantaneous transmission, and temporal unicity. We shall merely list what seem to be less significant mistakes.

1. *Objectivity*. It seems legitimate to say that time, in its formal *ratio*, is number but materially subjectified in the continuum of motion. But in the significantly different question of the existence of time, the formal-material distinction seems inapplicable and breeds paradoxes. Time is independent of the soul or (in contemporary language) extramental, Giles tells us, because time is materially one with the physical reality that is motion, whereas its formal *ratio* is completed by mental acts [167]). Time is soul-dependent: its *ratio* is achieved by

impoverished acquaintance with the history of philosophy, due probably to his late entrance into philosophy proper, probably explains in part his unfortunate persistent lumping of the understanding of substance and time characteristic of Newtonian physics with that of realistic natural philosophy. Thus he is led banish the instant from nature as a mere abstraction, a refined construct or being of reason (pp. 56-57). More curiously, his actualism or eventism tricks him into an absurdity of the crudest sort — the claim that the future may have actual physical existence here and now. We must look for the « creative force of existence », we are told, perhaps « in the unrealized future » and perhaps « in the future which might be as well as the actual future which will be » (p. 73). Even a quick reading of the whole chapter entitled « Time » (pp. 49-73) is doubly instructive: it shows how easy it is for even a first-rate mind to slip into elementary mistakes about time; and it confirms one in the perennial point and power of Aristotelian realism in analyzing issues in a fundamental natural concept like time.

[166]) *The Principles of Human Knowledge*, para. 98, in *The Works of George Berkeley*, ed. George Sampson (London: Bell and Sons, 1908), I, p. 222. Cf. M.F. Cleugh, *Time and Its Importance in Modern Thought* (London: Methuen, 1937), p. 2.

[167]) *In phys.*, IV, l. 28, fol. 113b-c (under *Sed autem hoc*). See nn. 143-147 above.

intentional acts. Time is also soul-independent: its formal *ratio* is founded on motion. Time is materially identified with motion; its *utcumque ens*, its bare physical reality, is motion in its prior and posterior parts. The formally constructed concept of time is materially based on the indubitable physical reality that is motion. Motion is undoubtedly a physical reality (and because of its linkage with motion, so is time also), but it is no less incontestable that motion, like time, is not grasped as a whole or all at once. Since it is successive, since it is a flowing continuum, motion is apprehended successively; one part is known after another. In short, taken as a whole, a motion also is known only by intentional acts, only by the completive activity of the soul. The posterior pole of the motion can be joined to the prior, already vanished pole only because the former pole is mentally retained. Thus motion in its totality is just as much a being of reason as time in its totality. We cannot locate the material foundation for the formality of time in a motion whose totality is equivalently formal. It seems self-defeating to look for a physically real ground for one being of reason in another similarly structured being of reason. A motion that is completively a being of reason in its totality cannot supply the physically real foundation for a time that is completively a being of reason in its totality.

2. *Instantaneity*. The mensurational unicity of the now underlies the instantaneous propagation of light and the instantaneous fall of a body *in vacuo*. Unhappily, the paradox of collapsing several instants into one instant cripples both arguments. Yet the two issues deserve distinct comments since for Giles the first occupies a region of fact and the second summons us to think the unthinkable, i.e., to ponder a pure hypothesis.

(i) The fact that the light emitted occupies diverse positions would seem to nullify instantaneous transmission [168]). The several moments simply cannot be measured by one instant, even though this be primal. The analogy with time's measurement of a plurality of movements seems to hinge on an equivocal use of plurality. True, the time seated in the primary motion does measure a well-nigh innumerable set of physical motions; here we doubtless do have a single time measuring several different motions. But we must not let this plurality divert our eyes from the singularity at its core. At any juncture one segment of the numbered primary motion that is time measures all the other motions at once. Here the various motions, though diverse, betray a singularity — they occur at

[168]) *Ibid.*, l. 27, fol. 111c-d (under *At vero prius*). See nn. 124-126 above.

the same position in cosmic history and are comprised under or measured by a single span of time. Thus a single interval of time measures a singular set of diverse motions. The motions occur just at this juncture : they are not strung out differentially, they do not occupy different segments of the time-line. They occupy only one, a singular time-span or segment of the cosmic time-line. The one time-segment at a certain juncture in cosmic history can measure only a certain span of diverse motions : it is a singular measure of a singular set of motions. So the one now at any juncture measures not a succession of *mutata esse* or moments but only a singular set of moments marking instantaneous changes in nature. At this moment, a man dies; at a corresponding moment, a child is conceived; at another corresponding moment protein is converted into tissue of the body. Each of these moments belongs to a singular set measured by a singular instant.

From our privileged vantage point it is comparatively easy to discern the paradox implied in one instant's encompassing several discretely strung-out moments. But it would seem historically obtuse to miss the pressures within the context of this subtle theorizing. Giles was striving to analytically justify what many in his day took to be the unassailable fact of instantaneous illumination. Lacking the wisdom of our hindsight, he was driven to construct an ingenious theory in which one instant somehow enfolded in its oneness discrete moments related as prior and posterior. Various nineteenth-century physicists who were tortured by the problem of the ether would have probably accorded him more than a little sympathy [169]). Because light shows wave qualities, physicists were led to assume understandably but falsely that light vibrating through empty space must have a medium in which its waves occurred : the luminiferous ether. If ether is a fluid, light waves are longitudinal. Polarized light, however, travels with a transverse wave motion. To reconcile and to save the phenomena some physicists went on to argue that ether is both a fluid and a solid. Thus schematized, the ether is absolutely rigid but absolutely

[169]) Alexander Kolin, *Physics : Its Laws, Ideas, and Methods* (New York : Mc Graw-Hill, 1950), pp. 658-659. In *Theonas : Conversations of a Sage*, trans. F.J. Sheed (New York : Sheed and Ward, 1933), p. 63, Jacques Maritain picturesquely speaks of « the ether wherein the physicists used to put out their blackest contradictions to pasture... ». Edmund Whittaker, *A History of the Theories of Aether and Electricity*, I (*The Classical Theories*) (2nd. ed. : London : Nelson, 1951), pp. 279-303, examines in a sober, highly professional way the various mathematical-physical contrivances devised by physicists of the stature of W. Thomson, Kirchhoff, FitzGerald, and even the great Maxwell to explain « electric, magnetic and gravitational forces by the action of an intervening aether » (p. 279).

flexible. Maxwell's electromagnetic field theory opened the way for dispensing with the ether. With a sophisticated understanding of field theory and the discovery of the photon, ether has dopped out of the contemporary physical picture. It would be historically unjust and childish to sneer at or brand as fools the physicists who invented an ungainly ether. They were compelled to construct such a logically odd object to account for light-phenomena within the framework of an austerly mechanical model of nature that they took to be basically and impregnably true.

(ii) Giles's heroic efforts to account for a hypothetical fall in a perfect vacuum turn out to be equally fruitless[170]). Aside from the natural-philosophical truth that a perfect vacuum in the strict sense seems physically impossible, successive stages in the fall cancel out instantaneity. The impasse seems insuperable: if there is a succession marked by diverse moments, there cannot be only one instant measuring the entire fall. Succession betokens a plurality that is incompatible with a oneness of instant. On the natural level moment and instant are congruous: each moment is measured by a particular instant, and several moments, whether or not conceived apart from a track of motion, are respectively measured by several instants. Giles's very adroit claim that the now of time, which derives from the now of eternity, shares in the comprehensive character of the eternal now is voided by one major point of disanalogy: precisely as comprehensive, the now of eternity is utterly dissimilar from, and therefore imparticipable by, the now of time [171]). As eternal, the now of eternity measures the immutability of God. It is a *nunc stans* in the absolute sense; it is as unchangeable, as inevitably always the same as the divine immutability it measures. Because it is infinitely « standing » in its duration, the now of eternity embraces and comprehends in its stable unicity all inferior types of duration, all events, all instants, past, present, and future. As eternal, as transcending the whole of nature, the now of eternity is comprehensive. But the now of time is not transcendent but immersed in nature. It is a thing of nature that measures the *primum mobile* and, in virtue of it, all other mobiles and moments in nature. Though one in itself or *secundum rem*, though subjectively self-identical, the now of time is unceasingly diverse, inevitably other *secundum rationem* according to the continuous course of

[170]) *In phys.*, IV, l. 27, fol. 111c-112c (under *At vero prius*). See nn. 126-136 above.
[171]) *Ibid.*, l. 25, fol. 108b (under *Mensurabit autem tempus*). See nn. 87-89 above.

the *primum mobile*. The self-identity of the temporal now is analogous to the self-identity of the eternal now; its subjective stability shares in the absolute stability of the eternal now. But its otherness *secundum rationem*, an otherness rooted in the mobility of natural things, annuls any possibility of a sharing by the now of time in the comprehensiveness of the now of eternity, a comprehensiveness rooted in the transcendent immutability of God.

As in the demurrals with regard to instantaneous illumination, strictures passed on Giles here have to be reserved and soft-voiced. Giles considered a fall in a perfect vacuum impossible, but permitting this impossible thing to be possible [172]), mulling over a fall *in vacuo* as a pure hypothesis, he attempted to construct the general lines of its analytical justification. No doubt he failed but he did not fail miserably. We can only admire the power of his conceptual imagination in appealing to the comprehensiveness of the eternal now as a model for participation, according to which the one now of time can encompass a succession of moments without sacrificing its unity and without blotting out the plurality of moments. Caught in what he called a veritable labyrinth, he merits credit for the virtuosity he brings to bear in trying to escape from a maze that, in fact, has no exit. If we inadvertently isolate the problem from its actual historical context, we may feel disturbed and upset by the spectacle of a prodigal expenditure of logical acuity netting only what seem to be freakishly illogical dividends. Torn out of its concrete setting, Giles's magnificent maneuvering may appear to generate only an immense muddle. But sympathetically situated within the limits of his inquiry, Giles's carefully hedged conclusion is the outcome of a dexterous, fine analysis that is rendered ultimately unacceptable by the severe curbs implicit in asking impossible questions and in hunting for ways to reconcile irreconcilables.

3. *Temporal unicity*. The extension of the formal-material distinction to the domain of unicity also seems somewhat misguided. Time is specifically one, Giles insists, because it is formally abstract number, whereas it is individually or numerically one in the material sense, through its subjective identity with the primary motion [173]). The

[172]) *Ibid.*, l. 27, fol. 112c (under *At vero prius*): « Tamen si tale impossibile poneretur, sequeretur quod essent aliqua mutata esse non reducta in motu caelesti... ». See n. 135 above.

[173]) *Ibid.*, l. 28, fol. 113d-114b (under *Aut non omne* and *Si enim et*). See nn. 159-160 above.

oneness of time is remarkably comparable to the detachement and applicability of the number seven to physical objects. But Giles presses this analogy too far, so far that he is hobbled and trapped by it. To the deadly objection that he seems to be turning time into abstract number rather than keeping it numbered or physical number, Giles replies that time is numbered number as imbedded in the primary motion, but is numbering or abstract number in its measurement of all other motions in nature [174]). But this attempt to square a formal unity rooted in time or abstract number with time as numbered number issues in two inconveniences. First, if time is physical number subjectified in the primary motion, and if it is in virtue of its residence in the primary motion that it measures other diverse motions, it is inconsistent to transform it into abstract number in its application to other diverse motions. If time as numbered number in the primary motion is applied to other diverse motions, it cannot become abstract number in its very mensurational application, for it is precisely as physical number that it is applied to other motions. Second, a time that becomes formally abstract number in its measurement becomes formally mathematicized; as strictly mathematicized, it cannot be a physical entity. Here as elsewhere Giles's near-automatic resort to what has become for him an all-answering formal-material leitmotif lures into inconsistencies. In fact, time is formally numbered number, and therefore formally, and not merely materially, time is numerically one. As physical or numbered number, time resides in the numerically one primary motion. In virtue of this numerically one primary motion, it measures all the dazzling diversity of motions in the cosmos. Formally causative throughout nature, inevitably present wherever there is motion, it remains formally the numerically one and the same time.

4. *Minor difficulties.* We need devote no more than a word or two to five minor points of dissatisfaction.

(i) It sounds odd to maintain that time numbers the primary motion but does not strictly measure it [175]). The *ratio* of measure is found *per prius* in number; number is the first analogate in which measure is verified. Or, in terms of implication, what numbers a thing must, in a second stage, measure it. Giles's reluctance here is somewhat understandable, since, for some, a measure as such is superior to what it

[174]) *Ibid.*, fol. 114a-b (under *Si enim et*). See n. 162 above.
[175]) *Ibid.*, fol. 114d (under *Propter hoc autem*). See n. 164 above.

measures. But surely the relationship of time to primary motion is a unique case; and while the role of time as measure may suggest superiority, the fact that time is a *passio* of the primary motion insures a subjective superiority for the primary motion, within the framework of which the measurational superiority of time is only relative, because subordinate and ancillary. (ii) The now as never-changing is said to be *secundum rem* and the now as ever-changing is said to be *secundum rationem* [176]). This terminology seems awkward and potentially misleading, since it plants the linguistic germ for the idea that the now is really always the same while it is pluralized not really but only intentionally by operations of the soul that actualize the nows as numbered. This inadequate language indeed produces a puzzle that Giles grapples with but, within the frame of this somewhat gauche terminology, he finds himself unable to solve: how can the *ipsum mobile* be other *secundum rationem* yet its parts be really (*realiter*) distinct [177]). (iii) A thing and its activity are subject to different measures (the now measures a substance and time its motion), but, we are told, one and the same measure, namely, time, measures motion as *actus mobilis* and its *esse* (its spreadoutness in prior and posterior parts) [178]). Yet the homogeneity of measure and measured, a criterion that Giles curiously invokes to substantiate this claim, demands that the *actus mobilis*, as indivisible, be measured not by time but by the indivisible that is the now. Taken apart from its subjectivity in the continuum of magnitude, the *actus mobilis* is equivalent to a *mutatum esse* or moment to whose measurement the now is necessarily appointed. One inductive step in the build-up of the concept of time expressly makes the point that time emerges not from motion as *actus mobilis* but from motion as continuum, motion as marked (extrinsically to the strict definition of motion) by prior and posterior phases. Time numbers and measures motion *secundum esse*, according as it is a continuum, but the similarity of indivisibles calls for the measurement of motion as *actus mobilis* by the now. (iv) Giles seems to vacillate a bit on the question of the per se corruptive influence of time. *Ratione sui* it corrupts only incidentally but *ratione motus*, we are told, it is a per se corruptive cause [179]). However, it seems that since time is physical

[176]) *Ibid.*, l. 21, fol. 102a-d (under *Sequitur enim sicut* and *Ratione autem aliud*). See nn. 99-104 above.

[177]) *Ibid.*, l. 23, fol. 104d (under *Et idem autem*).

[178]) *Ibid.*, l. 24, fol. 106b (under *Et est motui*). See n. 80 above.

[179]) *Ibid.*, l. 27, fol. 111a (under *Quod quidem igitur*). See n. 96 above.

number, i.e., number applied to and imbedded in motion, it exhibits no features *ratione sui* except in union and connection with motion. In short, for the very reason it is per se corruptive in the line of the formal cause *ratione motus*, it has to be also designated per se corruptive *ratione sui*. (v) Giles seems too severely restrictive in maintaining that only primary motion comes under the definition of time [180]). This exclusivism would seem to conflict with the claim that in perceiving and knowing any motion, we perceive and know time. Worse, it would seem to imply that only those acquainted with the primary motion — a very small percentage of the earth's population — are able to achieve a concept of time. Surely even savage tribesmen capable of distinguishing days and weeks and months are equipped with a sound, however primitive and philosophically unarticulated, notion of time. It might be more accurate then to say that the definition is said primarily of the primary motion yet secondarily and really also of all the other motions in nature.

Summary

Dialectic. (1) The nonexistence of its parts apparently cancels the existence of time. The present taken as an interval overlaps both past and future; and by definition neither past nor future can claim actual physical existence. Again, the now, the supposed unit of time, seems self-contradictory. Viewed as pluralized, it has to be absurdly generated and corrupted. Viewed as unchangingly one, it remains the single instant in which, incredibly, all events in time occur. (2) The dialectic of the nature of time tries and finds wanting two opinions, whose examination and rejection pave the way for the induction of time. (i) A first opinion identifying time with the motion of the heaven issues in two inconveniences: a part of a circular motion would be equivalent to the whole motion; and, given the hypothesis of several heavens, there would be several parallel times — an impossibility. (ii) A second opinion identifying time with the heavenly sphere is vitiated by a crude error in formal logic and a gross equivocation.

Definition of time. (1) Time is neither wholly identical with nor separable from motion. Time differs from motion: it is ubiquitous and uniform whereas motion is always specified and fast or slow. On the other hand, we have no awareness of time without an awareness of motion. (2) Time, while not the same as motion, is *aliquid motus*, something

[180]) *Ibid.*, l. 28, fol. 113c-d (under *Dubitabit autem aliquis*). See n. 157 above.

intimately connected with motion. Sharpened and specified, time as *aliquid motus* yields the definition in three steps. (i) Time is related to motion as motion to magnitude; time is a derived continuum. (ii) Time follows not upon motion as such but upon motion stamped with the prior and posterior. (iii) Time is the number of the prior and posterior in motion. We become fully aware of time at the moment we number the prior and posterior as two nows. (3) Time is numbered number; it is applied or physical number, i.e., number as applied to motion in its prior and posterior phases. (4) The chief attribute of time flowing from the definition is its role as measure of motion. (5) In addition, because it is joined to a corruption-oriented motion, time is said to be a cause of corruption; but a cause in the line of measure, i.e., a formal cause.

Meaning of the now. (1) Comparison with a mobile thing reveals that the now stays the same *secundum rem.* The now is to time as a mobile thing is to motion; like the one mobile thing persisting throughout change, one now perdures throughout time. (2) Yet differently viewed, the same comparison throws light on the variability of the now. A mobile thing passes through several places in its motion, so that *secundum rationem*, i.e., according to the *ratio* of place, it shows itself successively other. The now that remains one and the same *secundum rem* also shows itself successively other and different *secundum rationem* in the course of time. (3) To consider the now *secundum rationem* is to consider it *secundum esse diffinitivum.* (i) The now may be defined, first, as the formally other unit or subject of time. From a slightly different standpoint, it is the diversity of the nows that constitutes the number that is time. (ii) The now may be defined, secondly, as the number of time. (iii) We may define the now, thirdly, Giles suggests, as the unity-of-the-number of a mobile thing. (4) In addition, because it is intrinsically more knowable, the now is the measure of time. (5) In the instantaneous transmission of light one and the same instant measures the diverse moments marking the diverse places in the transmission of light. Similarly, in the purely hypothetical case of the instantaneous fall of a body in a vacuum the one instant functioning as a comprehensive measure can encompass a succession of positions and instants.

Existence of time. Time is both dependent upon and independent of the soul. (1) As number, time cannot exist apart from the soul; for if a soul capable of numbering cannot exist, no number can exist. (2) But time also has physical reality independent of the soul insofar as it is one with motion. Formally, as number, time depends on the soul, but materially, as imbedded in motion, time can exist apart from the soul.

Unity or unicity of time. (1) Because it is rooted in the one or unique primary motion, time is numerically one or unique. Thus, strictly speaking, time is the number of the primary motion. (2) Existentially, time is numerically one, but quidditatively, it is specifically one. Time's specific unity arises from its formal character of number whereas its numerical unity is rooted in its residence in the primary motion.

Some difficulties. Giles's views on the objectivity of time, instantaneous transmission, and temporal unicity seem to land him in paradoxes. (1) The physical reality of time cannot be materially grounded in motion because motion, like time, is successive; and as successive, it can be grasped as a totality only by intentional acts of the soul. (2) The claim that a single instant can measure a plurality of moments (just as the one time measures a plurality of motions) relies on an equivocal use of plurality. In their measurement by time the diverse motions are a singular set occurring at one juncture. But Giles mistakenly has a singular instant measuring moments strung out differentially rather than as members of a singular set. Again, unlike the transcendent now of eternity, the now of time is unceasingly other and hence cannot serve as a comprehensive measure. (3) It seems incongruous to regard time in the primary motion as numbered number but turn it into numbering number in the application of time to sub-primary motions. (4) Finally, a few additional remarks canvass difficulties in less substantive areas.

John M. Quinn, O.S.A.

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

XIII. *Le très difficile chapitre quatrième : le célibat monastique et la sollicitude pour les pécheurs* [1])

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*) 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. 119-204 ; XXVI (1977), p. 5-12 ; p. 12-19 ; p. 20-25.

[1]) *Notice bibliographique.* Plusieurs recherches qui auraient pu faire partie de la présente série ont été publiées ailleurs, notamment dans des mélanges ou des publications collectives. Elles se trouvent énumérées dans *Augustiniana* XXVII (1977), p. 20, note 3. Il faut y ajouter mon article *Saint Augustin. Un moine devenu prêtre et évêque*, dans *Estudio Agustiniano* XII (1977), (Homenaje al P. Lope Cilleruelo García O.S.A.), p. 281-334. Cette étude a paru sous la forme d'un livre : *Saint Augustine. Monk, Priest, Bishop*, Augustinian Historical Institute, Villanova Penns., 1978. Dans les mêmes Mélanges Cilleruelo a paru A. MANRIQUE, *Autenticidad de la «Regla de S. Agustín»*, p. 335-342. J'ajoute G. VIRT, *Der Gehorsamsbegriff bei Augustinus*, dans HÖRMANN-LAUN-VIRT, *Verantwortung und Gehorsam*, Innsbruck-Wien-München, (1978), p. 9-54 ; A. WUCHERER-HULDENFELD, *Deus enim qui habitat in uobis. Die grundlegende Spiritualität der Augustinerregel*, dans *In unum congregati. Mitteilungen der österreichischen Chorherrenkongregationen* IX (1962), p. 108-113 ; A. ZUMKELLER, *Ursprung und spirituelle Bedeutung der Augustinusregel, — eine notwendige Richtigstellung.* Zu dem Werk Christopher Brooke's, «Die grosse Zeit der Klöster 1000-1300» (deutsch : Freiburg 1976), dans *OK Ordens-Korrespondenz. Zeitschrift für Fragen des Ordenslebens*, XIX (1978), p. 287-295.

D.6. L'absence de toute prescription concernant le célibat et de toute présentation d'une motivation.

E. Le célibat dans les œuvres de saint Augustin jusqu'au début de son épiscopat.
E.1. Division du sujet.
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F.1. La fécondité spirituelle devenue fécondité physique après la chute. La «haine» de ses proches.
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G. Conclusions.
G.1. Pendant la période envisagée, saint Augustin n'avait pas encore réfléchi de façon personnelle sur le célibat monastique et le mariage chrétien.
G.2. Rapport entre cette circonstance et le début abrupt du paragraphe quatrième du chapitre.

A. Dans les milieux pour lesquels la Règle de saint Augustin est autre chose qu'un intéressant vieux document historique, son quatrième chapitre est ressenti comme particulièrement difficile, voire bien pénible. Je pense aux milieux monastiques ou religieux — je n'insiste pas sur ces termes, tout en rappelant que la Règle présente neuf fois le terme de *monasterium* — qui fondent leur spiritualité sur le *Praeceptum*. Précisons que ce quatrième chapitre occupe presque un quart du texte, si bien que l'impression défavorable qui se dégage de ce long passage se communique facilement à l'ensemble du texte. L'auteur y parle de ce qu'on appelle actuellement de préférence le «célibat consacré». Saint Augustin pourrait l'avoir appelé *uirginitas*, terme qui s'applique aussi aux hommes[2]), ou *caelibatus*, terme qu'il a utilisé pour indiquer l'état célibataire de Daniel qui, assis tranquillement au milieu des lions dans la fosse, était pour lui le modèle des moines[3]), ou encore *continentia*. Mais force nous est de constater qu'aucun de ces mots ne se rencontre dans le *Praeceptum*. L'auteur y parle du «célibat consacré», mais sans en parler explicitement. Chose très intéressante qui est à retenir. On y reviendra plus loin.

[2]) *De Sancta virginitate* 27 (27): Pergite itaque sancti dei, pueri ac puellae, mares ac feminae, caelibes et innuptae, pergite perseueranter in finem... Ipse (Iohannes) uos uidit duodecies duodena milia sanctorum citharoedorum inlibatae *uirginitatis* in corpore, inuiolatae ueritatis in corde; et quia sequimini agnum quocumque ierit, scripsit ille de uobis. — PL 40, c. 410-411; CSEL 41, p. 263-264.

[3]) *Enarratio in Ps. 132*, 5: Daniel autem uitam quietam elegit, in *caelibatu* seruire deo, id est uxorem non quaerens. — PL 37, c. 1731; CC 40, p. 1929.

Cependant ce n'est pas l'absence de ces termes qui attire l'attention des lecteurs et des lectrices dans les milieux dont je parle. L'étonnement vient d'ailleurs. Bien sûr, on comprend bien qu'Augustin s'adresse avec sollicitude à ces gens qui ont pris la décision de vivre seuls pour Dieu. On comprend aussi qu'il avait des raisons personnelles pour insister avec force sur ce point de la vie de ses lecteurs. Mais on trouve qu'il aurait pu parler autrement à propos du célibat de ces moines. Les lecteurs ne se rendent pas tous compte du fait qu'il s'est effectivement exprimé autrement ailleurs. Son *De Sancta uirginitate*, par exemple, et ses Sermons sur l'Eglise-Vierge[4]) laissent une tout autre impression que le *Praeceptum*. Ils devraient donc plutôt se demander pourquoi ce dernier texte reste tant en deçà du niveau atteint ailleurs. Et puis, ils s'étonnent du climat d'indiscrétion, avec ses dénonciations par exemple, qui leur paraît désagréablement régner dans la seconde moitié du quatrième chapitre, toujours à propos du célibat. C'est à ces étonnements que je voudrais essayer de répondre dans le présent article.

B. Précisons que ce n'est pas le quatrième chapitre dans sa totalité qui traite du célibat. Son sujet général est plutôt: A propos des sorties.

Augustin commence par dire que les «serviteurs-de-Dieu-dans-le-monastère», en sortant, ne doivent pas attirer l'attention par leurs vêtements, qu'ils doivent sortir en groupe et se comporter conformément à leur qualité de moines. Aucune allusion directe donc au célibat dans ces premières lignes. Mais tout le reste du chapitre y est consacré, de la première ligne qui dit: Votre regard, bien sûr, peut tomber sur une femme[5])..., jusqu'à la dernière: ...il doit alors être corrigé avec la rigueur qui convient, conformément à la décision du prêtre ou celle du frère prieur[6]). Remarquons que ces deux brèves citations évoquent parfaitement le ton de l'ensemble de ce long passage sur le célibat monastique.

Cette partie du *Praeceptum* se divise d'ailleurs en deux parties. Dans la première saint Augustin dit qu'en sortant les frères du monastère ne peuvent pas ne pas rencontrer des femmes et il n'y a pas

[4]) Ces Sermons ont été étudiés par M. AGTERBERG dans «*Ecclesia-Virgo*». *Etude sur la virginité de l'Eglise et des fidèles chez saint Augustin*, Héverlé-Louvain, 1960.

[5]) *Praeceptum*, ligne 84: Oculi uestri, et si iaciuntur in aliquam feminarum...

[6]) *Praeceptum*, lignes 137-138: ...secundum arbitrium presbyteri uel praepositi grauius emendetur.

lieu de leur en vouloir. Ce qui serait blâmable c'est de les convoiter ou de vouloir être convoité d'elles, ne serait-ce qu'au travers de regards, voire de regards complices. Cela est remarqué d'ailleurs, ajoute-t-il au moins par l'«Observateur d'en haut» à qui rien ne peut être caché, mais aussi par les hommes, et pour ceux du monastère cette constatation entraîne le devoir de remettre leur frère dans la bonne voie.

Je reviendrai plus loin à cette partie du texte qui, chose étonnante, ne prescrit pas explicitement le célibat monastique mais en suppose le caractère strictement obligatoire. Ce fait étrange demande des explications, et nous en parlerons longuement plus loin.

Mais regardons tout d'abord ce que les frères du monastère doivent faire pour remettre le coupable dans son devoir. Ils doivent commencer par le mettre immédiatement en garde. Je cite:

C.1. Et si vous avez remarqué chez l'un d'entre vous cette effronterie du regard, mettez-le immédiatement en garde: sans avoir le temps de se développer, son mal doit être, dès le début, corrigé[7]).

Mais si, même après monition, vous le voyez commettre cette faute de nouveau, serait-ce un autre jour, à partir de ce moment on doit le signaler comme un malade qui a besoin d'un traitement; et ce devoir vous concerne tous sans exception. Mais, d'abord, il faut attirer sur lui l'attention de deux ou trois autres témoins, pour qu'il puisse être confondu par le témoignage de deux ou trois, et ramené à son devoir par une sévérité proportionnée. Et ne pensez pas être malveillants en dénonçant cette faute. Vous n'êtes certainement pas plus innocents, si, capables de corriger vos frères en les signalant, vous les laissez périr en vous taisant. Car si ton frère souffrait, en son corps, d'une plaie qu'il voudrait cacher par crainte d'avoir à subir des soins, ne serait-il pas cruel de ta part de t'en taire et miséricordieux de le divulguer? Combien plus grand est donc ton devoir de le dénoncer pour éviter une pourriture plus néfaste: celle du cœur?[8]).

[7]) *Praeceptum*, lignes 106-108: Et si hanc de qua loquor oculi petulantiam in aliquo uestrum aduerteritis, statim admonete, ne coepta progrediatur, sed de proximo corrigatur.

[8]) *Praeceptum*, lignes 109-119: Si autem et post admonitionem iterum, uel alio quocumque die, id ipsum eum facere uideritis, iam uelut uulneratum sanandum prodat quicumque hoc potuit inuenire; prius tamen et alteri uel tertio demonstratum, ut duorum uel trium possit ore conuinci et conpetenti seueritate coherceri. Nec uos iudicetis esse maliuolos, quando hoc indicatis. Magis quippe innocentes non estis, si fratres uestros, quos indicando corrigere potestis, tacendo perire permittitis. Si enim frater tuus uulnus haberet in corpore, quod uellet occultare, cum timet sanari, nonne crudeliter abs te sileretur et misericorditer indicaretur? Quanto ergo potius eum debes manifestare, ne perniciosius putrescat in corde?

Mais avant de le désigner à d'autres capables de le convaincre, s'il venait à nier, c'est d'abord au frère prieur qu'il faut le signaler, si, après avertissement, il a négligé de s'amender. Peut-être pourrait-il le rependre en tête-à-tête, et éviter ainsi la divulgation parmi les autres. Mais s'il nie, il faut employer contre lui, et à son insu, d'autres témoins; dès lors au vu et su de tout le monde, il ne sera plus inculpé par un seul témoin, mais sa culpabilité sera prouvée par deux ou trois. Une fois confondu, il doit accepter une peine destinée à le rendre meilleur, conformément à la décision du frère prieur, ou même du prêtre qui a la charge de vous tous. S'il refuse de s'y soumettre et ne prend pas le parti de quitter la communauté, qu'on l'en expulse. En cela non plus il n'y a cruauté mais bonté : le souci du grand nombre de ceux qu'il pourrait perdre par une contagion pernicieuse[9]).

Il ne faudrait pas penser pourtant que le célibat serait le seul domaine où puisse s'exercer un mal qui finalement pourrait aboutir à la mesure extrême de l'expulsion. Le «traitement» de l'effronterie du regard n'est que le modèle de ce qui doit se faire dans d'autres cas également sérieux. Il reste que cette effronterie est manifestement regardée comme un objet de grave sollicitude. A propos d'éventuelles autres «maladies» saint Augustin précise :

Ce que je viens de dire à propos des regards qui ne doivent pas s'attacher, doit être appliqué, soigneusement et fidèlement, aux autres péchés: il faut les découvrir, les écarter, les dénoncer, les prouver et les punir, tout cela inspiré par l'amour des personnes et la haine des péchés[10]).

Cette dernière remarque ne manque pas d'adoucir l'austérité de tout ce qui vient d'être dit.

Après cela Augustin revient au célibat monastique en évoquant un cas particulièrement grave:

[9]) *Praeceptum*, lignes 120-129: Sed antequam aliis demonstretur, per quos conuincendus est, si negauerit, prius praeposito debet ostendi, si admonitus neglexerit corrigi, ne forte possit, secretius correptus, non innotescere ceteris. Si autem negauerit, tunc nescienti adhibendi sunt alii, ut iam coram omnibus possit, non ab uno teste argui, sed a duobus uel tribus conuinci. Conuictus uero, secundum praepositi, uel etiam presbyteri ad cuius dispensationem pertinent, arbitrium, debet emendatoriam sustinere uindictam. Quam si ferre recusauerit, etiam si ipse non abscesserit, de uestra societate proiciatur. Non enim et hoc fit crudeliter, sed misericorditer, ne contagione pestifera plurimos perdat.

[10]) *Praeceptum*, lignes 130-133 : Et hoc quod dixi de oculo non figendo etiam in ceteris inueniendis, prohibendis, indicandis, conuincendis uindicandisque peccatis, diligenter et fideliter obseruetur, cum dilectione hominum et odio uitiorum.

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 quel petit présent? 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 frère prieur[11]).

Bien que cela ne soit pas dit explicitement, il faudra bien comprendre que cet homme, s'il refuse de se soumettre à la peine infligée et ne prend pas le parti de quitter la communauté, doit en être expulsé. Cela avait déjà été dit et n'avait pas besoin d'être répété.

C.2. Chez beaucoup de lecteurs actuels du *Praeceptum*, nous l'avons dit, toute cette procédure laisse une impression pénible. Il y en a qui disent qu'on se croirait dans un Etat policier. La remarque est intéressante, comme nous allons le voir. Mais les objecteurs seraient étonnés de voir combien de textes scripturaires se cachent derrière ce difficile passage.

Il y a tout d'abord Matthieu 18, 15-17: «Si ton frère vient à pécher, va le trouver et reprends-le seul à seul. S'il t'écoute, tu auras gagné ton frère. S'il ne t'écoute pas, prends encore avec toi un ou deux autres, pour que toute affaire soit décidée sur la parole de deux ou trois témoins. Que s'il refuse de les écouter, dis-le à la communauté. S'il refuse d'écouter même la communauté, qu'il soit pour toi comme le païen et le publicain». L'influence de ces paroles du Christ sur l'ensemble de la seconde moitié du quatrième chapitre est manifeste. Mais il y a un petit détail qui mérite d'être signalé plus particulièrement. À la ligne 115 du *Praeceptum* commencent les quatre seules lignes de cette pièce où se trouve utilisée la deuxième personne du singulier: «Si *ton* frère...». Or c'est exactement ainsi que Matthieu 18, 15 débute: «Si *ton* frère...».

Les «deux ou trois témoins» qui figurent dans le même texte biblique évoquent surtout Deutéronome 19, 15, mais aussi Deutéronome 17, 16, la deuxième Lettre aux Corinthiens 13, 1 et la première à Timothée 5, 19.

Dans la même Lettre nous lisons immédiatement après, en 5, 20: «Les coupables, reprends-les (*peccantes argue*) devant tout le monde (*coram omnibus*), afin que les autres en éprouvent la crainte». Le même *coram omnibus* se retrouve en Galates 2, 14 où saint Paul écrit: «...j'ai dit

[11]) *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.

à Céphas devant tout le monde...». Or le *Praeceptum* emploie *coram omnibus* et *argui* dans la phrase qui s'étend de la ligne 123 à la ligne 125 et où figurent aussi les deux ou trois témoins[12]).

Dans tout le passage du *Praeceptum* que nous sommes en train d'étudier, l'imagerie médicale est continuelle. C'est pourquoi j'ai parlé de la «médecine du péché». Or cette suite d'images trouve sans doute l'une de ses racines en Matthieu 9, 12: «Ce ne sont pas les gens bien portants qui ont besoin de médecin, mais les malades».

À la fin du même passage, à la ligne 136, le *Praeceptum* dit: «S'il l'avoue (*confitetur*) de lui-même, il ne faut pas sévir contre lui, mais prier pour lui», ce qui rappelle la Lettre de saint Jaques 5, 16: «Confessez donc vos péchés les uns aux autres et priez les uns pour les autres, afin que vous soyez guéris». Signalons dans le même contexte Ecclésiastique 20, 3: «Celui qui s'accuse d'une faute évite la peine».

Non pas seulement en ce qui concerne l'effronterie du regard, mais par rapport à n'importe quel péché, il faut agir «inspiré par l'amour des personnes et la haine des péchés». C'est ce qui est prescrit à la ligne 132 du *Praeceptum*. Cette phrase évoque le Lévitique 19, 17: «Tu n'auras pas dans ton cœur de haine pour ton frère. Tu dois réprimander ton compatriote et ainsi tu n'auras pas la charge d'un péché».

Le caractère «miséricordieux» des mesures sévères prises contre les pécheurs, et même celui de leur éventuelle exclusion, se trouve souligné dans le Psaume 140 (141), 5: «Que le juste me frappe, c'est charité; qu'il me châtie»; dans Proverbes 3, 12: «Car le Seigneur reprend celui qu'il chérit, comme un père son fils bien-aimé». (Ce texte a été repris en Hébreux 12, 6, mais d'après la LXX: «Car celui qu'aime le Seigneur, il le corrige et il châtie tout fils qu'il agrée»)[13]); dans Job 5, 17: «Heureux l'homme que Dieu corrige»; dans la deuxième Lettre aux Thessaloniciens 3, 14-15: «Si quelqu'un n'obéit pas aux indications de cette lettre, notez-le et, pour sa confusion, cessez de frayer avec lui; cependant ne le traitez pas en ennemi, mais reprenez-le (*corripite*) comme un frère»; dans la première Lettre aux Corinthiens 5, 5 où saint Paul écrit à propos d'un Chrétien inceste: «Que cet individu soit livré à Satan pour la perte de sa chair, afin que l'esprit soit sauvé au Jour du Seigneur» et en Galates 6, 1: «Frères,

[12]) *Praeceptum*, lignes 123-125: Si autem negauerit, tunc nescienti adhibendi sunt alii, ut iam coram omnibus possit, non ab uno teste argui, sed a duobus uel tribus conuinci.

[13]) Quem enim diligit dominus, corripit; flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit. — C'est ainsi qu'Augustin utilise ce texte, entre autres dans *En. in Ps. 114*, 5; 13 *En. in Ps. 118*, 3; 17 *En. in Ps. 118*, 2; 31 *En. in Ps. 118*, 3; *En. in Ps. 122*, 10.

même dans le cas où quelqu'un serait en faute, vous les spirituels, rétablissez-le en esprit de douceur».

Le *Praeceptum* précise à la ligne 107 que les frères doivent commencer par *avertir* le coupable. Citons à ce propos l'Ecclésiastique 19, 17: «Va trouver ton voisin avant d'en venir aux menaces», et rappelons les paroles bien connues adressées au prophète-sentinelle dans Ezéchiel 3, 16-21 et 33, 1-19.

Particulièrement durs sont la première Lettre aux Corinthiens 5, 2, au début du passage contre le Chrétien inceste: «... pour qu'on enlève du milieu de vous l'auteur d'une telle action», et 5, 13: «Enlevez le pervers du milieu de vous». (C'est une citation de Deutéronome 13,6 où la Bible de Jérusalem traduit: «Tu feras disparaître *le mal*[14]) du milieu de toi»); la deuxième aux Corinthiens 13, 2: «... si je reviens, je serai sans pitié» et Tite 3, 10: «Quant à l'homme hérétique, après un premier et second avertissement (*correptio*), romps avec lui».

C.3. Ce support biblique du quatrième chapitre du *Praeceptum* ne manquera pas de frapper et d'étonner plus d'un lecteur. Mais il ne fait que déplacer les problèmes concernant cette rigoureuse «médecine du péché». Il semble bien qu'au cours des siècles un climat s'est installé à ce propos qui diffère notablement de celui qui se manifeste dans la Règle de saint Augustin, mais aussi dans les textes bibliques qui en constituent le support. N'oublions pas que depuis lors le sacrement de pénitence (je veux dire la «confession» sacramentelle) est devenue la forme habituelle de cette même «médecine». Mais sous cette forme elle était inconnue à l'époque d'Augustin. Ce développement a eu des conséquences considérables. Il nous a habitués à une situation où le péché est entouré d'une discrétion extrême. Un grand méfait, soit un assassinat, est du domaine public en tant que crime; c'est une affaire de police, d'assises, de prison, d'échafaud éventuellement. Mais le même assassinat est du domaine privé en tant que péché; c'est une affaire entre l'assassin et Dieu, entre l'assassin et un confesseur. Celui-ci répond au remords du criminel par le pardon du péché que la justice humaine va sévèrement punir en tant que crime. Or à l'époque de saint Augustin les méfaits étaient beaucoup plus que maintenant du domaine public, même en tant que péchés. C'est

[14]) Voir *Retractationes* II, 17: ... sic potius (intellegendum), ut homo malus auferatur ex hominibus bonis, quod fit per ecclesiasticam disciplinam, sicut graeca lingua indicat, ubi sine ambiguitate scriptum est ut intellegatur: hominem malum, non: hoc malum. — PL 32, c. 637; CSEL 36, p. 152.

pourquoi le lecteur moderne a l'impression, en lisant le passage du *Praeceptum* sur les péchés, de lire un passage sur des crimes. «Public» n'égale-t-il pas «criminel» dans nos appréciations actuelles? Il n'est donc pas étonnant que certains qui lisent ce texte, avec ses dénonciations, ses témoins, ses punitions, pensent à un état policier. Ils auraient préféré la discrétion du confessional. Cela se comprend parfaitement. On ne peut pas lire un document qui date de presque seize siècles sans un peu de sens historique. Il ne faut pas vouloir qu'un texte de la fin du quatrième siècle reflète une mentalité qui est beaucoup plus récente.

A cette époque, même les péchés minimes de tous les jours avaient un caractère plus public qu'actuellement. A part ce qu'on disait à Dieu à leur propos dans la prière personnelle, à part le bien qu'on faisait (par le jeûne et l'aumône surtout) pour exprimer ses regrets et pour obtenir le pardon divin, la récitation publique et commune du Notre-Père pendant l'assemblée eucharistique était un moment important dans la discipline ecclésiale[15]). Les Chrétiens dont la vie avait une certaine profondeur disaient consciemment et de tout cœur : «Pardonne-nous nos offenses, comme (dans la mesure où) nous pardonnons à ceux qui nous ont offensés».

Pour les grands péchés commis après le baptême le caractère public du mal était encore beaucoup plus prononcé. Les grands pécheurs étaient «excommuniés». Leur situation était de notoriété publique, comme d'ailleurs leur réconciliation, à laquelle participait toute la communauté chrétienne locale. Pour bien comprendre le quatrième chapitre du *Praeceptum*, il faut se rendre compte qu'au niveau du monastère l'expulsion était ce qu'au niveau des Chrétiens du «monde» était l'excommunication[16]). Les moines n'étaient pas expulsés du monastère pour le moindre petit délit. Dans le quatrième chapitre du *Praeceptum* il s'agit de quelqu'un qui pèche dans un domaine sérieux et virtuellement très grave, dont la culpabilité est prouvée, mais qui refuse de subir les conséquences de son comportement.

Entre les péchés pratiquement inévitables de tous les jours, et les grands péchés qui entraînaient l'excommunication et l'expulsion, il y avait tout cet ensemble de péchés qui mettaient le pécheur dange-

[15]) Voir A.-M. La Bonnardière, *Pénitence et réconciliation des Pénitents d'après saint Augustin. I. L'économie de la rémission des péchés*, dans *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* XIII (1967), p. 31-53, particulièrement B. *La pénitence quotidienne des* fideles, *des baptisés*, ib. p. 49-53.

[16]) Voir mon article *L'expulsion «de numero pauperum quos pascit ecclesia» dans le Contra Epistulam Parmeniani III, 2 (16)*, dans *Augustiniana*, XXII (1972), p. 5-29.

reusement sur la pente vers le très grand mal et donc vers les mesures extrêmes qui en étaient les conséquences. Or étant donné que la confession privée était encore à découvrir, tous les fidèles ou tous les «confrères», sans exception, avaient à intervenir là où ils le pouvaient. Il fallait à tout prix éviter la glissade fatale. Tous étaient responsables de tous et, par des *correptionum medicamenta*[17]), tous devaient agir de sorte qu'on n'arrivât pas à l'extrémité de l'excommunication ou de l'expulsion. Voilà pourquoi le passage du *Praeceptum* sur la correction fraternelle fait l'impression d'être si sévère, voire impitoyable.

Mais je souligne qu'une certainė discrétion était déjà préconisée dans ce texte. Nous y avons lu en effet que le coupable devait être dénoncé tout d'abord au frère prieur pour qu'il pût le reprendre en tête à tête et éviter ainsi toute divulgation.

Je rappelle aussi que toute la procédure prescrite dans le même texte devait être inspirée par l'amour des personnes et la haine des péchés.

D'autre part, l'ensemble de ce texte n'est pas démodé, loin de là. Par leur sentiment de responsabilité mutuelle dans le domaine du mal, les fidèles et les moines fervents d'alors pourraient guider ceux qui désirent actuellement sortir d'une conception trop individualiste du sacrement de pénitence et qui soulignent qu'il ne s'agit pas de retrouver la bonne entente avec le Seigneur uniquement, mais aussi, et en même temps, de la retrouver avec l'Église en tant que fraternité rachetée, voire avec l'humanité tout entière.

D. La partie du quatrième chapitre du *Praeceptum* qui parle des *correptionum medicamenta* n'a qu'un rapport indirect avec ce qui constitue l'objet principal de cette recherche, je veux dire avec le célibat monastique dans la Règle de saint Augustin. Nous allons traiter maintenant des paragraphes quatre à six du même quatrième chapitre, paragraphes consacrés au célibat précisément.

D.1. Citons d'abord le texte:

Votre regard, bien sûr, peut tomber sur une femme, mais qu'il ne s'arrête sur aucune. On ne vous interdit pas, en effet, de voir des femmes sur votre chemin, mais les convoiter, ou vouloir être convoité d'elles, voilà

[17]) Voir mon article *Les «quaedam correptionum medicamenta» dans De Fide et operibus 26 (48) et la Règle de saint Augustin*, dans *Augustiniana* XXII (1972), p. 29-34.

ce qui est blâmable. Car ce n'est pas seulement le toucher, ni le mouvement du cœur, mais aussi le regard qui excite ou exprime le désir des femmes. Et ne prétendez pas avoir le cœur pur, si vous avez les yeux impurs ; car l'œil impur est le messager d'un cœur impur. Sans échanger la moindre parole, on peut se communiquer mutuellement des sentiments impurs au travers de regards complices et, par suite de désirs mauvais, trouver satisfaction dans une passion réciproque. Alors, même si les corps restent intacts de toute atteinte à la pudeur, c'en est fait de la vraie chasteté : celle du cœur[18]).

Celui qui arrête son regard sur une femme et trouve lui-même du plaisir à sentir arrêté sur lui le regard de cette femme, ne doit pas s'imaginer que personne ne le voit quand il a fait cela. Il est certainement remarqué, et même par ceux dont on ne le penserait pas. Mais soit, admettons que tout reste caché et qu'aucun être humain ne le voie, quel cas fera-t-il de cet Observateur d'en haut à qui rien ne peut être caché ? Ou faudrait-t-il penser qu'il ne voie rien, celui dont la sagesse ait temporiser en vue du Bien ? L'homme consacré doit craindre de déplaire à Dieu ; qu'il ne pèche donc pas en voulant plaire à une femme. Qu'il pense : rien n'est caché au regard de Dieu ; qu'il ne pèche donc pas en arrêtant son regard sur une femme. Dans ce domaine aussi, nous est inculquée la crainte de Dieu par cette parole : « Le Seigneur exècre l'œil qui dévisage » (Prov. 27, 20 dans la LXX)[19]).

Par conséquent, lorsque vous êtes réunis à l'église, ou à un autre endroit où se trouvent également des femmes, soyez les uns pour les autres les gardiens de la pureté. De cette façon, Dieu, qui habite en chacun de

[18]) *Praeceptum*, lignes 84-93 : Oculi uestri, et si iaciuntur in aliquam feminarum, figantur in nemine. Neque enim quando proceditis, feminas uidere prohibemini, sed adpetere, aut ab ipsis adpeti uelle, criminosum est. Nec solo tactu et affectu, sed aspectu quoque, adpetitur et adpetit concupiscentia feminarum. Nec dicatis uos animos habere pudicos, si habetis oculos inpudicos, quia inpudicus oculus inpudici cordis est nuntius. Et cum se inuicem sibi, etiam tacente lingua, conspectu mutuo corda nuntiant inpudica, et secundum concupiscentiam carnis alterutro delectantur ardore, etiam intactis ab inmunda uiolatione corporibus, fugit castitas ipsa de moribus.

[19]) *Praeceptum*, lignes 94-102 : Nec putare debet qui in femina figit oculum et illius in se ipse diligit fixum, ab aliis se non uideri cum hoc facit ; uidetur omnino, et a quibus se uideri non arbitratur. Sed ecce lateat et a nemine hominum uideatur, quid faciet de illo desuper inspectore quem latere nihil potest ? An ideo putandus est non uidere, quia tanto uidet patientius, quanto sapientius ? Illi ergo uir sanctus timeat displicere, ne uelit feminae male placere. Illum cogitet omnia uidere, ne uelit feminam male uidere. Illius namque et in hac causa conmendatus est timor, ubi scriptum est : « Abominatio est domino defigens oculum ».

vous, vous protègera aussi depuis ses demeures, c'est-à-dire par chacun de vous [20]).

D.2. Le support biblique de ce passage est aussi important que celui que nous avons rencontré plus haut à propos de la «correction fraternelle». Il y a ici même l'une des rares citations explicites qui se trouvent dans le *Praeceptum*, une référence du livre des Proverbes dans une traduction qui correspond au grec de la Septante : *Abominatio est domino defigens oculum*. D'après le *Praeceptum*, le regard impur est aussi mauvais qu'un acte extérieur du même genre. Cela se lit déjà dans le Sermon de la Montagne, en Matthieu 5, 28: «Eh bien! moi je vous dis: Quiconque regarde une femme pour la désirer a déjà commis, dans son cœur, l'adultère avec elle». Dans le même contexte nous pourrions citer l'Ecclésiastique 9, 5 et 9, 8: «N'arrête pas ton regard sur une jeune fille, de crainte d'être puni avec elle» et «Près d'une femme mariée garde-toi bien de t'asseoir ... de crainte que ton cœur ne succombe à ses charmes et que dans ta passion tu ne glisses à ta perte». Ajoutons la déclaration de Job en 31, 1: «J'avais fait un pacte avec mes yeux, au point de ne fixer aucune jeune fille».

À la ligne 97 le *Praeceptum* appelle Dieu l'«Observateur d'en haut», ce qui évoque Proverbes 24, 12: «Celui qui pèse les cœurs ne comprend-il pas? Celui qui observe ton âme, il sait, Lui, et Il rendra à l'homme selon sa conduite».

À cet Observateur rien ne peut être caché, *latere*. La Bible le dit souvent. Je cite Job 11, 11: «Car il connaît, Lui, les hommes faux, il voit le crime et y prête attention»; Job 23, 10: «Il sait pourtant la voie où je me tiens»; Psaume 32 (33), 13-14: «Des cieux le Seigneur regarde, Il voit tous les fils de l'homme; du lieu qu'Il habite, Il observe tous les habitants de la terre»; Sagesse 1, 8: «Nul ne saurait donc se dérober (*latere*)»; Ecclésiastique 15, 18-19: «Car grande est la sagesse du Seigneur, Il est fort et puissant, et Il voit toutes choses. Ses yeux sont sur ceux qui le craignent et Il connaît toutes les œuvres de l'homme»; Ecclésiastique 23, 19: «les yeux des hommes sont la crainte (de l'homme qui pèche), il ne sait pas que les yeux du Seigneur sont des milliers de fois plus lumineux que le soleil,

[20]) *Praeceptum*, lignes 103-105 : Quando ergo simul estis in ecclesia et ubicumque ubi et feminae sunt, inuicem uestram pudicitiam custodite; deus enim qui habitat in uobis, etiam isto modo uos custodiet exuobis.

qu'ils regardent toutes les voies des hommes et pénètrent les plus secrets recoins»; Matthieu 6, 4: «... ton Père... voit dans ce qui est secret»; Hébreux 4, 13: «Tout est à nu et mis à découvert aux yeux de Celui à qui nous devons rendre compte».

Le même Observateur d'en haut est sage et patient, Il temporise en voulant donner aux pécheurs le temps de se convertir. Nous le lisons dans Sagesse 1, 6: «La Sagesse est un esprit ami des hommes, mais elle ne laisse pas impuni le blasphémateur pour ses propos; car Dieu est le témoin de ses reins, le surveillant véridique de son cœur, et ce que dit sa langue, il l'entend»; Sagesse 11, 24 (23): «Tu fermes les yeux sur les péchés des hommes pour qu'ils se repentent»; Sagesse 12, 10: «Mais en exerçant tes jugements peu à peu, Tu laissais place au repentir»; Ecclésiastique 5, 6: «Ne dis pas: Sa compassion est grande, Il pardonnera la multitude de mes péchés. Car la miséricorde est en Lui, mais aussi la colère»; Ezéchiel 33, 11: «Oracle du Seigneur, Je ne désire pas la mort du méchant, mais qu'il revienne de sa voie et qu'il vive»; Romains 2, 4: «Ou bien méprises-tu la richesse de sa bonté, de sa tolérance et de sa patience, ignorant que la bonté de Dieu te pousse au repentir?»; la première Lettre de saint Pierre 3, 20: «... jadis, lorsque temporisait la patience divine aux jours de Noé»; la deuxième Lettre de saint Pierre 3, 9: «Dieu patiente envers vous, voulant, non que certains périssent, mais que tous arrivent au repentir».

À la ligne 101 le *Praeceptum* recommande la crainte du Seigneur. Celle-ci se trouve nommée dans un texte déjà cité, Ecclésiastique 15, 18-19, qui parle aussi de la sagesse de Dieu: «Car grande est la sagesse du Seigneur ... ses yeux sont sur ceux qui le craignent...».

Il faut en effet craindre de déplaire à Dieu en voulant plaire à une femme. Augustin lisait[21]) dans le Psaume 52, 6 que Dieu brisera les os de ceux qui veulent plaire aux hommes. Ajoutons Galates 1, 10: «À présent donc, est-ce la faveur des hommes que je veux gagner ou celle de Dieu? Ou est-ce que je cherche à plaire à des hommes? Si j'en étais encore à plaire à des hommes, je ne serais pas l'esclave du Christ».

Enfin le *Praeceptum* dit à la ligne 104 que Dieu habite en chacun des frères. Augustin s'inspire d'un ensemble de textes bibliques comme la première aux Corinthiens 3, 16-17: «Ne savez-vous pas que vous êtes un sanctuaire de Dieu, et que l'Esprit de Dieu habite en vous? Si quelqu'un

[21]) Voir *Epistula* XXII, 8: Non enim frustra dictum est: Deus confringet ossa hominibus placere uolentium. — PL 33, c. 93; CSEL 34.1, p. 60. L'*En. in Ps. 52*, 9 montre qu'Augustin connaissait deux versions, celle que je viens de signaler et: Deus dissipauit ossa hominibus placentium.

détruit le sanctuaire de Dieu, celui-là, Dieu le détruira. Car le sanctuaire de Dieu est sacré, et c'est ce que vous êtes»; la même Lettre 6, 19-20: «Ou ne savez-vous pas que votre corps est un sanctuaire du Saint-Esprit qui est en vous et que vous tenez de Dieu? Et que vous ne vous appartenez pas? Vous avez été achetés bien cher! Glorifiez donc Dieu dans votre corps»; Ephésiens 3, 17: «Que le Christ habite en vos cœurs par le moyen de la foi».

La première partie du long passage du quatrième chapitre qui traite du célibat monastique est donc d'une forte inspiration scripturaire, tout en ne présentant qu'une seule citation explicite, Proverbes 27, 20 (d'après la Septante): *Abominatio est domino defigens oculum*, «Le Seigneur exècre l'œil qui dévisage». En hébreu ce verset disait que les yeux de l'homme sont insatiables. Mais on sait que saint Augustin citait les Proverbes d'après une traduction latine remontant à la traduction grecque des LXX[22]).

D.3. Mais retournons au début de notre passage qui dit: votre regard peut tomber sur une femme ... Je voudrais souligner que ce terme de «femme» peut être lu avec l'intonation que chacun voudra et qu'il serait facile d'ironiser en prenant un air misogyne. Mais je souligne aussi qu'il n'y a dans cette première phrase sur le célibat consacré aucun élément qui invite à cette ironie. Et j'ajouterai qu'Augustin a toujours eu le plus grand estime pour la femme en tant que telle. Il n'a jamais pensé qu'elle serait inférieure *à* l'homme, bien qu'il y ait selon lui un domaine dans lequel elle est l'inférieure *de* l'homme, le foyer. La femme, d'après Augustin, est subordonnée à l'homme exclusivement dans le droit matrimonial. En estimant que la femme, dans son foyer, est l'inférieure de l'homme, Augustin ne faisait rien d'extraordinaire. Les Chrétiens le pensaient en fonction de la Bible, les païens le pensaient en fonction de leur tradition culturelle. Je laisse à autrui le soin de juger de cette tradition, mais j'affirme qu'il aurait été étonnant si Augustin en avait pensé autrement. Mais Augustin estime aussi que la femme n'est pas inférieure *à* l'homme, ni intellectuellement, ni moralement, ni religieusement. A ce propos je me permets de renvoyer le lecteur à un livre récent sur les opinions de saint Augustin et de saint Thomas d'Aquin dans ce domaine, livre dont le titre est précisement: «Equivalence et sub-

[22]) Voir A.-M. La Bonnardière, *Biblia Augustiniana. A.T. Le Livre des Proverbes*, Paris, 1975, p. 18-23.

ordination»[23]), subordination dans le droit matrimonial, équivalence partout ailleurs, du moins selon saint Augustin, le premier des deux auteurs étudiés.

Quant à cette équivalence, je voudrais citer ici un passage qu'Augustin a écrit précisément pendant la période qui, comme on verra, nous intéresse particulièrement dans cet article, celle qui s'étend de sa conversion en 386 au début de son épiscopat. Il s'agit de quelques lignes du *De Vera religione*, le tout dernier ouvrage dont Augustin a entrepris la rédaction avant son ordination sacerdotale. Dans le passage en question Augustin parle de la convoitise de la chair et dit que c'est à l'homme de la vaincre. Il écrit : «Soumettons-nous cette *femme*, si nous sommes des hommes». Il est probable que maint lecteur, sans attendre la suite, commence déjà à être choqué. Augustin ne dit-il pas en toutes lettres que la femme est à comparer avec la convoitise de la chair, tandis que les hommes seraient irréprochables s'ils n'étaient pas si pernicieusement tentés par les femmes? N'allons pas trop vite, et lisons la suite. Augustin continue : «Sous notre conduite — ne lisons pas trop rapidement : sous la conduite des mâles —, elle (cette femme) sera meilleure, elle aussi, et alors elle ne s'appellera plus *Cupiditas*, mais *Temperantia*». Retenons que c'est la même femme, tout en portant maintenant un autre nom, flatteur, du moins dans la pensée d'Augustin. Il continue : «Si c'est elle, en effet, qui dirige tandis que nous suivons, son nom devient *Cupiditas*, *Libido*, et le nôtre *Temeritas*, *Stultitia*. Suivons le Christ notre Tête, afin d'être à notre tour suivis par ce dont nous sommes la tête»[24]). Nous sommes là en plein dans des images. Il ne s'agit pas d'hommes mâles tout remplis de toutes les qualités, et de femmes qui seraient des voluptés incarnées. Augustin veut dire qu'à l'intérieur de l'âme humaine il y a une «partie» qui doit diriger et une «partie» qui doit obéir et passer au corps les ordres reçus[25]). Cela le fait penser au foyer où, selon le droit matrimonial, il y a quelqu'un qui doit diriger, l'homme, et quelqu'un qui doit obéir, son épouse. Mais cette image ne permet pas de dire qu'à l'intérieur de l'âme humaine, le bien

[23]) Kari Elisabeth BØRRESEN, *Subordination et équivalence. Nature et rôle de la femme d'après Augustin et Thomas d'Aquin*, Oslo-Paris, (1968).

[24]) *De Vera religione* 41 (78): Subiugemus nobis hanc feminam, si uiri sumus. Nobis ducibus et ipsa erit melior nec iam cupiditas sed temperantia nominabitur. Nam cum ipsa ducit, nos autem sequimur, cupiditas illa et libido, nos uero temeritas et stultitia nuncupamur. Sequamur Christum caput nostrum, ut et nos sequatur, cui caput sumus. — PL 34, c. 157; CC 32, p. 238-239.

[25]) Cfr *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II, 11(15)-1522).

serait masculin et le mal féminin. Ce qui doit y diriger est en tant que tel comparable à l'homme dans un foyer,ce qui doit obéir est en tant que tel comparable à l'épouse dans le même foyer; le texte ne dit, ni plus, ni moins. Augustin dit même en toutes lettres que cette analyse de l'âme humaine vaut également pour les femmes: Car la femme, elle aussi, a en elle un principe viril qui lui permet de subjuguer ces femmes au sens symbolique, les convoitises, d'être servante du Christ et maîtresse de ses désirs[26]). Et il ajoute que telles sont dans le nouveau peuple de Dieu quantité de veuves et de vierges consacrées, et quantité d'épouses aussi qui regardent leurs époux comme des frères (équivalence!), tout en respectant les droits conjugaux (subordination!). A l'heure actuelle, nous aurions peut-être préféré qu'Augustin se fût servi d'une autre image pour décrire les deux «niveaux» de l'âme humaine, mais il n'est pas correct de penser que c'est avec mépris qu'il a écrit: «Votre regard, bien sûr, peut tomber sur une femme...». C'est avec sollicitude qu'il a parlé.

D.4. Quittons donc le domaine de la philosophie générale de la femme pour entrer dans le cadre plus restreint de la théologie du péché. Là, Augustin n'a-t-il pas dit qu'il faut toujours se méfier des «Èves»? En effet, il a écrit cela dans la fameuse Lettre CCXLIII à Laetus[27]). Cette Lettre n'a pu être datée, ni par les Mauristes, ni par A. Goldbacher, l'éditeur de la Correspondance d'Augustin dans le Corpus de Vienne, mais d'après des recherches récentes et encore inédites elle risquerait fort de dater d'environ 397, et d'être donc plus ou moins contemporaine de la Règle de saint Augustin. Ce Laetus était un jeune moine de l'entourage d'Augustin qui sous l'influence de sa mère, possessive, allait peut-être renoncer à son état monastique. C'est dans ce contexte que la mère de Laetus est présentée comme une femme dangereuse. Et Augustin ajoute alors qu'il faut toujours se méfier de l'«Eve» qui se cache dans chaque femme. Mais c'est dans la même Lettre qu'il affirme que la mère de Laetus aurait bien fait de suivre l'exemple d'autres femmes, meilleures. Elle était,

[26]) *De Vera religione* 41 (78): Hoc et feminis praecipi potest, non maritali sed fraterno iure, quo iure in Christo nec masculus nec femina sumus. Habent enim et illae uirile quiddam, unde femineas subiugent uoluptates, unde Christo seruiant et imperent cupiditati. Quod in multis uiduis et uirginibus dei, in multis etiam maritatis, sed iam fraterne coniugalia iura seruantibus Christiani populi dispensatione manifestum est. — PL 34, c. 157; CC 32, p. 239.

[27]) *Ep.* CCXLIII, 10: Caue ne in deterius peruertat et euertat. Quid interest, utrum in uxore, an in matre, dum tamen Eua in qualibet muliere caueatur? — PL 33, c. 1058; CSEL 57, p. 577.

dit-il, différente de la mère des sept frères Macchabées qui exhortait ses fils à subir courageusement le martyre, et des mères Spartiates qui animaient leurs fils au combat bien plus efficacement que le faisait le son des trompettes, et les encouragaient à répandre leur sang pour leur patrie[28]). La femme est souvent complice du mal, donc, mais elle est aussi «complice du bien». Ici de nouveau Augustin se montre moins misogyne qu'on le pense souvent.

D.5. Bien plus pertinente est l'objection suivante qu'on entend parfois formuler contre cette partie du quatrième chapitre de la Règle: ce que son auteur dit à propos de l'effronterie du regard, n'est-ce pas abstrait et irréel? Ces moines auxquels il s'adressait n'avaient-ils pas d'yeux comme tout le monde? Il est vrai que l'auteur du *Praeceptum* prend ses précautions en disant: on ne vous interdit pas de voir des femmes sur votre chemin, mais de les convoiter..., mais les limites entre les deux sont floues dans la vie concrète. Ces paroles sans nuances, qui semblent parler à «des moines en soi», ne tiennent aucun compte de cas particuliers. N'y avait-il pas à l'époque de saint Augustin des gens de bonne volonté mais tendus et inquiets? Dans le domaine des biens matériels, la Règle tient compte des particularités personnelles et en parle à plusieurs reprises[29]). Mais pourquoi pas ici, dans le cadre de la sexualité?

Il me semble que cette critique est pertinente. Mais je souligne tout d'abord que cette différence remonte en partie à deux supports bibliques très différents. Là où il s'agit des biens matériels, saint Augustin s'inspire d'Actes 4, 35 qui dit que dans la première communauté chrétienne de Jérusalem «on distribuait à chacun *suivant ses besoins*». Mais dans le domaine de l'effronterie du regard il s'inspire de Matthieu 5, 28 où Jésus-Christ dit sans aucune casuistique: «Quiconque regarde une femme pour la désirer a déjà commis, dans son cœur, l'adultère avec elle». Il reste qu'on aurait bien voulu lire dans le *Praeceptum* quelques mots d'encouragement pour certains hommes en chair et en os, faibles mais de

[28]) *Ep.* CCXLIII, 6: Rapit militem Christi tuba caelestis ad proelium, et retinet mater, non plane talis, qualis Machabaeorum fuit, nec saltem similis Lacedaemoniis matribus, de quibus memoriae proditum est, quod filios suos, ut pro terrena patria sanguinem funderent, multo amplius atque ardentius in certamina bellica quam signorum sonitus excitabant. — PL 32, c. 1057; CSEL 57, p. 573.

[29]) *Praeceptum*, ligne 8: unicuique sicut cuique opus fuerit; lignes 14-15: eorum infirmitati quod opus est tribuatur; lignes 144-145: dum tamen unicuique quod cuique opus est non negetur; lignes 184-185: de cellario petat, quod cuique opus esse perspexerit.

bonne volonté, qui allaient entendre ce passage, et cela encore bon nombre de siècles plus tard. Et Augustin était parfaitement capable de parler un langage moins «essentialiste», plus direct et plus personnel. C'est lui qui a écrit: «J'étais devenu moi-même pour moi-même une immense question; je peine sur moi-même, je suis devenu pour moi-même une terre excessivement ingrate qui me met en nage; le profond abîme qu'est l'homme pour lui-même; ses cheveux sont plus faciles à compter que les sentiments et les mouvements de son cœur»[30]). Quel dommage que rien de cette profondeur de l'âme d'Augustin ne soit monté jusqu'à la surface du *Praeceptum*. Quel dommage aussi que Matthieu 5, 28 n'ait pas invité Augustin à être plus existentiel dans sa Règle. La façon abstraite de parler qui marque tout ce passage sur l'effronterie du regard risque d'avoir fait du mal, suscité des scrupules, découragé de généreux efforts, au cours des siècles.

D.6. La chose qui me frappe le plus dans le passage sur le célibat consacré est l'absence de toute prescription à cet égard.

Ce qui allait devenir plus tard le «vœu de pauvreté» se trouve prescrit explicitement au premier chapitre, et cela avec la présentation d'un idéal: pas de possessions privées, comme au début de l'Eglise, à Jérusalem.

Ce qui allait devenir le «vœu d'obéissance» se trouve prescrit au septième chapitre, avec la présentation d'un idéal également. Augustin s'y inspire de la fine fleur des réflexions classiques sur l'exercice de l'autorité.

Mais ce qui allait devenir plus tard le «vœu de chasteté», ou de célibat consacré, est seulement supposé dans notre quatrième chapitre. Le célibat n'y est nulle part prescrit explicitement. Et puisque la prescription manque, toute présentation d'un idéal y manque également. Pourqoi s'engager dans ce genre de vie? Augustin ne le dit pas. Avec le caractère abstrait de ses propos sur l'effronterie du regard, c'est cette absence de toute motivation au début de ce long passage sur le célibat qui me frappe. Mais je crois qu'ici l'explication des faits est plus facile. Je me suis posé en effet la question suivante: en 397, date de la Règle si je ne me trompe pas, quel idéal saint Augustin avait-il à présenter à propos du célibat consacré? Pour répondre à cette question il m'a fallu parcourir toutes les œuvres de saint Augustin écrites entre sa conversion en 386 et le début

[30]) *Confessiones* IV, 4(9); X, 16(25); IV, 14(22): Factus eram ipse mihi magna quaestio; laboro in me ipso: factus sum mihi terra difficultatis et sudoris nimii; grande profundum est ipse homo..., capilli eius magis numerabiles quam affectus eius et motus cordis eius. — PL 32, c. 697, 789-790, 702; éd. Skutella p. 60, 227, 70.

de son épiscopat. Or en lisant ces textes je n'ai pu qu'être déçu: sur le célibat il n'y avait là à peu près rien; sur l'autre face de la même médaille, le mariage, il n'y avait guère que des idées qu'Augustin a rejetées plus tard très explicitement. N'oublions pas que le *De Bono coniugali* et son pendant le *De Sancta virginitate* sont les œuvres vingt-deuxième et vingt-troisième entreprises par saint Augustin après sa consécration épiscopale. Les seize Sermons d'Augustin sur *l'Ecclesia-Virgo* sont également postérieurs à cet événement [31]). Il faut bien se rendre à l'évidence : quand saint Augustin au début de son épiscopat rédigeait sa Règle monastique, il avait encore peu réfléchi sur le célibat monastique. Il savait et approuvait que les moines et les religieuses ne se mariaient pas; c'était l'élément le plus caractéristique de leur existence particulière, mais c'était pour lui surtout une donnée traditionnelle. Il avait éprouvé la nature bénéfique de cette option pour sa vie personnelle. Mais c'est tout. Et je pense que le caractère bien restreint de ses réflexions dans ce domaine avant 400 déteint sur le début du passage sur le célibat monastique dans le *Praeceptum*. Augustin ne dit rien sur la motivation profonde de cet état parce qu'il n'avait pas grand'chose de personnel à en dire. L'Augustin de la Règle était un Augustin qui à ce propos était encore peu évolué. Si l'on ne tient pas compte de cela, on se condamne à une incompréhension regrettable.

Augustin, qu'a-t-il écrit sur le célibat et sur le mariage entre sa conversion et le début de son épiscopat? Dans les pages suivantes je rendrai compte de mes constatations. Le lecteur trouvera sans doute avec moi qu'elles ont été bien intéressantes, mais aussi qu'elles ont été très décevantes dans le domaine qui nous occupe ici.

E.1. D'abord donc le célibat.

Je diviserai cette partie de l'article en deux parties. Je parlerai d'abord des textes qui évoquent le célibat consacré des moines et des religieuses en général et en second lieu de ceux qui parlent du célibat d'Augustin personnellement. Cette ordonnance de la matière me permettra de garder pour la fin le texte de cette période qui est à la fois le plus explicite, le plus long, le plus intéressant et le plus étonnant.

E.2. Commençons par le *De Moribus ecclesiae catholicae*. Augustin a commencé la rédaction de ce livre quelque temps après son baptême en

[31]) Voir note 4.

387 et avant son retour en Afrique en 388. Le passage qui va retenir notre attention se trouve dans la seconde section de l'ouvrage et fait partie plus précisément de la célèbre apostrophe que l'auteur adresse à l'Eglise. Il lui parle comme à un être personnel en lui donnant le titre de « Mère très vraie des Chrétiens »[32]). Cette bonne Mère, dit Augustin, a donné naissance à une bonne progéniture, de bons maris, de bonnes épouses, de bons enfants. Puis il lui dit: A bon droit, Eglise, tu renfermes aussi ce grand nombre de gens hospitaliers, serviables, miséricordieux, bien instruits, chastes, saints, de gens qui brûlent d'un tel amour pour Dieu que dans *leur continence absolue et leur incroyable mépris du monde* ils vont jusqu'à trouver leurs délices dans la solitude[33]). C'est par ces paroles que l'apostrophe adressée à Dame Eglise se termine. Au début de la phrase citée le lecteur pouvait encore se demander qui étaient ces gens hospitaliers, nantis de tant d'autres excellentes qualités, mais la fin de la phrase ne laisse aucun doute: il s'agit des moines anachorètes Remarquons que les qualités qu'Augustin énumère sont assez diverses. En très grande partie il s'agit de traits qu'on s'attend à rencontrer chez toute personne respectable. Mais la liste comporte aussi, et cela à un endroit et avec une insistance qui la mettent en vedette, la mention de la continence absolue, combinée avec un incroyable mépris de ce monde, les deux poussant ces gens exellents vers la solitude, vers le désert sans doute. Aux yeux d'Augustin ce célibat fait manifestement partie de la vie de ces moines et y occupe même une place toute particulière.Mais quand le lecteur se demande quelle est la raison d'être du célibat et la raison de son excellence, il ne trouve dans ce texte aucune réponse, sauf peut-être le mépris de ce monde qui s'y manifesterait.

Tout en ayant terminé son apostrophe à l'Eglise, saint Augustin continue à parler de ces solitaires. Il écrit: Mais que voient donc ces gens qui ne peuvent pas se passer d'aimer les hommes et qui sont néanmoins capables de se passer de les voir? Assurément ce qu'ils voient, quelle que soit cette «chose», possède plus d'excellence que les choses humaines: le fait de la contempler a en effet le pouvoir de faire vivre l'homme sans l'homme. Apprenez donc à connaître, Manichéens, la façon de vivre et la

[32]) *De Moribus eccl. cath.* 30(62): Ecclesia catholica mater Christianorum uerissima. — PL 32, c. 1336.

[33]) *De Moribus eccl. cath.* 30(64): Merito tibi tam multi hospitales, multi officiosi, multi misericordes, multi docti, multi casti, multi sancti, multi usque adeo dei amore flagrantes, ut eos in summa continentia atque mundi huius incredibili contemptu etiam solitudo delectet. — PL 32, c. 1337.

continence extraordinaire de ces Chrétiens parfaits pour qui la *chasteté totale* apparaît non seulement digne d'être louée, mais aussi digne d'être embrassée... Qui ne sait ... qu'une multitude de Chrétiens d'une *continence absolue* se répand sur toute la terre tous les jours de plus en plus, et principalement en Orient et en Egypte?[34])

Le texte que je viens de citer souligne de nouveau, et avec plus d'insistance encore que la fin de l'apostrophe qui le précédait, que le célibat est le trait le plus caractéristique (ce qui ne veut pas dire nécessairement le plus important) de la vie bien spéciale de ces solitaires. Le célibat se trouve ici évoqué dans un contexte de contemplation et de perfection chrétienne, mais la raison d'être de cette option remarquable et marquante reste dans la même imprécision que quelques lignes plus haut.

Un peu plus loin, Augustin se met à parler d'un autre genre de moines, les cénobites. Leur genre de vie est comparable à celui des anachorètes, mais ce qui les en distingue est qu'ils vivent en commun. Méprisant eux aussi, dit Augustin, et désertant eux aussi les attraits de ce monde, les cénobites se rassemblent en une vie commune *très chaste* et très sainte où ils passent ensemble leur existence dans des prières, des lectures et des colloques ...[35]) Avant d'entrer dans les détails Augustin a donc donné comme traits généraux de la vie des cénobites un côté négatif: le mépris de ce monde, et un côté positif: l'option pour la chasteté, ce qui dans le contexte donné signifie sans doute l'option pour le célibat consacré.

Qu'il s'agit en effet de cela, devient évident un peu plus loin. La communauté des cénobites dont l'auteur parle paraît en effet être une assemblée de cénobites exclusivement hommes qui trouve son parallèle dans des communautés de cénobites exclusivement femmes. Ces femmes, dit Augustin, servent Dieu avec zèle et *chasteté*; leurs habitations sont

[34]) *De Moribus eccl. cath.* 31(65): Quid est, quaeso, quod uident qui non possunt hominem non diligere, et tamen possunt hominem non uidere? Profecto illud, quidquid est, praestantius est rebus humanis, cuius contemplatione potest homo sine homine uiuere. Iam enim accipite, Manichaei, perfectorum Christianorum, quibus summa castitas, non laudanda tantum, sed etiam capessenda uisa est, mores et continentiam singularem... Quis enim nescit summae continentiae hominum christianorum multitudinem per totum orbem in dies magis magisque diffundi, et in Oriente maxime atque Aegypto...? — PL 32, c. 1337.

[35]) *De Moribus eccl. cath.* 31(67): ...quis non illos miretur et praedicet, qui contemptis atque desertis mundi huius illecebris, in communem uitam castissimam sanctissimamque congregati, simul aetatem agunt, uiuentes in orationibus, in lectionibus, in disputationibus...? — PL 32, c. 1338.

éloignées de celles des hommes autant qu'il convient. Les cénobites-femmes sont unies aux cénobites-hommes uniquement par les liens d'une fraternelle charité et par l'émulation dans la perfection. Les hommes jeunes n'ont aucun accès auprès d'elles et les vieillards, même les plus graves et les plus considérés, ne peuvent entrer chez elles que jusqu'au vestibule, et cela uniquement pour apporter des choses nécessaires[36]). Dans ce contexte les termes de « chaste » et de « chasteté », utilisés à propos des cénobites, hommes et femmes, ne peuvent indiquer concrètement que le célibat, bien qu'en soi leur sens puisse être plus général.

Tous ces textes du *De Moribus ecclesiae catholicae* sont excellents pour nous faire comprendre quelle place Augustin donnait au célibat dans la vie monastique pendant la période qui suivait immédiatement son baptême. Mais jusqu'ici rien ne nous a indiqué qu'il aurait approfondi la question de savoir pourquoi cette option constituait un idéal aussi parfait. Il se contentait d'admirer l'« incroyable mépris de ce monde » qui se manifestait dans le célibat monastique.

Il en dit un peu plus vers la fin de son ouvrage, là où il se trouve amené à parler du mariage. Il désire à cet endroit répondre aux Manichéens affirmant que les Chrétiens rénovés par le baptême devraient s'abstenir d'engendrer des enfants et éviter ainsi d'enchaîner des âmes à la chair. En citant longuement la Première aux Corinthiens 6, 11 à 7, 7, Augustin leur objecte que l'Apôtre Paul avait permis aux Chrétiens de se marier[37]). Augustin n'oublie pas de signaler que saint Paul préférait le célibat au mariage et qu'il avait opté pour ce genre de vie dans son existence personnelle. « Il est bon pour l'homme », disait saint Paul, « de s'abstenir de la femme. Toutefois, pour éviter tout dérèglement, que chaque homme ait sa femme et chaque femme son mari... Je voudrais bien que tous les hommes soient comme moi ; mais chacun reçoit de Dieu un don particulier, l'un celui-ci, l'autre celui-là ». Augustin commente : L'Apôtre indique ainsi aux hommes forts où se trouve le sommet, mais il permet à de plus faibles ce qui en est le plus près, la chasteté conjugale qui empêche l'homme de se dévaster par la fornication[38]). Augustin a donc

[36]) *De Moribus eccl. cath.* 31(68): Haec est etiam uita feminarum deo sollicite casteque seruientium, quae habitaculis segregatae ac remotae a uiris quam longissime decet, pia tantum illis caritate iunguntur et imitatione uirtutis: ad quas iuuenum nullus accessus est, neque ipsorum quamuis grauissimorum et probatissimorum senum, nisi usque ad uestibulum necessaria praebendi quibus indigent gratia. — PL 32, c. 1339.

[37]) *De Moribus eccl. cath.* 35(78): Permittit hoc Paulus. — PL 32, c. 1343.

[38]) *De Moribus eccl. cath.* 35(79): Satisne uobis uidetur Apostolus, et fortibus demonstrasse quid summum sit, et imbecillioribus permisisse quod proximum est? Nam

trouvé la justification de l'importance qu'il attribuait au célibat consacré, trait caractéristique de la vie des anachorètes et des cénobites, dans quelques paroles et la vie personelle de saint Paul. Mais il faut bien convenir que ces quelques paroles de l'Apôtre n'arrivent pas à résoudre notre problème. Pourquoi donc est-il bon pour l'homme de s'abstenir de la femme, et pourquoi saint Paul aurait-il voulu que tous les hommes vivent comme lui, dans le célibat? Pour sa part, saint Augustin se fait seulement l'écho de l'Apôtre sans essayer d'approfondir ce qu'il disait.

Dans l'œuvre de saint Augustin qui se situe avant son accession à l'épiscopat se trouve encore un autre texte qui parle d'une façon générale des moines et leur genre de vie. Il s'agit d'un passage du *De Vera religione*, le tout dernier ouvrage d'Augustin laïque. Bientôt il allait devenir prêtre, puis évêque, d'Hippone.

Le texte du *De Vera religione* qui nous intéresse dans cette partie de notre enquête se trouve dans le Prologue de l'ouvrage. Augustin s'y étend sur la diffusion universelle du christianisme. D'un pays unique, dit-il, — le seul où fût adoré le Dieu unique et celui où allait naître le Sauveur —, des messagers choisis sont partis à travers le monde entier. Par leurs miracles et leur prédication ils y ont allumé les feux du divin amour. Après avoir solidement établi la doctrine du salut, ils ont laissé à leurs successeurs des pays remplis de la nouvelle lumière. Aujourd'hui même, le Verbe de Dieu est annoncé partout dans le monde. Pour que l'âme des hommes connaisse ce Verbe, l'aime et trouve en lui la joie de la guérison, on récite aux avares, aux voluptueux, aux orgueilleux, aux coléreux, aux querelleurs, aux mal-croyants, aux curieux, les paroles de l'Ecriture qui sont appropriées à chacune de ces catégories. Et à tous ensemble on dit avec la Première de saint Jean 2, 15-16: «N'aimez pas le monde, ni les choses du monde, car tout ce qu'il y a dans le monde est convoitise de la chair, convoitise des yeux et ambition du siècle»[39]). Aujourd'hui c'est par

non attingere mulierem summum ostendit esse cum ait: *Vellem omnes homines esse sicut meipsum.* Huic autem summo coniugalis castitas proxima est, ne homo fornicatione uastetur. — PL 32, c. 1344.

[39]) *De Vera religione* 3(4): ...ab una regione terrarum, in qua sola unus colebatur deus et ubi talem nasci oportebat, per totum orbem terrarum missi electi uiri uirtutibus atque sermonibus diuini amoris incendia concitarunt, ...confirmata saluberrima disciplina illuminatas terras posteris reliquerunt...; ...ad hoc (Verbum) percipiendum, diligendum, perfruendum, ut anima sanetur et tantae luci hauriendae mentis acies conualescat, dicitur auaris...luxuriosis...superbis...iracundis...discordiosis...superstitiosis...curiosis...; postremo dicitur omnibus: *Nolite diligere mundum, quoniam ea, quae in mundo sunt, concupiscentia carnis est et concupiscentia oculorum et ambitio saeculi.* — PL 34, c. 124-125; CC 32, p. 190-191.

le monde entier que ces paroles sont lues aux foules et écoutées par elles avec respect et empressement. Après toute l'effusion de sang, tous les bûchers, toutes les croix des martyrs, les Eglises ont poussé de rejetons encore plus nombreux et abondants, et cela jusque chez les peuplades barbares. Actuellement des milliers de jeunes gens et de jeunes filles renoncent au mariage et vivent dans la *chasteté* (dans ce contexte il s'agit de nouveau nettement du célibat) sans que personne en soit surpris[40]). A l'époque de Platon la situation était bien différente! Pour en avoir fait autant, dit-on, Platon fut à ce point intimidé par la mentalité perverse de son temps qu'il sacrifia à la nature pour abolir ce passé comme une faute...[41]). Actuellement au contraire on s'engage dans cette voie en si grand nombre que des gens de toute classe, délaissant *richesses* et *carrières* de ce monde pour consacrer leur vie tout entière au seul Dieu souverain, remplisssent des îles autrefois désertes et la solitude de nombreuses contrées[42]).

Il est intéressant de rencontrer dans ce passage sur la vie monastique les trois éléments qui plus tard allaient être organisés dans les vœux traditionnels de «chasteté» (entendons de célibat consacré), de pauvreté et d'obéissance. Ces hommes et ces femmes renonçaient en effet au mariage, aux richesses et aux «honneurs», c'est-à-dire à toute carrière. Il est intéressant également de constater que le célibat occupe la première place, comme la convoitise de la chair dans le texte de saint Jean. Mais il n'est pas moins intéressant d'observer que ce texte terminait, en le

[40]) *De Vera religione* 3(5): ...post tantum sanguinem, tantos ignes, tot cruces martyrum tanto fertilius et uberius usque ad barbaras nationes ecclesiae pullularunt; ...tot iuuenum et iurginum milia contemnentium nuptias casteque uiuentium iam nemo miratur. — PL 34, c. 125; CC 32, p. 191.

[41]) *De Vera religione* 3(5): ...quod cum fecisset Plato, usque adeo peruersam temporum suorum timuit opinionem, ut perhibeatur sacrificasse nature, ut tamquam peccatum illud aboleretur. — PL 34, c. 125; CC 32, p. 191. Le début de ce passage semble avoir un rapport avec Apulée *De Platone et eius dogmate* I, 3: Sed posteaquam Socrates homines reliquit, quaesiuit (Plato) unde proficeret, et ad Pythagorae disciplinam se contulit. Quam esti ratione diligenti et magnifica instructam uidebat, rerum tamen *continentiam et castitatem* magis cupiebat imitari et, quod Pythagoreorum ingenium adiutum disciplinis aliis sentiebat, ad Theodorum Cyrenas ut geometrian disceret est profectus et astrologiam adusque Aegyptum iuit petitum, ut inde prophetarum etiam ritus addisceret. (éd. P. Thomas, p. 84). Je ne sais pas à quoi la fin de la citation augustinienne fait allusion.

[42]) *De Vera religione* 3(5): ...nunc...tam innumerabiles aggrediuntur hanc uiam, ut desertis diuitiis et honoribus huius mundi ex omni hominum genere uni deo summo totam uitam dicare uolentium desertae quondam insulae ac multarum terrarum solitudo compleatur. — PL 34, c. 125; CC 32, p. 191.

résumant, tout le passage antérieur qui parlait, non pas des moines en particulier, mais des défauts des Chrétiens en général. Aucune remarque explicite ne nous fait voir le rapport entre les paroles de saint Jean et le passage de saint Augustin sur la vie monastique. Nous en sommes toujours au même point : le célibat consacré, nettement considéré comme un point de premier importance dans la vie des moines, son élément sans doute le plus caractéristique, est évoqué en quelques mots très brefs, sans qu'Augustin nous dise explicitement pourquoi il attache une telle valeur à cette option. Le contexte suggère que c'est le mépris du monde qui motive sa haute appréciation du célibat.

E.3. Voilà tout ce que j'ai pu trouver concernant le célibat monastique en général dans les œuvres de saint Augustin entreprises avant son accession à l'épiscopat. Mais il y a encore quelques textes de cette période qui parlent plus particulièrement du célibat d'Augustin lui-même. C'est déjà le cas dans le deuxième ouvrage signalé par l'auteur dans ses *Retractationes*. Je pense à son *De Beata vita*. Ce petit livre est le compte rendu du dialogue qui a eu lieu à Cassiciacum le 13 novembre 386, le jour du trente-deuxième anniversaire d'Augustin. Il se préparait alors au baptême qu'il allait recevoir dans la nuit pascale de 387. Le texte que j'ai à citer ne se trouve pas dans le compte rendu du dialogue, mais dans la dédicace qu'Augustin a adressée à Manlius Theodorus. Augustin y raconte l'histoire de sa conversion sous la forme d'un récit de voyage maritime. La destination du voyage était le port de la sagesse. A l'âge de dix-neuf ans, se souvient-il, il fut enflammé d'un tel amour pour la philosophie qu'il songeait alors à passer à elle, sans délai. Il venait de lire l'*Hortensius* de Cicéron, exhortation à la philosophie, c'est-à-dire à la recherche, intellectuelle et morale à la fois, de la sagesse. Mais il y avait eu deux choses l'empêchant de voler avec la rapidité voulue dans le sein de la philosophie, à savoir l'attrait d'une épouse (*uxoris*) et celui d'une fonction publique (*honoris*). Au lieu de se hâter vers la sagesse il se proposait de réaliser d'abord ces deux désirs. Une fois qu'il se serait marié et qu'il aurait trouvé définitivement sa place dans la société, il s'élancerait à pleines voiles et à force de toutes les rames vers le port et trouverait alors du repos dans la sagesse enfin acquise. C'est lorsqu'il était en train d'atermoyer et de faire des projets pour plus tard qu'il a lu quelques ouvrages platoniciens, et cette lecture, secondée avantageusement par une vive douleur de poitrine, a précipité les choses. Dans de très brefs délais

Augustin a tout lâché et conduit sa barque, bien mal en point et faisant eau, vers la tranquillité tant désirée[43]).

Vu le contexte, le fait de «tout lâcher» impliquait qu'il voulait vivre désormais sans fonction publique (dans l'*otium*, autrement dit), et sans épouse, dans le célibat.

Il est bien remarquable que ce texte parle du désir d'avoir une épouse, une *uxor*, et non pas du désir d'une femme, ou de femmes. Augustin a renoncé à deux désirs en soi très respectables, celui de se marier et celui d'occuper une fonction déterminée dans la société des hommes. Après des années de recherche, Augustin y a préféré finalement une vie célibataire entièrement consacrée à la quête de la sagesse. Mais il ne dit nullement qu'une autre option aurait été en soi moralement discutable. Il a jugé que le célibat était bon pour lui personnellement.

Dans l'œuvre de saint Augustin nous rencontrons un autre texte du même genre. Ses termes sont très semblables à ceux du *De Beata vita*. C'est pour cette raison que je vais en parler maintenant. Ce texte appartient d'ailleurs à la période que nous envisageons dans cette recherche, période qui va de 386 à 397. Quand Augustin le rédigeait il était déjà prêtre, si bien que nous nous trouvons au moins cinq ans après le 13 novembre 386. Il s'agit du *De Utilitate credendi*. C'est de nouveau dans la Préface qu'Augustin y retrace les grandes lignes de son itinéraire spirituel. Honoratus, à qui le petit livre est adressé, est Manichéen et a bien connu la période manichéenne de la vie du prêtre catholique qui lui écrit. Mais il ne devrait pas penser, lui dit Augustin, que la lumière fût en lui, l'auteur du *De Utilitate credendi*, quand impliqué dans la vie de ce monde, il entretenait des espoirs où la lumière était absente, des espoirs concernant une *épouse* belle, des *richesses* avec tout leur cortège, une *carrière* sans valeur réelle...[44]). Comme dans la Préface au *De Beata vita*, Augustin ne

[43]) *De Beata vita* I, 4 : Ego ab usque undeuicesimo anno aetatis meae, postquam in schola rhetoris librum illum Ciceronis qui Hortensius uocatur accepi, tanto amore philosophiae succensus sum, ut statim ad eam me ferre meditarer... Sed ne in philosophiae gremium celeriter aduolarem, fateor, uxoris honorisque inlecebra detinebar, ut, cum haec essem consecutus, tum demum, me quod paucis felicissimis licuit, totis uelis, omnibus remis in illum sinum raperem ibique conquiescerem. Lectis autem Plotini paucissimis libris...sic exarsi, ut omnes illas uellem ancoras rumpere...; ...tantus me arripuit pectoris dolor, ut illius professionis onus sustinere non ualens...abicerem omnia et optatae tranquillitati uel quassatam nauem fessamque perducerem. — PL 32, c. 961; CC 29, p. 66-67.

[44]) *De Utilitate credendi* 1 (3): Non enim uereor, ne me arbitreris inhabitatum lumine, cum uitae huius mundi eram inplicatus, tenebrosam spem gerens de pulchritudine uxoris, de pompa diuitiarum, de inanitate honorum ceterisque noxiis et perniciosis uoluptatibus. — PL 42, c. 67; CSEL 25, p. 6.

parle pas d'une vie dans le dérèglement moral, mais d'une existence qui était, et est toujours, dans la plus grande majorité des cas, la vie normale des hommes respectables. A cette vie s'opposait l'existence très particulière pour laquelle Augustin avait opté en 386 : le célibat, la pauvreté, l'*otium*, c'est-à-dire le renoncement à toute fonction publique pour qu'on puisse s'adonner uniquement à la recherche de la sagesse. Bref, une vie dont le monachisme chrétien constitue l'une des variantes.

A cette énumération de trois éléments précis Augustin ajoute dans le *De Utilitate credendi* plus vaguement : « et des espoirs en les autres plaisirs nuisibles et funestes». Cela semble indiquer qu'il regardait comme tels également le mariage, le bien-être matériel et la carrière, bref la vie normale des hommes. Nuisibles et funestes en soi et pour tous? Ou dans son cas personnel? N'oublions pas qu'Augustin est en train de décrire sa propre évolution spirituelle. Cela est encore très nettement le cas quand il ajoute : Mais prétendre qu'à présent la lumière m'a quitté, quand je me suis détourné de toutes ces ombres de la réalité et résolu à me contenter de la seule nourriture nécessaire *à ma santé* ... ce serait ... manquer de clairvoyance[45]).

Aussi bien dans le *De Beata vita* que dans le *De Utilitate credendi*, le célibat occupe la première place dans l'énumération des renoncements d'Augustin. Mais ni dans le premier, ni dans le second de ces deux ouvrages, nous ne rencontrons une justification explicite de cette option. Pourquoi serait-il si bon de ne pas être marié pour un homme qui désire arriver à la sagesse?

Mais une justification — et quelle justification! — du célibat « philosophique » se trouve dans un livre dont la rédaction a suivi de peu celle du *De Beata vita*. Je pense aux *Soliloquia*, ce dialogue tout particulier où Augustin parle avec soi-même, ou plus précisément avec sa propre Raison.

A partir de 9(16) du Livre premier des Soliloques Augustin s'interroge sur ses dispositions morales d'alors. Rappelons-nous qu'il s'est converti récemment, qu'il a quitté son enseignement public, qu'il s'est retiré avec quelques proches et amis à Cassiciacum et qu'il n'est même pas encore baptisé; il le sera dans la nuit de Pâques de 387. Dans

[45]) *De Utilitate credendi* 1(3): Sed modo me dicere desertum lumine, cum ab his omnibus umbris rerum me auerterim soloque uictu ad ualetudinem corporis necessario contentus esse decreuerim, inlustratum autem atque fulgentem fuisse, cum illa diligerem et his inuolutus tenerer, hominis est, ut mitissime dicam, minus acute considerantis res... — PL 42, c. 67; CSEL 25, p. 6.

son dialogue avec sa Raison sur ses progrès moraux, Augustin aborde le domaine de l'argent, celui des «honneurs» (c'est-à-dire de la carrière), puis celui du mariage, des plaisirs de la table et du bain, le domaine de l'amitié, celui de la mort et enfin celui de la douleur physique. Sa réflexion est faite de telle sorte qu'il revient à un sujet après avoir déjà parlé d'un autre. Vu l'objet de la présente recherche, je vais donc sélectionner les passages successifs qui parlent du mariage, ou plutôt de la décision qu'Augustin a prise de vivre désormais dans le célibat.

Après avoir répondu à quelques questions de sa Raison concernant son éventuel amour de l'argent et d'une bonne carrière, Augustin entend la même enquêteuse lui poser la question suivante:

Et en ce qui concerne une épouse? N'aimes-tu pas parfois à en imaginer une belle, vertueuse, complaisante, ayant de l'instruction, ou du moins facilement capable de recevoir tes leçons, t'apportant aussi juste assez de dot — puisque tu méprises la richesse, tu viens de le dire — pour qu'elle n'impose à ton loisir studieux, ton *otium*, aucun fardeau, surtout si tu peux espérer, et être sûr, que tu ne souffriras d'elle aucun ennui?[46])

Non, Augustin a opté pour le célibat. Il se donne à soi-même la réponse étonnante qui voici: Tu peux la dépeindre comblée de tous les biens, autant que tu voudras, il n'est rien que j'aie décidé de fuir autant que l'union avec une femme. Il n'y a rien à mon avis qui dégrade davantage de sa hauteur l'esprit de l'homme que les caresses d'une femme et ce contact des corps sans lequel une femme ne peut pas appartenir à un homme... J'ai donc, je crois, servi justement et utilement la liberté de mon âme en m'imposant de ne pas désirer, de ne pas rechercher, de ne pas prendre d'épouse[47]).

La Raison d'Augustin ne veut pas se contenter de cette réponse. Je ne te demande pas en ce moment, dit-elle, quelles sont tes résolutions, mais si tu as encore à lutter, ou si tu as vaincu déjà ton envie. Sans cela tu ne

[46]) *Soliloquia* I, 10(17): R. Quid uxor? Nonne te delectat interdum pulchra, pudica, morigera, litterata, uel quae abs te facile possit erudiri, afferens etiam dotis tantum, quoniam contemnis diuitias, quantum eam prorsus nihilo faciat onerosam otio tuo, praesertim si speres certusque sis nihil ex ea te molestiae esse passurum? — PL 32, c. 878.

[47]) *Soliloquia* I, 10(17): A. Quantumlibet uelis eam pingere atque cumulare bonis omnibus, nihil mihi tam fugiendum quam concubitum esse decreui: nihil esse sentio quod magis ex arce deiciat animum uirilem quam blandimenta feminea corporumque ille contactus sine quo uxor haberi non potest... Quamobren satis, credo, iuste atque utiliter pro libertate animae meae mihi imperaui non cupere, non quaerere, non ducere uxorem. — PL 32, c. 878.

pourrais pas t'approcher de la sagesse[48]). On reste donc dans les perspectives du *De Beata vita.*

La réponse d'Augustin est catégorique: Absolument je ne cherche plus, je ne désire plus rien de semblable, et c'est avec horreur et mépris que je repense à de telles choses. Que veux-tu de plus? Et ceci est *pour moi* un bien, qui s'accroît de jour. Car plus augmente mon espoir de voir cette Beauté (divine de la sagesse) par laquelle je suis si vivement attiré, plus se tourne vers elle tout mon amour et tout mon plaisir[49]).

Alors la Raison se met à parler d'autres aspects de la vie morale d'Augustin et, ayant écouté ses réponses, elle en arrive à la conclusion qu'il a fait beaucoup de progrès[50]). Mais elle revient à la charge à propos du célibat en posant sa question d'une autre façon. Tu ne veux pas d'épouse, dit-elle, parce que tu désires t'adonner avec tes amis à la recherche de la sagesse. Mais admettons que pour telle ou telle raison il te soit indispensable d'avoir une épouse, précisément afin de pouvoir te consacrer à cette recherche commune; que ferais-tu? Que ferais-tu si cette épouse éventuelle avait assez de fortune pour que tous ceux que tu veux avoir autour de toi, à un seul endroit, afin de vivre avec eux dans un loisir studieux, puissent être nourris sans aucun problème, et qu'elle s'y prêtat de bon cœur? Que ferais-tu surtout, si par sa naissance distinguée elle devait avoir assez d'influence pour que tu trouves par elle un accès facile à l'un de ces postes honorifiques qui donneraient à la recherche commune de la sagesse plus de rayonnement?[51])

Il est intéressant de constater qu'Augustin répond de façon évasive à cette question pernicieuse. Tout cela, dit-il, lui est inaccessible; ce sont des rêves[52]).

Mais l'enquêteuse voit bien la faiblesse de cette réponse. Rêve ou pas,

[48]) *Soliloquia* I, 10(17): R. Non ego nunc quaero quid decreueris, sed utrum adhuc lucteris, an uero iam ipsam libidinem uiceris. Agitur enim de sanitate oculorum tuorum. — PL 32, c. 878.

[49]) *Soliloquia* I, 10(17): A. Prorsus nihil huiusmodi quaero, nihil desidero; etiam cum horrore atque aspernatione talia recordor. Quid uis amplius? Et hoc mihi bonum in dies crescit: nam quanto augetur spes uidendae illius qua uehementer aestuo pulchritudinis, tanto ad illam totus amor uoluptasque conuertitur. — PL 32, c. 878-879.

[50]) *Soliloquia* I, 11(18): R. Multum profecisti. — PL 32, c. 879.

[51]) *Soliloquia* I, 11(18): R. ...si eius amplo patrimonio certum sit sustentari posse omnes quos tecum in uno loco uiuere otiose cupis, ipsa etiam concorditer id sinente, praesertim si generis nobilitate tanta polleat, ut honores illos quos esse necessarios iam dedisti, per eam facile adipisci possis, nescio utrum pertineat ad officium tuum ista contemnere. — PL 32, c. 879.

[52]) *Soliloquia* I, 11(18): A. Quando ego istud sperare audeam? — PL 32, c. 879.

elle voudrait savoir ce qu'Augustin dirait si, contre toute attente, ces belles perspectives s'offraient réellement à lui[53]).

Augustin reste évasif. En tout cas, dit-il, tu ne pourras pas me persuader que je n'ai pas fait de progrès. Autrefois en effet il désirait être riche pour être riche; si, maintenant, il désirait être riche, ce serait pour avoir un accès plus facile à la recherche de la sagesse. Quant au mariage, auparavant il attendait de l'éventuelle épouse la satisfaction, *uoluptas* — le mot n'a rien de péjoratif en soi —, combinée avec la bonne réputation, *bona fama*, Il avait alors le désir direct d'être riche, de progresser dans la vie publique, d'être un homme marié respectable avec une épouse attrayante; maintenant il repousse ces choses totalement. Ce qu'il veut désormais est atteindre à la sagesse et son progrès consiste à ne vouloir ces choses éventuellement que si elles étaient des conditions nécessaires pour arriver au but aspiré[54]).

La Raison d'Augustin prend acte de tout cela et dans un langage surprenant elle conclue: Tu désires donc voir la sagesse, la tenir sans aucun voile, toute nue pour ainsi dire, avec des regards et des embrassements d'une parfaite chasteté. Or une telle approche, elle ne la concède qu'à un tout petit nombre de ses amants, rigoureusement choisis. Si tu étais épris d'amour pour une belle femme, ne serait-ce pas à bon droit qu'elle se refuserait à toi, si elle découvrait que tu aimes en dehors d'elle encore autre chose. La chaste beauté de la sagesse se découvrira-t-elle à toi, si elle n'est pas l'unique objet d'un brûlant amour de ta part?[55])

Et Augustin d'affirmer que c'est bien ainsi qu'il aime la sagesse: pour elle-même. Il ne l'envie pas aux autres, mais il s'entoure au contraire du plus grand nombre de gens qu'il peut, pour qu'ils la recherchent avec lui, y aspirent avec lui, la tiennent avec lui, en jouissent avec lui. Ils seront

[53]) *Soliloquia* I, 11(19): R. Non quaero quid negatum non delectet, sed quid delectet oblatum. — PL 32, c. 879.

[54]) *Soliloquia* I, 11(19): A. ...nunquam tamen mihi persuadebis ut... nihil me profecisse arbitrer... Quando desideraui diuitias, ideo desideraui ut diues essem, honoresque ipsos, quorum cupiditatem modo me perdomuisse respondi, eorum nescio quo nitore delectatus uolebam; nihilque aliud in uxore semper attendi, nisi quam mihi efficeret cum bona fama uoluptatem. Tunc erat istorum in me uera cupiditas; nunc ea omnia prorsus aspernor: sed si ad illa quae cupio non nisi per haec mihi transitus datur, non amplectenda appeto, sed subeo toleranda. — PL 32, c. 879-880.

[55]) *Soliloquia* I, 13(22): R. ...sapientiae quam castissimo conspectu atque amplexu, nullo interposito uelamento quasi nudam uidere ac tenere desideras, qualem se illa non sinit, nisi paucissimis et electissimis amoribus suis. An uero si alicuius pulchrae feminae amore flagrares, iure se tibi non daret, si aliud abs te quidquam praeter se amari comperisset; sapientiae se tibi castissima pulchritudo, nisi solam arseris, demonstrabit? — PL 32, c. 881.

d'autant plus des amis pour lui que l'aimée sera pour eux et pour lui-même un plus absolu trésor commun[56]).

A quoi la Raison d'Augustin répond: Voilà tout à fait comment doivent être les amants de la sagesse, voilà comment les veut celle à qui l'on s'unit dans la chasteté et sans aucune souillure. Il reste que l'âme se dupe souvent en se croyant saine et en se vantant de l'être. La Beauté, elle, sait quand elle doit se montrer. Et qu'est-ce qui est arrivé hier? Ne vois-tu pas avec quelle naïve sécurité nous avons alors affirmé que nous n'étions plus sous l'empire d'aucune peste, que nous n'aimions rien d'autre que la sagesse? Combien malpropre, repoussant, abominable, horrible t'apparaissait hier l'étreinte d'une femme, alors que nous discutions ensemble sur le désir d'avoir une épouse! Et pourtant, cette nuit, quand éveillés l'un et l'autre nous étions en train de tenir la même conversation, tu t'es rendu compte que la seule imagination déjà de ces caresses et de leur amère douceur te chatouillait autrement que tu l'avais présumé; beaucoup, beaucoup moins, bien sûr, que d'habitude auparavant, mais bien autrement pourtant que tu ne l'avais pensé. Ainsi le grand médecin intérieur t'a révélé tout à la fois, et le mal dont ses soins t'ont fait échapper, et ce qu'il reste encore à soigner[57]).

Après avoir écouté les avertissements attentifs et même affectueux de sa conscience, Augustin ne peut que soupirer : Je ne dirai plus rien de la santé de mon âme, tant que je n'aurai pas vu la Beauté dont nous avons tant parlé[58]).

[56]) *Soliloquia* I, 13(22): A. Ego autem solam propter se amo sapientiam, caetera uero uel adesse mihi uolo, uel deesse timeo propter ipsam: uitam, quietem, amicos. Quem modum autem potest habere illius pulchritudinis amor, in qua non solum non inuideo caeteris, sed etiam plurimos quaero qui mecum appetant, mecum inhient, mecum teneant, mecumque perfruantur; tanto mihi amiciores futuri, quanto erit nobis amata communior. — PL 32, c. 881.

[57]) *Soliloquia* I, 13(13)-14(25): R. Prorsus tales esse amatores sapientiae decet. Tales quaerit illa cuius uere casta est et sine ulla contaminatione coniunctio... Et in eo saepe fallitur animus, ut sanum se putet et sese iactet... Nouit autem illa pulchritudo quando se ostendat... Nonne uides quam ueluti securi hesterno die pronuntiaueramus nulla iam nos peste detineri, nihilque amare nisi sapientiam? Quam tibi sordibus, quam foedus, quam exsecrabilis, quam horribilis complexus femineus uidebatur, quando inter nos de uxoris cupiditate quaesitum est : Certe ista nocte uigilantes, cum rursus eadem nobiscum agere-mus, sensisti quam te aliter quam praesumpseras imaginatae illae blanditiae et amara suauitas titillauerit; longe minus quam solet, sed item longe aliter quam putaueras; ut sic tibi secretissimus ille medicus utrumque demonstraret, et unde cura eius euaseris, et quid curandum remaneat. — PL 32, c. 881-883.

[58]) *Soliloquia* I, 14(26): A. Ego nihil de mea sanitate, nisi cum illam pulchritudinem uidero, pronuntiabo. — PL 32, c. 883.

Contrairement à ce que nous avons vu dans les autres passages où, pendant les premières années après sa conversion, il parlait de son propre célibat, ou plus généralement de celui des moines, Augustin était ici, dans les *Soliloquia*, d'une ampleur inhabituelle. On aimerait bien lire un texte comparable, écrit plus tard, quand il avait mieux compris la nature du célibat monastique. Dans les *Soliloquia*, il en est encore à la préparation de son baptême; il est Chrétien et célibataire, mais sans avoir des idées nettes sur toutes les implications de ces deux options. Son idéal, la Sagesse, était encore très imprégné d'intellectualisme. Etre Chrétien était encore pour lui aller bientôt «saisir Dieu»; être célibataire était garder sa tête et son cœur libres pour la réflexion et la quête de la sagesse. Nous sommes encore loin du *De Sancta virginitate*. Mais déjà dans le *De Moribus ecclesiae*, le premier ouvrage où Augustin parle du célibat des moines, une importante évolution se manifeste. Il y est déjà beaucoup moins intellectualiste; au centre du Christianisme se trouve désormais pour lui l'amour de Dieu et celui du prochain [59]). Dès lors, il ne pouvait plus parler de son célibat de la façon intellectualiste qui marquait si profondément ses propos dans les *Soliloquia*. C'est pourquoi nous n'avons trouvé rien de comparable dans les autres textes que nous avons parcourus. Mais force nous est de constater que ce changement d'optique n'a pas immédiatement entraîné une réflexion plus appropriée et plus approfondie sur le véritable sens du célibat consacré.

F.1. Saint Augustin a renoncé au mariage en 386.

Nous avons pu constater que, abstraction faite d'un long et étonnant passage des *Soliloquia*, il ne s'étend guère sur le côté positif de son choix. Il désirait rechercher la sagesse, nous a-t-il dit, mais il ne nous dit pas quels étaient à ses yeux les rapports entre son option pour le célibat et sa quête de la sagesse, ni pourquoi le célibat occupait à son avis une place si primordiale dans la vie monastique. Faut-il que je rappelle que cela vaut uniquement pour la période que nous envisageons dans cet article, celle qui s'étend de 386 à 397?

Serait-il plus explicite sur le côté négatif de son option, le renoncement au mariage? Que pensait-il du mariage pendant les années qui précédaient 397, la date (probable, à mon avis) de la Règle de saint Augustin?

[59]) *De Moribus eccl. cath.* 8(13)-29(60).— PL 32, c. 1316-1335.

F.2. Augustin était encore laïque quand il entreprit la rédaction de son tout premier commentaire du livre de la Genèse, le *De Genesi contra Manichaeos libri duo*. Dans ce très intéressant ouvrage je n'ai trouvé aucune observation sur le célibat, mais il renferme deux passages sur la fécondité qui me paraissent pleins d'intérêt pour la présente recherche.

Je pense tout d'abord au passage du Livre premier où Augustin réfléchit sur Genèse 1, 27-28 : « ...mâle et femelle Il les créa. Dieu les bénit et Dieu leur dit : 'Soyez féconds et prolifiques, remplissez la terre et dominez-la' ». A propos de ces paroles Augustin écrit : On se demande très justement comment il faut comprendre l'union du mâle avec la femme *avant le péché*. Autrement dit, la bénédiction que Dieu prononça par rapport à la fécondité, faut-il la comprendre *carnaliter* ou *spiritaliter*, dans sa littéralité ou avec un sens symbolique et religieux ? Puis Augustin fait remarquer que nous avons en effet la liberté de comprendre cette fécondité *aussi* avec un sens spirituel, de telle façon qu'on admette que la fécondité spirituelle a été transformée en fécondité physique *après la chute* d'Adam[60]). Ne négligeons pas cet «aussi», *etiam*. Autrement dit, une explication littérale et physique de la bénédiction divine serait pour le moins également valable. Mais de fait Augustin s'étend uniquement sur l'exégèse qu'il caractérise lui-même comme *spiritalis*. Si Adam et Eve n'avaient pas péché, ils auraient été, selon cette exégèse, les seuls et uniques représentants de la race humaine. Avant la chute, l'union du mâle et de la femme était chaste, *casta*, ce qui dans le contexte donné doit signifier : sans union sexuelle, célibataire. Leur progéniture était spirituelle ; c'étaient les joies immortelles de l'esprit. Ces joies remplissaient la terre, pour employer les termes de la bénédiction, c'est-à-dire que le corps était par elles rempli de vie et se tenait harmonieusement sous la domination de l'esprit. Autrement dit, ce qui sortait de l'esprit — ces joies — captivait le corps de telle façon que ces mêmes fruits de l'esprit — ces joies — ne subissaient de la part du corps aucune hostilité, aucun embarras[61]).

[60]) *De Genesi c. Man.* I, 19(30) : ...rectissime quaeritur quemadmodum accipienda sit coniunctio masculi et feminae ante peccatum, et ista benedictio qua dictum est : *Crescite et multiplicamini, et generate et replete terram* ; utrum carnaliter an spiritualiter accipienda sit. Licet enim nobis eam *etiam* spiritualiter accipere, ut in carnalem fecunditatem post peccatum conuersa esse credatur. — PL 34, c. 187.

[61]) *De Genesi c. Man* I, 19(30) : Erat enim prius casta coniunctio masculi et feminae ; huius ad regendum, illius ad obtemperandum accommodata : et spiritualis fetus intelligibilium et immortalium gaudiorum replens terram, id est uiuificans corpus et dominans eius ; id est ita subiectum habens, ut nullam ex eo aduersitatem, nullam molestiam pateretur. — PL 34, c. 187.

Tout en ayant employé plus haut cet *etiam* que nous avons bien souligné, Augustin dit ensuite qu'il est *credendum*, qu'on doit croire (ou veut-il dire seulement qu'on peut croire?; mais il aurait pu le dire plus clairement) que cette explication de la fécondité paradisiaque est la bonne, étant donné qu'avant la chute d'Adam et Eve il n'y avait pas encore des *filii huius saeculi*, des enfants physiquement historiques. Caïn et Abel ne sont-ils pas nés plus tard? C'est en effet à propos des *filii huius saeculi* que le Seigneur a déclaré que, contrairement à ce qui se fera au ciel, ils sont sujets et objets de l'engendrement physique, cela en Luc 20, 34-36[62]).

La même pensée revient dans le Livre second à propos de la parole de Dieu en Genèse 2, 18: «Il n'est pas bon que l'homme soit seul. Il faut que je lui fasse *une aide* qui lui soit assortie». S'il est vrai, dit Augustin, que la progéniture dont parlait Genèse 1, 28 est d'ordre spirituel et qu'il s'agit des joies immortelles de l'esprit, l'homme, Adam, aurait bien pu rester tout seul. Pourquoi cet élément nouveau dans le plan du Créateur? Quelle était l'aide que la femme allait apporter à son mari? Voici la solution qu'Augustin a trouvée: par une union d'ordre spirituel avec l'homme, la femme allait produire des rejetons d'ordre spirituel; ces rejetons, qui plus haut étaient compris comme des joies spirituelles, sont maintenant de communes prières de louange, adressées au Créateur en ce printemps du monde[63]). Sans le péché d'Adam et Eve, il n'y aurait eu d'autres «enfants» que ces joies et cet «office» chanté en commun. C'est du moins sur cette interprétation de la fécondité qu'Augustin insiste et c'est la seule qu'il donne vraiment. Il est vrai qu'il a dès le début précisé qu'elle n'est que possible, elle *aussi*, mais il est vrai également qu'il glisse bien

[62]) *De Genesi c. Man.* I, 19(30): Quod ideo sic credendum est, quia nondum erant filii saeculi huius antequam peccarent. Filii enim saeculi huius generant et generantur, sicut dominus dicit, cum in comparatione futurae uitae quae nobis promittitur carnalem istam generationem contemnendam esse demonstrat. — PL 34, c. 187.

[63]) *De Genesi c. Man.* II, 11(15): ...incipit exponi quomodo sit facta femina: et facta dicitur in adiutorium uiri, ut copulatione spirituali spirituales fetus ederet, id est bona opera diuinae laudis, dum ille regit, haec obtemperat, ille a sapientia regitur, haec a uiro. Caput enim uiri Christus et caput mulieris uir. Ideoque dicitur: *Non est bonum solum hominem esse.* Adhuc enim erat quod fieret, ut non solum anima corpori dominaretur, quia corpus seruilem locum obtinet, sed etiam uirilis ratio subiugaret sibi animalem partem suam per quod adiutorium imperaret corpori. Ad huius rei exemplum femina facta est quam rerum ordo subiugat uiro; ut quod in duobus hominibus euidentius apparet, id est in masculo et femina, etiam in uno homine considerari possit: ut appetitum animae, per quem de membris corporis operamur, habeat mens interior tanquam uirilis ratio subiugatum et iusta lege modum imponat adiutorio suo, sicut uir debet feminam regere nec eam permittere dominari in uirum; quod ubi contingit peruersa et misera domus est. — PL 34, c. 204-205.

rapidement sur l'interprétation physique de la fécondité et que celle-ci n'est même pas explicitement mentionnée.

Plus tard Augustin allait rejeter l'interprétation spirituelle de la progéniture en Genèse 1, 28. Adam et Eve, dira-t-il alors, auraient eu des enfants physiques, même s'ils n'avaient pas péché. Dans ses *Retractationes* il sera catégorique à ce propos, mais, peut-être fort de son *etiam*, signalé plus haut, il va s'octroyer une certaine réserve par rapport à ce qu'il a voulu dire exactement dans le *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*. Dans sa révision de cet ouvrage il dit en effet: On lit encore dans cette publication que la bénédiction du Seigneur: «Soyez féconds et prolifiques» aurait concerné une fécondité spirituelle et aurait selon notre foi été transformée en fécondité charnelle après la chute. Or — voici donc la réserve — si l'on ne peut pas comprendre ces paroles autrement que dans le sens où les hommes n'auraient pas eu d'enfants, s'ils n'avaient pas péché, je n'approuve pas du tout cette interprétation[64]).

Quoi qu'il en soit, même si Augustin n'a pas présenté son interprétation spirituelle de la fécondité paradisiaque comme la seule possible ou la seule orthodoxe, il est évident qu'elle avait sa préférence. A cette époque le mariage entre Adam et Eve était pour lui une sorte de «mariage célibataire», sans rapports sexuels, procréant des joies spirituelles, une très heureuse existence où les époux passaient ensemble leur temps à «chanter l'office».

Dans le dernier ouvrage rédigé par Augustin avant son accession au sacerdoce, nous retrouvons la même idée, bien que dans un contexte différent. Parlant de la charité chrétienne qui s'étend à tous les hommes, il la distingue dans cet ouvrage, le *De Vera religione*, de l'amour qu'on a pour ses frères selon la chair, pour ses fils, pour des épouses ou d'autres parents, ou bien pour des voisins ou des concitoyens. Cet amour est lié au temps et ces relations sont en rapport avec la naissance et la disparition des êtres mortels que nous sommes devenus. Nous ne connaîtrions aucun de ces liens temporels si nous avions gardé au début les commandements de Dieu et l'image de Dieu que nous portions alors, au lieu de nous faire bannir dans la mortalité actuelle[65]). Dans ses *Retractationes* Augustin

[64]) *Retractationes* I, 10, 2: Quod uero ibi legitur, benedictionem domini qua dictum est: *Crescite et multiplicamini*, in carnalem fecunditatem post peccatum conuersam esse credendam, si non potest alio modo dictum uideri, nisi ut putentur illi homines non habituri fuisse filios homines nisi peccassent, omnino non adprobo. — PL 32, c. 599; CSEL 36, p. 48-49.

[65]) *De Vera religione* 46(88): Sed nec sic quidem ab homine homo diligendus est, ut diliguntur carnales fratres uel filii uel coniuges uel quique cognati aut affines aut ciues. Nam

regrette d'avoir écrit cela et affirme qu'il désapprouve totalement cette opinion ; il l'avait d'ailleurs déjà condamnée à propos du *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*. Cette opinion conduirait à croire qu'Adam et Eve n'auraient pas donné naissance à une postérité physique s'ils n'avaient pas péché. Mais le fait de naître de rapports sexuels entre un homme et une femme n'entraîne pas en soi le fait de naître mortel. Augustin n'avait pas encore vu, dit-il, que de parents immortels auraient pu naître des enfants également immortels. Cela ne n'est jamais réalisé, mais c'est à cause du grand péché qui a corrompu l'homme du paradis. Sans cela, la terre aurait été peuplée d'enfants sans péché originel qui n'auraient pas eu à succéder à leurs parents défunts, mais qui auraient été, avec leurs parents vivants, les rois de la création. Si personne n'avait péché et si donc personne n'était mort, les liens familiaux et les rapports de voisinage ou de concitoyennité auraient donc bel et bien existé[66]).

Voilà ce que saint Augustin pensait plus tard. Mais retournons encore un instant au *De Vera religione*. Dans le contexte des rapports dont je viens de parler Augustin va jusqu'à dire ceci :

En nous appelant à recouvrer la perfection de notre état primitif, Jésus-Christ en personne nous enjoint de rester insensibles à ces rapports terrestres et nous apprend que nul n'est digne du royaume de Dieu s'il ne *hait* pas ces liens de la chair. Mais n'est-ce pas inhumain ? Non, répond saint Augustin. Il est plus inhumain d'aimer dans un homme non pas qu'il est homme, mais qu'il est par exemple ton fils, car c'est aimer en lui non ce qui le rattache à Dieu, mais ce qui le rattache à toi-même. Il est impossible — toujours selon l'Augustin de 391 environ — d'aimer parfaitement (le royaume de Dieu et) l'état final auquel nous sommes appelés, sans *haïr* la situation d'où nous sommes rappelés. Nous sommes appelés à la perfection de l'être humain d'antan, tel que Dieu l'a fait avant le péché ;

et ista dilectio temporalis est. Non enim ullas tales necessitudines haberemus, quae nascendo et moriendo contingunt, si natura nostra in praeceptis et in imagine dei manens in istam corruptionem non relegaretur. — PL 34, c. 161 ; CC 32, p. 244-245.

[66]) *Retractationes* I, 13, 8 : Hunc sensum prorsus inprobo quem iam et superius inprobaui in primo libro de Genesi contra Manichaeos. Ad hoc enim ducit, ut credantur illi coniuges primi non generaturi posteros homines nisi peccassent ; tamquam necesse fuerit ut morituri gignerentur, si de concubitu maris et feminae gignerentur. Nondum enim uideram fieri potuisse ut non morituri de non morituris nascerentur, si peccato illo magno non mutaretur in deterius humana natura ; ac per hoc, si et in parentibus et in filiis fecunditas felicitasque mansisset, usque ad certum sanctorum numerum quem praedestinauit deus nascerentur homines non parentibus successuri morientibus, sed cum uiuentibus regnaturi. Essent ergo etiam istae cognationes atque adfinitates, si nullus delinqueret, nullusque moreretur. — PL 32, c. 605 ; CSEL 36, p. 63-64.

nous sommes rappelés de l'amour pour notre situation actuelle, situation que nous a value le péché. Nous désirons en être libérés, par conséquent il faut que nous la *haïssions*[67]).

N'est-ce pas un peu fanatique? C'est ce qu'Augustin lui-même pensera en effet plus tard. Mais pour l'instant il conclue: *Haïssons* donc ces liens qui sont de l'ordre du temps, si l'amour de l'éternité brûle en nous. Que l'homme aime son prochain comme lui-même. Or personne n'est à soi-même père, ou fils, ou voisin, ni rien de tel, mais simplement homme... Ce qu'il faut aimer c'est l'être humain, dans sa perfection, ou tendant vers la perfection, sans tenir compte de sa condition terrestre. Ceux qui aiment Dieu et font sa volonté forment une seule famille dont Dieu est le Père. Ils sont les uns pour les autres des pères quand ils veillent les uns sur les autres, des fils quand ils s'obéissent mutuellement, des frères surtout, puisque le Testament du même et seul Père les convie au même héritage[68]).

Cette dernière phrase annonce l'Augustin de la maturité, avec son ecclésiologie si caractéristique. Mais au moment où nous sommes il est encore en pleine évolution. Nous allons encore le constater dans le *De Sermone domini in monte*.

C'est pendant les quelques années de son sacerdoce qu'Augustin a rédigé ce commentaire du «Sermon de la montagne» en Matthieu 5, 1 à 7, 29. Dans un passage du Livre premier de cet ouvrage il souligne la contradiction apparente entre deux paroles du Seigneur. En Matthieu 5, 44 (avec Luc 6, 27), Jésus-Christ nous ordonne d'aimer tous les hommes,

[67]) *De Vera religione* 46(88): Itaque ad pristinam perfectamque naturam nos ipsa ueritas uocans praecipit, ut carnali consuetudini resistamus, docens neminem aptum esse regno dei, qui non istas carnales necessitudines oderit, neque hoc cuiquam inhumanum uideri decet. Magis est enim inhumanum non amare in homine quod homo est, sed amare quod filius est. Hoc est enim non in eo amare illud quod ad deum pertinet, sed amare illud quod ad se pertinet. Quid ergo mirum, si ad regnum non peruenit, qui non communem, sed priuatam rem diligit? ...Nemo enim potest perfecte diligere quo uocamur, nisi oderit unde reuocamur. Vocamur autem ad perfectam naturam humanam, qualem ante peccatum nostrum deus fecit. Reuocamur autem ab eius dilectione, quam peccando meruimus. Quare oderimus oportet, unde ut liberemur optamus. — PL 34, c. 161-162; CC 32, p. 245.

[68]) *De Vera religione* 46(89): Oderimus ergo temporales necessitudines, si aeternitatis caritate flagramus. Diligat homo proximum tamquam se ipsum. Certe enim sibi nemo est pater aut filius aut affinis aut aliquid huius modi, sed tantum homo... Ipsa igitur natura humana sine carnali condicione diligenda est, siue sit perficienda siue perfecta. Omnes sub deo patre cognati sunt, qui eum diligunt et faciunt uoluntatem ipsius, et inuicem sibi sunt et patres, cum sibi consulunt, et filii, cum sibi obtemperant, et fratres maxime, quia eos unus pater testamento suo ad unam hereditatem uocat. — PL 34, c. 162; CC 32, p. 245.

même nos ennemis, tandis qu'il proclame en Luc 14, 26: «Si quelqu'un vient à moi sans *haïr*[69]) son père, sa mère, sa femme, ses enfants, ses frères, ses sœurs et même sa propre vie, il ne peut être mon disciple». Augustin explique: Il nous est facile, en prenant Jésus-Christ pour guide, de montrer que ces deux paroles ne sont pas contradictoires... Il faut comprendre que le royaume éternel qu'il a destiné à ses disciples, appelés aussi ses «frères», ne connaît pas ce genre de liens, qui sont temporels et terrestres. Au ciel il n'y aura plus ni Juif, ni païen, ni esclave, ni homme libre, ni mâle, ni femme, mais le Christ sera tout en tous. En Matthieu 22, 30 le Seigneur dit lui-même: «A la résurrection on ne prend ni femme ni mari, mais on est comme des anges dans le ciel». Cela veut dire que tous ceux qui veulent déjà ici-bas envisager et préparer la vie de ce royaume doivent nécessairement *haïr*, non pas les êtres humains en soi, mais ces relations temporelles et terrestres qui servent de soutien à la vie passagère d'ici-bas dont les deux termes sont la naissance et la mort. S'il ne *haïssent* pas ces liens, ils n'aiment pas encore cette vie qui ne sera plus conditionnée par ces deux moments[70]).

Augustin précise ensuite que les liens contractés dans le mariage, eux aussi, sont de nature temporelle et terrestre. Le fait que la vie d'ici-bas se trouve conditionnée par la naissance et la mort constitue la seule raison pour contracter des mariages. Si je demande donc à un bon Chrétien marié, écrit-il, s'il veut encore avoir son épouse au ciel en tant qu'épouse, il répondra avec véhémence qu'il ne le veut pas. Mais si je lui demande s'il veut voir son épouse partager avec lui la vie céleste, il répondra qu'il désire cela avec autant de véhémence qu'il repousse la première proposition. Ainsi on constate que le bon Chrétien aime dans une seule et même femme la créature de Dieu qu'il désire voir transformée et renouvelée par la

[69]) A propos de Luc 14, 26 la Traduction Oecuménique de la Bible, Nouveau Testament (Paris, 1973, p. 246) donne la note intéressante que voici: «Comme dans la langue de l'AT qui ne possède pas de comparatif, ce verbe (haïr) signifie ici *aimer moins*...; c'est ainsi que l'a compris Mt 10, 37».

[70]) *De Sermone domini in monte* I, 15(40): Et quomodo haec non sint contraria inter se, ipso duce ostendere facile est... Regnum enim aeternum quo discipulos suos, quos etiam fratres appellat, uocare dignatus est, non habet huiusmodi necessitudines temporales. *Non* enim *est Iudaeus neque Graecus neque masculus neque femina nec seruus nec liber, sed omnia et in omnibus Christus.* Et ipse dominus dicit: *In resurrectione enim neque nubent neque uxores ducent, sed erunt sicut angeli in caelis.* Oportet ergo ut quisquis illius regni uitam iam hic meditari uoluerit, oderit non ipsos homines sed istas necessitudines temporales, quibus ista quae transitura est uita fulcitur, quae nascendo et moriendo peragitur. Quod qui non odit nondum amat illam uitam, ubi nulla erit conditio nascendi atque moriendi, quae copulat terrena coniugia. — PL 34, c. 1249-1250; CC 35, p. 44.

résurrection, et qu'il *hait* en elle en même temps l'union et les liens qui sont soumis à la corruption et à la mort : c'est-à-dire qu'il aime dans son épouse qu'elle est un être humain et *hait* en elle qu'elle est une épouse [71]). Qui, à l'heure actuelle, oserait dire cela par exemple dans un sermon de mariage?!

Ensuite Augustin revient à l'amour de l'ennemi en disant : C'est de la même manière que le Chrétien aime son ennemi ; non pas en tant qu'il est son ennemi, mais en tant qu'il est un être humain, et cela jusqu'à désirer pour lui le bonheur du ciel qu'il souhaite pour lui-même [72]).

L'amour de l'ennemi et la haine de ses proches ne sont donc pas contradictoires. Nous devons *haïr* en eux, continue-t-il, ce que la naissance et la mort donnent en apanage au genre humain, mais nous devons aimer ce qui en eux peut parvenir avec nous à ce royaume où personne ne dit plus « mon père », mais où tous disent au seul Dieu unique « Notre Père » ; où l'on ne dit plus « ma mère », mais où tous disent à la Jérusalem céleste « Notre Mère » ; où enfin on ne dit plus « mon frère », mais où tous à propos de tous disent « notre frère ». Il se fera alors de tous réunis comme un seul mariage avec un seul époux — de nouveau le grand ecclésiologue s'annonce —, l'époux qui nous a délivrés par l'effusion de son sang de la prostitution de ce siècle. Un disciple de Jésus-Christ doit donc *haïr* les choses qui passent dans ceux qu'il désire voir parvenir avec

[71]) *De Sermone domini in monte* I, 15(41) : Itaque si aliquem bene christianum qui tamen habet uxorem, quamuis adhuc cum ea filios generet, interrogarem, utrum in illo regno habere uelit uxorem, memor utique promissorum dei et uitae illius, ubi corruptibile hoc induet incorruptionem et mortale hoc induet inmortalitatem, iam magno uel certe aliquo amore suspensus cum execratione respondebit se uehementer id nolle. Rursus si interrogem, utrum uxorem suam post resurrectionem accepta angelica inmutatione, quae sanctis promittitur, secum ibi uiuere uelit, tam uehementer se id uelle quam illud nolle respondebit. Sic inuenitur bonus christianus diligere in una femina creaturam dei, quam reformari et renouari desiderat, odisse autem coniunctionem copulationemque corruptibilem atque mortalem, hoc est diligere in ea quod homo est, odisse quod uxor est. — PL 34, c. 1250 ; CC 35, p. 44-45.

[72]) *De Sermone domini in monte* I, 15(41) : Ita etiam diligit inimicum, non in quantum inimicus est, sed in quantum homo est, ut hoc ei uelit prouenire quod sibi, id est ut ad regnum caelorum correctus renouatusque perueniat. — PL 34, c. 1250 ; CC 35, p. 45.

[73]) *De Sermone domini in monte* I, 15(41) : Hoc et de patre et de matre et de ceteris uinculis sanguinis intellegendum est, ut in eis oderimus quod genus humanum nascendo et moriendo sortitum est, diligamus autem quod nobiscum potest ad illa regna perduci, ubi nemo dicit pater meus, sed omnes uni deo pater noster ; nec mater mea, sed omnes illi Hierusalem mater nostra ; nec frater meus, sed omnes de omnibus frater noster. Coniugium uero cum illo simul nobis in unum redactis quasi unius coniugis erit, qui nos de prostitutione huius saeculi sui sanguinis effusione liberauit. Necesse est ergo ut oderit ea quae transeunt discipulus Christi in his quos secum ad ea uenire desiderat quae semper manebunt ; et tanto magis haec in eis oderit, quanto magis eos diligit. — PL 34, c. 1250 ; CC 35, p. 45-46.

lui aux choses qui dureront toujours, et sa *haine* pour les choses qui passent sera d'autant plus grande que son amour pour les êtres humains en eux est plus grand[73]). N'est-ce pas vrai en effet que nous *haïssons* ce dont nous souhaitons un jour voir la fin, par exemple la vie présente? Car si nous ne *haïssons* pas cette vie qui passe si rapidement, nous ne pourrions pas désirer la vie future qui sera affranchie des lois du temps[74]).

Plus tard, dans les *Retractationes*, saint Augustin dira son désaccord avec ce texte sur deux points, dont le second découle du premier. Il écrit ceci: Mes paroles laissent entendre que tous les liens du sang n'auraient pas existé si au début les premiers hommes n'avaient pas péché. Il est vrai que ce péché a entraîné leur mort. Mais il y aurait eu des parentés et des voisinages même si le péché originel n'avait pas été commis. Le genre humain aurait alors crû et se serait multiplié, mais sans que personne mourût[75]).

Nous reconnaissons là les autocritiques que saint Augustin avait déjà formulées à propos du *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* et du *De Vera religione*, rédigés avant son accession au sacerdoce. Quant à la *haine*, elle concernait précisément ces liens qui n'auraient pas existé — pensait-il alors —, si Adam et Eve n'avaient pas péché et si leur fécondité spirituelle n'était pas transformée en fécondité physique. C'est pourquoi Augustin ajoute dans les *Retractationes*: Quant à la *haine*, il faut modifier la solution de l'apparente contradiction entre l'amour des ennemis et la haine de nos proches que j'ai proposée dans le *De Sermone domini in monte*. Il faut dire que nous devons *haïr* dans nos proches uniquement ce qui mettrait obstacle au royaume de Dieu[76]). Autrement dit, il ne faut pas que chaque Chrétien haïsse dans son père, par exemple, le fait d'être son père physique (en raison de la fausse idée que cette parenté physique n'aurait pas dû exister), mais tel Chrétien doit éventuellement haïr dans son père le fait de vouloir organiser des vols avec lui, son fils.

[74]) *De Sermone domini in monte* I, 15(42): Odimus enim sine dubio quod certe, ut aliquando non sit, optamus, sicut istam praesentis temporis uitam, quam temporalem si non odissemus, non desideraremus futuram, quae non est tempori obnoxia. — PL 34, c. 1250; CC 35, p. 46-47.

[75]) *Retractationes* I, 19, 5: ...ita sonat, quasi non essent futurae istae necessitudines, si nullo naturae humanae praecedente peccato nemo moreretur; quem sensum iam superius improbaui. Essent enim profecto cognationes et affimitates, etiamsi originali nullo existente peccato, sine morte cresceret et multiplicaretur genus humanum. — PL 32, c. 615; CSEL 36, p. 91.

[76]) *Retractationes* I, 19, 5: Ac per hoc aliter soluenda quaestio est, cur dominus praeceperit diligendos inimicos, cum alio loco praecipiat odio habendos et parentes et filios, ...id est, ut diligamus inimicos lucrandos regno dei, et oderimus in propinquis, si inpediunt a regno dei. — PL 32. c. 615-616; CSEL 36, p. 91-92.

Depuis la rédaction du *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, du *De Vera religione* et du *De Sermone domini in monte* le climat a donc considérablement changé. Mais la question se pose de savoir jusqu'à quel moment Augustin a estimé que les enfants d'Adam et Eve auraient été des enfants spirituels, des joies et de communes louanges, et non pas des enfants physiques. Le pensait-il encore en 397 quand, comme je le crois, il a rédigé sa Règle?

Ses *Confessions* sont plus tardives, mais je préfère ne pas les faire intervenir[77]). Le début du livre de la Genèse y est une image de toute l'économie du salut, depuis le début jusque dans l'éternité. Il est difficile de savoir ce que saint Augustin aurait dit en ce moment s'il avait donné des premières pages de la Bible un commentaire plus littéral.

F.2. D'après les *Retractationes* les *Confessions* constituent la sixième œuvre mise en chantier par saint Augustin après sa consécration épiscopale. La quatorzième place y est occupée par son *De Catechizandis rudibus*. Si, comme je le pense, la Règle de saint Augustin date du début de son épiscopat, le *De Catechizandis rudibus* doit être largement postérieure à la Règle. Or il me semble[78]) que saint Augustin, lorsqu'il rédigeait le *De Catechizandis rudibus*, avait encore sur la fécondité d'Adam et Eve les mêmes conceptions que dans son *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, son *De Vera religione* et son *De Sermone domini in monte*, conceptions qu'il a rejetées à plusieurs reprises dans ses *Retractationes*. Il est vrai que les *Retractationes* ne disent rien à propos du passage du *De Catechizandis rudibus* auquel je pense, mais cela s'explique très bien par le fait que ces conceptions rejetées y sont exprimées d'une façon implicite, tandis qu'elles étaient très explicites dans les trois ouvrages précédents. Il est vrai aussi que le passage du *De Catechizandis rudibus* marque déjà une certaine évolution par rapport à ces trois ouvrages.

[77]) Voir *Confessiones* XIII, 24(37). — PL 32, c. 861; éd. Skutella, p. 359.

[78]) D'après E. SAMEK LODOVICI c'est, après le *De Catechizandis rudibus*, dans le *De Bono coniugali* 2(2) et le *De Genesi ad litt.* III, 21(33) que les premiers symptômes de l'évolution d'Augustin se manifesteraient. Voir son article *Sessualità, matrimonio e concupiscenza in sant'Agostino*, dans *Etica sessuale e matrimonio nel cristianesimo delle origini*, a cura di R. CANTALAMESSA (Studia Patristica Mediolanensia, 5), Milan, 1976, (p. 212-272), p. 266-267. — Voir aussi la Note 42 de P. AGAËSSE-A. SOLIGNAC sur *La femme, la sexualité et le mariage dans le De Genesi* dans *La Genèse au sens littéral* VIII-XII, soit le vol. 49 des œuvres de saint Augustin Paris, 1972, p. 516-530. Cette Note souligne que saint Augustin a dépendu (directement ou indirectement?) des vues de Grégoire de Nysse et de Jean Chrysostome sur le caractère spirituel de la progéniture d'Adam et Eve avant leur chute.

Afin d'être clair je me trouve obligé d'esquisser encore une fois l'évolution de saint Augustin dans ce domaine.

Dans un premier temps il a pensé que la fécondité des premiers êtres humains n'était pas d'ordre physique; ils produiraient ensemble, sous la direction de l'homme, des joies spirituelles et des louanges adressées à leur Créateur. C'est à cause de leur péché que la fécondité spirituelle d'Adam et Eve serait devenue une fécondité physique. Sans ce péché ils seraient restés les seuls êtres humains sur la terre.

Plus tard il a changé d'opinion. Si Adam et Eve n'avaient pas péché, pensait-il alors, ils auraient eu des enfants physiques déjà au Paradis, nantis de la même immortalité qu'eux-mêmes. Leur nombre aurait été établi par Dieu. Ces enfants physiques auraient été engendrés et conçus sans que la concupiscence, fruit du péché, y intervienne. Augustin n'insiste plus sur l'antithèse entre enfants spirituels avant la chute et enfants physiques après la chute, mais sur l'antithèse entre la procréation, sans concupiscence, d'enfants physiques (immortels), avant la chute, et la procréation, avec concupiscence, d'enfants physiques également (mais mortels), après la chute.

Or il me semble que le passage du *De Catechizandis rudibus* que nous allons lire s'accorde beaucoup plus avec la théorie première qu'avec la théorie seconde, bien que cette dernière commence à s'y faire sentir.

Nous y lisons ceci: Après avoir créé le ciel et la terre, Dieu a créé aussi l'homme, Adam... Puis, pour l'aider, Dieu a créé la femme; mais ce ne fut pas en vue de la concupiscence charnelle, étant donné que ces êtres humains n'avaient alors pas encore des corps corruptibles; la mortalité n'avait pas encore fait en eux son invasion, elle était la peine du péché. Mais (*sed*) ce que Dieu visait était que l'homme eût de la gloire en fonction de sa femme, en allant vers Dieu devant elle et en s'offrant à son imitation dans le domaine de la sainteté et de la piété, tout comme lui-même serait un titre de gloire pour Dieu en imitant sa sagesse[79]).

D'après ce passage Dieu a donné la femme comme aide à l'homme. Ce que Dieu voulait en faisant cela est décrit d'une façon négative et d'une façon positive (*non...sed*). L'accent tombe manifestement sur le côté positif. Celui-ci est décrit dans la dernière phrase de la citation et l'aide est

[79]) *De Catechizandis rudibus* 18(29): Fecit illi etiam adiutorium feminam: non ad carnalem concupiscentiam, quando quidem nec corruptibilia corpora tunc habebant, antequam eos mortalitas inuaderet poena peccati, sed ut haberet et uir gloriam de femina, cum ei praeiret ad deum, seque illi praeberet imitandum in sanctitate atque pietate; sicut ipse esset gloria dei, cum eius sapientiam sequeretur. — PL 40, c. 332; CC 46, p. 154.

là très nettement d'ordre spirituel: la femme accompagnerait l'homme dans ses rapports avec Dieu. Nous sommes là dans la ligne de la théorie première. Dans la présentation négative qui précède, Augustin ne dit pas explicitement que les enfants d'Adam et Eve *ne seraient pas* des enfants physiques, mais qu'Eve *n'était pas* donnée à l'homme pour concevoir avec concupiscence; celle-ci *n'existait pas* encore, Adam et Eve *n'étant pas* encore mortels. Formulée d'une façon négative, la théorie seconde commence là à se manifester. Mais puisque l'accent se trouve sur la dernière phrase, Augustin me paraît être dans le *De Catechizandis rudibus* plus près de la théorie première que de la seconde. Et rappelons-nous que chronologiquement parlant nous avons là déjà largement dépassé le début de son épiscopat, quand il a rédigé sa Règle.

G.1. Somme toute, la lecture des œuvres de saint Augustin qui ont été entreprises entre 386, date de sa conversion, et le début de son épiscopat, nous a fait comprendre qu'il ne s'était pas encore livré à des réflexions très personnelles sur le sens profond du célibat monastique. Le célibat constituait alors pour lui surtout une donnée traditionnelle : un moine ne se mariait pas.

Quant au mariage, il avait alors à son propos des opinions qu'il a très explicitement rejetées par la suite. Ces opinions avaient avec celles sur le célibat monastique ceci en commun qu'elles étaient traditionnelles. On a fait remarquer qu'elles se retrouvent chez Grégoire de Nysse et Jean Chrysostome, bien que nous ignorions comment Augustin en a pris connaissance[80]). Dans ce domaine non plus, il n'était arrivé à des réflexions personnelles. Que cette coïncidence ne nous étonne pas. Il est en effet impossible, me semble-t-il, d'avoir des idées très poussées sur le célibat consacré tant qu'on a des idées peu avancées sur son antihèse, le mariage chrétien.

G.2. C'est l'absence de réflexions personnelles dans ce domaine double et unique qui me paraît expliquer le début étonnamment abrupt du passage de la Règle sur le célibat, ou plutôt sur l'effronterie du regard. Arrivé à ce point, Augustin n'a même pas éprouvé le besoin de dire que les moines auxquels il s'adressait devaient pratiquer le célibat; cela allait de

[80]) Voir note 78.

soi. Et il n'éprouvait pas le besoin non plus de le motiver en présentant un idéal ; sa valeur était évidente. Aussi a-t-il commencé *ex abrupto* en disant : « Votre regard, bien sûr, peut tomber sur une femme... »[81]).

L.M.J. VERHEIJEN O.S.A.

[81]) Je profite de l'occasion pour signaler, dans le même quatrième chapitre, une particularité d'ordre lexicologique. Nous lisons dans le *Praeceptum*, aux lignes 96 à 98 : Sed *ecce* lateat at a nemine hominum uideatur, quid faciet de illo desuper inspectore quem latere nihil potest ? (« Mais *soit*, admettons que tout reste caché... »). *Ecce* a ici le sens de *esto* ou de *age*. J'ai rencontré le même emploi de *ecce* ailleurs chez Augustin. Dans les *Soliloquia* I, 1(1) *ecce* se trouve en combinaison avec *fac*, « supposons que » : *Ecce, fac* te inuenisse aliquid, cui (id) commendabis, ut pergas ad alia ? La réponse est : Memoriae. — PL 32, c. 869. Dans le Sermon 232, 8(8) le prédicateur demande : Longam uitam (esse) putatis ? Celui qui penserait cela se tromperait, dit-il. Puis il continue en disant : « Mais *soit*, admettons qu'elle soit longue... », sed *ecce* longa sit... — PL 38, c. 1111.

Contributions à une édition critique améliorée des Confessions de saint Augustin*)

XIII. *Nouveaux manuscrits : compléments viennois à la «liste Wilmart».*

Dans la Revue Bénédictine de 1929 Dom André Wilmart a publié une liste de 204 manuscrits, complets ou partiels, des *Confessions* de saint Augustin[1]). A ce moment Martin Skutella, le futur éditeur des *Confessions* dans la collection Teubner, avait de son côté déjà composé une liste du même genre. Cela lui a permis de publier, dans la Revue Bénédictine également, une série d'observations sur ce que j'appellerai la «première liste Wilmart»[2]). Fort des remarques de M. Skutella et ayant poursuivi ses propres recherches, A. Wilmart a pu donner ensuite, dans le second volume des *Miscellanea Agostiniana* (1931), un répertoire de 258 manuscrits des *Confessions*[3]). Cette liste fait partie de son inestimable article sur «la tradition des grands ouvrages de saint Augustin». Toujours dans la Revue Bénédictine, M. Skutella a ajouté quatre unités à cette «liste Wilmart», l'un d'eux se trouvant en Belgique (à Mons; on en parlera plus loin), les trois autres dans l'actuelle République Fédérale Allemande (l'un à Freiburg/Br., les deux autres à Stuttgart)[4]).

Depuis 1969 la «Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse» publie dans ses «Sitzungsberichte» des répertoires concernant la tradition manuscrite de toutes les œuvres de saint Augustin sous le titre *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*. Jusqu'ici ces répertoires ont signalé les manuscrits conservés en Italie (vol. 263 et 269, 1969-1970, par M. Oberleitner); en Angleterre et en Irlande (vol. 276 et 281, 1970-1972,

*) Voir *Augustiniana* XX (1970), p. 35-53 et 329-335; XXI (1971), p. 405-416; XXII (1972), p. 35-52; XXIII (1973), p. 334-368; XXIV (1974), p. 217-233; XXV (1975), p. 5-23 et 205-209; XXVIII (1978), p. 13-17.

[1]) *Les manuscrits des Confessions de s. Augustin. Répertoire méthodique*, dans *Revue Bénédictine* XLI (1929), p. 325-332.

[2]) *Der Handschriftenbestand der Confessiones s. Augustini*, dans *Revue Bénédictine* XLII (1930), p. 205-209.

[3]) MA II, Rome, 1931, p. 261-265. Cette liste fait partie de son article *La tradition des grands ouvrages de saint Augustin*, ib., p. 257-315.

[4]) *Frustula Augustiniana*, dans *Revue Bénédictine* LI (1939), p. 70.

par F. Römer); en Pologne, au Danemark, en Norvège et en Suède (vol. 289, 1973, par F. Römer, avec la collaboration de J. Kumpfmüller); en Espagne et au Portugal (vol. 292, 1974, par J. Divjak); dans la République Fédérale Allemande et à Berlin-Ouest (vol. 306, 1976, par R. Kurz).

Il m'a paru utile de compléter la «liste Wilmart» par les informations fournies par les répertoires de l'Académie de Vienne et par quelques autres, mais aussi de compléter les listes de Vienne par quelques données de la «liste Wilmart». Dans les pages qui vont suivre j'indiquerai par W 1, W 2 etc. les numéros 1, 2 etc. de la liste dressée par A. Wilmart en 1931. Les apports viennois seront indiqués par Vi (Italie), Vgb (Grande-Bretagne), Vpl (Pologne), Ve (Espagne) et Vd (République Fédérale Allemande). Les sigles Vi 1, Vpl 3 etc. correspondent au numéros que les manuscrits portent dans chaque «*Werkverzeichnis*» où des listes récapitulatives ordonnent les manuscrits en fonction des différentes œuvres de saint Augustin, *Confessions*, *De Beata vita* etc.. Vi 1 indique donc le premier manuscrit des *Confessions* qui se trouve sur la liste récapitulative concernant les bibliothèques italiennes, et ainsi de suite.

Je diviserai ces renseignements en cinq parties:

A. Je signalerai d'abord les manuscrits de la «liste Wilmart» qui ne sont pas répertoriés par les chercheurs de Vienne, et cela pour des raisons diverses.

B. Je donnerai ensuite la liste des manuscrits qui se trouvent dans les deux répertoires mais sous des indications très différentes, en partie pour des raisons politiques ou historiques.

C. Dans cette troisième partie je donnerai la liste des nombreux manuscrits (il y en a soixante-douze) que nous connaissons maintenant grâce au labeur des rechercheurs de Vienne. Leurs travaux n'étant pas encore achevés, la liste définitive de ces nouveaux manuscrits sera sans doute encore beaucoup plus longue.

D. Je signalerai aussi deux nouveaux manuscrits qui n'ont pas encore été répertoriés par l'Académie de Vienne étant donné qu'ils se trouvent, l'un aux Pays-Bas, l'autre en Belgique.

E. Enfin je dirai un mot sur ce que j'appellerai le «manuscrit Vega», manuscrit qui se trouve à la Bibliothèque de l'Escorial mais dont je ne puis pas donner la cote.

A. *Manuscrits de la « liste Wilmart » qui manquent dans les nouveaux répertoires.*

1. W 45	Cheltenham 9270	XIV
2. W 47	Cheltenham 16066	XII
3. W 106	Londres Huth Library (*s.n.*)	XIV
4. W 133	Munich 13129 (Ermites de St-Augustin, Ratisbonne)	XV
5. W 135	Munich 14736 (St-Emmeran)	XII
6. W 139	Munich 21589 (Weihenstephan)	1446
7. W 145	Münster Paulina 39(201)	XV
8. W 197	Perrins [collection de C.W. Dyson Perrins, à Davenham, Malvern] 118 (Michelsberg, Bamberg)	1169
9. W 203	Rome, Bibl. Angelica 1295 (T. 2.21)	XV

Notice à propos de 1, 2, 3, 7 et 8.

Les trois premiers et le huitième de ces manuscrits appartenaient à des collections privées anglaises mises en vente par la suite. Sous B (2 et 3) le lecteur trouvera deux manuscrits du même genre mais acquis par des bibliothèques publiques, l'un se trouvant maintenant à Chicago, l'autre à Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard). Il ne semble pas que les manuscrits cités sous A1, 2, 3 et 8 aient déjà été vendus à des bibliothèques accessibles au public.

Quant au manuscrit de Münster, son absence dans le répertoire Vd s'explique sans doute par le fait que la plus grande partie des sept cent soixante et un manuscrits de la *Bibliotheca Paulina* a été détruite pendant la dernière guerre mondiale[5]).

Au contraire les trois manuscrits de Munich et celui de la *Bibliotheca Angelica* existent toujours.

B. *Manuscrits qui figurent dans les deux répertoires, mais sous des noms différents.*

1. W 15	Breslau (Ville) 369 (Rhedigeranus)	XV
= Vpl 8	Wrosław, Bibl. Uniwersytecka Rehd. 369	XIV
2. W 44	Cheltenham 241 (vol. 10) (Reading)	XIII in.

[5]) Voir P. O. KRISTELLER, *Latin Manuscript Books before 1600*, New York (1965), p. 161.

= Vgb, p. 335	Chicago, Newberry Library Gen. Add. 11 (Census Suppl. 149)	
3. W 46	Cheltenham 9460	XII
= Vgb, p. 338	Cambridge Mass., Harvard Coll. Library MS Lat. 150	
4. W 76	Goerlitz (Gymnasialbibl.) 44	1469
= Vpl 7	Wrosław, Bibl. Uniwersytecka Milich II/44 chart.	
5. W 90	Liegnitz (Kirchenbibl. v. St-Peter u. Paul) 19	XV (c. an,
= Vpl 6	Wrosław, Bibl. Uniwersytecka Akc. 1948/733	1475) XV
6. W 119	Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana A. 69 (Ermites de St-Aug.)	XIV
= Vi 29	Ib. F. 69 *sup.*	XV
7. W 122	Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana C. 447 *inf.* (Avignon)	XIV
= Vi 25	Ib. H. 47 *inf.*	XV

C. *Manuscrits qui manquent dans la « liste-Wilmart ».*

1. Vd 2	Bamberg, Staatsbibl. Ms. Patr. 33[m]	1169
2. Vd 3	Berlin, Staatsbibl. Preuss. Kulturbes. Ms. lat. 2° 826	XV
3. Vi 2	Bologna, Collegio di Spagna 15	XIV
4. Vi 3	Bressanone (Brixen), Seminario 90 E. 1	XIV
5. Vd 4	Burgsteinfurt/Westf., Fürst zu Bentheimsche Domänenkammer Hs. 1	1478
6. Ve 1	Burgo de Osma, Bibl. de la Catedral 69	XIV
7. Vi 7	Cesena, Bibl. Piana 3.184	XIV
8. Vgb 3	Cambridge, University Library 1984 (Wilmart, note sur ib. 1968)	XV
9. Vgb 10	Cambridge, Peterhouse 78	XIII/XIV
10. Vgb 12	Cambridge, Sidney and Sussex College 73	XIII
11. Vd 5	Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibl. 348	1462
12. Vd 6	Ib. 519	XIII/XIV
13. Vd 7	Ib. 685	XV
14. Vd 8	Ib. 702	XV

15. Vd 9	Ib. 2612	XV
16. Vd 11	Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibl. B 10	1460
17. Vd 12	Ib. B 13	1438
18. Vd 15	Freiburg/Br., Universitätsbibl. 323	1468
19. Vi 17	Firenze, Bibl. Laur. conv. soppr. 574	XIII
20. *Vi 19	Firenze, Bibl. Laur. fondo S. Marco 657	X
21. Vi 20	Firenze, Bibl. Riccardiana 278	XV
22. Vd 17	Göttingen, Niedersachsische Staats- und Universitätsbibl. 8° Theol. 93[c]	XV_1
23. Vd 18	Hannover, Kestner Museum 3946	XV_2
24. Vd 19	Harburg, Fürstliche Öttingen-Wallersteinische Bibl. II 1, 2° 47	XV
25. Vd 20	Heidelberg, Universitätsbibl. 179	XV
26. Vd 21	Koblenz, Staatsarchiv 701/144	XV
27. Vd 22	Köln, Historisches Archiv der Stadt GB 8° 149	XV
28. Ve 8	Madrid, Bibl. Nacional 5990	XV
29. Vgb 36	Manchester, Chetham Library 6682	$XIII_2$
30. Vi 22	Mantova, Bibl. Comunale C. II. 18	XI/XII
31. Vi 23	Ib. C. III. 4	XIII/XIV
32. Vi 24	Ib. D. IV. 14	XIV
33. *Vd 26	Marburg/L., Universitätsbibl. 375, 20-23	X
34. Vi 32	Milano, Bibl. Nazionale Braidense AG. XI. 45	XV
35. Vi 33	Modena, Bibl. Estense α.Q.8.9	XV
36. Vi 34	Ib. α.U.4.15	XV
37. Vd 41	München, Universitätsbibl. 2° Cod. ms. 3	XV
38. *Vd 42	Ib. 4° Cod. ms. 2	XI
39. Vi 37	Napoli, Bibl. Nazionale VI.D.36	XIV
40. *Ve 9	New York (Lowe CLA 6240)	VI
41. Vd 43	Nürnberg, Stadtbibl. Ms. Cent. I 57	1441
42. Vgb 38	Oxford, Bodl. Library Lat. th. e. 31	XII
43. Vgb 42	Oxford, Bodl. Library Rawlinson C. 154	XIV
44. Vpl 1	Pelplin, Bibl. Seminarium Duchownego 203 (145)	XV
45. Vpl 2	Poznań, Bibl. Arcybiskupiego Seminarium Duchownego 47	XIV
46. Vi 41	Padova, Bibl. Universitaria 1094	XIV
47. Vi 42	Ib. 1461	XIV

48. Vi 43	Palermo, Bibl. Nazionale I.C.4	XV
49. Vi 44	Parma, Bibl. Palatina, Palat. 227	1393
50. *Vi 50	Roma, Bibl. Casanatense 641	IX
51. Vi 55	Roma, Bibl. Vallicelliana B 51	XIV
52. Ve 10	Sevilla, Bibl. Colombina 7-4-13	XIV
53. Vi 56	Siena, Convento dell'Osservanza 8	XV ex.
54. *Vd 44	Soest, Stadtarchiv Augustinus Conf.	X
55. Vd 46	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibl. HB. VII 69	XIII
56. Vd 47	Ib. Cod. theol. 2°, 216	XII
57. Ve 11	Tarazona, Bibl. de la Catredal 54	XII/XIII
58. Ve 12	Toledo, Bibl. del Cabildo 14-4	XIV
59. Ve 13	Ib. 14-5	XIV
60. Ve 14	Ib. 14-14	XIV ex.
61. Ve 15	Ib. 14-15	XIV/XV
62. Ve 16	Ib. 14-16	1443
63. Vi 58	Torino, Bibl. Reale, Varia 254	XIII
64. Vd 51	Trier, Stadtbibl.-Stadtarchiv 146/1189	XIV
65. Vd 52	Ib. 1174/476	XV
66. Vi 67	Vaticano, Bibl.Apost.Vat. Vat. lat. 4955	XII
67. Vi 70	Vaticano, Bibl.Apost.Vat. Borgianus lat. 372	XIV
68. Vi 71	Vaticano, Bibl.Apost.Vat. Chigianus A.VI.182	XV
69. Vpl 3	Wrosław, Bibl. Kapitulna 166	XIII
70. Vpl 4	Wrosław, Bibl. Uniwersytecka I F 100	XV_1
71. Vpl 5	Ib. I Q 44	XV_1
72. *Vd 56	Würzburg, Universitätsbibl. m.p. misc. f. 5a	VIII/IX

Notice à propos de 20, 33, 38, 40, 50, 54 et 72.

Ces manuscrits sont les plus anciens de la liste complémentaire que je viens de dresser. Lorsqu'il s'agit de fragments je dispose de photocopies intégrales. Quant aux manuscrits complets, j'ai obtenu l'envoi de photocopies de la fin du livre sixième. L'expérience m'a appris en effet que, pour déterminer la place d'un manuscrit dans l'arbre généalogique, la fin de ce livre rend de très grands et sur services. Il s'agit du passage qui va de 16(21) *prohibebat me sane Alypius* à la fin de 16(26) *et ibi ego feram*, soit de Skutella p. 118, 30 à 123, 26.

1) 20 Firenze, Bibl.Laur.fondo S. Marco 657 (X^e s.)

Ce manuscrit provient du couvent dominicain de S. Marco.

Comparant ce *Florentinus* avec la fin du livre VI dans l'édition de Skutella j'ai constaté que son texte est étroitement apparenté à celui des témoins BPZ de Skutella, et plus particulièrement à celui de Z (Tours 283, X^e/XI^e s.). Voici les accords du *Florentinus* avec le *Turonensis* (les chiffres correspondent aux pages et aux lignes de l'édition Skutella):

119, 11 delicatus (deligatus, dans Skutella); 119, 23 defendere (defenderem); 119, 25 nec (ne); 120, 10 incidit (incidet); 120, 11 sicut (si quod); 120, 15 meae (me); 120, 30 demonstrares (demonstrabas ei); 121, 27 firmabamus (formabamus); 122, 5 manum tuam (manum); 122, 20 fuerat (erat); 122 ,25 ereptura (raptura); 123, 14 omission de: quod ista ipsa foeda (avec Z exclusivement, tandis que les autres variantes se trouvent dans BPZ, ou PZ, ce qui est le cas de 120, 15).

2) 33 Marburg/L., Universitätsbibl. 375, 20-23 (X^e s.)

Dans ce codex ont été conservées quatre feuilles séparées d'un même manuscrit donnant deux fragments du livre VII, un fragment du livre X et un autre du livre XI des *Confessions*. Ces quatre fragments correspondent dans l'édition de Skutella à 125, 12-127, 15; 149, 8-151, 15; 257, 1-259, 5 et 272, 9-274, 8.

Comparant ces fragments avec l'apparat critique de Skutella j'ai constaté que le texte de Marburg est étroitement apparenté à celui du groupe EFGM et plus particulièrement à M (le *Monacensis* 14350, X^e s.). Voici les correspondances avec M (il y en a onze):

126, 3 minor minorem (m. minor); 126, 12 ergo erat (erat e.); 127, 14 animas nostras (n.a.); 149, 27 litteris tuis (t.l.); 150, 15 didici (dici); 151, 6 quia (qua); 257, 17 tibi (tu); 272, 10 sic (si); 272, 23 omission de: et; 272, 29 fingit (figet) et 273, 21 est ridere (ridere).

3) 38 München, Universitätsbibl. 4° Cod. ms. 2 (XI^e s.)

Ce manuscrit est un proche parent du *Florentinus* dont j'ai parlé sous 1), et donc du groupe BPZ des manuscrits de Skutella, plus particulièrement de Z. J'y ai constaté les mêmes écarts par rapport au texte de Skutella et même un treizième: 119, 23 et (ut).

4) 40 New York (Lowe CLA 6240) du VI^e s.

Il s'agit d'une seule feuille recto et verso. Elle est perdue mais il en existe une photocopie. Voir ma notice «Un fragment du VI^e siècle» dans cette même Revue[6]).

[6]) Voir *Augustiniana* XXVIII (1978), p. 13-15.

5) 50 Roma, Bibl. Casanatense 641 (IX^e s.)

Ce codex nous donne aux f. 188 recto et verso un fragment du livre dixième. Il s'agit plus précisément de X, 33 (49-50) allant de *uoluptates aurium* à *cantantem*, soit de 245, 24 à 247, 13 dans l'édition de Skutella.

Le texte de ce fragment est de la même famille que celui de C (le *Parisinus lat. B.N.* 1913, IX^e s.) et de D (le *Parisinus lat. B.N.* 1913A, IX^e s.). Il a 246, 13 rationis (rationi), et cela avec CD exclusivement; 246, 20 omne (omnes); 247, 2 commoueor (cum moueor), les deux derniers avec CD et d'autres témoins.

Ce codex provient de la *maior ecclesia* de Bénévent et son écriture est nettement bénéventine. Cela a son importance. Dans une notice précédente j'ai écrit: «Le manuscrit S, qui se trouve toujours en Italie (à Rome), a appartenu à l'abbaye de Nonantola. Eugippius, vivant à Lucullanum près de Naples, a forcément copié un manuscrit qui se trouvait en Italie. Etant donné les rapports entre S, *Eug* et CD, la source de CD pourrait donc bien être un manuscrit italien, ou remonter à une source italienne. Le manuscrit D est originaire de Saint-Thierry (près de Reims), mais cela n'exclut pas une origine italienne de (la source de CD)» [7]). Or le caractère nettement italien de ce manuscrit de la Bibl. Casanatense ne manque pas de corroborer cette hypothèse.

6) 54 Soest, Stadtarchiv Augustinus Conf. (X^e s.)

Les archives communales de la ville westphalienne de Soest ont conservé dans un ensemble de fragments deux feuilles séparées du même manuscit. Elles donnent un passage du livre VII allant de 2(3) à 6(8) et un passage qui chevauche sur les livres VII et VIII allant de VII, 20(26) à VIII, 2(5). Dans l'édition Skutella ces passages correspondent à 126, 12-133, 23 et 149, 15-157, 2. Le texte de ce manuscrit était celui qui dans l'édition de Skutella est représenté par les témoins BPZ. J'ai constaté en effet avec cette famille exclusivement les accords que voici:

127, 3 si (es); 127, 27 liquide (liquidam); 129, 13 bonum (b. est); 129, 16 et uoluntas (uoluntas); 131, 13 fabricaret (fabricaretur); 131, 17 ipse non (n.i.); 133, 20 efficerent (effecerant); 149, 27 inhabitandam (habitandam); 150, 2 postea (post); 150, 6 quisquam (quisque); 153, 27 est (inest); 154, 2 tecumque cum sp(irit)u s(an)c(t)o (tecumque); 154, 6

[7]) Voir mon article «*Sapientior a uolatilibus caeli*» (*Job 35,11*). *Une réminisence biblique non remarquée dans les Confessions VI, 1 (1) et X, 17 (26)*, dans *Augustinianum* (Rome) XVII (1977), (p. 541-544), p. 543.

tua deus (tua); 155, 3 diiudicauerat et dilucidauerat (diiudicauerat) et 156, 23 superbiebant (superbi uidebant).

7) 72 Würzburg, Universitätsbibl. m.p. misc. f. 5a (VIII^{e}/XI^{e} s.)

Je dois à mon confrère A. Zumkeller les renseignements qui vont suivre. Il s'agit de nouveau d'un fragment. Il se trouve sur la dernière et très sale feuille 40v du manuscrit et est presque illisible. Le fragment commence par un titre qui indique sa provenance: les *Confessions*. Le texte débute par: *Tibi seruiat quicquid utile* et se termine par *...ccaueris*. Il s'agit d'une partie de I, 15(24) et 16(25), correspondant à Skutella 18, 29 à 19, 8 *siccaberis*. Il m'a été impossible de préciser à quelle famille appartenait le manuscrit dont ce fragment était tiré.

D. *Un manuscrit de La Haye et un autre de Mons.*

Je profite de l'occasion pour signaler encore deux manuscrits qui manquent dans la «liste Wilmart», mais qui se trouvent dans des bibliothèques dont les données ne sont pas encore insérées dans les répertoires de l'Académie de Vienne. Je connais le premier par une information que M.P. Petitmengin, Bibliothécaire de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure, a bien voulu me donner. Le second se trouve mentionné par M. Skutella dans sa notice *Frustula Augustiniana*[8]).

Voici les références:

73. 's-Gravenhage, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum 10 B 14 XII
74. Mons 234 [202] XIII

M. Skutella signale que ce dernier manuscrit provient de Saint-Denis en Broqueroie. A. Wilmart, lui aussi, a noté la provenance des manuscrits de sa liste, pour autant qu'elle lui était connue. Si je ne l'ai pas fait, c'est qu'on attend encore des précisions sur celle des manuscrits de la liste Vd.

E. *Le «Manuscrit Vega».*

Dans ses éditions successives des *Confessions* (à partir de l'édition *pro centenario*, El Escorial, 1930) le Père A.C. Vega fait état d'un certain manuscrit fragmentaire de l'Escorial, du IX^{e} siècle, mais sans en donner la cote. D'après l'apparat critique de son édition, il y a dans ce manuscrit, abstraction faite de quelques bévues individuelles, quelques variantes qui font penser que son texte était apparenté à celui de S (le fameux *Sessorianus*) et de W (le *Vindobonensis* 712). M.

[8]) Voir note 4.

Skutella regardait ce dernier (XI[e] s.) comme un *merum apographum Sessoriani*. Voici ces variantes: 112, 7 aperuit, «Vega» avec SW et Skutella (aperuit oculos *cett.*); 284, 19 circuiret, «Vega» avec SWOAHVBP (circumiret); 284, 22 circuiret, «Vega» avec WOAHVBP (circumiret). Les trois variantes citées du «Manuscrit Vega» se trouvent donc toutes dans W.

Le «manuscrit Vega» n'a été signalé, ni par A. Wilmart, ni par J. Divjak, ni par G. Antolín dans son catalogue, pourtant très détaillé, des manuscrits latins de la bibliothèque de l'Escorial. On n'a pas trouvé la cote non plus dans la documentation des services de cette bibliothèque, comme me l'a communiqué l'actuel bibliothécaire, le Père Luciano Rubio. Il doit s'agir de quelques fragments se trouvant dans une collection de miscellanea.

L. M. J. Verheijen, O.S.A.

St.-Augustine's «notitia sui» related to Aristotle and the Early Neo-Platonists*)

V. Self-Knowledge in Augustine

b) *Triadic Stuctures.*

The textual analysis in the last chapter has shown that it is quite possible to make an analysis of Augustine's epistemology that is dyadic. Whether in the mind, the memory or the senses, the knower may have been active in grasping the object, but the fact remains that it was the object, and not himself, which produced the knowledge. However Augustine's *De Trinitate* is characterised by a number of triadic structures of knowing, whose third element is that of will or desire; their separation from the dyadic ones is not entirely rigid as will appear. The source, the modification and the application of triadic and occasional enneadic structures is the subject of this chapter.

Augustine's method with the neo-Platonist legacy of triadic conceptions.

The simple answer to the question, 'Why did Augustine make so much of a triadic analysis of human cognition in the *De Trinitate*?' is that he was looking for analogies of the Godhead in the inner personality: not just purely apologetics for a readership that had no preconceptions, but, as has been repeatedly said, as a work which both had in mind and belonged to the Graeco-Roman philosophical tradition as he found it. And here he was more eirenic than polemic: the literature of this tradition abounded in triads of different kinds. Whether noetic or creational the general principal which lay behind all of them was that for two extremes — two *termini* — to be brought together, an intermediary was needed to bind them together in their state of difference.

However it may still be asked, in addition, philosophically why Augustine should cast around for triadic structures, when he had answered the questions 'what initiates knowledge?' and 'how is self-knowledge possible?' dyadically; for a dyadic structure is sufficient in

*) Continuation of *Augustiniana* 27 (1977), pp. 70-132, 364-401 and 28 (1978), pp. 183-221.

itself. The presence of the dyadic and triadic as two alternative analyses makes the metaphysical character of the work stand out. A psychological investigation would be more tied to an examination of vital functions, potentialities, the activity of knowing which would all have to be fairly strictly delimited; a metaphysical analysis on the other hand is pursued not entirely regardless of the existence of these factors, but more freely and a degree more abstractly. It asks 'how shall we best describe knowing?', and 'what principles are involved in knowing?', and 'how is willing related to knowing?', not 'how does this particular faculty of knowing function?' nor 'has the soul different parts?'. It attempts to discern the principles which are presupposed in the psychological descriptions; for, if they did not have them the psychological investigation of mind could not exist. Augustine's deliberate use of the category of *mens* particularly equips him for such an analysis. It embraces intellectual and sense activity, and keeps in mind their unification. Aristotle's notion of abstraction was proposed as a consequence of his awareness of the distinction between sensation and thought; Augustine took for granted the distinctness of each and felt no need to dwell on the mode of formation of intelligible realities. His conception of memory also embraces the sense and intellectual memories as one, and it is impossible to make a distinction between what comes from sense and what comes from spirit in the nature of the interior word which the again undistinguished *cogitatio* demands. Similarly, Augustine's notion of will can arise, as in the *De Quantitate Animae*, in an embodied context — directly linked to the panoply of nerves and other powers:

> "if what we call strength, therefore, is made up of an impulse from the soul, the mechanism of nerve sinews and the weight of the body, it is the will that supplies the impulse which is considerably stimulated by hope or courage, but retarded through fear and much more through desperation (for fear, provided there be some hope, usually increases strength)" [1]).

And it can arise as a principle seen quite apart from bodily powers, indentifiable with love, in his cognitional triads. And in this more spiritual domain, the interpenetration of the memory, intellect and will in

[1]) *De Quantitate Animae* 22, 38 (PL 32, 1057): "Si igitur et nutu animae, et nervorum quodam machinamento, et pondere corporis confiunt hae quae vires vocantur; voluntas nutum exhibet, qui pronior fit spe vel audacia, retunditur autem timore, sed multo magis desperatione (nam in metu cum aliqua spes subest, vehementiores vires assolent)". Translation by J.J. McMahon, S.J., The Fathers of the Church, vol. 4, New York 1947.

their continuous selfknowing and loving, and the decreasing mere aggregation of their cognitional acts which goes with increasing intensity, involves a union of what psychological analysis normally separates.

Very apt is the commant of E. Benz [2]), clearly intended as a criticism of at least the title of the earlier book by M. Schmaus [3]):

> "It is not the case that Augustine invented a 'psychological teaching on the Trinity'; rather the basis of this psychology is a development of a metaphysical law, derived from the analysis of the process of thinking which two hundred years before, Plotinus had found to be a general universal law of the development of mind, i.e. a law which presides over the objectification of absolute mind within the process of self-knowledge, and likewise is thought of as bringing the human mind to be the image of pure mind".

He describes this law as found in Plotinus as follows:

> "The self-thinking of absolute mind necessarily leads to a triadic expression in so far as the intellect as a hypostasis bears within it the trinity of the power of knowing (Erkennen) (as potency), understanding (Erkenntnis) (as act), and the known (die Erkannten) (as τύπος, form and pattern).
>
> ... The most important ideas are: the separation of absolute being for the production of a dialectical tension; the regarding of this separation as an alienation in which the (potential) intellect objectifies, forms and limits itself; the return of the objectified mind upon itself (as to its model), with ἐπιστροφή, ἐφάψις, ἐπιβολή, the basing of ἐπιστροφή upon the dynamic being of mind that has a will directed to itself — ἔρως, πόθος, ὁρμή, θέλησις" [4]).

Here, Benz's usually reasonable interpretation lapses in a major detail and a minor detail. In the first part of the second quotation he does not note that Plotinus is describing in the first text, on which he bases his reflection [5]), not a self-production of νοῦς, but the production of νοῦς out of the One, in accordance with the epistemic principle which Plotinus shares with Augustine, that knowledge begins with the object — even in intelligibles. So the τύπος which starts off the production of νοῦς here is the One itself; and this whole triadic process therefore is not contained within νοῦς, but is partly external to it. And further, Benz has overlooked Plotinus's basic criticism of Atistotle's noetic, that intellectual knowledge

[2]) E. Benz, Marius Victorinus und die Entwicklung der abendlandischen Willenmetaphysik. Stuttgart 1932, p. 368.

[3]) M. Schmaus, Die *psychologische* Trinitätslehre des Hl. Augustins, Münster 1927.

[4]) *Op. cit.* pp. 223-5.

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

cannot be a passage from potency to act[6]) : νοῦς is unchanging and any variability, such as an arriving at knowledge, must be located in ψυχή.

Benz's contention that Augustine based himself on a law of thinking which was derived from Plotinus needs highly critical qualification. It must be agreed that Augustine would have been interested in tradically structured acts of self-knowing in the hypostases as sources of material for analogies with the Trinity, and as also providing material which would be common ground with neo-Platonism, over the structuring of human mental processes (though any agreement would have been critically conceded agreement whose apologetic tenour may easily and inaccurately be taken for 'influence'). Benz had noted that Augustine had said of the love of external things *id amare alienari est*[7]). But this cannot be taken as a persistence of the plotinian concept of πρόοδος : it concerns the love of external things. And in any case self-knowledge in Augustine is a complete exception to this law, for the self is immediately and always self-knowing. Again, whilst Augustine's position is that at all levels, including the knowledge of God, cognition remains triadic with a place for will, Plotinus considers that with knowledge at its "highest and purest", that is in νοῦς, "if will (βούλησις) attains (the Good) it becomes thought (νόησις);[8]) and thus a triad, whose elements are νοῦς, an act of will, and itself as object within the Good, always becomes a dyad. Though νοῦς would here be satisfied, another text of its being turned to the good in desire[9]), and in this the stucture of its "loving intelligence" remains triadic. There is clearly a resemblance with Augustine in the presence of will or love in this triad, but the parallelism disappears if at the highest degree of union, will or love is absorbed into knowing.

Benz seems to have merged together what Hadot has pointed out Plotinus does not seem to have clearly distinguished and defined: the relation between the conversion of intelligence towards the One and its conversion towards itself[10]). It should be remembered that the triadic

[6]) *Ib.* V, 9, 5: 'If one takes the word 'mind' in its true sense, what must be understood by it is not a mind in potentiality which passes from a state of non-understanding to a state of understanding ... but mind in act and eternally existent'.

[7]) *De Trinitate* IX, 5, 9. cf. *op. cit.* p. 369: 'Augustine has grasped well the plotinian idea of alienation of mind, and certainly of an alienation of his own being: however he would not allow the conception to be applies to the divine being'.

[8]) *Ennead* VI, 8, 6.

[9]) *Ib.* VI, 7, 35 : '... carried out of itself and inebriated with nectar, (νοῦς) becomes a loving intelligence in simplifying itself to reach this state of happy fullness'.

[10]) Cf. P. HADOT, Porphyre et Victorinus, Paris 1968, I, p. 320. 'Επιστρέφειν can mean in fact a return of νοῦς to itself or to its source. *Ennead* VI, 7, 37 brings the two

movement of outgoing and return is both the structure of the noetic cosmos as well as epistemic. Porphyry took the movement further in the direction of systematisation by distinguishing[11]) between intellectual beings which were capable of this return, and sense powers, bound to a body, which were not, and equating the movement with the triad being thinking — life, the last element being constituted of the state self-regarding[12]). Proclus went further and constituted it into a law of the constitution of all reality[13]).

The complete rôle of Porphyry's thought in Augustine's thinking is evidently large, though much remains unclear and is likely to remain so. We have every justification, however, in presuming that there was a great deal of allusion in Augustine's Trinitarian teaching to Porphyrian triads, though the loss of so much of his work makes confirmation of this presumption impossible[14]). Following Hadot, A. Ziegenaus[15]) has proposed that Victorinus's trinitarian speculations came out of Porphyry's modifications to Plotinus's thought by giving the second One its own inner dynamism, Porphyry's position differed from the unqualified subordination of Plotinus's hypostases making them more equal, approximating more to the Christian Trinity.

movements together : 'it looks for itself and its author, it turns itself to contemplate and it knows' (ζητεῖν... καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαν αὐτό, καὶ ἐπιστραφὲν ἐν τῇ θέᾳ καὶ γνωρίσαν, following Bréhier).

[11]) *Sententia* XLII. Cf. HADOT, Porphyre ... I, p. 322.

[12]) See *fr.* XIV of *Commentary on the Parmenides* (HADOT, *ib.* II, p. 111) lines 16-21. But notice lines 15-16 give the order being — life — thought. Cf. H. LEWY, Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy, Cairo 1956, p. 455 : 'Plotinus ... frequently designated ζωή as coordinate with ὄν and νοῦς ; with (tacit) reference to this teaching Porphyry introduced the noetic triad ὀν-ζωή-νοῦς in his commentary on the Timaeus'. LEWY refers (*op. cit.* p. 456, n. 57) to a text in PROCLUS's commentary on the Timaeus (ed. E. DIEHL, III, p. 64 line 8 to p. 65 line 7, Leipzig 1906) quoting PORPHYRY (and THEODORUS (OF ASINE)) as explaining the apparent difference of speed in the movement of the stars (= Star-gods) by the variations of οὐσία-νοῦς-ζωή in their constitutions and between themselves and their end (mediations) (cf. PROCLUS, Commentaire sur le Timée, translated and annotated by A. J. FESTUGIÈRE, O.P., IV, pp. 88-9, Paris 1968).

[13]) See : The Elements of Theology, proposition 35 (translation, Introduction and Commentary, by E. R. DODDS, 2nd edition, Oxford 1963, p. 39) : 'Every effect remains in its cause, procedes from it and reverts upon it'. But by propositions 39 and 45, this is restricted to what is 'self-constituted' (i.e. what necessarily exists).

[14]) PÉPIN's suggestion that the mode of union of the triad *mens — notitia sui — amor sui* is described in a form which comes from PORPHYRY is the single solid suggestion to date. J. PÉPIN Une nouvelle source de Saint Augustin, in : *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 66, 1964, pp. 53-107.

[15]) A. ZIEGENAUS, Die trinitarische Ausprägung der göttlichen Seinsfülle nach Marius Victorinus, Munich 1972, pp. 91, 93.

Porphyry's eclectic identification of the Plotinian triad, derived from Plato's *Sophist*, of ὕπαρξις-ζωή-νοῦς with the *Chaldaean Oracles'* triad of πατήρ-δύναμις-νοῦς[16]) gave an incentive and a precedent to Augustine to make assimilation and appropriations from neo-Platonism's store of examples. That he knew of Porphyry's *Commentary on the Chaldaean Oracles* is clear from the *De Civitate Dei*[17]). From Lewy's work on the *Chaldaean Oracles* it becomes clear that they contained a wealth of triadic structures, some more valuable (because more unitive) than others. Augustine had no need to propose the existence of a triadic Godhead: what was necessary was to make clear the superior nature of the Christian conception derivable from the Scriptures which Prophyry belittled, and capable of formulation in the profoundest and most subtly distinguished of neo-Platonist terms. What more likely than that Augustine would have heard of the theory that the third person of the Trinity has been likened to a woman, through a knowledge of the Hecate-triads as they appeared in the *Oracles*? He objected vigorously to the crude assimilation of the divine powers to a human image of father, son and mother.

> "I do not speak of this parallel which makes the Holy Spirit the Mother of the Son of God and the husband of the Father. Perhaps it will be sufficiently answered by saying that this has an offensiveness in its carnal allusion, through having to think about corporeal conceptions and births"[18]).

Augustine then has a considerable discussion on the appropriateness of applying sexual imagery to the Trinity, which takes up about half of Book XII. That is should arise out of the original allusion to a known triad of which the third member was feminine indicates the importance which Augustine attached to it. It would be consonant which the respectful attention which he gave to Porphyry in the *De Civitate Dei*; and

[16]) HADOT, Porphyre ..., p. 260ff.

[17]) Explicitly mentioned in XIX, 23: for other places see J. J. O'MEARA, Porphyry's Philosophy from Oracles in Augustine, Paris 1953, p. 63ff.

[18]) *De Trinitate* XII, 5, 5: "Omitto enim quale sit Spiritum Sanctum matrem Filii Dei putare et conjugem Patris: fortassis quippe respondeatur haec in carnalibus habere offensionem, dum corporis conceptus partusque cogitantur". cf. LEWY, *op. cit.*, p. 8ff for a triad in a hymn of PORPHYRY which derives from the *Chaldaean oracles*: 'Father of the God's — feminine principle — intellect creator of the world. 'The feminine principle "suckles" the world-forming intellect by means of the "eternally flowing rays" ... the forms which spring from her' (*op. cit.* p. 13). On Hecate-Psyche, the cosmic soul in the *Oracles*, see *ib.* pp. 83ff.

should the hypothesis of the presence of a refugee group of Roman neo-Platonists being the destination recipients of the treatise be correct, the style and matter would be appropriate for the rejection of an eclectic identification of a Porphyrian triad which the Trinity made in such a circle, which Augustine eirenically consented to examine at some length. Here indirect evidence, in addition to the direct evidence of the *De Civitate Dei* XIX, that Augustine knew of the *Chaldaean Oracles*, either through Prophyry's early *Commentary* or as commented later again in his *De Regressu Animae*[19]).

If he found the significance of this Hecate-triad so great, is it not likely that, had he found it in the *Commentary*, he would have been interested in the Chaldaean triad δύναμις-πατρικὸς νοῦς-βουλή[20]) as providing a model for the triadic constitution of *mens*, *notitia* and *voluntas*, though not applicable as he saw to the Trinity[21])? Possibly he was also thinking of the *Oracles*' erection of ἔρως into a binding cosmic form when he wrote that everything had its cause in three respects: *qua sit*, *qua hoc sit*, *qua sibi amica sit*[22]). Augustine did not follow Porphyry in his use of the triad οὐσία-ζωή-νοῦς in self-consciousness as a form of circular thinking[23]) of outgoing and return upon the self, in his *Commentary on the Parmenides*. A text in the *Confessiones* may bring them together as three in one: "quam sit inseparabilis vita et una vita et una mens et una essentia, quam denique inseparabilis distinctio et tamen distinctio"[24]); in the *De Trinitate* the triad is attributed to the séparate personality of the Son[25]), and also made to correspond with the hierarchy of being — sentient life — intelligence[26]).

Probable as is the importance of Porphyry's notions for understanding Augustine's apologetic, the disappearance of so much of his work, no doubt by burning according to the decree of the Em-

[19]) For the relation of the works to the *Oracles* see P. HADOT, Citations de Porphyre chez Augustin, in: *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 6, 1960, especially pp. 205-7, as complementary to LEWY, *op. cit.*, pp. 449ff. LEWY opines that AUGUSTINE would have known a Latin translation, *ib.* p. 451 and n. 10.

[20]) See LEWY, pp. 78ff.

[21]) *De Trinitate* XV, 25, 45: 'Tria unius personae, non sicut humana poscit intentio, tribus illis personis convenire potuerunt'.

[22]) *De Diversis Quaestionibus LXXXIII*, 18 (PL 40. 15). The theme of self-coincidence here very much resembles PORPHYRY's *Sententia* XLI on self-knowledge where it is expressed in terms of φιλία.

[23]) As proposed by L. SCHEGLMANN and J. MADER, see infra pp. 113.

[24]) *Op. cit.* XIII, 11, 12: the condition is that *mens* is equivalent to *intelligere*.

[25]) *Op. cit.* VI, 10, 11.

[26]) *Ib.* X, 13-16.

peror Theodosius II and Valentinian III of 448[27]), prevents us from confirming that Augustine alluded to him. Yet there is sufficient evidence to show[28]) that Augustine was systematically making a comprehensive simplification of triadic and dyadic descriptions of self-loving and self-knowing which may be found in the *Enneads*. In *De Trinitate* IX he conflated a triad of self-love, which he reduced to a dyad, with a dyad of self-knowledge, and following the logical law that two things which are each equal to a third are equal to each other, he postulated the existence of a triad of *mens* (later self-remembering), self-knowledge and self-love. The reduction of triad to dyad is always possible provided the elements include only two terms. And if νοῦς and νοητόν are identical, the activity of νόησις can be included or disregarded according to context. Here we should be aware of a great difference between the triads of Plotinus and those of Augustine. Even though Augustine's cognitional triads become decreasingly aggregates to the degree to which they are more interior, the interior triads (and the divine triad) do not lose their three elements as Augustine postulates their increasingly complete overlapping unity[29]. By contrast, the triads of Plotinus become increasingly unified the closer they are found to the One. In the One, νοῦς, νόησις, νοητόν come to absolute unity, effacing each other in each other[30]).This same triad is said to exist also in itself, where, whether in triadic form or dyadic reduction[31]), this absolute unity cannot exist. In so far as it is turned to the One, there is a place for its virtual triplicity to show itself, for in this case the subject (νοῦς) is *in* but not identical with the Good, its object; and therefore the will (βούλησις) of νοῦς is revealed as a third element in its constitution in the desire for the Good[32]). This will for the One can also

[27]) *Codex Iustiniani* I, 1, 3: 'We wish that all his writings, which provoke the wrath of God and are offensive to souls, should not come to the hearing of men'. The writings of NESTORIUS were condemned in the same decree.

[28]) See infra, n. 33.

[29]) That this unity is more paradoxical and the resultant triads are not dialectical in the Hegelian sense will be explained in an article on Hegel and Augustine, to be published in this review.

[30]) See *Ennead* VI, 7, 41.

[31]) *Ib.* V, 3, 5. In its triadic form, said by A. DAHL (Augustin und Plotin, Philosophische Untersuchungen zum Trinitätsproblem und zur Nuslehre, Lund 1945, pp. 70-71) to have an 'unmistakable resemblance' to AUGUSTINE's triads. This essay demonstrates how limited that resemblance is.

[32]) *Ennead* VI, 8, 6: 'For the will tends to the Good; but νοῦς is truly in the Good; it thus possesses the object towards the will tends'.

be described as 'love';[33]) the near equivalence between willing and loving is in this way held by Plotinus, as it is by Augustine[34]). The third element, will, is so called 'because it is in conformity with the activity of νοῦς', attaining to the Good, and 'becomes thought'[35]). Whatever we make of this highest activity of νοῦς in the contemplation of the One being both νόησις and βούλησις, and, βούλησις though timeless, *becoming* νόησις we have to say that there is a step to unity and purely formal triadicity in going from the true triad of νοῦς to the One, whilst in νοῦς the occurrence of will is more triplicative than triune, and precisely because the original unity is lost this triplicity is aggregated. Below νοῦς aggregation and triplicity should increase more.

Augustine would have rejected a purely formal triadicity in the Godhead : his Trinity was truly triadic, as it was also in consequence enneadic; for the three Persons cannot be merged into a supreme single Godhead. The occurrence of will in self-knowing does not disappear in the union of knower and object; it is present in all the cognitional triads as the dispositive cause of the union of knower and object known. This form of triadic epistemology goes back at least to the place of love and desire for intelligibles, found in the thought of both Plato and Aristotle. But to give such a significant place to the will enabled Augustine to integrate

[33]) Cf. *ib.* VI, 7, 35. Knowing and willing are more obscurely brought together in the One in VI, 8, 16 : 'As for him, transporting himself into himself, he loves himself, he loves his pure clarity (αὐγὴν καθαράν), since that which he loves in himself is a motionless act and a kind of intelligence (οἷον νοῦς)... he is as he wishes to be (ἐθέλει)'. Two remarks of HADOT reach nearest to the heart of the subject-matter :

i) 'the schemas of the neo-Platonist schools which can be discerned through the Augustinian trinities undergo a kind of metamorphosis' (L'Image de la Trinité dans l'âme chez Victorinus et chez Augustin, in : *Studia Patristica* VI, Berlin 1962, p. 440). But disconcertingly he goes on to ask 'are there psychological, historical or mystical reasons which explain why renouncing ontological dogmatism, Augustine only admits the evidence of interior experience to possess certitude ...?' (*ib.* pp. 441-2).

ii) '(it is desirable to have) a study of the genesis of the Augustinian schemas, those complexes of thought in which memories of Plotinus and Porphyry, scriptural quotations and theological reflection make up a block which it is almost impossible to break down' (Citations de Porphyre chez Augustin, in : *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 6 (1960), p. 244).

As for the first, it is the proposal of this essay that Augustine retained some of the certainties and analyses made by neo-Platonist dogmatism, and did not limit himself to personal 'experience' (presumably of a non-metaphysical kind, which he used to construct a different subjectivity structure). As for the second, this essay undertakes an initial 'decomposition' of Augustine's schemas.

[34]) Cf. *De Trinitate* XI, 2, 5 : 'Et si (voluntas) tam violenta est, ut possit vocari amor, aut cupiditas, aut libido ...'

[35]) *Ennead* VI, 8, 6 : ὅπερ ἡ βούλησις θέλει και οὐ τυχοῦσα ἂν ταύτῃ νόησις γίνεται.

into his structure of subjectivity the attentiveness (*intentio*) which characterised Stoic epistemology: an integration which to some extent Plotinus had already made. Besides the need of the Stoic virtue of ἀπάθεια, he wrote of the need 'to turn our perceptions towards the interior of ourselves and fix our attention there'[36]). The comprehension together of an ultimately Platonist doctrine of ἔρως and an ultimately Aristotelian doctrine of self-knowledge through their re-working together in neo-Platonism with some Stoic conceptions[37]), the garnering of these ideas from scattered places and obscure formulations, the reinterpretation of them in a radically simple but embracive idea was not only a hermeneutical *tour de force*: all the time it was as much speculative theology in its search for dependable analogies between human *mens* and Godhead. Here the assertion of triadicity, will or love joining object to knower, through every level of human cognition as also in the divine, while it may derive in part from neo-Platonism, conflicts with its general conception. Augustine knew that a triad of equal elements which were united without merging was the basic form of all noetic: not a convergence towards an unselfconscious unity. Correct though neo-Platonism's search for the innocence of oneness was, its triadicity turns out to be differing degrees of triplicity above which was the pure unity of the One: but this was wrong not only of God but also of the human *mens* with its fundamental constitutive triad.

The basic, constitutive triad of 'mens': memoria sui - se nosse - se velle; its enneadic version.

Although, according to Plotinus, with its self-knowing and self-love, the One was in a state of self-equality, νοῦς constituted as self-knowing, was not: if it were, it would be independent of the One. Plotinus explained the unity of the whole system of hypostases by an absence of self-equality in νοῦς (and ψυχή): their desire for union with the One from which they

[36]) *Ib.* V, 1, 12 (following Bréhier): καὶ τὸ ἀντιλαμβανόμενον εἰς τὸ εἴσω ἐπιστρέφειν, κἀκεῖ ποιεῖν τὴν προσοχὴν ἐχειν.

The Stoic occurrences of προσοχή (= attention) noted in the dictionaries of H. STEPHANUS and LIDDELL and SCOTT are significant. It is not surprising to find a considerably developed Roman use of this conception in CICERO's employment of *intendere*, and at the same time its association with a teaching on *acies mentis* (= point of attention). *Intendere* and *acies* are brought together by CICERO (*Academica (Priora)* II, 25, 80)) and also QUINTILIAN (*Institutio Oratoria* XI, 2, 10: the context is of memory). This is undoubtedly the background to Augustine's own conceptions.

[37]) See in particular infra: p. 118 and nn. 79 and 80.

came, a return to their source in which they would find self-equality, was reason why the whole noetic (and its dependent cosmos) held together. They emulated the self-equality which could only be found in the One. Against this view Augustine held that man had his god-like independence, and was so constituted that he could find his self-equality. For Plotinus the universe was held together by the self-equality within the One, which the whole cosmos sought by desire; self-equality to a man was an impossibility while he remained a man. For Augustine man found self-equality by inhering in God [38]), but that self-equality was is own. As the human *mens* had a true independence, it was no longer in every respect troubled by a desire for its source. Personal (including original) sin, not a cosmic flaw, explained why the image of God had lost its self-equality and needed grace to retain it, but this need not intrude into a study of its constitution. The self-love and the selfknowledge of *mens* must be immediately present to it, potentially total, and interrelated.The human essence is thus made theoretically capable of total explanation; it is no longer a series of limited, if elegantly analysed, domains as in Aristotle, or an accidental union of relevance and irrelevance, reality and unreality as with Plato and the neo-Platonists. Especially when the further substitution of *memoria* for *mens* allows an explanation to be given of the continuity of self-knowledge and self-love, an appropriately time-bound structure of great power is produced. The basic structure of the *mens* could be conceived of as a triad of self-memory, self-knowing and self-willing (or loving) always in a state of self-equality, though perhaps obscured and therefore incompletely realised; and knowledge of other things, of which it was the condition, might also be regarded as triadic: the less interior, the less triune. In its possible perfectibility, it was a model of the divine; in its possible defectibility unmistakably human.

Not only is this inner triad of *De Trinitate* IX a simplification and systematisation of Plotinian (and possibly Porphyrian) texts taking in Stoic teaching in its comprehensiveness, not only are the triadic elements necessarily articulated: Augustine thought they were discernible through an exercise partly resembling the phenomenological reduction or ἐποχή of Husserl, partly an ascetical labour. One must detach oneself from the corrupting influence of material things, a great source of mistaken imagination of what the self really was, and become aware that "there

[38]) On 'inherence' and related notions in the *De Trinitate*, see XII, 3, 3: 'subhaeremus intelligibili atque incommutabili veritati'; *ib.* 7, 12: 'mens aeternis rationibus conspiciendis vel consulendis adhaerescit'; XVI, 14, 20: 'ei cuius imago est valeat inhaerere'.

never was a time when it did not love itself and never a time when it did not know itself; but because it loved another thing with itself, it has confused itself with this thing, and has as it were grown together with it"[39]).

This deep self-remembering, self-knowing and self-loving is interior and continuous, whether one is aware of it or not, though discernment of it is not excluded:

> "If we betake ourselves to the inner memory of the mind by which it remembers itself, and to the inner understanding by which it understands itself, and to the inner will by which it loves itself, where these three things are always together at the same time and always have been together at the same time, from the moment when they began to be, whether one thought of them or whether one did not think of them..."[40]).

Not only can they never be lost[41]); they were also present through the unconsciousness of childhood[42]) (even if children lack the power of cogitation and the understanding of words[43]): cogitation which is necessary even for the self consciously to know itself[44]), and the spoken word, depending on the interior word which adds nothing however to what is thought up from the memory[45]). This supposition may sound aprioristic to a later age: it was in itself a necessary corollary to apportioning to each person the attribute of self-knowing νοῦς in the recognisable form neo-Platonists had inherited the conception from Aristotle. If this were to be not timeless but present through time, it would necessarily involve, together with self-memory, continuous existence from the creation of *mens*. Further, continual self-complaisance, the

[39]) *Ib.* X, 8, 11: 'Videbit quod numquam se non amaverit, numquam nescierit: sed aliud secum amando cum eo se confudit et concrevit quodam modo'. Cf. *ib.* X, 10, 16: '... quadem interiore non simulata, sed vera praesentia (non enim quidquam illi est se ipsa praesentius) sicut cogitat vivere se et meminisse, et intelligere, et velle se. Novit enim haec in se, nec imaginatur quasi extra se illa sensu tetigerit, sicut corporalia quaeque tanguntur'.

[40]) *Ib.* XIV, 7, 10: 'Nam si nos referamus ad interiorem mentis memoriam qua sui meminit, et interiorem intelligentiam qua se intelligit, et interiorem voluntatem qua se diligit, ubi haec tria simul semper sunt, et semper simul fuerunt ex quo esse coeperunt, sive cogitaretur, sive non cogitarentur...'. Cf. *ib.* XIV, 6, 9.

[41]) *Ib.* XIV, 14, 19: 'Non tamen in his tantis infirmitatis et erroris malis amittere potuit naturalem memoriam, intellectum, et amorem sui'.

[42]) *Ib.* XIV, 5, 7: '(Infans) se nosse ... non ignorare se potest, sed cogitare se non poteat?' The question is answered affirmatively.

[43]) *Ib.*

[44]) *Ib.* 6, 8.

[45]) *Ib.* 7, 10.

aim and consequence of self-knowledge[46]) in the timebounded self-memory, demonstrates the presence of self-love:

> "nobody loves that which he does not remember, and that of which he is completely ignorant.... Human nature, therefore, has been so formed that never does it not remember itself, never does it not understand itself, never does it not love itself"[47]).

The Aristotelian insight that mind's knowing was essentially self-knowing would necessitate in a timebound setting the concomitants of self-memory and self-love which, as timeless, it would not have. Aristotle risked the dissolution of the personality by insisting on the absolute transcendence of thought; Augustine risked an unclarity in mind's connection with transcendence by making the structure of subjectivity independent and complete.

Normally the study of Augustine's metaphysical psychology is carried out triadically; it ought to be carried out enneadically. This is an inevitable consequence of substituting the active power of memory for the entity of *mens*.

When self-knowledge and self-love are made equivalent to *mens*, the total interpenetration is the comprehension of each in the two others, or of the two others in each:[48]) it is a complexity which is easy manage. But when self-memory, with its characteristic activity, takes the place of *mens* the pattern becomes enneadic: the self-reflection (through reduplication) of the three faculties and the two-way linkage of each of the other three pairs.

> "For not only is each one comprehended by each one, but all are also comprehended by each one. For I remember that I have a memory, understanding and will; and I understand that I understand, will and remember; and I will that I will, remember and understand; and at the same time I remember my whole memory, understanding and will"[49]).

[46]) Cf. M. SCHMAUS, Die psychologische Trinitätslehre des Hl. Augustins, p. 238: 'Mind wishes to attain to happiness. It must thereby be conscious that it is itself that strives for this end. It is recognisable as the bearer of a desire for happiness'. However, this may not be apparent before introspective analysis. The lack of immediate awareness of self-love may be due to the fact that it does not show itself because it is satisfied : cf. 'voluntas in ipsa notitia *conquiescit*, quod fit in amore spiritualium' (*De Trinitate* IX, 9, 14).

[47]) *Ib.* 14, 18: 'Nemo diligit cuius non meminit, et quod penitus nescit ... Sic itaque condita est mens humana, ut numquam sui non neminerit, nunquam se non intelligat, nunquam se non diligit'.

[48]) *De Trinitate* IX, 5, 8 : 'Singula in binis ... Ac per hoc et bina in singulia, quia mens quae se novit et amat, cum sua notitia est in amore, et cum amore in notitia...'.

With a modicum of re-arrangement the enneadic structure becomes clear, together with its total containment in the unity of memory.

Memini me habere memoriam	memini me habere intelligentiam	memini me habere voluntatem	totamque meam memoriam et intelligentiam et voluntatem simul memini
intelligo me habere memoriam	intelligo me habere intelligentiam	intelligo me habere voluntatem	
volo me meminisse	volo me intelligere	volo me velle	

Not only are the powers represented vertically, bound together by their activity, represented horizontally : Augustine relates to this ennead the knowledge of other intelligibles. Significantly he treats this knowledge as an extension of self-knowledge, firstly in so far this also requires the presence of memory and will besides the intelligence as the inseparable constituents of mind : "Quidquid itaque intelligibilium memini et volo, consequenter intelligo"; secondly, by handling the concept of *intelligibilia* as if it were equivalent to *intelligentia*[50]). The richly subtle argument is not halted at all for an explanation of the origin and nature of the former. That he should regard the knowledge of intelligibles to be the identity of object with knower is a further indication that he knew the content of Aristotle's noetic, perhaps through Porphyry's *Commentary on Metaphysics XII*, which may have contained allusions to the position in the *De Anima*.

[49]) *Ib.* X, 11, 18 : 'Neque enim tantum a singulis singula, verum etiam a singulis omnia capiuntur. Memini enim me habere memoriam, et intelligentiam, et voluntatem; et intelligo me intelligere, et velle, atque meminisse; et volo me velle, et meminisse, et intelligere, totamque meam memoriam, et intelligentiam, et voluntatem simul memini'.

[50]) *Ib.* This passage makes the much-quoted passage in IX, 4, 6 on self-knowledge as a condition of other knowledge appear in a much more Aristotelian light.

Cognitional triads and the place of the will.

The internal triad with its enneadic expansion introduces a more subtle basis to the processes of cognition. In the first place it explains why although knowledge of other things may be regarded as an extension of self-knowledge, it should not be seen only as a dyadic union of subject and object; for together with the activity of intelligence there is also that of will and memory [51]). Self-memory keeps the knowledge of itself present to itself through time; with the knowledge of other intelligibles the memory is necessary to sustain them in continuity of perception. Whilst it may also be the source from which past knowledge is brought to consciousness, it is necessarily involved in present reflection; it provides links with past knowledge, and contains the process of knowing through the delay in time in which the mind expresses its knowledge to itself [52]). Self-willing, which may be regarded as the equivalent to self-loving, is the condition of loving and willing other things. An act of knowing, rooted in self-knowing, must in consequence entail an act willing — at least of willed attention, rooted in self-loving. With an act which draws on the memory there will be a triad, resembling the inner one, of memory, understanding and will; but in the case of direct knowing of intelligibles, though the memory is indirectly involved, the first element of the triad, that which begets the knowledge, will be the intelligible object itself. An analogy may further be drawn between direct sensation and intellectual knowledge triadically conceived. In this way a triadic pattern of cognition can be deduced from the inner constitutive triad of *mens* as well as observed in external circumstances: the speculative and empirical approach are bonded together.

But, in the second place, the unvarying self-equilibrium of the inner triad with the mutual co-incidence of the three powers, such that not one may be considered as always primary, is not paralleled by their equality in external knowing: a small hint, for example, may set in motion a seemingly disproportionate willed effort to acquire complete knowledge. And, thirdly, the variations of the three pairs of two-way linkages in the ennead provide the basis for more epistemic situations than those which begin with the intelligence : memory may stir the will to action, and the will may initiate a process of knowing. In so far as all external cognition

[51]) Triplicity ('Dreifaltigkeit') is therefore 'a necessity of thought, a metaphysical law...', E. BENZ, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

[52]) See *Augustiniana* 28, 1978, p. 186.

depends on self-knowing, self-willing, and, by consequence self-remembering, there remain over from the enneadic constitution of self-knowledge a considerable number of starting points for analyses other than of the particular triadic type which Augustine made; his eclectic reduction of the neo-Platonist noetic and erotic had its implications for epistemology of all sorts.

Between books XI and XIV of the *De Trinitate* Augustine examines a wide range of cognitional acts on the plan of union of knower and object through a willed attention, ranging from seeing (as a representative of sensation) to thinking of God. The series is arranged in an ascending order (*quodam modo gradatim*)[53]) of spiritualisation and interiority, which corresponds to an increasing degree of unity within the triad[54]).

[53]) *Op. cit.* XV, 2, 3.

[54]) The cognitional triads are listed below. In Augustine's text they are not always given with completeness. In every case will or love keeps the attention of the percipient on the object, at the same time affixing a moral value or disvalue to the act. (cf. M. SCHMAUS, Die psychologische Trinitätslehre des Hl. Augustinus, p. 218: 'Its moral worth or lack of worth depends on the third element in the triad, the will').

(i) triads of external objects, with sight as an example: *ipsa res - visio - animi intentio* (XI, 2, 2). Repeated in XI, 2, 5: 'species corporis - impressa eius imago sensui - voluntas animi quae rei sensibili sensum admovet in eoque ipsam visionem tenet'.

(ii) triads of the memory: *memoria - interna visio - quae utrumque copulat voluntas* (IX, 3, 6).

(iii) triads of sensation and cogitation, with 'voluntas ... copulatrix quasi parentis et prolis' (XI, 9, 16) — partly summary, though cogitation is new.

(iv) at the margin of the 'inner man' and exterior sensation is a development of thought out of memory: 'intus corporum similitudines ... impressas memoriae, ex quibus cogitation formaretur, tertia voluntate utrumque jungente' (XII, 15, 25).

(v) with faith (with which the consideration of inner knowledge begins — XIII, 20, 26) are

a. triads of the sounds of the words in which it is embodied: 'memoria ... verborum soni, ... inde formatur acies recordationis eius, ... et voluntas recordantis atque cogitantis utrumque (conjungens)' (XIII, 20, 26).

b. a triad of understanding the expressions of faith: 'voluntas ... quae ibi conjungit ea quae memoriae tenebantur, et ea quae inde in acie cogitationis impressa sunt' (*ib.*) Yet, to be perfect, the will must be turned into love (*ib.*).

(vi) next he considers the cognitional triad by which the *mens* needs to express itself to itself (XIV, 6, 8). After repeating that the *mens* has no need to place itself before itself (because all the time it is knowing itself), he likens the act of self-knowledge to a well-read man bringing to consiousness knowledge lying in his memory. The situation of self-knowing is like Aristotle's learned man of *De Anima* III, 429 b 5-10 (cf. *Augustiniana* 27, 1977, pp. 121-122). Augustine is emphatic that the interposition of *cogitatio* does not destroy mind's self-immediacy. He gives here two formulations of the triad.

a. 'illud unde formatur cogitantis obtutus, in memoria poneremus; ipsam vero conformationem, tanquam imaginem quae inde imprimitur; et illud quo utrumque conjungitur, amorem seu voluntatem'.

b. 'Haec autem duo, gignens et genitum, dilectione tertia copulantur, quae nihil est

Some relations are made between the different triads, but not completely systematically[55]). Thus memory triads are seen to depend on sensation triads; the memory of the expressions of faith triad is related to the triad of the understanding of faith; the triad of self-knowing will lead to a triadically conceived union with God. However the overall movement in its classification and arrangement to a greater interiority is important. Initially they promise a great variety of observations; but then it turns out that they are without exception based on the same pattern : the object produces the knowledge of itself in the knower; but the will, sometimes transformed into love, has to intervene to fix the attention of the person

aliud quam voluntas fruendum aliquid appetens vel tenens'.

(vii) a wide range of triads of knowing and remembering are given in XIV, 8, 11: 'Quae, omnia et quando discuntur, quamdam faciunt trinitatem, specie sua quae nocibilis fuit etiam antequam nosceretur, eique adjuncta cognitione discentis quae tunc esse incipit quando discitur, ac tertia voluntate quae utrumque conjungit'.

(viii) contrasted with the changeless bliss of the next world is the complaisance in good deeds, whether recognised here and now ('cum ea praesentia tenemus, aspicimus. amamus'), or remembered from this life in the next ('cum illud qualecumque vestigium et memoriter retinebatur, et agnoscitur veraciter, et hoc utrumque tertia voluntate jungetur') (XIV, 9, 12).

[55]) In a posthumous article, L. SCHEGLMANN proposed a relationship between the triads: *amans - quod amat - amor* (IX, 2, 2), *mens - amor - notitia sui* (IX, 3, 6) and *memoria - intelligentia - voluntas* (X, 11, 17). (Der Subjektzirkel in der Psychologie Augustins, in: *Zeitschrift für Philosophische Forschung* 22, 1968, pp. 327ff.) From the first triad (which amounts to self-love in the sense of feeling (Selbstgefühl) comes the second (because self-love needs knowledge). And the third is a reflected deepening of the second. 'In this way the basic quality of feeling of the mind's being (Sein des Geistes) becomes reflected. From reflected knowledge comes intelligence; from reflected love comes will'. 'Die reflektierte Kenntnis (*notitia*) ergibt die Er-kenntnis (*intelligentia*), die reflektierte Liebe (*amor*) ergibt den Willen (*voluntas*)' (p. 334). From the first triads he makes out a 'first circle' of self-feeling (Selbstgefühl) which is raised into self-knowing (Sichwissen). "'I' is thus self-knowing. Knowing is now consciousness: self-knowing is self-consciousness: 'I'" (*ib.*) The interrelationship is ingenious, and the development from an unreflected *notitia sui* to *intelligentia* could be the heart of a systematisation. But it would not be Augustine's! The three triads which SCHEGLMANN produced, of which the second is given inaccurately (in place of *amor* should be *amor sui*) are in fact all different formulations of the same fundamental triad of *mens* (or *memoria sui*) - *notitia sui* - *voluntas sui* : the triad by which *mens* remains always known to itself. Even in the act of turning to know itself (the second triad of SCHEGLMANN) it already knows itself (cf. 'Deinde cum se quaerit ut noverit, quaerentem se jam novit.Jam se ergo novit ... Si autem se nescientem nescit non se quaerit ut sciat' (X, 3, 5)). The *amans* of the first triad derives directly from the erotic of PLATO and PLOTINUS : feeling does not enter into it; the second triad (when complete) refers to the continuous inner self-knowledge; the third triad, according to the context, looks at separate faculties as passing into act. SCHEGLMANN did not respect the basic distinction in Augustine's structure between *se nosse* and *cogitatio de se*. Beneath the pattern of triads and their components is the ground-swell of a normal Augustinian elevation, whose elements are strongly linked to the rising theme rather than rigidly linked to each other.

knowing on the object. The more external the object, the less spiritual the knowing and the more merely aggregated the application of the will (though its deliberate intervention is more necessary). The more interior the object, the knowing and the will producing the attention, the greater their unity. The greatest unity is when object, subject and will are united in conscious self-knowing. With faith, connatural pleasure in virtue and self-knowledge the will becomes more and more complaisance, more and more love. Hence the *mens* becomes more Godlike, without becoming divine; and Augustine's problem will be to determine their mode of continuity between God and his image in man.

Against those who imagine that Augustine initiated a will metaphysic, Benz's judgement, that Augustine is rather the thinker who interrelated mind and will, is the correct one:

> "There is nothing in this metaphysics to give the will primacy over the intellect, or intellect over the will, in the way the question is usually put; but will and intellect are found undivided within a single intellectual substance" [56]).

Augustine put the Platonic-Plotinian primacy of desire and love over thought [57]) together with the Aristotelian usual primacy of thought over desire. Yet equal though self-knowledge and self-willing may be in themselves, the relation between exterior knowing and willing may be uneven. The desire to know something unknown has to be stirred by a foretaste of it (*breviter impressam notitiam*): as with a man who sees it is a good thing to know a foreign language from an experience of hearing it before he understands it [58]); and he

> "represents it in his mind by an imaginary picture by which he will be aroused to love. But whence does he picture it except from those things which he already knows?" [59])

A small hint does not necessarily produce a small desire : it may produce an enormous desire; it may cause the person to apply immense will-power

[56]) *Op. cit.* p. 302.

[57]) Cf. *Phaedrus* 250 D (admittedly based on reminiscence) and *Ennead* III, 5, 1.

[58]) *De Trinitate* X, 1, 2.

[59]) *Ib.* 2, 4. Cf. ARISTOTLE : 'But I presume that there is no reason why a man should not in one sense know, and in another not know, that which he is learning' (*Posterior Analytics* I, 1 (71 b 5-7).

[60]) *De Trinitate* XI, 6, 10. Cf. *Nicomachean Ethics*, I, 9, especially 1099 b 19-20: happiness is won by study, care and effort. Cf. also 1111 b 26 : βούλησις is for an end; repeated at 1113 a 15.

to reach that of which he has only a passing glimpse. In this way the power of the will can be given an immensely important place without denying in principle the primacy of the intellect. And the whole human process of fulfilment can be expressed in terms of the will for beatitude — a state of knowledge as much as a state of love : "rectarum voluntatum connexio iter est quoddam ascendentium ad beatitudinem"[60]).

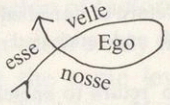
Circle or Substance[61]) *Thinking.*

That Augustine's structure of thinking is triadic has led L. Scheglmann to suppose that with him self-reflection is in a tradition of circular thinking that goes back through the neo-Platonists to Plato[62]). "I here designate this structure as a "Subjectivity circle" ("Subjektzirkel"). It is intrinsically dynamic throughout, as only through the permanent reflecting self-movement does the unmoving (identical) centre cohere and the whole is en-souled"[63]). We have already seen that in Plotinus the return of νοῦς and ψυχή upon themselves are necessary to offset the multiplicity which their outgoing has caused[64]). We have also seen in Porphyry's *Commentary on the Parmenides* that the outgoing and return are conceived as moments of the triad being — knowing — living[65]), and how Victorinus incautiously followed Porphyry and saw the production of the Son as an outgoing from the Father in an act of self-knowing[66]). This movement of outgoing and return becomes the circular movement of rest, procession, conversion which was found increasingly among the later neo-Platonists as a systematic structure[67]).

Scheglmann notes how Aristotle set himself against the circle thinking structure of Plato[68]) in *De Anima* I, 3[69]). He had no doubts that

[61]) Cf. *De Trinitate* IX, 4, 5: '... non amor et cognitio tanquam in subjecto insunt menti; sed *substantialiter* etiam ista sunt, sicut ipsa mens'.

[62]) *Op. cit.* The circle schema is represented thus (p. 331):



[63]) *Ib.* p. 329.

[64]) See *Augustiniana* 27, 1977, pp. 375-377.

[65]) Supra, p. 100 and n. 12.

[66]) See *Augustiniana* 28, 1978, p. 198, n. 67.

[67]) See P. HADOT, Porphyre et Victorinus, I, pp. 318ff.

[68]) *Timaeus* 35Aff, especially 36D and E.

[69]) 407 a 15-33.

the process of outgoing and return was a part of the Augustinian theory of self-knowledge, derived from neo-Platonism and Porphyry in particular. (It is true that the system of Plotinus is a hierarchy of alienation, either held in check by the drawing power of the One, so that the material world does not become absolute non-being, or, by conversion, on the way of return to its principle [70]). The whole cosmos, both noetic and material, in its multiplicity and its subjection to time, is really something that ideally speaking ought not to have been). And he supposed that for Augustine the movement of thought in self-thinking was both a return from alienation and a circular movement of which the elements were esse — velle — nosse, into which however he did inject an authentic Augustinian conception of alienation: the moral failing of a man overabsorbed in this world [71]).

> "Now it can be asked (in addition to what came from neoplatonists) what psychological discoveries (Augustine) derives from Christian ideas. Above all there is the turning inwards, the transforming of the soul from out of its alienation in the world, in which it had wandered by itself. This turning to itself implies a circle ... *nosse* and *esse* are indivisibly united .... There exists in relation to the self the tendency to self-preservation, the will" [72]).

J. Mader thinks likewise. Commenting on a sentence in *De Trinitate* X, 4, 6 — "Sed quando mens veniat in mentem, quasi possit mens in mente non esse" — he says

> "in reflections on the self a circle is revealed. The human mind must be thought of as both remaining with itself and being other, so that it returns to itself (dass er zu sich selbst zurückkommend), i.e. so that it can yet be thought of in its own as a unity" [73]).

He continues

> "The human mind is called back in its outgoing; in a certain way

[70]) Cf. E. BENZ, *op. cit.* p. 265: This return of universal soul (Seele) is included in the overall reintegration of the hypostatised and alienated spirit (Geist) into its own transcendent being (An-sich-sein).

[71]) E.g. in the frequent injunction to 'return to oneself': *redire ad se.*

[72]) L. SCHEGLMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-1.

[73]) J. MADER, Die logische Struktur des personalen Denkens aus der Methode der Gotteserkenntnis bei Aurelius Augustinus, Vienna 1965, p. 153. Perhaps the author was misled by the translation of *veniat in* by '*zurückkehren*': how else can we explain his total misunderstanding of the text — which specifically denies that there is any need of *mens* to go outside itself and return to itself in order to know itself, as it is already totally present to itself!

> through going away to another self of its own (zu einem anderen seiner selbst) it comes back to itself"[74]),

which is precisely what it does not do! As the product of the object, self-knowledge in Augustine is precisely like any other kind of knowledge. But it is different from any other kind of knowledge, in that *mens* has no need to go 'out' to its object when it is already present to itself. Whilst it may be the function of the will to apply the attention of *mens* to itself — or to any other object — for the process of *cogitatio* to begin willing is not a stage of the cognitive process as such as Scheglmann's schema makes it. It should be noted that in the triad of Mader there is no provision for the will at all.

Benz has well understood the way in which Plotinus's assertion derived from Stoic thinking, of the need to turn within contributed to Augustine's explanation of the disposing of the mind to know itself through the fixing of the attention of the will.

> "The precondition of willing is an act of will turning from all external objects and concentrating within, i.e. the transforming of ὄρεξις into βούλησις. In this is already a pointer to Augustine's teaching on the will"[75]).

He sees clearly that there is no alienation or loss of force in the process of self-knowing as Augustine understood it : he

> "had grasped well Plotinus's ideas of hypostatising as an alienation of mind, but had not agreed with it"[76]).
>
> "... (it is) an inner movement of the mind which takes place in the divine transcendent being. This inner development led to neither alienation nor loss of power, without its unity or existence being affected in any way"[77]).

Likewise the human *mens* would have retained its unity.

Triadic accounts of epistemology in Augustine are not circular. In external cognition the object, object-produced knowledge and the *intentio* of the will are an aggregation of factors. Only in internal cognition, when they begin to be united in such a way that the will can communicate with its object as known at the same level of spiritualisation, is there a possibility of 'circular' thinking. Yet here, through its more flexible enneadic structure and therefore not tied to its more rigidly conceived

[74]) *Ib.* p. 155.
[75]) *Op. cit.* p. 308.
[76]) *Ib.* p. 369.
[77]) *Ib.* p. 370.

triadic process, mind can at some prompting, however alight apply the will to search the memory for what it wants to know. In self-thinking there is the greatest degree of self-equality and full interpenetration of knower and object known; and this self-equality, not circular thinking, is the true doctrine of Augustine. Otherwise the triad of self-knowledge — *memoria sui* — *notitia sui* — *voluntas sui* — would not be what it is, a triad of equivalences of all in each and each in all[78]); and its enneadic formulation would be quite out of the question.

'Mens' in equality with itself.

The principle of interpretation so far in this essay has been to discern Augustine's authentic meaning through observing his re-interpretation of neo-Platonist teaching. Fully in keeping with the eclectic spirit and the search for a statement of truth that was Christian and made greater claim to reasonableness at the same time, Augustine gave his attention to Stoic teachings, and can be shown to have made a critique of neo-Platonist teachings in Stoic as well as a more authentically Aristotelian sense[79]).

In the notion of self-equality with which *De Trinitate* IX begins can be seen the presence of a Stoic theme, which had been brought together with a comparable Aristotelian teaching before Augustine. According to Hadot

> "There was a fusion of the Stoic notions of being in accord with oneself (οἰκείωσις) and the aristotelian notions of natural affinity (οἰκειότης). The notion of self-conservation is thus related to the notion of being happy, as is found in the *Nicomachean Ethics*.... This being in accord with one's self, desire, and joy in existence, are identified"[80]).

[78]) Cf. *De Trinitate* X, 11, 18: 'aequalia sunt tota singula totis singulis, et tota singula simul omnibus totis'.

[79]) G. VERBEKE has shown how Augustine largely set on one side the neo-Platonist teaching on pneuma (according to PORPHYRY a kind of psychic envelope to the body) in favour of the earlier Aristotelian (more metaphysical) and Stoic (more physiological) teaching that it was a necessary intermediary between soul and body on whose organs the soul could not act directly. (L'évolution de la Doctrine du Pneuma du Stoïcisme à saint Augustin, Paris-Louvain 1945, chapter I passim, pp. 334ff, and especially 504ff).

[80]) P. HADOT, Porphyre et Victorinus, I, pp. 289-90. A. C. LLOYD points out a related Stoic teaching in *De Trinitate* X, 5, 7: 'The mind, he said, must know itself so as to live *secundum naturam suam*, that is by controlling what it ought to control and being controlled by what ought to control it. This at least was orthodox Stoicism, (Nosce Teipsum and Conscientia, in: *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, 46, 1964, p. 195.

M. Zepf has written a special study of this "Oikeiosislehre" of Augustine[81]). Very precise on its sources (Cicero and Antiochus of Ascalon via Varro; as also Aristotle's νόησις νοήσεως via neo-Platonism) he insists on the novelty of his teaching, and with Husserl in mind he asserts that in Augustine

> "It is not a case of the being of the self asserting its substance against objective being... now the radiance of being is bound up with the subjective being of mind"[82]).
>
> "Augustine comes between the periods, linked to antiquity, but already pointing to the new age.... Tradition neither binds him nor constrains him, but stimulates his own creative power"[83]).

Augustine is more related to tradition than Zepf allows; his creativity was exercised on elements within a self-conscious eclectic tradition with the intention of establishing Christian triadic thinking on the divine within the tradition as its culminant expression. Nevertheless there is something original in Augustine's *De Trinitate* even if it was a work occasioned by circumstances not too difficult to reconstruct. As Zepf says Augustine leaves the question in the way in which Husserl picks it up: self-knowledge presupposes a turning away from the world, in ἐποχή;[84]) but it does not lie in that alone. It is in the deliberate transposition to the human *mens* of neo-Platonist concepts of the identity of substance, self-love and self-knowledge from the One and from νοῦς, the substitution of *memoria* for *mens*, and the establishing of the equivalence and coincidence of *memoria sui*, *notitia sui* and *amor sui*, and their constitution as fundamental to all cognition. A complete account of the intrinsic nature of mind is thus made theoretically possible. But has this equivalence any more than a tautologous meaning?

M. F. Sciacca has considered this speculatively in a short contribution to a conference[85]). He finds a number of suggestive epithets to describe the unity of the triad: "La circoncession et la consubstantialité des termes semblent évidentes. Compénétration, syn-

[81]) M. Zepf, Augustinus und das philosophische Selbstbewusstsein der Antike, in: *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* XI/2, 1959, pp. 105ff.

[82]) *Ib.* p. 130.

[83]) *Ib.* pp. 131-2.

[84]) 'Damit stehen wir dort, wo Husserl die augustinische Problematik aufgriff: die Weltverlorenheit wird die Voraussetzung für das Selbstbewusstsein', *ib.* p. 131.

[85]) M. F. Sciacca, Trinité et Unité de l'Esprit, in : *Augustinus Magister* I, pp. 521ff., Paris 1955.

thèse, intrinsécisme..."[86]). He envisages an order in which the acts of self-remembering, self-knowing and self-loving arise out of the deep continuing memory of the self; that is, when the mind consciously adverts to inner self-knowing and loving and their unity.

> "When the mind (l'esprit) has self-memory and knows how to recall itself, this *scire se* is an act of intelligence, and precisely the first act which specifies it as "autoconscience", as "autovolition" is the first act of the will"[87]).

Love, as a desire for self-knowledge, is, in the mind (l'esprit), *before* the generation of autoconscience (so it can not be an engendered love); after its generation there is self-love, that is conscious self-love[88]).

Sciacca's most valuable comments concern the arising of values of truth morality when the *mens* has established a norm in finding equality with itself. "As the generation of self-knowledge is the essential act within the mind"[89]), human thinking measures itself with relation to this act: "the reality (l'actualité) of thought receives its specification in the act of 'autoconscience"[90]). This being so, self-knowing becomes the measure of its own truthfulness: "of itself the mind engenders the truth of its autoconnaisance, the object connatural to it".Here, like Stumpf, Sciacca has to suppose the presence of the superior illuminating truth. "That is the first contact of the mind with the illumination by the truth which also constitutes it as mind"[91]). The consideration of this value-generation in itself is not to be excluded by the fact that the supreme measure of truth is God himself. By transferring perfect, divine characteristics to the human mind Augustine gave a source of value to it, relatable to mind's own independence and immediate self-presence. Mind itself is what mind knows best : better than God, better than material things. If its self-certainty is disturbed by the giving of too much attention to material things, it is going against the nature of its own constitution and running the danger of confusing itself with an unreal image[92]).

[86]) *Ib.* p. 527.

[87]) *Ib.* p. 523. 'Autoconscience' does not exist in the most recent French dictionaries: presumably it translates 'autocosciènza' — more the awareness the spirit has of its own acts than deliberate introspection, though it is used in the latter sense (see passage referred to in n. 90).

[88]) *Ib.* p. 531.

[89]) *Ib.* p. 530.

[90]) *Ib.* p. 524.

[91]) *Ib.* p. 529.

[92]) Cf. *De Trinitate* X, 5, 7: '... ut secundum naturum suam ordinari appetat', and 6, 8: '... Errat autem mens, cum se istis imaginibus amore conjungit, ut etiam se esse aliquid huiusmodi existimet'.

Correspondingly, if self-certainty by which all other certainties fall into place is reduced, it will mean that the certainty of everything else will be disturbed. For human beings, self-consciousness is pure consciousness: it is not opposed to objects which are not itself; but they could not be known without it, nor would they have any clear truthful value without it. As Sciacca says,

> "Thought by the fact of being thought is self-thought; so the mind knows itself in its essence. Self-knowledge is essentially intrinsic to thought"[93]).

This is a pratical consequence of the principle of νόησις νοήσεως drawn out only by Augustine in a coherent subjectivity structure for an individual, embodied human existence.

That Augustine could construct a similar measure for loving in self-loving, interrelate them, and root them in the essence of the soul made possible a meaningful study at the religious level of dogmatic teaching and Christian morality, and at a philosophical level the interrelationship of metaphysics and ethics; as also the interrelation of revealed religious data and philosophy. It was a systematisation in order and penetration, superior to the neo-Platonist. Hitherto knowing and willing, epistemology and affectivity had remained distinguished in analysis and consequently kept apart in their treatment. With the transposition of the conceptions of perfect self-knowing and perfect self-loving from the One and νοῦς to the individual human being, and with the interrelating of these with self-remembering in the memory as the centre of consciousness and the locus in which all experience was relatable together and over time, it was possible to conceive of a total systematisation of the mind: with self-consciousness as pure consciousness, and self-love as pure love, with both equal to the subject, *mens*, and to self-memory, mutually caused and mutually contained by each other.

The Divine Prototype.

By virtue of the primary intention of his *De Trinitate* Augustine was obliged to relate his analysis of the human *mens* to the Godhead which it imaged. He needed to do so in order to complete his apologetic task : in neo-Platonism the transcendent triad was also itself the means by which the individual came to know it, for he had to become aware that his

[93]) *Op. cit.* p. 523.

knowing and self-knowing were derived from this triad and were identical with knowing and self-knowing in the hypostases themselves. If all thinking were 'divine', all thought which leads to the divine would already be divine. Not so with Augustine, for whom the distinction between God and everything else was complete. The constitutive and cognitive human triads had shown that three powers and three acts could co-exist in the *mens* without becoming confused. But the act in which God was the object of knowledge found the Godhead only in its unity; direct continuity between the power of *mens* and the Persons of the prototype was impossible. God might be remembered in the memory, known in the mind and loved in the will, but the triadicity was in the human *mens* alone; for the three powers in the human mind belonged to one person, whilst in the Godhead there were three persons. Augustine had to point out that in the Godhead it is impossible to attribute all remembering to the Father, all knowing to the Son and all loving to the Holy Spirit for all three powers must belong to each[94]). Even if the presence of these three powers together in the human mind disposes a thinker to accept the possibility of a triune Godhead they do not in fact image it. Perhaps forgetting the success which he had with the ennead and its promises of further development for the trinity of three persons each with three powers[95]), he expresses a sense of failure: "in ipso intellectu conatum me senserim magis habuisse quam effectum"[96]), for he feels he has found an analogy which would distribute the three powers discernible in a single human person among those divine persons, apart from which the three powers in man are variable and changeable, unlike the timeless changelessness of God[97]).Because of the Christian discontinuity between Creator and creature, the timeless and the time-bound, the completeness of the neo-Platonist account cannot be attained. What Augustine gives is a kind of progression from the most external knowledge to a noetic link between

[94]) *De Trinitate* XV, 7, 12: 'Ergo tria illa, id est, memoria, intelligentia, dilectio sive voluntas in illa summa et immutabili essentia quod est Deus, non Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus sunt, sed Pater solus .... Filius ... est et ipse memoria, sua intelligentia, sua dilectio ... Spiritus sanctus ... habet haec tria, et ea sic habet, ut haec ipsa ipse sunt'. Cf. *ib.* 17, 27 and 22, 42.

[95]) Cf. supra p. 110. The horizontal or vertical lines of the diagram would have to be regarded as unities for application to the Trinity.

[96]) *De Trinitate* XV, 25, 45.

[97]) '... in una quidem persona quod est homo ... et in re mutabili tria illa ... sed tria unius personae, non sicut humana poscit intentio, tribus illis personis convenire potuerunt ...' (*ib.*).

man and God: not by neo-Platonist identity, but by gradual assimilation — in which faith and the practice of virtue have their part — which suggests the non-impossibility of a triune God, who leaves in the triadic nature of the cosmos, and particularly the noetic cosmos, vestiges of his own nature. Desire and will, aroused by what seem disproportionately small hints lead to a limited understanding of the invisible Godhead which calls all men to share its own beatitude; but desire and will are not absorbed into knowing. Yet there cannot be a link between each of the three powers of the soul and what had seemed to be their equivalents in the divine persons, for the divine essence would need expressing enneadically; and an elevation to God of an enneadically conceived human *mens* to an enneadically conceived divinity, would have presented a task at which Augustine must have despaired; and he admits he had trouble enough with the triadic approach[98]).

Yet, accepting the appropriate obscurity of the divine object, worship could be thought of as providing a means of union between the *mens* and its prototype: "Let (the mind), then, remember its God, to whose image it has been made, and understand him and love him. Or to express this more briefly, let it worship the God who was not made, but by whom it was made so that it is capable of him and can be a partaker of him"[99]).

Whereas Porphyry wished to demythologise cult and reduce it to philosophical contemplation which he considered it essentially was, Augustine, through his conversion from a philosophical position, had learned to discover its significance and value. Again, union with the Godhead might be found through coincidence. Paralleling the neo-Platonist self-knowing, which was at the same time a knowledge of the source from which one comes, Augustine proposed that a right kind of self-love would coincide with a love of God: "Qui ergo se diligere novit, Deum diligit"; and love of one's fellows is nothing but a further consistency with this love[100]). Unlike other texts of Augustine, in the *De Trinitate* charity is not developed into a mode of divine union : rather it is identified with God[101]).

[98]) Cf. *Epistola* CXX, 3, 13, written about 410. (PL 33, 458-9).

[99]) *De Trinitate* XIV, 12, 15: 'Meminerit itaque Dei sui, ad cuius imaginem facta est, eumque intelligat atque diligat. Quod ut brevius dicam, colat Deum non factum, cuius ab eo capax est facta, et cuius particeps esse potest'.

[100]) *Ib.* XIV, 14, 18.

[101]) *ib.* IX, I, 1. XV, 17, 28.

Yet Augustin does relate the divine Trinity directly to the human triad of remembering, knowing and loving, and implies that despite their discontinuity any *commercium* is not one-way — from human *mens*: "Meminerim tui, intelligam te, diligam te. Auge in me ista, donec me reformes ad integrum" [102]). When it comes to the divine object it is so vast that the acts by which the Godhead is grasped are separated out and expressed like three tremendous resolutions; but the remembering, knowing and loving which are embodied in them and reach through every level of the human *mens* in all its powers — memory, understanding and will — have an effect of bringing the servant of God into the unity he desires: "donec me reformes ad integrum".

Edward Booth.

[102]) *Ib.* 28, 51. Cf. *ib.* 20, 39: 'Ad quam summam Trinitatem reminiscendam, videndam, diligendem, ut eam recordetur, eam contempletur, ea delectetur, totum debet referre quod vivit'.

Erfahrung und Rechenschaft in Augustins Confessiones*

Als Augustin gegen Ende seines Lebens sein gesamtes literarisches Schaffen einer kritischen Sichtung unterzog, da bemerkte er zu den Confessiones: «Die dreizehn Bücher meiner 'Bekenntnisse' preisen sowohl ob des Bösen wie des Guten in meinem Leben den gerechten und gütigen Gott und erwecken zu ihm des Menschen Geist und Gemüt. Was wenigstens mich betrifft, so bewirkten sie dies in mir, als ich sie schrieb, und bewirken es, da ich sie lese. Was andere dabei empfinden, mögen sie selbst sehen; doch weiß ich, daß sie vielen Brüdern sehr gefallen haben und gefallen[1])». Dieses Urteil des Kirchenvaters über die Wirkung seiner Confessiones auf sich und auf seine Zeitgenossen gilt aufs Große und Ganze gesehen auch für das Mittelalter unserer abendländischen Kultur, wenn nicht gar selbst für die der Neuzeit. Denn aus den noch vorhandenen Handschriften darf man schließen, daß die Bekenntnisse — freilich nach der Bibel — viele Jahrhunderte zu den meistgelesenen Schriften gehört haben müssen[2]).

Worin gründet die Epochen überdauernde Faszination dieses Werkes, von dem der renommierte Übersetzer Joseph Bernhart sagte, man suche vergeblich, es einer literarischen Gattung zuzuordnen. «Die Bekenntnisse sind nämlich in Einem Erzählung und Hymnus, Bericht und Spekulation, psychologische Forschung und mystischer Bundesschluß einer Seele mit Gott. Bald in vernebelnder Rhetorik, bald mit kühnster Entblößung stellt sich unter dem Auge des

*) Am 21./22. Januar 1978 veranstaltete die Katholische Akademie der Erzdiözese Freiburg eine Tagung über das Thema: «Erfahrung und Bekenntnis», zu dem folgende Referate gehalten wurden: «Wahrheit und Dichtung — Vorfragen zur Selbstbiographie» von G. Baumann, «Jeremia — Biographie als Verkündigung» von R. Mosis, «Erfahrung und Rechenschaft in Augustins Confessiones» von C.P. Mayer, «Die Autobiographie der Terese — befragt von der Spiritualität der Gegenwart» von J. Sudbrack, «Rousseaus Confessiones» von R. Voßler, «Goethe: Die wiederholten Spiegelungen in seinen selbstbiographischen Dichtungen» von G. Bauman, und «Formen der deutschen Selbstbiographien im 20. Jahrhundert» von G. Niggl. Das hier veröffentlichte Referat will also von diesem Rahmenthema her verstanden sein.

[1]) Retractationes II, 6.

[2]) Zum Einfluß: P. COURCELLE, Les Confessions de S. Augustin dans la tradition littéraire: Antécédents et Posterité, Paris 1963.

Absoluten ein Mensch in der Not seines Reichtums und im Drange seiner Schuldigkeit selbst zur Rede. Indem er seine Vergangenheit, ja die menschliche Lage im allgemeinen abschreitet, immer von dem Danke erfüllt, daß sein heilloses Ich das ewige Du als das Heil erkannt und erfahren hat, enthüllt er die Landschaft der Seele mit allen Höhen und Tiefen, aller Schönheit und Gefahr. Niemand ist, der nicht auf dieser und auf jener Seite des Buches sein Heimlichstes aufgedeckt und Offenbarstes ins Geheimnis verloren fände[3])».

Trotz der geschilderten Vielseitigkeit hat man in den Confessiones bis zur Schwelle unseres Jahrhunderts vor allem ein autobiographisches Werk gesehen, in dem der Verfasser Erfahrenes aus seinem Leben mit historischer Zuverlässigkeit wiedergibt. Es ist jedoch für unser Thema aufschlußreich, daß man gerade zu dem Zeitpunkt, als sich die historisch-kritische Methode in den Geisteswissenschaften durchzusetzen begann[4]), die Glaubwürdigkeit der Confessiones in Zweifel zog. Was man allerdings in Zweifel zog, waren nicht Deutung und Spekulation, sondern die der Deutung und der Spekulation zugrundeliegenden Erfahrungen, von denen der Autor berichtet. Im gleichen Jahr 1888 veröffentlichten zwei Gelehrte, der Deutsche von Harnack[5]) und der Franzose Boissier[6]) unabhängig voneinander ihre Kritik zum Quellenwert der Confessiones. Dieser Kritik liegt folgender Tatbestand zugrunde: Nach seiner Bekehrung zog Augustin im Herbst des Jahres 386 sich mit seiner Mutter Monnica und einer Handvoll Schüler und Freunde auf das Landgut Cassiciacum in der Nähe von Mailand zurück. Dort verfaßte er, indem er das Leben eines Privatgelehrten führte, seine ersten uns zum grösten Teil erhaltenen literarischen Werke über philosophische Themen. In diesen Frühschriften kommt er gelegentlich auf die Ereignisse zu sprechen, die zu seiner Bekehrung führten. Ebenso finden sich darin reichliche

[3]) Augustin. Confessiones-Bekenntnisse. Lateinisch-deutsch. Eingeleitet, übersetzt und erläutert von Joseph BERNHART, 1966, 3. Aufl. S. 989f.

[4]) Im Gegensatz zum 18. Jahrhundert, das «philosophische», nannte man das 19. das «historische». In ihm setzte mit der «historischen Schule» und ihrem Umkreis eine intensive Geschichtsforschung ein. G. SCHOLTZ, Geschichte, Artikel in: Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie, (Hrg. von J. RITTER,) Bd. 3, Basel/Stuttgart 1974, S. 367.

[5]) A. VON HARNACK, Augustins Confessionen, Gießen 1888; Neuveröffentlichung in: Reden und Aufsätze Bd. 1, Gießen 1904.

[6]) G. BOISSIER, La conversion de saint Augustin, in: *Revue des Deux-Mondes* 85, 1888, S. 43-69.

Reflexionen über seine damalige geistige Verfassung[7]). Aufgrund dieses doppelten Quellenmaterials über autobiographische Erfahrungen sowohl in den Frühschriften wie in den um ein gutes Jahrzehnt später entstandenen Confessiones wiesen von Harnack und Boissier darauf hin, daß zwischen den beiden Darstellungen eine erhebliche Diskrepanz besteht. Bis zur Veröffentlichung der besagten Kritik galten die Confessiones für das Verständnis der geistigen Entwicklung des Kirchenvaters als Quellenschrift ersten Ranges[8]). Auf die «Bekehrung» zugespitzt, läßt sich die erwähnte Diskrepanz vereinfacht so beschreiben: Während die Confessiones die Erfahrungen, die zur Bekehrung führten und die der Bekehrung folgten, in der Optik der Gnadentheologie des bereits Bischof gewordenen Augustinus verdeutlichen, zeichnen die Frühschriften (Dialoge und Briefe) die gleichen Erfahrungen in einer anderen Optik. Sie stellen Augustinus als einen vorzüglich an philosophischen Fragen (Wesen und Unsterblichkeit der Seele, Gewißheit der Erkenntnis, Probleme der Willensfreiheit etc.)[9]) interessierten Intellektuellen dar, wenngleich auch als einen Christen[10]). Die Frühschriften zeigen uns einen Bekehrten, der den Zugang zu Gott zumindest bis zu einem gewissen Teil auch als eine persönliche, hauptsächlich intellektuelle Leistung des Menschen betrachtete. Vom Ringen des Willens und der Übermacht der Gnade — die großen Themen der Confessiones — ist hier kaum noch etwas zu spüren.

[7]) Parallelen bei P. COURCELLE, Recherches sur les Confessions de saint Augustin, Paris 1968, 2. erweiterte Auflage, passim.

[8]) Eine ausführliche Darstellung der Streitfrage um den Quellenwert der Confessiones geben J. NÖRREGAARD, Augustins Bekehrung, Tübingen 1923, 1-19 und A. SOLIGNAC in seiner über 250 Seiten umfassenden Einleitung zu den Confessiones in: Bibliothèque Augustinienne Bd. 13, Les Confessions, Paris 1962, 9-266.

[9]) Zu den sogenannten Frühschriften zählen die Dialoge: Contra Academicos libri III; De beata vita liber I; De ordine Libri II; Soliloquia, libri II; De animae quantitate liber I; De libero arbitrio libri III; De musica libri VI; De magistro liber I, ferner der nicht als Dialog abgefaßte Liber De inmortalitate animae, die Reste einer geplanten und von Augustin bereits in Angriff genommenen Enzyklopädie (De dialectica noch vorhanden) und schließlich einige Briefe, die er noch vor seiner Ordination im Jahre 391 schrieb. Freilich ist die zeitliche Abgrenzung der Frühschriften problematisch; einmal weil einige Dialoge wie z.B. De libero arbitrio und De musica abgeschlossen wurden, als Augustin bereits Priester war, dann aber weil Augustin schon vor seiner Ordination Themen bearbeitete, die den philosophischen Rahmen sprengten (De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et De moribus Manichaeorum libri II; De Genesi aduersus Manichaeos libri II und eine Anzahl von Themen aus De diuersis quaestionibus octoginta tribus liber I).

[10]) P. COURCELLE, Recherches sur les Confessions de saint Augustin, 211-235.

Verweilen wir hier einen Moment und stellen wir uns in Blick auf die dargelegte Diskrepanz zwischen den Frühschriften und den Confessiones hypothetisch folgende Fragen: Hätte Augustin seine Bekenntnisse auf dem Landgut Cassiciacum geschrieben, hätte er dann auch den gleichen autobiographischen Stoff, die gleichen Erlebnisse und die gleichen Erfahrungen zur Gestaltung seines literarischen Vorhabens ausgewählt, wie er dies ein gutes Jahrzehnt später getan hat? Und: Unter welcher Sicht hätte er den ausgewählten autobiographischen Stoff als Erfahrungen seines Lebens gedeutet? Die Antworten auf diese Fragen dürften vom Gesagten her klar sein. Damit sind wir aber auch schon beim Kern unserer Ausführungen, lautet doch die Frage, die uns vom Rahmenthema dieser Tagung «Erfahrung und Bekenntnis» her gestellt ist: Von welchen Erfahrungen meinte Augustin in seinen Confessiones Rechenschaft ablegen zu müssen und unter welchem Gesichtspunkt betrachtete er diese Rechenschaftsablegung als eine Confessio, als ein Bekenntnis?

Augustins 13 Bücher umfassende Bekenntnisse bestehen aus drei thematisch recht verschiedenartigen Hauptteilen: einem auf die Vergangenheit (von der Kindheit bis zum Tode der Mutter) zurückblickenden «Lebensbericht» in den Büchern I-IX, einer Darlegung seiner Spiritualität, seines geistigen und geistlichen Zustandes zur Zeit der Abfassung der Confessiones im Buch X und in einer ausführlichen Erklärung des biblischen Schöpfungsberichtes in den Büchern XI-XIII. Diese gewiß eigenartige Komposition eines literarischen Werkes wurde von der Fachwelt jahrzehntelang diskutiert[11]). Erst aufgrund einer Reihe von Einzeluntersuchungen über mannigfache Ideen, Motive und Leitgedanken, die alle dreizehn Bücher wie rote Fäden durchziehen, trat die Geschlossenheit der Gesamtplanung immer deutlicher in Erscheinung[12]). Allmählich

[11]) Zur Komposition der Confessiones: G. MISCH, Geschichte der Autobiographie, Frankfurt 1950, 3. Auflage Bd. 1, 2, 657-675; U. DUCHROW, Der Aufbau von Augustins Confessiones und De trinitate, in: *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 62, 1965, 338-367; G. PFLIGERSDORFFER, Das Bauprinzip von Augustins Confessiones, in: Festschrift K. Vretska, (Hrsg. von D. ABLEITINGER und H. GUGEL) Heidelberg 1970, 124-147; M. VERHEIJEN, Eloquentia pedisequa. Observations sur le style des Confessions de saint Augustin, Nijmegen 1949; E. WILLIGER, Der Aufbau der Konfessionen, in: *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 28, 1929, 81-106.

[12]) Solche Ideen, Motive und Schemata, welche die Confessiones durchziehen, sind Gegenstand der Untersuchung bei: H. KUSCH, Studien über Augustinus, in: Festschrift Franz Dornseiff, Leipzig 1953, 124-183 (Spannung von homo vetus — homo novus);

erkannte man, daß die Bücher X und XI-XIII keine mehr oder weniger losen Zutaten zum «Lebensbericht» der Bücher I-IX sind, sondern daß genau umgekehrt, der «Lebensbericht» ausschließlich im Dienste einer Verkündigung, also eines Kerygmas steht, und zwar des Kerygmas über die Macht der göttlichen Gnade.

Von diesem Programm der Verkündigung der Macht der Gnade her erklärt sich nicht nur der sonderbare Aufbau des Werkes. Vom Gnadenthema her fällt auch Licht sowohl auf den Titel «Confessiones» wie auch auf die Auswahl des autobiographischen Stoffes und die Art der Darstellung dieses Stoffes. Bedeutete «Confessio» im außerchristlichen Sprachgebrauch lediglich Bekenntnis, speziell im Sinne von Eingeständnis, so setzte sich bereits im voraugustinischen Christentum neben der Bedeutung Sündenbekenntnis auch die Bedeutung Glaubensbekenntnis und dazu noch im Anschluß an die Bibel, vor allem an die Psalmen, die Bedeutung Lobpreis durch. Wie Joseph Ratzinger in seinem Aufsatz, «Originalität und Überlieferung in Augustins Begriff der *confessio*», gezeigt hat, hatte Augustin den überkommenen kirchlichen Bekenntnis-Begriff dadurch vertieft und geläutert, indem er ihn «in das Gefüge der Gnadenlehre einbaute»[13]). In Augustins Confessiones gewinnt nämlich auch das Bekenntnis der Sünde, das Eingeständnis der eigenen Ohnmacht, den Charakter des Preisens und Rühmens der Allmacht der göttlichen Gnade.

Obgleich nach Augustin, der hierin die Lehre der Kirche treu wiedergibt, die Schöpfung auf den Schöpfer als ihr Ziel hin sozusagen ein natürliches Gefälle hat, vermögen die mit Erkenntnis und freiem Willen ausgestatteten Geschöpfe von diesem Ziel abzuweichen. Nach dem biblischen Bericht vom Sündenfall wich der Mensch in der Tat von diesem seinem ihm vorgegebenen Ziel ab. Im Anschluß an einige Texte der Bibel, speziell an die Parabel vom verlorenen Sohn (Lk 15, 11-32) interpretierte Augustin das menschliche Leben hier auf Erden als eine «peregrinatio», als ein Umherirren in der Fremde. Ein Ende

G.N. KNAUER, Peregrinatio animae, Zur Frage der Einheit der augustinischen Konfessionen, in: *Hermes* 80, 1957, 216-248 (Motiv der Pilgerschaft); U. DUCHROW, Der Aufbau von Augustins Confessiones... (siehe Anm. 10; erwähnt die sieben Seligpreisungen, die Augustin kompositorisch verarbeitete); H. KUHN, Die Bekenntnisse des heiligen Augustin als literarisches Werk, in: *Stimmen der Zeit* 1968, 223-238 (die Idee des Aufstiegs); L.F. PIZZOLATO, Le «Confessioni» di Sant' Agostino. Da biografia a «confessio», Mailand 1968 (die Symbolik der sechs Schöpfungstage).

[13]) in: *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 3, 1957, 375-392, Zitat: 391.

der Irrfahrt gibt es nur aufgrund des göttlichen Eingriffs, aufgrund des Gnadenhandelns Gottes in der Zeit[14]). Im letzten Kapitel der Confessiones stehen die folgenden, für das Verständnis des ganzen Werkes aufschlußreichen Sätze: «Wir sind erst dann zum Tun des Guten bewogen worden, nachdem es unser Herz von deinem Geist empfing; vorher aber, als wir dich verließen, da wurden wir getrieben, das Böse zu tun: du aber, einzig guter Gott, hast niemals davon abgelassen, Gutes zu tun. Und es sind wohl manche unserer Werke gut durch deine Gnade, doch sie sind nicht ewig: daß wir, im großen Schoße deiner Heiligung ruhen werden, wenn diese vollbracht ist, das hoffen wir[15])».

Der Text spricht vom Tun des Guten und vom Tun des Bösen, und zwar in bezug auf den Menschen. Während aber das Tun des Bösen seinen Grund allein im Menschen hat, denn: «als wir dich verließen, da wurden wir getrieben, das Böse zu tun», hat das Tun des Guten seinen Grund ausschließlich im Eingriff Gottes, denn: «nachdem es unser Herz von deinem Geist empfing, erst dann sind wir zum Tun des Guten bewogen worden». Dieser Antagonismus im Handeln des Menschen wird an Beispielen aus dem Leben des Autors exemplarisch entfaltet. Um welche Erfahrungen geht es also in den Confessiones? Um Erfahrungen der Gnade — lautet die einzig richtige Antwort. Von den Gnadenerfahrungen geben sie Rechenschaft auf beinahe jeder Seite.

Nun soll nicht verschwiegen werden, daß der Erfahrungsbegriff philosophisch gesehen mit zu den unaufgeklärtesten Begriffen gehört, die wir besitzen[16]). Zunächst ist der Erfahrungsbegriff abzuheben vom Ereignis, das mehr dem Bereich des Objektiven, und vom Erlebnis, das mehr dem Bereich des Subjektiven zugehört. Ereignisse und Erlebnisse können durch geistige Aufarbeitung zu Erfahrungen werden. Erfahrungen stützen sich auf Ereignisse und auf Erlebnisse. Sie bilden

[14]) Augustin nennt dieses Gnadenhandeln «dispensatio temporalis». Zur Bedeutung dieses Begriffes in der Theologie Augustins: C.P. Mayer, Die Zeichen in der geistigen Entwicklung und in der Theologie Augustins. Teil II: Die antimanichäische Epoche, Würzburg 1974, 178-183.

[15]) Confessiones XIII, 38, 57. Übersetzung von H. Schiel, Des heiligen Augustinus Bekenntnisse, Lateinisch-deutsch, Freiburg 1959, 401. Alle weiteren Zitationen sind von geringfügigen Abweichungen abgesehen dieser Übertragung entnommen.

[16]) Vgl. H.G. Gadamer, Wahrheit und Methode, Tübingen 1965, 2. Auflage 329. Siehe auch A.S. Kessler, A. Schöpf, Chr. Wild, Erfahrung, Artikel in: Handbuch philosophischer Grundbegriffe, München 1973, 373-386.

ein vermittelndes Glied zwichen Theorie und Praxis. Wir sprechen gewöhnlich von äußeren und inneren Erfahrungen. Erstere sind nachprüfbar, letztere entziehen sich zwar einer empirischen Nachprüfung, sie lassen sich aber beschreiben und auf diese Weise vermitteln. In einem jüngst veröffentlichten Aufsatz über die theologische Verwendung des Erfahrungsbegriffes unterscheidet der Verfasser Franz Courth zwischen der empirischen oder gelebten Alltagserfahrung, der experimentellen Erfahrung und der Ganzheitserfahrung. Verständlicherweise hat es die Theologie vor allem mit dem letzteren zu tun. Nach Courth bezieht sich diese Ganzheitserfahrung «nicht auf einen bestimmten Teilbereich der Wirklichkeit oder des Lebens, sondern (sie) umfaßt alle Ebenen des menschlichen Daseins und den Gesamthorizont des Seins und deren wertende Beurteilung[18]). Demnach gehört wertendes Beurteilen zur Ganzheitserfahrung. Auch der Philosoph Immanuel Kant lehrte: «Es geht ein Urteil voraus, ehe aus Wahrnehmung Erfahrung werden kann[19])». Auch nach Augustins Erkenntnistheorie besitzt der Mensch die von der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung unabhängige Urteilsfähigkeit durch die Gabe des Intellektes, mit dem er ausgestattet ist[20]). Woran es ihm aber gerade in Hinblick auf die religiöse Erfahrung mangelt, dies ist die durch die Sünde bewirkte Schwäche des Willens, den aus solchen Erfahrungen gewonnenen Einsichten auch zu folgen. Deshalb gehört zur religiösen Erfahrung noch das Moment der Beanspruchung, die Forderung des Gehorsams und der Hingabe.

Stellen wir vom Gesagten her nochmals die Frage: Von welchen Erfahrungen ist in den Confessiones die Rede? Von allen: Von äußeren und inneren; sowohl von den Alltagserfahrungen wie auch von den experimentellen und den Ganzheitserfahrungen. Die Confessiones erzählen von Ereignissen und Erlebnissen des Alltags, sie beschreiben

[17]) H. POMPEY, Erfahrung, Artikel in: Praktisches Wörterbuch der Pastoralanthropologie, Wien/Freiburg/Basel/Göttingen 1975, 250f.

[18]) Erfahrung — ein theologischer Begriff? In: Theologie der Gegenwart 20, 1977, 211-218, Zitat: 212.

[19]) Zitiert bei L. RICHTER, Erfahrung, Artikel in: Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Tübingen 1958, 3. Auflage, II, 551.

[20]) Aus der Fülle der Literatur zur Erkenntnislehre Augustins seien lediglich erwähnt: B. KÄLIN, Die Erkenntnislehre des hl. Augustinus, Freiburg, Schweiz 1920; A. GRAß, Das «schauende Erkennen» bei Augustin, Diss. Maschinenschrift, Freiburg in Breisgau 1922; J. HESSEN, Augustins Metaphysik der Erkenntnis, Berlin/Bonn 1931 (2. Aufl. Leiden 1960); F. KÖRNER, Das Prinzip der Innerlichkeit in Augustins Erkenntnislehre, Dissertation, Würzburg 1952.

experimentelle Erfahrungen wie z.B. die Aneignung der Sprache durch Beobachtung und Nachahmung; sie erörtern schließlich seitenlang «Ganzheitserfahrungen», jene Begebenheiten, die für die geistige Entwicklung Augustins bedeutsam waren. Sagten wir, erst wertendes Beurteilen mache Ereignisse und Erlebnisse zu Erfahrungen, so gründet dieses wertende Beurteilen aller den religiösen Erfahrungen zugrundeliegenden Ereignisse und Erlebnisse, von denen die Confessiones berichten, in der Gnadenauffassung ihres Autors. Das als Erfahrungen gedeutete autobiographische Material wird so aneinandergereiht, daß dabei der bereits erwähnte Antagonismus zwischen dem Tun des Bösen und dem Tun des Guten nicht zu übersehen ist. Zwei Aspekte durchziehen somit alle Bücher der Bekenntnisse: die Verstrickung in die Sünde und die Befreiung aus ihr durch die Übermacht der Gnade. Diese beiden Aspekte sind mit staunenswerter Konsequenz durchkomponiert: Während nämlich die Verstrickung in die Sünde thematisch am Anfang dominiert und dann allmählich verebbt — am Schluß ist im Gegensatz zu den «carnales», den der Sünde verfallenen Menschen nur mehr von den «spiritales», den geistlich-pneumatischen Menschen die Rede[21]) —, gewinnt die Macht der Gnade sozusagen ständig an Boden.

Schon bei der Darstellung der Kindheit und der Jugend tritt das kerygmatische Gnadenanliegen deutlich in Erscheinung. Die Erfahrungen der Jugend sind Erfahrungen der Gottferne. Die eindringenden Analysen der eigenen Kindheit, die triebhaften Regungen (das Verlangen nach der Mutterbrust, I, 7), die Abneigung gegen das Lernen, speziell gegen das Studium der griechischen Sprache (I, 9 und 14), die Spielsucht und Theaterliebe (I, 10) werden immer wieder von Reflexionen unterbrochen wie z.B.: «Denn frei von Sünde ist niemand vor dir, auch nicht ein Kind, dessen Erdenleben nur einen kurzen Tag währt» (I, 7) oder: «Gibt es denn etwas Elenderes als einen Elenden, der nicht sich selbst beweint, sondern den Tod der Dido, die Frucht ihrer Liebe zu Aeneas — seinen eigenen Tod aber beweint er nicht, die Frucht mangelnder Liebe zu dir... Ich liebte dich nicht und 'trieb Unzucht fern von dir' (Ps 72, 27), und dem Buhlenden erscholl es von allen Seiten: 'recht so, recht so'! (Ps 39, 16). Ist doch die Freundschaft 'mit dieser Welt' (Jak 4, 4) Buhlerei fern von dir... Und

[21]) Über die «spiritales» in den Confessiones: C.P. Mayer, Signifikationshermeneutik im Dienste der Daseinsauslegung. Die Funktion der Verweisungen in den Confessiones X-XIII, in: *Augustiniana* 24, 1974, 21-74, speziell 63.

darüber weinte ich nicht, ich weinte über die Dido, 'daß sie verschieden und mit dem Dolch ihrem Leben ein Ziel gesetzt' (Vergil, Aeneis VI, 457). Und ich selbst setzte in der Abkehr von dir mein Ziel in den letzten Staub deiner Schöpfung, und Erde kehrte mich zur Erde. Und hätte man mir solchen Lesestoff verwehrt, so wäre ich traurig gewesen, weil ich nicht lesen sollte, was mich traurig stimmte. Solche Phantastereien hält man für vornehmeres und inhaltsreicheres Wissen als den Unterricht, in dem ich lesen und schreiben lernte» (I, 13). Wie dies die letzten Sätze des Zitates zeigen, beurteilte Augustin auch den Nutzen der Bildung ausschließlich von der in den Confessiones erörterten Frage: Was hält den Menschen von Gott fern, was bringt ihn Gott näher[22])? Inmitten der Beschreibung der Kindheitserfahrungen steht die vielsagende Bemerkung: «tantillus puer et tantus peccator — ein so kleiner Knabe und so großer Sünder!» (I, 12). Jedoch gleichsam quer zu diesen negativen Bewertungen der erlebten Kindheit verlaufen die Reflexionen über das damals noch nicht, jetzt aber umso deutlicher wahrgenommene Gnadenhandeln Gottes. Schon den neugeborenen umfingen Gottes «erbarmende Tröstungen» (ebd.). Gott sah zwar, wie der talentierte Schüler Augustin, den man ob seiner Begabung «einen hoffnungsvollen Knaben» (I, 16) nannte, sich in Eitelkeiten verlierend sich immer mehr von ihm entfernte. Aber er schwieg, denn er ist, wie die Schrift sagt: «langmütig und überaus barmherzig und wahrhaftig». (Ps 85, 15). Aber, so reflektiert der Augustinus der Confessiones weiter: «Wirst du denn immerdar schweigen? Jetzt schon entreißt du aus schrecklicher Tiefe die Seele, die dich sucht und die dürstet nach deinen Wonnen... Denn fern sein von deinem Angesicht heißt verstrickt sein in dunkle Leidenschaft. Nicht mit Füßen und durch räumlichen Abstand entfernt man sich von dir oder wendet sich wieder zu dir. Oder verlangte vielleicht jener jüngere Sohn in deinem Evangelium nach Pferden, nach Wagen oder Schiffen? entwich er mit sichtbaren Schwingen oder durchschritt er den Weg mit federndem Knie, um im fremden Land zu verschwenden und zu verprassen, was du, liebender Vater, dem

[22]) Zum augustinischen Bildungsprogramm: R. LORENZ, Die Wissenschaftslehre Augustins, in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 67, 1955, 29-60 und 213-251; E. KEVANE, Augustine's «De doctrina christiana»: A Treatise on Christian Education, in: *Recherches Augustiniennes* 4, 1966, 97-133; C.P. MAYER, Der gebildete Christ. Fundamente und Ziele christlicher Gelehrsamkeit nach dem heiligen Augustinus, in: *Theologie und Philosophie* 52, 1977, 272-279.

Scheidenden gegeben hattest, und der du ihn noch liebevoller beschenktest, als er arm und bedürftig heimkam?» (1, 18).

Manche Ereignisse aus der Jugendzeit werden so lebendig erzählt wie eine Kurzgeschichte: «Ein Birnbaum stand in der Nähe unseres Weinbergs, und er hing voller Früchte, die aber weder durch Schönheit noch Schmackhaftigkeit verführerisch waren. Wir Lausejungen hatten uns nach unserer üblen Gewohnheit bis tief in die Nacht spielend auf den Gassen herumgetrieben und zogen dann los, den Baum zu plündern und die Beute wegzuschaffen. Wir schleppten einen Haufen von Früchten fort — nicht um sie zu essen, sondern den Schweinen warfen wir sie vor. Und wenn wir einige davon aßen, so taten wir's nur, weil uns das Verbotene lockte» (II, 4). So weit die Geschichte. Sie umfaßt nicht einmal zehn Zeilen! Augustin aber meditiert sieben Seiten lang über die Reize und Motive der Sünde als solcher, um gerade an diesem Fall die Perversion des Sünders in ein möglichst grelles Licht zu setzen, ging es doch bei diesem Diebstahl um ein Vergehen, an dem er überhaupt keinen Gewinn hatte. Die Geschichte vom Birnendiebstahl zeigt mehr als alle anderen Verfehlungen, von denen die Confessiones noch berichten, daß es Augustin bei der Darbietung seines autobiographischen Stoffes primär nicht um die Erzählung seiner Erlebnisse, sondern um die «Erweckung der religiösen Affekte und Gedanken»[23]) seiner selbst und der seiner Zeitgenossen ging.

Gewiß, die Vergehen werden Gott vorgetragen; an ihn wendet sich der Autor vom ersten bis zum letzten Kapitel. Aber die «begangenen Abscheulichkeiten» und «die fleischlichen Verirrungen» werden von Augustin als Erfahrungen, d.h. als gedeutete Erlebnisse vorgetragen, damit er und wohl auch der christliche Leser sich dessen eingedenk bleiben, daß das neue Leben nicht erst nach dem Tode beginnt. Es ist als Teilhabe an der Gnade Gottes jetzt schon vorhanden, wenn auch durch die Sünde ständig gefährdet. Sünde, dies lehrt die Erfahrung mit ihr, bedeutet Zerstreuung im existentiellen Sinn; Gnade, auch dies lehrt die Erfahrung mit ihr, bedeutet hingegen Sammlung. Daher die Vergegenwärtigung der Erfahrung mit den Sünden der Jugend: «...ich lasse noch einmal an mir vorübergehen in der Bitternis der Rückerinnerung meine erzbösen Wege, ...auf daß ich mich sammle aus der Zerstreuung, in der ich mich Stück für Stück zersplittert habe, da ich, abgekehrt von dir dem Einen, in ein Vielerlei mich verlor» (II, 1).

[23]) G. Misch, Geschichte der Autobiographie, 649.

Das Wissen um die Macht der Sünde kann und soll eine Motivation für das rechte Verhalten der Gnade gegenüber werden. Darüber wird der Leser der Confessiones nicht im Zweifel gelassen. Deshalb auch die wiederholte Frage: «Wem erzähle ich dies?» Wozu dieses Engagement bei einer Rechenschaft über vergangene Verfehlungen? «Gewiß nicht dir, mein Gott (erzähle ich dies)», antwortet Augustinus. «Vielmehr erzähle ich es vor deinem Angesicht meinem Geschlecht, dem Menschengeschlecht, wie klein auch immer die Zahl derer sein wird, in deren Hände dieses mein Buch kommen mag. Und warum erzähle ich es? Auf daß ich und jeder, der es liest, bedenke, aus welchen Tiefen man zu dir rufen muß. Und was ist deinem Ohr näher als ein bekennend Herz und ein Leben aus dem Glauben?» (II, 3; vgl. auch X, 3 und XI, 1).

Freilich ist mit diesem aufschlußreichen Text das eigentliche Motiv zur Rechenschaft über die Verwendung autobiographischen Materials in den Confessiones noch nicht hinreichend begründet. Dieses erschöpft sich nicht allein in der pastoralen Zielsetzung, wenngleich eine solche, wie gesagt, nicht unwichtig ist. Schon in den einleitenden Kapiteln seiner Bekenntnisse formulierte Augustin den für die Confessiones programmatischen Satz: «Vae tacentibus de te, quoniam loquaces muti — Weh denen, die über dich schweigen, wo selbst die Redseligen noch stumm sind!» (I, 4). Gilt nun die Verpflichtung, die Erfahrungen der Sünde gleichsam als die Kehrseite der Erfahrungen der Gnade sprachlich zu artikulieren und kerygmatisch einzubringen, so ist dies in Blick auf die Erfahrungen der Gnade selbst erst recht der Fall. Man wird daher mit der Interpretation nicht fehlgreifen, wenn man dem Bericht der Confessiones über die Lektüre der Ciceronianischen Schrift «Hortensius» gerade in bezug auf das Eingreifen Gottes in die geistige Entwicklung Augustins eine besondere Bedeutung zumißt[24]). Augustin schildert seine Erfahrungen über die Begegnung mit dieser Schrift so: «Das Buch «Hortensius» enthält Ciceros Aufforderung, sich mit der Philosophie zu befassen. Jenes Buch nun führte eine geistige Wende in mir herbei und lenkte auf dich, Herr, meine Gebete und gab meinem Wünschen und Sehnen eine ganz neue Richtung. Zunichte wurde mir mit einemmal alle eitle

[24]) Siehe darüber die profunde Monographie von E. FELDMANN: Der Einfluß des Hortensius und des Manichäismus auf das Denken des jungen Augustinus von 373, Dissertation, Münster 1975.

Hoffnung, und mit unglaublicher Heftigkeit erglühte mein Herz nach unvergänglicher Weisheit, und ich begann mich zu erheben, um zu dir zurückzukehren... Wie entbrannte ich, mein Gott, wie entbrannte ich, mich vom Irdischen aufzuschwingen zu dir, und ich wußte nicht, was du mit mir tatest» (III. 4).

Mit «Hortensius», so verdeutlicht Augustinus jene Begegnung als Erfahrung, beginnt eine geistige Wende. Von einer ganz neuen Richtung spricht der Text. Und trotzdem: liest man die Confessiones weiter, so ist man über die Ereignisse, die berichtet werden, enttäuscht. Denn von einer Bekehrung, wie Augustin dies versteht, ist noch lange keine Rede. Im Gegenteil, der junge Adept der Philosophie wird zunächst für neun Jahre Manichäer, Anhänger einer gnostisch-dualistischen Religionsgemeinschaft. Aber während dieser ganzen Zeit, dies legen die Bekenntnisse nahe, befindet Augustin sich auf der Suche. Der autobiographische Stoff aus diesen Jahren wird gedrängt wiedergegeben. Knapp berichtet er von seiner ersten außerehelichen Verbindung (IV, 2) außerordentlich breit dagegen vom Übermaß des Schmerzes anläßlich des Todes seines Freundes (IV, 4-13). Von seinem literarischen Erstlingswerk «Über das Schöne und Schickliche» weiß er nicht einmal mehr, ob es zwei oder drei Bücher umfaßte (IV, 14).

Ungleich dramatischer dagegen ist die Darstellung der vier Lebensjahre vor der Bekehrung. Die innere Ablösung vom Manichäismus war schon längst im Gange, als Augustin von Karthago nach Rom und nach kurzem Aufenthalt dort nach Mailand übersiedelte. Wir können auf die Fülle der Begegnungen mit Personen (Ambrosius und dessen Priester Simplicianus), mit neuen Lehren und Lebensformen (Neuplatonismus, christliches Mönchstum) und schließlich mit dem Neuen Testament selbst hier nicht eingehen. Es leuchtet vom bisher Gesagten schon ein, daß Augustinus gerade diese Ereignisse, die zu seiner Bekehrung führten, von seinem kerygmatischen Programm her auch literarisch zu einem Höhepunkt der Confessiones zu gestalten verstand[25]). Die Begebenheiten werden äußerst wirksam miteinander verwoben: die Lösung einiger Glaubensschwierigkeiten wie die der Frage nach dem Ursprung des Bösen (VII, 5 n. 7) sowie die der rein geistigen Natur Gottes (VII, 1 ff.). Hilfe der Philosophie der

[25]) Dazu: A. von Harnack, Die Höhepunkte in Augustins Konfessionen, Gießen 1916.

Neuplatoniker und der Predigten des Ambrosius, der Bericht des Simplicianus über die Bekehrung des Philosophen Marius Victorinus (VII, 2) schließlich die Erzählung des Landsmannes Ponticianus vom Leben der Wüstenväter und der wunderbaren Bekehrung zweier kaiserlicher Offiziere in der Nähe von Trier (VIII, 6) ein Crescendo der Bekehrungen bereitet die entscheidende Gnadenerfahrung vor. Denn der Antagonismus zwischen dem eigenen Wollen und der Macht der Gnade tritt jetzt immer deutlicher in den Vordergrund der Reflexionen. Nicht der Intellekt, sondern der Wille ist der eigentliche Widerpart der Gnade.

Wie gestaltet Augustin dieses Erlebnis unmittelbar vor seiner Bekehrung zur Erfahrung der Gnade?[26]) Die Confessiones sprechen von einem großen Aufruhr im Innern seines Hauses, der sich auch nach außen einen Weg suchte. Verstörten Angesichts und Geistes ruft Augustin seinem Freund Alypius zu: «Was lassen wir da über uns ergehen? Was ist das? Hast du es gehört? Die Ungelehrten stehen auf und reißen den Himmel an sich, und wir mit unserer Bildung ohne Herz, sieh doch, wir wälzen uns in Fleisch und Blut» (VIII, 8). In diesem Zustand geht er in den Garten, wo sich der Sturm in seinem Inneren entladen sollte. Der Rhetor Augustin nimmt nun die Allegorie, die uneigentliche Redeweise, zu Hilfe, um den letzten Kampf in seinem Inneren in der Sprache der Bilder zu schildern: Personifiziert in der Gestalt von Freundinnen stellen sich ihm seine eigenen Schwächen in den Weg — er nennt sie Possen und Flausen und Eitelkeit der Eitelkeiten —, und sie suchen ihn zurückzuhalten; sie zupfen ihn, damit er sich noch einmal umsehe, sie hemmen ihn, den entscheidenden Sprung zu vollziehen. Aber er hält seinen Blick bereits auf jene Seite hin gerichtet, von wo aus ebenfalls in personifizierter Gestalt die Enthaltsamkeit ihm zuruft, den Sprung zu wagen. Immer noch zögerte er. Jetzt erhob sich «ein ungeheurer Sturm, der gewaltige Tränengüsse mit sich führte» (VIII, 12). Augustin entfernte sich von Alypius und warf sich unter einem Feigenbaum nieder; dort ließ er seinen Tränen freien Lauf und klagte sich heftig an: «Wie lange noch, wie lange morgen und morgen? Warum nicht jetzt? Warum soll nicht diese Stunde das Ende meiner Schmach sein?» Solches sprach er, und dann heißt es: «Und siehe, da

[26]) Diese Darstellung der der Bekehrung unmittelbar vorausgehenden Ereignisse, von denen Augustin in seinen Confessiones berichtet, entnahm ich meiner Studie: Die Zeichen in der geistigen Entwicklung und in der Theologie des jungen Augustinus, Würzburg, 1969, 160-166.

höre ich eine Stimme aus dem Nachbarhaus, ob es ein Knabe oder ein Mädchen ist, weiß ich nicht, die in singendem Tonfall oftmals wiederholt: «Nimm und lies, nimm und lies!» Sofort veränderte sich mein Antlitz und ich begann gespannt nachzudenken, ob Kinder in irgendeinem Spiel derartiges zu leiern pflegen, aber ich erinnerte mich nicht, je irgendwo solches gehört zu haben. So hielt ich den Strom meiner Tränen zurück und erhob mich; denn ich konnte es nicht anders deuten, als daß mir von Gott befohlen werde, ein Buch zu öffnen und dort das erste Kapitel zu lesen, das ich finden würde». Sogleich zieht er eine Parallele zu dem Wüstenvater Antonius, von dem er soeben gehört hatte, daß dieser auch nur wie durch einen Zufall zu einer Evangelienauslegung kam, die er auf sich bezog, und worauf er sich bekehrte. Und so macht auch nunmehr er, Augustinus, sich eilends auf zu Alypius, wo er die Briefe des Apostels liegen gelassen, greift danach und liest Röm 13, 13f: «Laßt uns so leben, wie es dem Licht des Tages entspricht, ohne Fressen und Saufen, ohne Unzucht und Ausschweifung, ohne Streit und Eifersucht. Legt das neue Gewand an, Jesus Christus, den Herrn, und lebt nicht so, daß die Begierden des Lebens erwachen». Licht und Sicherheit erfüllen sein Herz und alle Finsternis ist wie zerstoben (VII, 12).

Erinnern wir uns an die eingangs erwähnte Kritik von Harnack und Boissier zur Geschichtlichkeit des autobiographischen Materials in den Confessiones. Wir sagten in bezug auf diese Kritik: Wenn Augustin in seinen Frühschriften den gleichen autobiographischen Stoff zu gestalten gehabt hätte, so wäre diese Gestaltung höchst wahrscheinlich anders ausgefallen. Dies kann ohne weiteres zugegeben werden. Nach der Augustinus-Forschung gibt es dafür einen plausiblen Grund. Denn kurz nachdem Augustin Bischof geworden war, legte ihm der Priester Simplicianus von Mailand, von dem schon die Rede war, einige Fragen über die Gnadenlehre des Apostels, über die paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre vor. Augustinus muß sich daraufhin nochmals intensivst mit den Briefen des Apostels Paulus beschäftigt haben, denn in der Antwort an Simplicianus [27]) legte er bereits jene Gnadenlehre vor, die auch den eigentlichen Kern seiner Confessiones bildet. Almut Mutzenbecher, die den kritischen Text dieser wichtigen Gnadenschrift an Simplicianus redigierte, schreibt dazu in der

[27]) De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum, CCSL XLIV, 1970.

Einleitung. «Erst bei Beantwortung von Simplicians Fragen gelangte er (Augustinus) auf Grund seiner eingehenden Interpretation von Römer 9 zu der Einsicht, daß der Mensch alles, auch den Glauben, allein der Gnade Gottes zu verdanken habe. Damals hat er das Pauluswort 'Quid habes quod non accepisti' (1 Kor 4, 7) in seiner ganzen Tragweite erfaßt. Man kann also sagen, daß Augustin erst als Bischof die letzten Konsequenzen seiner Bekehrung vollzogen hat, dadurch daß er die vollständige Abhängigkeit des Menschen von Gott anerkannte. Diese aus dem Römerbrief gewonnene Einsicht eröffnete ihm den Sinn seines Lebens. Und so hat auch Paulus, insbesondere der Römerbrief, den Bericht seines Lebens in den Confessiones wesentlich geprägt»[28]).

Wie ist nun die Frage nach der Diskrepanz der Erfahrungen aus der Darstellung der Frühschriften und der der Confessiones zu beantworten? Gerade die neueren theoretischen Erörterungen über die Geschichte und die Geschichtswissenschaften vermitteln uns hierzu recht interessante Einsichten[29]). Danach ist die Geschichte nicht prinzipiell abgeschlossen, sondern hermeneutisch offen. Ein Ereignis ist zwar geschehen, es ist aber in seiner Verstehbarkeit nicht «fertig». Dies gilt auch von den Ereignissen der Autobiographie. Der Interpret der Ereignisse holt diese nicht einfach zurück, sondern er stellt sie auch in seine Gegenwart, die sich bekanntlich verändert, in der sich aber der Interpret mit seinem jeweiligen Verstehenshorizont befindet. «Darin beruht auch» nach Alois Halder, «daß (bisherige) Geschichte in der Tat je neu geschrieben werden kann und zu Zeiten werden muß, nicht nur, weil das Wissen sich 'vermehrt' hat, weil man jeweils an einem 'höheren' Punkt angelangt wäre, von dem das Zurück- und Tieferliegende besser überschaut werden kann; sondern vor allem weil in der jetzt ereigneten Gegenwart auch die Vergangenheit selbst nach Maßnahme des Ereignisses sich geändert, gewandelt, erneuert hat[30]).

[28]) Ebd. XIX.

[29]) Vgl. M. MÜLLER, Erfahrung und Geschichte, Freiburg in Breisgau/München 1971; K.-G. FABER, Theorie der Geschichtswissenschaft, München 1972, 2. Auflage; H. LÜBBE, Was heißt: «Das kann man nur historisch erklären»? in: Geschichte-Ereignis und Erzählung. Poetik und Hermeneutik (Hrsg. von R. KOSELLECK und W.-D. STEMPEL) München 1963, 542-554; H. BAUMGARTNER, Kontinuität und Geschichte. Zur Kritik und Metakritik der historischen Vernunft, Frankfurt/M. 1973.

[30]) Wirklichkeit als Geschichte. Philosophische Vorfragen zu Bedeutung und Vermittlung des Christusereignisses, in: Grundfragen der Christologie heute (Referate aus Tagung der deutschen «Arbeitsgemeinschaft Katholischer Dogmatiker und Fundamentaltheologen» vom 1.1.1975 bis zum 4.1.1975 in Luzern. Hrsg. von L. SCHEFFCZYK), Freiburg/Basel/Wien 1975, 15-35, 33.

Schon Jacob Burckhardt sagte: «Die Quellen aber, zumal solche, die von großen Männern herrühren, sind unerschöpflich, so daß jeder tausendmal ausgedeutete Bücher wieder lesen muß, weil sie jedem Leser und jedem Jahrhundert ein besonderes Antlitz weisen[31])».

Kommen wir zu Augustinus zurück, der wie gezeigt, die Briefe des Apostels Paulus neu gelesen und neu verstanden hat. Von diesem neuen Verständnis her sah er auch seine eigene Vergangenheit in einem neuen Licht. Es drängte ihn die Erfahrung, die er mit dem vertieften Paulusstudium hat, aller Welt mitzuteilen. So machte er sich daran, seine Bekenntnisse zu schreiben. Im X. Buch, in dem er von seinem geistigen Zustand zur Zeit der Abfassung der Confessiones berichtet, befindet sich ein Kapitel, in dem er seine Erfahrungen mit der Gnade so zusammenfaßt: «Spät hab' ich dich geliebt, o Schönheit, so alt und doch so neu, spät hab' ich dich geliebt! Und siehe, du warst drinnen, und ich war draußen, und dort draußen sucht' ich dich, und mißgestaltet warf ich der Wohlgestalt mich in die Arme, die du geschaffen. Du warst mit mir, und ich war nicht bei dir. Und weit hielt mich von dir entfernt, was gar kein Dasein hätte, wenn es in dir nicht wäre. Du hast gerufen und geschrien und meine Taubheit mir zerrissen; du hast geblitzt und hast gestrahlt und meine Blindheit in die Flucht geschlagen; du hast geduftet, und ich habe den Hauch eingeatmet und lechze nun nach dir; ich habe dich gekostet und ich hungere und dürste, du hast mich angerührt, und da bin ich entbrannt nach deinem Frieden» (X, 27).

Fragen wir uns abschließend: Wer solche Erfahrungen gemacht hat — dazu noch als Schriftsteller vom Range eines Augustinus! — darf, soll und kann der dazu schweigen? Muß dieser sich nicht verpflichtet fühlen, von diesen seinen Erfahrungen Rechenschaft abzulegen?

Cornelius Petrus Mayer, O.S.A.

[31]) Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen, (Hrsg. von R. Stadelmann, o.J; 44, zitiert bei A. Halder, Art. cit. 33. Anm. 42.

The Writings of Giles of Viterbo*

There is no reliable comprehensive list of the writings of Giles of Viterbo. The last attempt at such a survey was David Perini's *Bibliographia Augustiniana: scriptores itali*, vol. 1, Florence 1929, pp.

*) *List of abbreviations*:

A.G.A. = Augustinian General Archives, Rome

Anal. Aug. = *Analecta Augustiniana*, Rome 1905-

Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux' = Charles Astruc and Jaques Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux du Cardinal Gilles de Viterbe', in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 23 (1961) 551-4

Aug. = *Augustiniana*, Louvain 1951-

BA = Biblioteca Angelica, Rome

Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss latins = *Bibliothèque Nationale: catalogue générale des manuscrits latins*, ed. P. Lauer and others, Paris, 6 vols, 1939-

BL = British Library (formerly British Museum), London

BN, Naples = Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples

BN, Paris = Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

BN, Rome = Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome

Cat. cod. lat. Bibl. Reg. Monac. = *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, 2nd ed., I, pt 1, Munich 1892

Cat. cod. mss Bibl. Regiae = *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, 4 vols, Paris 1739-44

D.T.C. = *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, Paris, 15 vols, 1903-50

Elssius, *Encom. Aug.* = Phillipus Elssius, *Encomiasticon Augustinianum*, Brussels 1654

Gandolfo, *Dissertatio* = Domenicus A. Gandolfus, *Dissertatio historica de ducentis celeberrimis Augustinianis scriptoribus*, Rome 1704

Kristeller, *Iter* = P.O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, 2 vols, Leiden 1963, 1967

Martène and Durand, *Veterum scriptorum* = E. Martène and U. Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio*, 3 (Paris 1724)

Montfaucon, *Bibl. bibl. mss nova* = Bernardus Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*, 2 vols, Paris 1739

Narducci, *Cat. cod. mss Bibl. Angel.* = Henricus Narducci, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum praeter graecae et orientales in Bibliotheca Angelica de Urbe*, 1, Rome 1893

O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo* = J.W. O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on church and reform*, Leiden 1968

ÖNB = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.* = Johannes Felix Ossinger, *Bibliotheca Augustiniana*, Ingolstadt-Augsburg 1768

Pastor, *Hist. popes* = L. Pastor, *The history of the popes*, 5th ed., vols I-VII, ed. and trans F.I. Antrobus and F.R. Kerr, London and St Louis, Mo., 1938-1950.

Pélissier, 'Manuscrits' = Léon-Gabriel Pélissier, 'Manuscrits de Gilles de Viterbe à la Bibliothèque Angélique', in *Revue des bibliothèques*, 2 (1892), 228-40

Perini, *Bibl. Aug.* = David Perini, *Bibliographia Augustiniana, cum notis biographicis:*

182-5. It was a brave effort, as so much of Perini's work, but his list is incomplete and repeats a substantial number of errors from previous publications.

Giles of Viterbo himself is largely responsible for our unsatisfactory knowledge of what he wrote. His talents, as much as his defects, explain why he has defeated the efforts of a succession of bibliographers and biographers to produce an even near-satisfactory list of his writings. Disregarding the example of his beloved patron, St. Augustine with his *Retractationes*, Giles never drew up a list of what he had written. Though he was neat in appearance and in his script, he was not systematic. In a revealing phrase he once referred to 'scripta tumultuaria mea'[1]), yet that description could give the mistaken impression of a confused mind or sloppy methods. In reality he had a piercing mind, a sharp turn of phrase, and an unusual gift for expounding a problem; but intellectually speaking he did not give himself time to draw breath. He was a Renaissance man to his fingertips, many-sided, restless, eager to be abreast of the latest advance in scholarship, and equally anxious to know the most recent news of explorations in the Far East and the New World.

He belonged to the Age of Discovery, but he never gave himself time (as it were) to colonize and develop what he had just discovered: he pushed on towards new horizons. At one time he was looking for the rare works of classical authors such as Pindar, Lucian, Plutarch and Galen[2]), then he was seeking high and low for works in Hebrew literature, writing to Germany about them in 1513[3]), and six months later arranging that a friar travelling to Damascus would procure him

scriptores Itali, 4 vols, Florence 1929-37

Rev. biblioth. = *Revue des bibliothèques*, Paris 1891-

Signorelli, *Egidio* = Giuseppe Signorelli, *Il Cardinale Egidio da Viterbo, agostiniano, umanista e riformatore, 1469-1532*, Florence 1929

Vat. Lat. = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codices latini

Zumkeller, *Manuskripte* = Adolar Zumkeller, *Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner Eremiten-ordens in mitteleuropäischen Bibliotheken*, Würzburg 1966

[1]) Giles, 'Ad fratres suos Ilicetanos', mentions, 'Extant scripta tumultuaria mea, quae, ubi me nemus habet, mirum in volumen excrevere, ubi philosophorum tela scuto veritatis excepta, retrudenda, rejiciendaque in impios hostes, Spiritu Sancto inspirante, curavi', in Martène and Durand, *Veterum scriptorum*, III. 1236; see O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo*, p. 13.

[2]) See, e.g., the letters of Giles cited by D. Gutiérrez, 'De antiquis Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini bibliothecis', in *Anal. Aug.*, 23 (1954) 163-374, at p. 172.

[3]) Giles to Kaspar Amman, Rome 15 Dec. 1513, in H.P.C. Henke and P.J. Bruns, *Annales literarii*, 1 (Helmstadt 1782) 195-6.

a complete copy of the Zohar[4]). The news of a Portuguese naval victory at Ceylon was an occasion for him to preach before Pope Julius II in St Peter's[5]); the insight into holy scripture from the Cabbala and the Talmud spurred his pen to expound the hidden truths of God's message for mankind as gradually revealed first to the Chosen People and then to the christians[6]).

Apart from the restless nature of his intellectual outlook he was a very busy man in practical affairs. He was one of the most popular preachers in Italy, in an Age of Preachers, so much sought after that Julius II reserved to himself the right to decide the times and places where Giles would preach[7]). Yet, the time devoted to preaching was slight compared to the demands on his energies as prior general of the Augustinian order[8]). For twelve years, during a period of crises, he had the hardly enviable task of directing the activities of an international body which included men such as Martin Luther in Germany, Girolamo Seripando in Italy (later cardinal legate at the Council of Trent), Louis Chantereau (confessor to Queen Claude, wife of Francis I) in France, Dionisio Vásquez (court preacher to Charles V) in Spain, George Browne in England (later first Anglican archbishop of Dublin in Ireland). These men were merely the more prominent members of the reform movement within the Augustinian order, a movement which was widespread but which still owed much to the example and leadership of Giles himself. Even during those frantically busy years as general of the order he continued to study, to make notes, to draft out the latest work on which he was engaged. For example, at the end of his time as prior general he was sent by Pope Leo X to visit Spain as cardinal legate in 1518-19, and he used the opportunity to have a copy made of the Koran, as well as of the lexical

[4]) Giles to Gabriele Della Volta, Rome 8 May 1514, quoted by Gutiérrez, cit. p. 172.

[5]) See J.W. O'Malley, 'Fulfillment of the christian Golden Age under Pope Julius II: text of a discourse of Giles of Viterbo, 1507', in *Traditio* 25 (1969) 265-338, at pp. 265-6.

[6]) H.G. Enelow in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 1 (1901) 219, declared of Giles that 'there is scarcely a classic of Jewish medieval mysticism that he has not translated, annotated or commented upon'.

[7]) L. Torelli, *Secoli Agostiniani*, 7 (Bologna 1682) 557, 8 (Bologna 1684) 175; and note the brief of Julius II to Giles, Rome 4 Nov. 1505, cited in L. Pastor, *Hist. popes*, VI. 635.

[8]) F.X. Martin, 'The Augustinian order on the eve of the Reformation', in *Miscellanea historiae ecclesiasticae*, 2 (Louvain 1967) 71-104.

treatise by the Jewish scholar, David Kimhi 'the Spaniard', on which he himself was to write a commentary[9]).

It will be seen from the list of Giles's writings that he was very much the Renaissance *uomo universale*. His first publications were his editions of three philosophical works of Giles of Rome, and these he produced in 1493 when he was still a student, only twenty-four years old. He went on to manifest a considerable interest in Latin and Greek literature, as we know from the manuscript in his library, and from the Latin poems he wrote, most of which are unpublished. He also turned his pen to Italian poetry, composing the *Caccia d'amore* and a series of madrigals addressed to Vittoria Colonna. He wrote a novel, *Cyminia*, in Italian — again a manifestation of the literary fashion of the time. He undertook two major works, a theological commentary on Peter Lombard but in the spirit of Plato, and a spiritual commentary on the history of the church (or, more precisely, on the papacy) expressed as his 'Historia XX Saeculorum'.

But the greatest and dominant interest in his life became, and continued to be, biblical studies. It was for this reason that he became an expert Hebraist, learned Arabic and Turkish, and turned much of his attention to Jewish literature, particularly the Talmud and the Cabbala. In 1513 he felt obliged to defend himself against the charge of spending extravagantly on Hebrew works[10]), but his Hebrew teacher and scribe, Elijah Levita, enthusiastically, even if not wisely, disclosed in 1516 that Giles had spent an 'enormous amount' of money on these works and was prepared to spend more[11]). Yet, these were not

[9]) Milan, MS Ambrosiana 100 Inf, is a copy of the Koran, Arabic text and Latin translation, copied in 1621 by the Scot, David Colville, from two tomes compiled for Giles, when he was cardinal legate in Spain in 1518. I am much indebted to Dr Enrico Galbiati of the Ambrosian Library for information about the MS, and a transcript of ff 1 r-2v, he supplied in 1958.

For the lexical treatise by David Kimhi, copied for Giles, and his commentary, see BA, MS Lat. 3, and the copy in St Andrews University Library, Scotland, MS BS 1158 H4 D2 C2. I am indebted to Professor P.O. Kristeller, New York, for drawing my attention to this latter MS, and to Dr R.N. Smart, St Andrews University Library, for details about it. For the commentary, see below, List of the writings of Giles, No. 26.

[10]) 'De libri hebrei non ho mai speso doi nè tre migliaia de ducati; nè posso, nè faccio pensiero: benchè a Rechanati ho comprato molti volumi: tamen no ho dato nè centinaia, nè migliaia de ducati', Giles to Gabriele Della Volta, Rome 14 Dec. 1513, in BA, MS 688, ff. 48r-49r.

[11]) Levita, in a colophon to a copy of writings of Eleazar of Worms, which he transcribed for Giles and finished in 1516, stated of Giles, 'The Lord grant him the grace to study this book and to understand what is written in it, as well as in the other precious

extravagances. He needed them for his research, as preparation for his writings on biblical themes.

The tragedy of Giles, from a literary point of view, was that he finished so little and published so little. His contemporaries were aware of these facts, and Pope Clement VII, who greatly admired him, sent an admonitory papal brief on 22 July 1530, exhorting him to publish some of the fruits of his considerable theological and biblical learning[12]). The *Scechina* was one result of the effort which Giles then made. But it was too late for him to change his mentality and become used the discipline of committing his literary work to print. He was engaged in study and note-taking at the time of his death in November 1532.

The first to attempt a complete list of Giles's writings was an Italian Augustinian, Domenico Antonio Gandolfo (1653-1707). He included Giles's poetry in a work published in 1682 and, in two further works published in 1696 and 1704, he attempted an overall survey of Giles's life and included a list of his writings[13]). However, Gandolfo was too eager to give Giles credit for works which were of dubious authorship.

books which he bought or ordered to be copied, for he spent an enormous amount of money on it, and his hand is still stretched out to spend it until he is possessed of all the books which we have'; in BL, Add. MS 27199, f. 601r. A facsimile of this, page, with colophon, is reproduced in *The Palaeographical Society facsimiles of manuscripts and inscriptions: Oriental series*, ed. W. Wright, London 1875-83, plate LXXIX. I am indebted to Prosper S. Grech, o.s.a., and Dr J.L. Teicher, who jointly (while with me at the University of Cambridge in 1958) translated this difficult passage.

[12]) Printed from the original in A.G.A., by Thomas de Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, Madrid 1644, I. 42-4 (and reprinted by Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, pp. 191-3). Giles's reply to the pope appears as the dedicatory letter of *Scechina*, edited by F. Secret, 1 (Rome 1959) 65-67; see below, List of the writings of Giles, No. 11.

[13]) D.A. Gandolfo, *Fiori poetici dell'eremo agostiniano*, Genoa 1682, pp. 71-107; idem, *Le porpore agostiniane*, Genoa 1696, pp. 36-43; Idem, *Dissertatio*, pp. 16-20. A Arpe, *Pantheon Augustinianum*, Genoa 1709, p. 269, listed eight MS works of Giles (including a volume of correspondence) which he claimed to have seen, 'haec ego vidi', in the Biblioteca Angelica. Within three decades two of these works, 'De Ecclesiae Incremento' and 'Notas in Genes[im]', had disappeared; they do not appear in the list of Giles's works which Basile Rassegnier, o.s.a., librarian at the Angelica, included in his 'Index manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Angelicae', now BA, MS Lat. 1078. Rassegnier, librarian at the Angelica for thirty years, died on 14 March 1734. They were still missing when J.C. Amadutio, in publishing L. Grana, *Oratio in funere Aegidii Card. Viterbiensis*, Rome 1781, p. 5 n., listed Giles's works then in the Angelica. The missing 'De Ecclesiae Incremento' was published in 1969 by J. O'Malley, s.j., from another copy at Évora, Portugal; see below, List of the Writings of Giles, No. 4.

The systematic cataloguing of manuscript collections in eighteenth century Europe meant that Giles's unpublished works at Paris received some attention in two catalogues which dealt with the Royal Library at Paris. They were both published within the same period — one in four volumes during 1739-1744 and the other in 1739 in two volumes[14]). With the advantage of this information and of Gandolfo's publications, it was possible for a German Augustinian, J.F. Ossinger (1694-1767) to present in his *Bibliotheca Augustiniana* (Ingolstadt-Augsburg 1768) the most comprehensive account up to that time of Giles's writings[15]). He drew to a lesser extent on a number of other sources for information.

There was a long lapse before any further progress was made in listing Giles's writings. Again, it was the cataloguing of manuscripts in European collections which made real progress possible. Due to the erudite Jewish scholar, Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907), Giles's Hebrew manuscripts, or the copies of them, at Munich were first recorded in systematic fashion[16]). This also indicated how many of Giles's writings were, in fact, biblical, or connected with rabbinical and cabbalistic literature. Nevertheless, the fact remained that the main collections of Giles's manuscripts were in Rome and Naples. Until those were properly catalogued a satisfactory assessment of Giles could not be arrived at.

The interest of a French academic, Léon-Gabriel Pélissier, drew attention to the collection at the Angelica Library at Rome. In the process of research for his doctoral thesis, on Giles's 'Historia XX Saeculorum', Pélissier examined the Giles manuscripts at the Angelica and also, to a lesser extent, those at Naples[17]). He published a valuable

[14]) *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliotheca Regiae*, Paris 1739-44, with Giles's MSS noted as nos 527 (1-2), 596, 597, 598, 3363, 3367, 6589; *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*, ed. B. de Montfaucon, Paris 1739, with the Ridolfi catalogue of Giles's MSS printed in vol. II, pp. 778-9.

[15]) Op. cit., pp. 190-6. Mention should be made of the impressive list of writings attributed to Giles by J.A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis*, Hamburg 1734, I. 62-3, slightly expanded (mainly with items from Montfaucon's catalogue, see above note 14) in the edition by J.D. Mansi, Padua 1754, I. 24, and repeated in a further edition at Florence in 1858, vol. I. 22. Ossinger superseded Fabricius; nor did the later editions of Fabricius diminish Ossinger's superiority.

[16]) *Die hebräischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München* ed. M. Steinschneider, 1, pt. 1 (2nd ed., Munich 1895). Giles's MSS are listed on pp. 48-9, 50-53, 56-9, 60-61, 63-4, 96-7, 98-99, 141-7, 243-6.

[17]) L.-G. Pélissier, *De opere historico Aegidii Cardinalis Viterbiensis*, Montpellier 1896.

article in 1892, commenting on the Latin manuscripts of Giles in the Angelica[18]). By coincidence, an Italian librarian, Enrico Narducci, was at the same time compiling an impressive catalogue of the Latin manuscripts in the Anglica, and this supplemented Pélissier's conclusions[19]).

An attempt to reap the advantange of all this information was made by an Italian Augustinian, Aurelio Palmieri, when he published a survey of Giles's life in 1915 and included what was meant to be a complete list of his writings[20]). It is a useful piece of work, but it also incorporated mistakes which Palmieri inherited from Gandolfo, Ossinger and from the useful but imperfect catalogues of manuscripts in the Royal Library at Paris in the mid-eighteenth century.

An equally ambitious attempt to present Giles's life in brief, with a list of his writings, was made by David Perini in the first volume of his bibliography of Italian Augustinian writers, published at Florence in 1929. His list of Giles's writings is extremely useful, but not fully reliable. Nor was it as complete as it might have been. The first full biography of Giles was published by a Viterbese librarian, Giuseppi Signorelli, in 1929[21]). While he touched on many of Giles's writings, he did not include a full list of them in his book.

During the past twenty years, there has been a remarkable development of specialist studies on Giles and this has brought greater clarification about his writings, though some question marks and puzzles still remain.

A main disadvantage with so much of his compositions is that he left most of them unfinished. He was continually discovering new avenues of knowledge in biblical languages, in the Talmud, in the Cabbala, as well as in neo-Platonism. He suffered from being a perfectionist, and was never satisfied to leave well enough alone. All his life he remained, in one sense, a student — continually taking notes, adding marginalia and clarifications to what he had already written down. Other factors did not help towards completed work. The

[18]) L.-G. Pélissier, 'Manuscrits de Gilles de Viterbe à la Bibliothèque Angélique', in *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 2 (1892) 228-40).

[19]) H. Narducci, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Angelica, olim coenobii Sancti Augustini de Urbe*, 1 (Rome 1893). Giles's MSS are described on pp. 1, 177, 202, 223, 281, 292, 316, 416-8, 487, 489-90, 526-7, 529.

[20]) A. Palmieri, 'Gilles de Viterbe', in *D.T.C.*, 6 (1915) 1365-71.

[21]) G. Signorelli, *Il Cardinale Egidio da Viterbo, agostiniano, umanista e riformatore, 1469-1532*, Florence 1929.

very nature of cabbalistic thought meant that he moved in a cloud of unknowing. He was also very conscious of the limitations of human knowledge, and his love for neo-Platonism accentuated this outlook. The presentation of his work for the modern reader is not helped by the fact that he wrote in a polished Renaissance style which does not always make for clarity, however elegant it may be. How unfinished many of his works remained is indicated by the fact that, in several cases, he did not even decide on a title for them. These were added later by disciples or editors.

An invaluable source guide is P. O. Kristeller's two-volume work on Renaissence manuscripts in Italy[22]). Nearly all of Giles's writings in Italian librairies and archives are mentioned there. A great service to our knowledge of Giles's writings at Paris was performed by two French librarians, C. Astruc and J. Monfrin, when they edited a seventeenth-century catalogue of Giles's library at Paris and identified several of those works which are still in the Bibliothèque Nationale[23]).

The fact remains that, despite all Giles wrote and dictated, no major work of his had been published up to the present century, apart from his editions, in 1493, of three philosophical works of Giles of Rome. Two of Giles's famous orations were published in pamphlet form during his lifetime, one the much-quoted *Oratio* at the opening of the Fifth Lateran Council in 1512; the other the *Oratio* on the occasion of the peace treaty between the Emperor Maximilian and Pope Julius II[24]). Yet, even these two were in unsatisfactory form. The Lateran speech appeared in several versions and copies of the speech on the occasion of the treaty between Maximilian and Julius II had become so rare that Pastor, in his *History of the popes*, noted that the only copy he located had disappeared since he had seen it in 1892[25]).

Unlike an Augustinian contemporary of his, Martin Luther, Giles did not place any great store on the new innovation — printing — or at least he was in no hurry to commit himself to print. The only

[22]) *Iter Italicum*, ed. P. O. Kristeller, 2 vols, Leiden 1963, 1967.

[23]) Charles Astruc and Jacques Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux du Cardinal Gilles de Viterbe', in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 23 (1961) 551-4.

[24]) Both have been edited by Clare O'Reilly, with commentaries; the *oratio* on the alliance between Maximilium and Julius as 'Maximus Caesar et Pontifex Maximus', in *Aug.*, 22 (1972) 80-117; the Fifth Lateran Council *oratio* as 'Without Councils we cannot be saved', ibid., 27 (1977) 166-204.

[25]) Op. cit., VI. 426. Pastor had seen one copy in the Mazoni Library, Rome, in 1892, but it subsequently disappeared.

composition of his which was widely diffused in print was a lengthy Italian poem, *Caccia d'amore*, first published anonymously, and which had a growing success, even before his death in 1532[26]). A grave complication was added to this one item when *Là've l'aurora*, another Italian poem dealing with the same subject of love, appeared shortly after his death and was confused with *Caccia d'amore*, apart from also being wrongly attributed to him[27]).

A landmark in the literature about Giles is Professor John O'Malley's book on Giles as a church reformer[28]). Professor O'Malley discusses some of Giles's writings in detail and touches on most of them, though it was not his purpose to present a comprehensive list of what Giles had written.

All students of Giles are heavily indebted to Professor François Secret of Paris for the series of articles he has published over the past twenty years on Giles[29]) and in particular for his edition of two cabbalist works by Giles, the *Libellus de litteris hebraicis* and the *Scechina*[30]).In fact, the *Scechina* is the only major work by Giles which, to date, has appeared in print. The whole area of cabbalist literature is so baffling except for the specialist that it is an exceptional stroke of good fortune to find Professor Secret showing this continued and fruitful interest in Giles as a Renaissance cabbalist.

Two of Giles's other major works, the much-referred-to 'Historia XX Saeculorum' and the 'Sententiarum Liber I usque ad Distinctionem XVII ad mentem Platonis' were announced over twenty years ago as due to appear in critical editions by the versatile Professor Eugenio Massa, but they have not yet been published[31]). Professor

[26]) First published at Venice in 1523. For this and subsequent editions, see below, List of the writings of Giles, No. 13.

[27]) First published by two different editors, Arrivabene and Dolce, coincidentally in the same year, 1553, and the same city, Venice. For further information, see below, List of the writings of Giles, No. 13.

[28]) J.W. O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on church and reform: a study in Renaissance thought*, Leiden 1968.

[29]) See the list in *Aug.*, 26 (1976) 207-8 (nos 1817-1825).

[30]) *Scechina* e *Libellus de litteris hebraicis*, ed. F. Secret, 2 vols, Rome 1959.

[31]) E. Massa printed a section of 'Sententiarum Liber I' in *Archivio di Filosofia*, 20 (1951) 87-138, then edited it critically in *I fondamenti metafisici della "dignitas hominis" e testi inediti di Egidio da Viterbo*, Turin 1954, pp. 54-112. Massa in *Archivio di Filosofia*, 20 (1951) 37, stated that he was preparing all of the "Sententiarum Liber I" for publication. I recorded in *Aug.*, 10 (1960) 58 n. 83, that he informed me he had also completed an edition of "Historia XX Saeculorum" for publication at Zurich.

Massa has staked a claim to edit both these important works; after twenty years he should now either abondon the claim (which deters other scholars from editing the works) or publish them. Anybody who knows his published work would welcome his edition of the two works.

An increasing number of scholars in very diverse fields have been turning their attention to Giles; of necessity they draw upon his own compositions as well as upon notes and marginalia in books and manuscripts from his library — Professor John O'Malley on reform and a golden age in the Church[32]); Professor Heinrich Pfeiffer on Giles's influence over Raphael, as seen in the Stanza della Segnatura[33]); Professor John Whittaker on Giles's Greek manuscripts in Rome[34]; Alejandro Diez-Macho, M. Fitzmaurice Martin, R. Le Déaut, Gérard E. Weil, Shirley Lund, É. Levine, and Michael Klein on his copy of the Palestinian Targum, now Codex Neofiti 1 in the Vatican Library[35]); G.E. Weil and Raimundo Griño on Giles's patronage and association with the Hebrew scholar, Elijah Levita[36]. Besides, Clare O'Reilly has published critical editions of the two

[32]) See above n. 28 and the further articles by Professor O'Malley, listed in *Aug.*, 26 (1976) 206-7 (nos 1809-1813).

[33]) H. Pfeiffer, *Zur Ikonographie von Raffaels* "Disputa". *Egidio da Viterbo und die christlich-platonische Konzeption der Stanza della Segnatura*, Rome 1975; and the two articles on the same subject, listed in his bibliography, p. 267.

[34]) This impressive book-length contribution is due to appear in the next issue of *Scriptorium*.

[35]) The Spanish biblical scholar, Aleandro Díez-Macho first announced the important discovery in *Estudios Biblicos*, 16 (1956) 446-7, then with an article in *Sefarad* 'Una copia completa del Targum Palestinense al Pentateuco en la Biblioteca Vaticana', in *Sefarad*, 17 (1957) 119-21, and crowned his study with a polyglot edition *Neophyti I*, 4 vols, Barcelona 1968-74, with one final volume yet to appear. His discovery has led to further articles which concern Giles, By M. Fitzmaurice Martin, 'The palaeographical character of Codex Neofiti 1', in *Textus*, 3 (1963) 1-35; G.E. Weil, 'Le Codex Neophiti I — à propos de l'article de M. Fitzmaurice Martin', ibid., 4 (1964) 225-9; R. Le Déaut, 'Jalons pour une histoire d'un manuscrit du Targum Palestinien (Néofiti 1)', in *Biblica* 48 (1967) 509-33; Shirley Lund, 'An argument for further study of the palaeography of Codex Neofiti 1', in *Vetus Testamentum*, 20 (1970) 56-64; É. Levine, 'A palaeographic note on the colophon of MS Neofiti 1', in *Vetus Testamentum* 21 (1971) 494-7; M. Klein, 'Elias Levita and MS Neofiti 1' in *Biblica*, 56 (1975) 242-6; R. Griñó, 'El *Meturgeman* y Neofiti 1', *ibid.*, 58 (1977) 153-88.

[36]) G.E. Weil, 'L'archétype du Massoret ha-Massoret d'Élie Lévita', in *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie*, 41 (1961) 147-58; Idem, *Élie Lévita, humaniste et massorète (1469-1549)*, Leiden 1963, especially pp. 71-110; R. Griñó, 'Importancia del *Meturgeman* de Elias Levita y del MS Angelica 6-6 para el estudio del mismo', in *Sefarad*, 31 (1971) 353-61; Idem, 'Un nuevo manuscrito del *Meturgeman* de Elias Levita', in *Homenaje a Juan Prado*, Madrid 1975, 571-83.

important *orationes* of Giles, already mentioned[37]), and Professor Edmund Miller has prepared an edition of the three Latin eclogues by Giles[38]). There have been a number of minor but significant studies based on the comments, views and interest of Giles in classics, history, oriental and biblical studies[39]). A. de Meijer and F.X. Martin are well advanced with an edition of the volume of Giles's register as prior general for the years 1514-18, and are preparing an edition of his registers for the years 1506-14[40]). The registers, while not strictly speaking part of Giles's corpus of writings in the literary sense, do nevertheless contain his views as well as literary references. As such they should be noted by those interested in his writings.

Mention must be made of the letters, which undoubtedly represented part of his literary life. For him, as for so many Renaissance men and women, letters were not just a mode of communication, they were a branch of literature. However, Renaissance letters form a literary *genre* of their own, and in Giles's case their number is so extensive that they require a study separate from his other writings. A limited number of the letters were published by two Maurists, Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, in 1724[41]), and an edition of an extensive collection of his letters in a manuscript at Siena is being prepared for publication by Clare O'Reilly[42]). Also to be borne in mind are the letters written to Giles and in particular the letters dedicating works of scholarship to him[43]).

[37]) See above, notes 24-5.

[38]) See below, List of the writings of Giles, No. 23.

[39]) Roberto Weiss, 'Traccia per una biografia di Annio da Viterbo', in *Italia medioevale ed umanistica*, 5 (1962) 425-441; Vincenzo Cilento, 'Glosse di Egidio da Viterbo alla traduzione Ficiniana; delle Enneadi in un incunabulo del 1492', in *Studi di bibliografia e storia in onore di Tommaso De Marinis*, Verona 1964, vol. I, pp. 281-96; Severin Grill, 'Eine unbekannte syrische Handschrift in Innsbruck: Cod. 401, Bibl. Univ.', in *Oriens Christianus*, 52 (1968) 151-5; Jean Gribomont, 'Gilles de Viterbe, le moine Elie, et l'influence de la littérature maronite sur la Rome érudite de 1515', *ibid.*, 54 (1970) 125-29.

[40]) To be published by the Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, Rome, in 'Fontes Historiae Ordinis Sancti Augustini — Prima Series: Registra Priorum Generalium'. The first volume, the register of Gregory of Rimini, 1357-8, edited by Alberic de Meijer, was published in 1976.

[41]) E. Martène and U. Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio*, 3 (Paris 1724) 1233-68.

[42]) The MS, G.X.26, Biblioteca Comunale, Siena, has exceptional importance as the only surviving collection of Giles's letters specifically concerning the Augustinian order and reform.

[43]) Among the dozen works and more dedicated to Giles, should be noted the edition of Origines, *Homiliae*, by Aldo Manuzio, Venice 1503; Paolo da Genazzano's

Compiling a list of the writings of Giles is not without its difficulties — there are still doubts and ambiguities about several writings attributed to Giles: whether or not he wrote them, whether or not they still exist[44]). Nevertheless, there are notable advantages for those studying Giles — the bulk of his writings are located in five accessible repositories, the Biblioteca Angelica at Rome, the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples, the Biblioteca Vaticana, the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and the Staatsbibliothek at Munich. Not all the manuscripts in these libraries have been fully catalogued, but most of the Giles manuscripts in them have been located[45]). We are at a point of a great thrust forward in our assessment of Giles. Hence the need for a reliable list of his writings[46]).

edition of Gregory of Rimini, *Commentaria Gregorii Ariminensis in Primum et Secundum Sententiarum*, Venice 1503; the first complete Greek edition of the Bible to be published in western Europe, by Andrea Torresano, Venice 1518; Elijah Levita's *Séphèr ha-Bahur*, Rome 1518; the second edition of Ambrogio Calepino's renowned *Dictionarium*, Trino 1521; Silvester Meucci da Castilione Arretino's *Expositio magni prophete Abbatis Joachim in Apocalipsim*, Venice 1527.

[44]) See below, List of the writings of Giles, Nos 37-48.

[45]) Giles's MSS in the Angelica have, for our purposes, been adequately catalogued — the Latin works by E. Narducci, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum, praeter graecas et orientales, in Biblioteca Angelica*, Rome 1893; the Greek works by G. Muccio and P. F. de' Cavalieri, *Index codicum graecorum bibliothecae Angelicae*, in *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, vol. 4, Florence-Rome 1896; the Hebrew works by Angelo di Capua, *Catalogo dei codici ebraici della Biblioteca Angelica*, in *Cataloghi dei codici orientali di alcune biblioteche d'Italia*, fasc. I, Florence 1978. The main section of Giles's manuscripts at Munich are Hebrew, and have been competently catalogued by M. Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München*, 2nd ed. Munich 1895. The Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples has no printed catalogue of any worth; the cataloguing of the manuscripts in the Vatican Library is proceeding with impeccable scholarship and a tortoise-like speed, but for both these institutions the manuscripts of the Renaissance period have been satisfactorily listed by the indefatigable P. O. Kristeller in his *Iter Italicum*, 2 vols, Leiden 1963, 1967. There is a considerable collection of Giles's manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and while the admirable *Catalogue générale des manuscrits latins: Bibliothèque Nationale* — competing for a measured pace with the cataloguing of the MSS in the Vatican Library — has dealt with a limited number of the Giles manuscripts, a great service has been rendered by Charles Astruc and Jacques Monfrin with the list of Latin and Hebrew works from Giles's library which they have been able to indentify, in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 23 (1961) 551-4.

[46]) Three centuries ago, an Italian savant, Antonio Magliabecchi (1633-1714) remarked that Giles's fame had diminished after his death because his writings lay unpublished; cited by A. Arpe, *Pantheon Augustinianum*, Genoa 1709, pp. 267, 269.

Writings of Giles of Viterbo

Published

1 Editor of *Egidii Romani de materia celi questio.*
2 Editor of *Egidii Romani de intellectu possibili: contra Averoim questio aurea.*
3 Co-editor of *Egidii Romani Comentaria in VIII libros physicorum Aristotelis.*
4 *Oratio de aurea aetate.*
5 *Oratio prima Synodi Lateranensis.*
6 *Oratio post Tertiam Sacri Lateranensis Concilii.*
7 *Dialogus in honorem Sanctissimi Cesaris Charoli Regis.*
8 *De Ilicetana familia.*
9 *Aegidius Antònio Zocholo et Romanis.*
10 *Libellus de litteris sanctis.*
11 *Scechina.*
12 Occasional Latin poems:
   a) *Aeterne studium laudis et inseri.*
   b) *Ecce opus antistes quod iam celeberrimus egit.*
   c) *Domino Petro memoriae Magistro.*
   d) *Quid vitam studio insanam exercemus inani?*
13 *Caccia de amore bellissima.*
14 Six madrigals to Vittoria Colonna.

Unpublished

15 Tabula propositionum in via Aristotelis ac Temestii.
16 Monumenta et index de Aristotelis erroribus.
17 Sententiarum liber primus usque ad XVII distinctionem ad mentem Platonis.
18 Historia XX Saeculorum.
19 Historiae Heremitarum synopsis.
20 Panegyricus Ilicetanus.
21 De mirabilibus Bononiae (poem).
22 Epigrammata tria.
23 Eclogues.
   a) Paramellus et Aegon.
   b) De ortu Domini.
   c) In Resurrectione Domini.

24 Latin translation of Petrarch's poem, *Canzone alla Vergine*.
25 Cyminia (an Italian novel).
26 Dictionarium sive liber radicum (Hebrew).
27 Tagin (Hebrew lexical work).
28 Traductio et expositio librorum Cabalae et Talmudis (I).
29 Traductio et expositio librorum Cabalae et Talmudis (II).
30 Glossarium Chaldicae linguae et Cabalae vocabula.
31 Vocabula diversorum librorum hebraicorum exposita.
32 Interpretatio et annotationes in librum decem Sephirot et in libros Cabalae.
33 Ben Hacane liber qui Pelia dicitur.
34 Nonnulla opera cabalistica.
35 Liber de revolutione 27 litterarum hebraicarum secundum viam theologicam, in lingua hebrea.
36 De moribus Turcarum.

Unpublished Works attributed to Giles: Doubtful

37 Philosophia ad mentem Platonis.
38 Liber dialogorum.
39 Scholia Platonica conformia Evangelio.
40 Porphyrii mysteria et Procli.
41 Annotationes in tria priora capita Geneseos.
42 Psalterium translatum.
43 De locis quae sapientes Hebraeorum gratia commutaverunt.
44 De adventu Messiae.
45 De immortalitate animae.
46 De materia et forma.
47 De disciplinis Ethruscis.
48 Informatio contra Lutheranam sectam pro Apostolicae Sedis autoritate.

Unpublished Works attributed to Giles: Duplicated Titles

49 De arcana Judeorum doctrina.
50 Commentaria in quosdam Psalmos, ad Leonem X.
51 Liber de decem seculis.
52 De Romanis pontificibus.

WRONGLY ATTRIBUTED TO GILES

53 De opere sex dierum.
54 *Promemoria ad Hadrianum Papam VI de depravato statu Romanae Ecclesiae.*
55 *Resolutio lutheriana super propositionem suam XIII de potestate papae.*
56 Informatio pro concilio contra lutheranos.
57 Racha.
58 Opus contra Hebreos de adventu Messiae et de nominibus divinis contra eosdem.
59 *Là've l'aurora.*

PUBLISHED WRITINGS

1-2) *Egidii Romani Eremite de materia celi questio*, f. Egidius Eremita Viterbiensis castigavit et dedit. *Egidii Romani de intellectu possibili contra Averoim questio aurea.*

The *explicit* states that the tracts were printed by Hyeronimus Durantis at Padua, and finished on 25 September 1493.

It should be noted that there were two distinct tracts, *De materia celi* and *De intellectu possibili*. This was the first printed edition of both works, as also of *Commentaria in VIII libros physicorum Aristotelis*, see below, No. 3. Giles was then a student, twenty-four years old, at Padua. *De intellectu possibili* by Giles of Rome had been one of the most important anti-Averroistic tracts to appear in the thirteenth century, see G. Bruni, 'Egidio Romano, antiaverroista', in *Sophia*, 1 (1933) 208-19, at p. 208; M. Chosset, 'Saint Thomas d'Aquin et Siger de Brabant', in *Revue de Philosophie*, 25 (1914), 43-52, at p. 44. Bruni prefers to entitle the tract *De plurificatione*, as this was the title used by Giles of Rome.

For the manuscript and printed versions of both tracts, see G. Bruni, *Catalogo critico delle opere di Egidio Romano*, Florence 1936, 73 (22). For the 1493 edition by Giles of Viterbo, see *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 6 (Leipzig 1934) 784-5 (7213). The edition was reprinted, with due acknowledgment to Giles of Viterbo, by Bonetus Locatellus at Venice in 1502.

3) *Egidii Romani Commentaria in VIII libros physicorum Aristotelis*, ediderunt Magister Bernardus Granellus Januensis et f.

Egidius Viterbiensis Eremitanus Sancti Augustini. The *explicit* states that the work was printed by Hyeronimus Durantis on the university presses at Padua, and finished on 15 Oct. 1493.

There is a dedicatory letter by Giles to Graziano Ventura, then procurator general of the Augustinian order and later prior general, 1498-1504, and an introductory 28-line poem by Giles in praise of Giles of Rome, author of the commentary, see below, No. 12 (a). The volume ends with a 12-line poem by Giles of Viterbo, again in praise of Giles of Rome, see below, No. 12 (b).

This was the first printed edition of the tract. For the manuscript and printed versions, see Bruni, *Catalogo critico*, cit., 60-62 (9). For the 1493 edition by Giles of Viterbo, see *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 6 (1934) 772-3 (7197).

4) *De Aurea Aetate*, ed John W. O'Malley, s.j., with commentary, 'Fulfilment of the christian Golden Age under Pope Julius II: text of a discourse of Giles of Viterbo, 1507', in *Traditio*, 25 (1969) 265-338.

The text (pp. 278-338) is taken from Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo e Distrital, Évora, (Portugal), MS CXVI/1-30. It was listed by Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, *Catalogo dos manuscriptos da Bibliotheca Pública Eborense*, 1 (Lisbon 1850) 256-8, but was overlooked by all modern writers on Giles, until François Secret noted it in *Archivio di Filosifia*, 1958, p. 140 n. 44. At least two other copies of the work are known to have existed in Giles's day : one, a presentation copy given to Pope Julius II; another, a presentation copy sent to King Manuel of Portugal (1495-1521), see O'Malley cit., pp. 276-7. These disappeared and, until 1976 the Évora text was the only copy known to scholars.

In July 1976, a de luxe copy of the tract was auctioned by Sotheby's at London, see Sotheby's *Catalogue of western manuscripts and miniatures* (London: sale, 5 July 1976), pp. 28-9. It was sold to a private owner in Italy, who has kindly sent me photocopies of the beautifully decorated preliminary folios. Further study needs to be made of this MS, but, on the evidence available, it would seem to be the presentation copy to Julius II in June 1508 and which the pope passed on shortly afterwards to the Cardinal of Portugal, Jorge da Costa († 18 Sept. 1508). This recent discovery has the added advantage that it apparently contains the first folio of the text, which is missing in the Évora copy.

The tract took its origin from a discourse which Giles delivered in St Peter's basilica on 21 December 1507 at the request of Julius II and in his presence. It was part of the celebrations in honour of a triple Portuguese victory in the Far East — the landing of the Portuguese at Ceylon and the acceptance by its ruler of Portugal as overlord; the naval victory by de Almeida over the Zamorin of Calicut on 18 March 1506; and, in that same year, the discovery of the island of Madagascar by another Portuguese fleet. The pope asked that the discourse be committed to paper, and so the text was born, though the final written version was probably somewhat different to what had been preached in St Peter's. Certainly in the written version Giles combined two different topics — the Golden Age dawning for the Church; the successes of Pope Julius II and of King Manuel I. The title of the work, as given by Giles in his register for June 1508, is 'de invento orbe terrarum et Taprobane insula, de Lusitani regis victoria, de aurea aetate', see O'Malley cit. in *Traditio*, 25 (1969) pp 270-1.

The tract is now seen as having had an importance in the history of art. Professor H. Pfeiffer, s.j., believes it greatly influenced Raphael in what he painted in the Stanza della Segnatura of the Vatican, see H. Pfeiffer, 'La Stanza della Segnatura sullo sfondo delle idee di Egidio da Viterbo', in *Colloqui del Sodalizio*, Ser. II, 3 (1970-2) 31-43; Idem, 'Die Predigt des Egdio da Viterbo über das goldene Zeitalter und di Stanza della Segnatura', in *Festschrift Luitpold Dussler*, Munich-Rome 1972, pp. 237-54; Idem, *Zur Ikonographie von Raffaels Disputa: Egidio da Viterbo und die christlich-platonische Konzeption der Stanza della Segnatura*, Rome 1975, passim, and especially pp. 171-208, 241-52.

5) *Oratio prima synodi Lateranensis habita per Egidium Viterbiensem Augustiniani ordinis Generalem.*

Ff. 6. There were three printings of the oration by the German printer, Johann Beplin, at Rome in 1512, and another printing about the same time at Nürenberg by Johann Stuchs. An enlarged version was published by Arnoul le Ferron, in *De rebus gestis Gallorum*, Paris 1550, ff. 92r-98r. An official version was included by Cardinal Antonio del Monte in *Sa. Lateranen. Concilium novissimum, sub Julio et Leone celebratum*, printed at Rome by Iacobus Mazochius in 1521. This was substantially the version which appeared in P. Labbé and G. Cossart, *Acta Conciliorum*, ed. J. Harduin, 9 (Paris 1714) 1576-1581, and J.D.

Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. L. Petit and J.B. Martin, 32 (Paris 1759) cols 667-676, and which, until this year, was accepted as the standard version to be cited and reprinted. An English translation appeared in J.C. Olin, *The Catholic reformation: Savonarola to Ignatius Loyola: reform in the church, 1495-1540*, New York and London 1969, pp 40-53. A much needed critical edition, with commentary, was published by Clare O'Reilly, 'Without councils we cannot be saved... Giles of Viterbo addresses the Fifth Lateran Council', in *Aug.*, 27 (1977) 166-204. This edition supersedes all those previously published.

The adress, delivered at the opening of the Fifth Lateran Council at Rome on 3 May 1512, is one of the most famous orations at a general church council. It has been cited with approval not only by Catholic historians such as L. Pastor but by Martin Luther. Its main message has, however, usually been misrepresented; see O'Reilly cit., pp. 169-179.

6) *Oratio habita post tertiam sacri Lateranensis Concilii sessionem in ecclesia Divae Mariae Virginis de Populo, per Fratrem Aegidium Viterbiensis Ordinis Sancti Augustini Eremitarum generalem, de foedere inito inter Iulium Secundum pontificem maximum et illustrem Maximilianum imperatorum.*

Ff. 6. Printed apparently at Rome in 1512. Copies of this pamphlet are extremely rare. Pastor, *Hist. popes*, VI. 426, mentioned that he had seen a copy in the Manzoni Library at Rome in 1892 but that it had since 'been scattered to the winds'. Signorelli, *Egidio*, p. 170, was unable to trace a copy. I mentioned in my doctoral thesis, Cambridge (England) in 1958, vol. 2, p. 88, that I had located a copy at Paris, BN, Réserve B 1930 (37) 517-30. Subsequently, I found two more copies of the pamphlet at Rome. BN, 69 4B 96 and 69 9C 20/8. Later, two further copies were located by Clare O'Reilly, one at Rome, in the Biblioteca Vaticana, R.I.IV 2107 (11), the other at Vienna, ÖNB, + 35E 288. The text, with a commentary, has been edited by Clare O'Reilly, '"Maximus Caesar et Pontifex Maximus": Giles of Viterbo proclaims the alliance between Emperor Maximilian I and Pope Julius II', in *Aug*, 22 (1972) 80-117.

Giles preached the sermon at the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome, on 25 November 1512, on the occasion of the long-

awaited treaty between Pope Julius II and Emperor Maximilian. Henry VIII of England and Ferdinand of Aragon were also parties to the Holy League, and De Grassis, the papal master of ceremonies, describes the League, in his diary, as 'inter Pontificem et Imperatorem ac Regem Catholicum et Angelicum', see O'Reilly cit., p. 87.

7) *Dialogus Reverendissimi in Christo Patris Domini Aegidii S.R.E. presbyterii cardinalis in honorem sanctissimi Cesaris Charoli regis catholici Hispaniarum utriusque Sicilie domini nostri* (Barcelona [1518-19]).

Listed by G.W. Panzer, *Annales typographici*, 9 (Nuerenberg 1801) 300 (10), as being then in the Scheurl Library, Nuerenberg. Much of the Scheurl collection has been sold or dispersed since 1801, some of it going to the Stadtbibliothek, Nuerenberg, but the publication is not to be found there, as I was kindly informed in a letter of 24 Sept. 1958, by Dr Kh. Goldmann, Director of the Stadtbibliothek. Siegfried Freiherr von Scheurl of Altenfurt informed me, by letter of 2 Nov. 1958, that it was not in the Scheurl Library and that its does not appear in the catalogue of the library compiled between 1919 and 1939.

F.J. Norton, under-librarian, Cambridge University Library, England, visited the pricipal libraries of the Iberian peninsula during 1959-60. He looked for this work by Giles but found no copy, not even in the Pau Font de Rubinat Library, Reus, Catalonia, remarkable for its wealth of books from the early Catalan presses. However, among the alphabetical indexes of the renowned Biblioteca Colombina at Seville it is referred to in the abecadarium index as: 'Egidii Cardinalis. Dialogus in honorem Caroli Quinti. 14856. *ba*'. The abbreviation *ba* was used by Fernando Colón to signify Barcelona. Colón, a natural son of Christopher Columbus, founded the Biblioteca Colombina. For the Font de Rubinat and Colombina libraries see F.J. Norton, *Printing in Spain, 1501-1520*, Cambridge 1966, especially pp. 2, 78 n. 3. I am greatly indebted to Mr F.J Norton for his assistance.

It may be taken for granted that the oration was preached by Giles during his visit to Spain in 1518-19 as papal legate. He wrote enthusiastically from Barcelona to Rome in February 1519 in support of Charles's candidature for the imperial crown, see Pastor, *Hist. popes*, VII.276-7.

8) *De Ilicetana familia*, ed. F.X. Martin, o.s.a., in *Anal. Aug.* 25 (1962) 247-53, from Rome, BA, MS Lat. 1156.

J. O'Malley, s.j., in *Viator*, 3 (1972) 397 n. 32, corrected my statement in *Anal. Aug.*, 25 (1962) 247, that BA, MS Lat. 1156 is a unique copy. He points out that there are three copies of the work — BA, MS Lat. 1156; BA, MS Lat. 1001, ff. 105v-111v; Naples, BN, MS V.F.20, ff. 127v-131r, 123r-125v. The definitive version is obviously BA, MS Lat. 1156; it is a de luxe copy, on vellum, in a beautiful hand, prefaced with an introductory letter by Fra Basilio, accompanied by a detailed coloured sketch which records graphically many of the pious legends of Lecceto. For a description of the MS, see Narducci, *Cat. cod. mss. Bibl. Angel*, p. 487; cf. Pélissier in *Rev. biblioth.*, 2 (1892) 228-31. For further information on the MS and Lecceto, see F.X. Martin, 'Giles of Viterbo and the monastery of Lecceto: the making of a reformer', in *Anal. Aug.*, 25 (1962) 225-53.

The date of the work is uncertain, but the fact that Giles styles himself simply 'Frater Aegidius Viterbiensis Eremita' suggests that it was before June 1506, when he was appointed vicar general of the Augustinian order by Julius II. He became a member of the Observant Congregation of Lecceto during 1502 or 1503, most probably in April 1503, and is likely to have written the work then in the flush of enthusiasm as a candidate or new member of the congregation. It is cast in the form of a letter to the friars there, written in a spirit of mystical exaltation, in praise of Lecceto and its traditions. It has usually been confused with another work by Giles, now lost, 'Panegyricus Ilicetanus', of which excerpts are given by A. Landucci, *Sacra Ilicetana Sylva, sive origo et chronicon breve coenobii et congregationis de Iliceto, Ord. Erem. S.P. Augustini in Tuscia*, 1653, pp. 43, 44, 78; see below, No. 20. The present title of the tract, *De Ilicetana familia*, was bestowed, not by Giles, but by Angelo Rocca, o.s.a. (1545-1620), founder of the Biblioteca Angelica, later papal sacristan and titular bishop of Tagaste. His marginal notes are found throughout the MS.

9) *Aegidius Antonio Zocholo et Romanis*, ed. John W. O'Malley, s.j., with commentary, 'Man's dignity, God's love, and the destiny of Rome: a text of Giles of Viterbo', in *Viator* [University of California], 3 (1972) 389-416.

The text (pp. 398-416) is taken from two MSS — Naples, BN, MS

V.F. 20, ff. 256r-281r (no. 216), and Rome, BA, MS Lat. 1001, ff. 11r-23v. It appears in the form of a letter to Zoccoli and the Romans, but, in fact, as in the case of BA, MS Lat. 1156 (cf. above No. 8), it is a tract or formal discourse. A distinctive feature of this work is that it explicitly relates the theme of man's dignity — a not uncommon subject for writers of the High Renaissance — to the dignity and destiny of the city of Rome. O'Malley (p. 391) believes this gives the tract a unique feature among writings of the Renaissance.

The text is without date, but certainly is after 1503 and most probably before 1508, and probably before late June 1506 when Giles was appointed vicar general of the Augustinian order and came to Rome, where Zoccoli was residing as a high-ranking official in the city administration (cf. O'Malley cit., pp. 395-6).

10) *Libellus de litteris sanctis*, edited by F. Secret, Rome 1959, Centro Internationale di Studi Umanistici in "Edizione Nazionale dei Classici del Pensiero Italiano", vol. 10, pp. 21-62.

Ff. 50. The MS, now Vat. Lat. 5808, deals with the cabbala, that subject beloved by Giles. It was completed in 1517 and was dedicated to Cardinal Giulio dei Medici, later Pope Clement VII. Giles records in his register, '1 Junii [1517] Rmo Dno Cardinali de Medicis mittimus libellum quem de litteris hebraicis edidimus, quem brevi quadam etiam epistula salutavimus', A.G.A., Register Dd 12, f. 111r. The preface to the work is the dedicatory letter from Giles to Giulio dei Medici. Another rough copy of the work is in Vat. Lat. 3146, ff. 1r-26v, see Secret, cit., p. 23, n. 1; Idem in *Archivio di Filosofia*, 38 (1958) 132, n. 9.

It is a graceful little work, an introduction to the study of the cabbala, based on *Séfèr ha-Temûnâh*. The introduction pays tribute to the dei Medici family and to the reigning Pope Leo in particular for the encouragement given to the study of the scriptures and oriental languages. The text begins with a discussion on the Hebrew letter Aleph and continues with measured comment on each letter to Tau. The text succeeds in incorporating references to Plato and Virgil. Apart from the introductory remarks by Professor Secret in his edition of the text, see also the comments in his *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance*, Paris 1964, pp. 110-13.

11) *Scechina*, edited by F. Secret, Rome 1959, Centro Internazionale di Studi Umanistici, in *Edizione Nazionale dei Classici*

del Pensiero Italiano, vol. 10, pp. 9-20 (introduction), and the text, vol. 10, pp. 63-239, vol. 11, pp. 7-340.

Autograph. Ff. 192. Written between years 1528-31. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Lat. 3363, ff. 154r-349v. Listed in *Cat. cod. mss. Bibl. Regiae*, III. 409, and described in *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss. latins*, III. 291-2. It is essential to consult F. Secret, 'Les symbolismes de la kabbale chrétienne dans la "Scechina" de Egidio da Viterbo', in *Archivio di Filosofia*, 1958, nº 2-3 ("Umanesimo e simbolismo", ed. E. Castelli), Padua 1958, pp. 131-54, which has information additional to what Professor Secret later published in his edition of *Scechina*; see also his *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance*, Paris 1964, pp. 113-4. The original work, incomplete in this MS, but not always so, is divided into three main divisions — Names, Letters, Names of God.

The title *Scechina* is an Italian transcription of the Hebrew term for the inhabitation of God among men. In the cabbalist of theosophy God made his existence and will known through the medium of ten *Sephiroth* or intelligences, of which *Scechina* was the tenth and represented the union of all the *Sephiroth*. Giles uses the imagery of the cabbala to explain that christianity was then passing through the tenth cycle, that of the *Scechina*, and uses the symbolism of the *Scechina* to reveal the secrets of the cabbala to the Emperor Charles V, whom he greets as the new David, Solomon and Cyrus combined, who will turn his power and energies to the reform of the Church and the defeat of the Turks. The *Scechina* is dedicated to Pope Clement VII, to whom, as Cardinal Giulio dei Medici, Giles had dedicated his *Libellus de litteris sanctis* twelve years previously.

The *Scechina* is not a disguished political tract nor a means of gaining further papal favour. It is primarily exegetical, a discourse on symbolic theology, on the inner sense of revelation and sacred scripture. Here, in the final major literary work of his life, Giles runs through the whole gamut of cabbalist literature and tries to interpret it in a christian manner. While a predominant feature of the work is the mosaic of scriptural quotations and allusions, there is also a strong current of neo-platonic ideas, illustrations from Homer and Virgil, and even references to Cuba and the New World. In the judgement of Professor Secret, the *Scechina* is, without doubt, the most remarkable effort to present to the christians a faithful image of the world as viewed by the cabbalists' (in *Archivio di Filosofia*, 1958, cit., p. 135).

12) *Occasional Latin poems*

a) *Aeterne studium laudis et inseri*

Giles's earliest published work is his edition of three philosophical works of Aegidius Romanus (c. 1247-1316), the leading light among the scholastics of the Augustinian order. Giles's edition was published at Padua in September and October 1493, see above, Nos 1-3. The third work, *Comentaria in VIII Libros Physicorum Aristotelis*, was prefaced with a poem, introduced by 'Frater Aegidii Viterbiensis Eremite versus ad lectorem' and beginning 'Aeterne studium laudis et inseri'. It is a lyric of seven verses cast in the third Asclepiad form, a warning to those about to venture on the dangerous Aristotelian seas that they would do well to take Aegidius Romanus as their guide between Scylla and Charybdis. The image of tempestuous seas and the need for an experienced hand at the helm is well sustained throughout the seven stanzas.

b) *Ecce opus antistes quod iam celeberrimus egit*

The edition ends, as it began, with a message, 'Frater Aegidii Viterbiensis ad lectorem', but this time the poem is a succession of six elegiac distichs, beginning 'Ecce opus antistes quod iam celeberrimus egit'. There is not the same graphic expression as in the introductory poem, but restrained and effective use is made of the image of light and darkness.

The above two poems in praise of Aegidius Romanus have mistakenly been described as 'Odae in Aegidii Joviani laudes' by C. Curtius, *Virorum illustrium ex Ordine Eremitarum S. Augustini elogia*, Antwerp 1636, p. 106, Elssius, *Encom. Aug.*, p. 14, and Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 195.

c) *Domino Petro memoriae Magistro*

This third poem also dates from his student years at Padua, 1490-1494, though it has no precise date attached to it. It is adressed from Padua and composed in praise of Master Peter of the good memory. In paying tribute to his teacher, Peter, presumably one of the professors at the Augustinian *studium generale* of SS Phillip and James at Padua, Giles fastens in particular on his indelible memory as one which few men can equal. It is a serious piece of 13 lines yet written in a light-hearted fashion, using exclusively images and illustrations from classical antiquity. It catches the atmosphere of student life in a university city, and reflects that image which Paolo Giovio gives in his *Elogia virorum doctorum*, Venice 1546, f. 54r, of Giles at Padua, singing his own

compositions as he strummed on the lyre. The poem was published by D. A. Gandolfo, *Fiori poetici dell'eremo agostiniano*, Genoa 1682, p. 80. It is relevant to note that Giles was criticized strongly by Pietro Pomponazzi in his *Apologia*, Bologna 1518, car. xxxiiii, for using the pulpit to display his learning and demonstrate his 'infinitam memoriam'.

d) *Quid vitam studio insanam exercemus inani*?

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 527(1), f. 5r. For this MS see *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss latins*, I. 184. The poem is published by F. Secret, *Le Zôchar chez les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance*, Paris 1958, pp. 35-6 n. 3.

The twelve-line poem, in Giles's hand, introduces his translation of and notes on the Zohar. The poem reflects on how useless is most of the studies we pursue during life and points out that in biblical learning are the 'secrets of heaven'. By contrast he explicitly assesses the learning of the Greeks and Romans as something derisory in value. This attitude to classical learning was one he had already revealed in his second and third eclogues, see below, No. 23. The poem is therefore important as revealing the true man. It contradicts the picture of Giles as a slavish devotee of Renaissance forms and thought, see F. X. Martin, 'The problem of Giles of Viterbo', in *Aug.*, 9 (1959) 357-79, 10 (1960) 43-60.

13) *Caccia de amore bellissima*

A lengthy poem of 52 eight-line stanzas, exhorting youth to the pursuit of chastity and supernatural love. It first appeared anonymously and in a secondary role in *Amore de Hieronimo Beniveni Fiorentino allo Illustris. S. Conte Messer Nicolo Vicecomite de Corregio. Et una caccia de amore bellissima, et cinque capituli sopra el timore, zelosia, speranza, amore, et uno trionpho del mondo compositi per il Conte Matteo Maria Bojardo et altre cose diverse*, Venice: Zoppino, 1523. Copies in BA, RR. 1.35; BL, 11427. a. 11; BN, Roma, 69.6.J.34. The pages are unnumbered. Giles's poem entitled 'La Caccia de Amore', is the third item in the volume, on ff. [19v-26v]. There was a new printing of the collection in 1526, again by Zoppino at Venice; copies at London, BL, 239.c.21(2) and Paris, BN, Yd.7411. A new edition, published by Vittore Ravano at Venice, appeared in 1532 and was reprinted in 1533; copies at Washington in the Library of Congress, listed in *The National Union Catalogue*, 94 (London 1970) 499-500.

Giles's name appears for the first time in the expanded sub-title, *Et una cassia de amore bellissima de Egidio.* The volume was reprinted by Ravano in 1535; copies at London, BL, C.40.c.53, Vienna, ÖNB, 79.Cc.173, and Paris, BN, Yd 5923 and Réserve Yd 1159.

A further edition, giving Giles's poem precedence, was published by Zoppino at Venice in 1537, *Caccia bellissima del Reverendissimo Egidio con i dilettevolvi amori di Messer Girolamo Beniveni, et cinque capitoli del S. Conte Matteomaria Boiardo sopra el timore, zelosia, bellezza, speranza, amore, et un trionfo del mondo*; copies at Rome, BA, RR.2.5, and Vienna, ÖNB, *38.G.85. It was reprinted at Venice in 1538; copy at London, BL, 240.d.35. For the 1537 edition, see Max Sander, *Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530*, 1 (Milan 1942) 445 (2523).

The poem, with Giles named as author, was included by Lodovico Dolce in his highly regarded collection, *Stanze di diversi illustri poeti ... della lingua Thoscana*, Venice: Giolito, 1553, pp. 85-100. The poem was reprinted, and attributed to Giles, by D.A. Gandolfo, *Fiori poetici dell'eremo agostiniano*, Genoa 1682, pp. 94-107, and by G.M. Crescimbeni, *De' comentari intorno all'istoria della volgar poesi*, 3 [Lib. IV] (Rome 1711) 225-35. Despite this impressive range of evidence published between the years 1523 and 1711, the information raises some doubts about the authorship and reveals how complicated, and even confusing, is the history of the poem.

Is Giles the author? Initially, this might be doubted from the printed editions alone, since the poem first appeared anonymously in a modest little volume of verse, extolling the superiority of chaste and supernatural love. The collection comprised a lengthy poem, *Amore*, by the noted Florentine writer, Girolamo Benivieni; next a poem and letter by Hieronymus Cartularius; then the anonymous *Cassia de amore bellissima*, and finally there were several pieces by the much respected Count Matteo Maria Boiardo.

The first edition of the collection appeared at Venice in 1523, and a second edition (really a reprint) also at Venice in 1526. When a new edition was published at Venice in 1532, reprinted in 1533 and 1535, Giles's name was given for the first time as author of *Caccia de amore.* though his poem was still in a secondary place. This new edition was published during the last year of his life, but the suppression of his name in the previous editions is no surprise. He had showed no inclination to make use of the revolutionary new means of com-

munication, printing. Besides, he may have felt that singing of love, even for a supernatural purpose, might well be misunderstood (as it later was in his case, we shall see). Giles's reluctance to reveal himself as the author was overcome in his last year. By that time, the poem had won considerable popularity over a stretch of nine years, and he was aware, from an admonitory letter addressed to him by Pope Clement VII in 1530, how few of his many writings he had committed to print. In that context, the public admission of his name as author was a parting gift from a man aware that he was near to the end. The 1532 edition was published in June of that year; Giles died in November.

When a new edition of the collection was published in 1537, Giles's poem was made the principal item in the volume, followed by Benivieni's *Amore*, and then the pieces by Boiardo. There was a reprint of this edition in 1538. The printed evidence, when taken together, all leads to Giles as author of *Caccia de amore*. The publisher of the 1523, 1526, 1537 and 1538 editions was the reputable Nicolò di Aristotile da Ferrara, self-styled Zoppino, who must have known when publishing the first two editions who was the author of *Caccia de amore*. Furthermore, Giles was a prominent figure in literary circles, and any false attribution of a popular work of this kind to this name would almost certainly have been denied by himself and, after his death, at least queried by his many friends, as well as by his critics. We have seen that the poem was also attributed to Giles by Dolce in his *Stanze di diversi illustri poeti* in 1553.

For a literary appreciation of the poem, see Giovambattista Giraldi, *Discorsi intorno al comporre de i romanzi, delle comedie, e delle tragedie, e di altre maniere di poesie*, Venice 1554, p. 60, who believed it to be not merely as good as the similar poem by Benivieni but better. G. M. Crescimbeni, *Comentari intorno all'istoria della poesia italiana*, 4 (Venice 1730) 14-15, rated the *Caccia de amore* very highly. G. Tiraboschi, in his monumental *Storia della letteratura italiana*, 10 [tom. vii, part. iii] (Rome 1785) 418, remarks that for elegance of style and vivacity of expression the poem deserves to rank among the best in the Italian language.

The danger of confusion about *Caccia de amore* began in 1553 when two editors, Andrea Arrivabene and Lodovico Dolce, both published at Venice, but apparently independently of one another, a further poem, *Là've l'aurora*, allegedly by Giles, and treating of the

same question of chaste love as *Caccia de amore*. Arrivabene published it in *Il sesto libro delle rime di diversi eccelenti autori*, Venice: al Segno del Pozzo, 1553, ff. 265r-273v. Dolce included it in his *Rime di diversi excellenti autori*, Venice: Giolito, 1553, but added a further complication by also including it, in that same year, in his *Stanze di diversi illustri poeti*, also published at Venice and also by Giolito. The complications were increased by the fact that the *Stanze* contained both *Là've l'aurora* on pp. 70-84, and *Caccia de amore* on pp. 85-100.

A cloud of obscurity was allowed to envelope the already complicated question in 1558 when Dolce issued a new printing of his *Stanze* (copy at Rome, BA, QQ.3.85), including the poems *Là've l'aurora*, pp. 70-84, and *Caccia de amore*, pp. 85-100, but now attributed them to 'D'Incerto Auttore'. The surprising change about authorship was due to the puritanism which had penetrated to Rome with the Counter-Reformation and which saw dangers to morality when a cardinal of the Church could be cited in praise of love (see S. Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito De' Ferrari*, 2 vols, Rome 1890-5, I.224, II.182). This phase of puritanism was a passing phenomenon; within thirty years the poem was again being attributed to Giles.

Confusion descended on the question when Apostolo Zeno, in his notes to Giusto Fontanini, *Biblioteca dell'eloquenza italiana*, vol. 1, Venice 1753, p. 291, mistook *Là've l'aurora* for *Cacca de amore*. The confusion was compounded when some editors published *Là've l'aurora* but with the title *La Caccia d'amore del Cardinale Egidio*, as for example by Vincenzo Marenco in *Poemetti Italiani*, vol. 9, Florence 1797, pp. 1-17, and in *Parnasso Italiano*, vol. 12, Venice 1851, coll. 332-340. The confusion has been reproduced by subsequent writers, for example, A. Palmieri in *D.T.C.*, 6 (Paris 1915) 1368, and Perini, *Bibl. Aug.*, 1 (Florence 1929) 184-5.

Là've l'aurora was almost certainly not written by Giles. The question will be discussed below, No. 59.

14) *Madrigals to Vittoria Colonna*

In a manuscript at Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS Magliabecchi VII.720, there are five madrigals attributed to 'Rev. C. Egidio', and a sixth madrigal with the author's name given by initials, 'D.E.C.L.E.' They are adressed to Vittoria Colonna, marquise of Pescara, a leading figure in the literary (but principally in the religious) circles of late Renaissance Italy. The attribution to Giles went unknown untill the nineteenth century when Francesco Trucchi, *Poesie*

italiane inedite di dugento autori, 3 (Prato 1847) 126-9, published them with a short introduction, including the sixth, attributed also to Giles.

Trucchi consistently but inaccurately describes (pp. 126-9) the MS as 'codice 720 magliabecchiano' but it is classified as VII.720. He also (p. 125) speaks of the seven madrigals he is publishing, but there are only six. He prints them in his own order, different from that in the manuscript. They are as follows: 1) 'Io correi, madonna, a morte mia' (MS ff. 122r-v, 278r; Trucchi p. 126). — 2) 'Madonna, per oltraggio o per martire' (MS ff. 122v, 278v; Trucchi pp. 128-9). — 3) 'In me i miracol tuoi' (MS f. 122v; Trucchi p. 128). — 4) 'S'vi sono a'colpi' (MS f. 123v; Trucchi p. 127). — 5) 'Gentil madonna il dissi, e dirò sempre' (MS f. 116r; Trucchi pp. 126-7). — 6) 'E però in tutto morta' (MS f. 99v; Trucchi p. 129).

They are written on that supernatural note which is of the essence of Giles's *Caccia de amore*. It was a style also expressed by poets such as Benivieni, Boiardo and other contemporaries of Giles, writing in a spirit which owed as much to neoplatonism as to the powerful religious reform visible in so many parts of Italy during this period of the Renaissance. It may be the very similarity of style with that of *Caccia de amore* was what decided the scribe of the manuscript to attribute the poems to Giles. This is the only copy of the madrigals at present available. The manuscript appears to be early sixteenth century, which would suit the time of composition by Giles. Vittoria Colonna was closely in touch with Bembo, Contarini and other kindly figures of the Catholic reform who were associated with Giles, but to what extent she was a friend of his will need further investigation. It will need more evidence to establish beyond doubt that the madrigals are by Giles, but for the present they may be attributed to him with a question mark.

Unpublished Writings

15) *Tabula propositionum in via Aristotelis ac Temestii per ordinem a.b.c. Collectanea in libris Aristotelis.*

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 6589, ff.[4+] 580. Described in *Cat. cod. mss Bibl. Regiae*, cit. 4 (Paris 1744) 260, as 'Index operum Aristotelis ordine alphabetico digestus, authore Aegidio Viterbiensi'.

Autograph. A large volume with pages of varying sizes. Usually there are two columns to a page, but also a large number of blank pages: these and the wide unfilled margins suggest that Giles intended it as a reference book to which he would continue to add. It is a

compilation of detailed notes, with an inset alphabetical thumb-index, a to z, ff. 24r-580r.

It is listed as No. 11 in the Ridolfi catalogue, ed. Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', p. 552. The title above is found on f.[4r] of the MS.

16) *Monumenta et index de Aristotelis erroribus*

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 6589, ff. 581r-631r[+3]. Described in *Cat. cod. mss Bibl. Reg.*, cit., 4 (Paris 1744) 260.

Autograph. The work is headed, on f. 581r, 'Fratris Egidii Paleologi — Monumenta et index de Aristotelis erroribus', with a note stating that he compiled this collection of Aristotle's errors when he was on the Cimino mountain (in his hermitage), and it ends 'Fratris Egidii Viterbiensis labor'. Giles had a long-standing opposition to Aristotle and linked him with Averroes whom he regarded as anti-christian, see O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo*, pp. 40-49.

17) *Sententiarum liber primus usque ad XVII distinctionem ad mentem Platonis*

There are five MSS of this work — Naples, BN, MS VIII.F.8; Naples, BN, XIV. H. 71; Rome, BA, MS Lat. 636; Rome, Vat. Lat. 6325; Hamburg, Staatsbibliothek, Phil. 308.

None of these is an autograph copy, but Naples, BN, VII.F.8, may be taken as the one to be followed. It is a large handsome volume, of model script, and 277 folios, apparently transcribed by Nicolo Scutelli, an Augustinian scholar, who was scribe and literary coadjutor with Giles during the 1520s. This MS has the further advantage of notes and corrections by Girolamo Seripando, a favourite disciple of Giles. It was, apparently, prepared for printing. Not only have chapter headings and sub-titles for chapters been inserted, by Seripando, but there are a series of printers' numbers for the quires, beginning with 'A.ii' on f.1r, and running on to 'I.I.ii' at the end.

Naples, BN, MS XIV.H.71 is a copy made by Pasquale Baffi in 1786 from the Scutelli copy but claiming (according to the colophon on p. 411) to be an accurate revision of an imperfect text. Certainly Baffi's copy is a neat and well-presented version, of 411 pages, with an index. The copy in the Biblioteca Angelica, MS Lat. 636, described by Narducci, *Cat. cod. mss Bibl. Angel.*, p. 281; Pélissier, 'Manuscrits', pp. 232-233. For the Hamburg MS, see Daniel G. Morhof, *Polyhistor ... opus posthumum*, Lübeck 1708, p. 73; I am indebted to Professor F.

Secret, Paris, for this reference. Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 194 mentions a copy in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, but this (if it ever existed) has not yet been located.

For a study (undertaken mainly in relation to Luther) of the doctrinal content of the work, see J. Paquier, 'Un essai de théologie platonicienne à la Renaissance : le Commentaire de Gilles de Viterbe sur le premier livre des Sentences', in *Recherches des sciences religieuses*, 13 (1923) 293-312, 419-437. C. Curtius, *Virorum illustrium ex Ordine Eremitarum S. Augustini*, Antwerp, 1636, p. 107, rightly commented that this work by Giles was written 'more scholastico, sed ad mentem Platonis'. See also the comments and the parts of the text edited by E. Massa, *I fondamenti metafisici*, cit.; Idem, '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, pp. 185-239; Idem, 'L'anima e l'uomo in Egidio da Viterbo e nelle fonti classiche e medioevali', in *Testi umanistici inediti sul "De Anima"*, ed. E. Castelli, Padua 1951, pp. 37-138. Twenty years ago, it was announced that Professor Massa had prepared a critical edition of the whole work for publication at Zurich, see F.X. Martin in *Aug.*, 10 (1960) 58 n. 83.

18) *Historia XX Saeculorum*

The archetype is at Naples BN, MS Lat. IX.B14. It bears the title, 'Aegidii Viterbiensis Hystoria XX saeculorum per totidem psalmos digesta', and is dedicated to Pope Leo X. Ff.[iii+] 261r [-263v].

There are marginalia in Giles's hand. The title-page has an extended note by Girolamo Seripando, a disciple of Giles, recounting that the MS was lost at one stage but was later bought at a stall in the Campo di Fiori in Rome by Cardinal Marcello Cervini, later Pope Marcellus II (†1555). There is an autograph letter of Giles, Rome 18 Nov. 1525, bound in (at f.263r). For a brief description of the MS see Pélissier, 'Manuscrits', in *Rev. Biblioth.*, 2 (1892) 239 n. 1. Pélissier believed that the *Historia* was completed in 1516, but Signorelli, *Egidio*, p. 215 n. 25, argues convincingly that it was composed between 1513 and 1518. The title is not by Giles; it was added later, probably by Seripando.

There are four others copies: Naples, BN, MS Lat. LX.B.12, an eighteenth century copy, with the title, 'Liber de decem saeculis', described by Pélissier, 'Manuscrits', cit., p. 240 n. 1; two copies at Rome, BA, MS Lat. 351 and MS Lat. 502, described by Narducci, *Cat.*

cod. mss Bibl. Ang., pp. 177, 223; and a copy at Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, F. 48, listed by F. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Katalog der Handschriften der königl. Öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden*, 1 (Dresden 1882) 364, and Zumkeller, *Manuskripte*, p. 48. Pélissier, 'Manuscrits', cit., p. 358, mentions another copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, but this has not been located. This was probably 'Liber de decem seculis', listed as No. 55 in the Ridolfi catalogue, see Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', p. 553.

One small section of the work has been edited by K. Hoefler in *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichts-Quellen*, 12 (1854) 378-387. Twenty years ago it was announced that a critical edition was being prepared by Professor Eugenio Massa to be published by "Thesaurus Mundi" of Zurich, but this has not yet appeared. A brief analysis of the work formed the doctoral dissertation of L.-G. Pélissier, *De opere historico Aegidii Viterbiensis*, Montpellier 1896.

Many historians have drawn on the *Historia* for individual comments and items of information. According to Hergenröther and P. Laemmer it is cast in the same mould as Bossuet's *Discours sur l'histoire universelle*; it is inspired by religious faith not by the spirit of scientific history. As the sub-title indicates, Giles looked for guidance to the Psalms and also drew inspiration from Talmudic and cabbalist literature. It is an attempt to draw from the history of the papacy some practical lessons for the turbulent age in which Giles was living.

The *Historia* was the main topic of disussion in a series of lectures, on 'Histoire de l'esoterisme chrétien', which Professor François Secret delivered at Paris during 1974-5, see *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, V^e section — Sciences Religieuses: Annuaire*, tom. 83 (1974-5) 287-90.

19) *Historiae Heremitarum Synopsis*

Rome, A.G.A., MS Cc 37, ff. 112r-116r.

Historical notes on the Augustinian Hermits from the time of St Augustine to 1515. Partly in Giles's hand but sometimes erroneously attributed to Aegidius Romanus (Giles of Rome), see G. Bruni, *Catalogo critico delle opere di Egidio Romano*, Florence 1936, pp. 178-9.

20) *Panegyricus Ilicetanus*

Excerpts from this work are quoted by Ambrogio Landucci, *Sacra Ilicetana Sylva*, Siena, 1653, pp. 43, 44, 78. Gandolfo, *Dissertatio*, p.

18, lamented that already by that time (i.e. 1704) the work had disappeared, though at one time the original had been preserved in the Lecceto archives and a copy at San Marco, Siena. The work had disappeared even earlier since it was not mentioned by Gandolfo in his *Le porpore agostiniane*, published at Mantua in 1695, when he listed Giles's writings on p. 40. The work is not to be confused with another little mystical composition by Giles on Lecceto, *De Ilicetana Familia*, edited by F.X. Martin, see above No. 8.

21) *De mirabilibus Bononiae.*

At Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 388, f. 62v. Listed in Cat. cod. lat. bibl. reg. Monac., 2 nd ed., 1, pt. 1 (Munich 1892) 102; Zumkeller, *Manuskripte*, p. 48.

A poem of 16 lines in 8 elegiac couplets, in which lines 5, 15 and 16 are hypermetrical. There are numerous false quantities. The poem, intended as a guide for a visitor to Bologna shows a real knowledge of the city — the Bentivoglio palace, the church of San Domenico and its famous tomb of St Dominic, the church of San Petronio, the painting of Francesco Francia in the church of San Giacomo Maggiore, the silk industry in the city.

This is the only known copy of the poem, as of the three epigrams which follow. It is written in a hurried inelegant sixteenth century Italian hand. Giles often visited Bologna and there is no obvious reason to deny that he was the author, though it is not in the style of his other Latin pieces.

I am indebted to Fr M.B. Hackett, o.s.a., for checking my transcript of the poem and to Professor J.J. Tierney, University College, Dublin, for his painstaking notes on it.

22) *Epigrammata tria*

These follow immediately after the poem on Bologna, on the same folio, and are in the same hand. They are listed in the catalogue of the latin manuscripts in the library, mentioned above, and by Zumkeller cit. The first two epigrams are elegiac couplets with separate headings; the third is an unheaded couplet of two hexametres.

The epigrams are addressed 'To a boastful noble', 'On a woman murdered by her husband', and on a favourite house. They show an unusual aspect of Giles's character, a dry humour which is not readily evident in his other writings.

23) *Eclogues*

Giles's longest excursion into Latin poetry took the form of three eclogues. They are to be found in two manuscripts, Naples, BN, MS V.F. 20, and Rome, BA, MS Lat. 1001, both of Augustinian origin. The eclogues never enjoyed any popularity. The fact of their existence was noted in several of the standard works which listed the writings of Giles, for example D. A. Gandolfo, *Le porpore agostiniane*, Genoa 1695, p. 40; Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 195; Perini, *Bibl. Aug.*, I. 185, but the poems remained unedited. The only printed excerpts are fragments — two lines cited by M. Ardito, *La epifania degli Dei appo gli antichi*, Naples 1789, p. 28, from second eclogue, and four lines quoted by F. Fiorentino in *Archivo storico per le provincie napoletane*, 9 (1884) 437, from the first eclogue. The poems undoubtedly have quality and deserve attention. The lack of enthusiasm about them may well be explained by that puritanical element of the Counter-Reformation which turned a cold eye on Giles's *Caccia de amore* and caused his name as its author to be dropped for several decades (see above No. 13). The eclogues are distinguished by that easy mixture of christian thoughts and pagan images which was popular in Italy during the first two decades of the sixteenth century but very much out of favour when a rigid spirit of reform transformed the Catholic Church at the time of the Council of Trent, 1545-63.

Fortunately the eclogues have now found an editor, Professor Edmund Miller, s.j., University of Detroit. He has prepared a critical edition, with English translation, which will be published in the near future. I am indebted to Professor Miller for generously placing his work at my disposal.

The better of the two manuscripts appears to be Naples, BN, MS V.F. 20, with the eclogues on ff. 22r-34r, but it is not described in any printed catalogue, merely listed in *Inventario generale di tutti i codici manoscritti della Biblioteca Nazionale* [*di Napoli*], vol. I, f. 241v. The other manuscript is at Rome, BA, MS Lat. 1001, with the eclogues on ff. 36r-44v, and is described by Narducci, *Cat.cod.mss Bibl. Angel.*, pp. 416-18.

The first eclogue, *Paramellus et Aegon*, is autobiographical (with Giles as Aegon) and stands as an introduction for the other two eclogues. It clearly owes its form to Virgil, with the two shepherds, Paramellus and Aegon, engaged in discussion about the troubled world in which they live. The title of the second eclogue, on the birth of

Christ, *De ortu Domini*, is self-explanatory, as is the third, *In Resurrectione Domini*. The poems are not dated in either of the manuscripts, but we are fortunate in having a letter of Giles to Antonio Zocolo, dated 2 July 1504, (printed in Signorelli, *Egidio*, p. 220, no. VII), in which he relates that he had just regretfully left the island of Martana in Lake Bolsena, 'where I composed the eclogues'.

The obvious value of the eclogues is the example they provide of religious thought expressed in Renaissance image language. The success of this method of religious presentation was given immortal expression by a leading figure of the Italian literary Renaissance at Naples, Giovanni Pontano (1462-1503), when he made Giles the inspiration and title of his work, *Aegidius*. It was confirmed by another guiding spirit of the Renaissence, Sannazzaro (c. 1456-1530), when he acknowledged that his epic poem, *De Partu Virginis*, owed its inspiration to a quotation in a sermon preached by Giles. On the other hand, this apparently happy marriage of christian thought and classical language was derided by Pietro Pomponazzi in his *Apologia*, Bologna 1518, car. xxxiiii, in a passage aimed at Giles. Pomponazzi's attitude was expressed with greater force and edge by Erasmus in his *Dialogus Ciceronianus* (Paris 1528) where he assailed what he considered to be a medley of paganism and christianity. This was the view which was to become triumphant with the success of both Protestantism and the Counter-Reformation. It partly explains why the three eclogues were relegated to obscurity.

The eclogues have value on purely literary grounds but also merit attention for their theological content, as an expression of religious sentiment. It is not surprising to find Giles, a true son of the Renaissance, returning to a classical model, to the pastoral, for a suitable setting and series of images, but it will arouse special interest to find that for his religious themes he returns to two doctrines, so prominent in the early christian church, the Incarnation and the Resurrection. He, as it were, skips the Passion and Crucifixion of Christ, as well as so many other devotions which were typical of the medieval world. The theological content of the eclogues show Giles to be an optimist, convinced of man's redemption and consequently of his dignity as a son of God. Nature is once more harmonious, and the very animals manifest themselves as God's creatures. All of this stems from Christ, the Redeemer, who took flesh, died, but rose again victorious. Here there is no room for despair. Man has been made the measure of all things.

24) *Latin translation of Petrarch poem, "Canzone alla Vergine"*

The text of Giles's translation is no longer available. The renowned and moving poem by Petrarch in honour of the Blessed Virgin, 'Vergine bella, che di sol vestita', is normally listed as No. CCCLXVI, the last in the canon of Petrarch's poems.

The fact of the translation is put beyond doubt by a letter of Lucillo Filalteo to Giles, adressed 'E Campo Nucerio', 17 Sept. 1527, in Lucillus Philalthaeus, *Libri tres epistolarum*, Pavia 1564, ff. 38r-40r, at f. 38v, where, after praise for Sannazzaro because of his expertise in Latin and Italian, there is mention of his verses on the Blessed Virgin. Filalteo then continues,

> 'Deprehendi unum in oda et lyra tua suavissimum, quod mihi perplacuit, et cuique perplaciturum sentio. Tam belle carmen Francisci [Petrarcae], ut non potuerit ad verbum et ad rem traduci melius. Quoties confero, cecinisti tu melius vel aeque. Nec parum fuit tua florenti aetate huiusmodi cecinisse, quando ipse quidem senserim magis arduum versus vernaculae linguae convertere in latinam, quam suaptae minerva pangere'.

Note of Giles's translation was made by G. Fontanini, *Biblioteca dell' eloquenza italiana, con le annotazioni del Signor Apostolo Zeno*, 2 (Venice 1753) 46; Perini, *Bibl. Aug.*, cit., I. 185. I am indebted to Dr Nicholas Mann, Pembroke College, Oxford, and Miss Jennifer Petrie, Department of Italian, University College, Dublin, for generous information and advice about Petrarch's *Canzone alla Vergine*.

25) *Cyminia*

This was a novel, in Italian, written in the year 1500, as Giles himself tells in a letter to Antonio Zocolo, 2 July 1504, in Signorelli, *Egidio*, p. 220, 'Sunt anni ferme quatuor quum Cyminiam edidimus favellam sermone vulgi conscriptam'. Giles lived at Naples from 1498 to 1501, and was a member of the Pontanian Academy, one of whose members, Musuccio Salernitano had set a new fashion with the publication of his *Novellino* in 1476. No copy of Giles's novel has survived, but the title doubtless refers to the Cimino mountain, overlooking Viterbo, on which there was an Augustinian hermitage where Giles was so often to seek peace and solitude.

26) *Dictionarium sive liber radicum*

Rome, BA, MS Lat. 3, ff. 785. Listed by Narducci, *Cat. cod. mss Bibl. Angel.*, p. 1, and discussed by Pélissier, 'Manuscrits', in *Rev. Biblioth.*, II, 231-2.

It is a rough copy by a scribe, 'Johannes Margaritus Narniensis', of a translation by Giles, of a large 'Book of Roots' (i.e. vocabulary) by the famed Jewish scholar, David (1160?-1235?), son of Joseph Kimhi. A hand, other than that of the scribe, has sub-titled the work on f. 1v, 'Aegidio Viterbien. Card. interprete'; f. 441v has the information, 'Ego Johannes Margaritus Narniensis summa cum diligentia scripsi. Fr Egidius scribi iussit'; f. 785v ends the volume with the words, 'Frater Egidius Eremita'. The scribe observes at two points, ff. 2r and 769v, that the work (i.e. translation) is imperfect. Nevertheless, the size and scope of the compilation shows how systematically Giles was studying Hebrew.

David Kimhi (1160?-1235?) was usually known as 'the Spaniard', and is so described on f. 2r of this MS, but, in fact, he was born at Narbone, France. Yet, because of his continued association with Spain, he always signed himself as David ben Joseph Kimhi the Spaniard. His fame rests largely on his work, the *Mikhlol*; it is in two parts, the morphological and syntactic section — the *Mikhlol* per se, and the lexical portion, generally known as the *Shorashim* (*Roots*). It is this latter work which Giles undertook to translate. The *Mikhlol* settled the issues of Hebrew grammar for centuries. Probably no other Hebrew grammar of such significance was written in medieval times, and it was to David Kimhi that the christian scholars of the Renaissance and Reformation turned for a understanding of Hebrew. The *Roots* was first published at Naples in 1479, and presumably this was the text Giles used for his translation and notes. For David Kimhi, see Frank E. Talmage, *David Kimhi: the man and the commentaries*, Cambridge (U.S.A.) 1975.

In his register, under the date 4 Jan. 1513, Giles records 'Scripsimus ad Magistrum Gabrielum Venetum ut mitteret ad nos David super tota Biblia et eiusdem librum de radicibus', A.G.A., Dd 11, f. 99v.

In the University Library, St Andrews, Scotland, there is a fair copy (perhaps the one made for Giles), MS 1158 H 4 D2 (2), of the translation. The catalogue of 1826 describes it as 'Liber radicum seu dictionarium Hebraicum, accurante Francisco [sic] Aegidio Viterbiensi Eremita'. The first folio, unnumbered, contains the note, 'Curavit Frater Egidius Viterbiensis Eremita tituli S. Mathei presbyter cardinalis hec haberi tametsi inepta insulsa et minus latina'. The volume ends with the note that the work was completed for Giles on

7 January 1519, at Saragossa, while he was cardinal legate in Spain. I am indebted to Dr R. N. Smart, Keeper of Manuscripts, University Library, St Andrews, and Professor P. O. Kristeller, Columbia University, New York, for ready information on this copy of the translation.

27) *Taghin, id est signa facta super literas et specialiter Ghimel, Zain, Teth, Samech, Gnhain, Zadi, Scin*

Rome, BA, MS Lat. 1253, ff. 408. Described by Narducci, *Cat. cod. mss Bibl. Angel.*, p. 529, and Pélissier, 'Manuscrits', in *Rev. Biblioth.*, II. 232.

The work had been translated from the Hebrew by Flavius Mithridates for Pico della Mirandola (see F. Secret, ed., *Scechina*, Rome 1959, I. 23 n. 1, 152 n. 19). It is a cabbalist work on the mystical meanings of the *Tagin* (special designs for seven letters of the Hebrew alphabet). The Angelica copy was made for Giles but with his own comments, as indicated by the sub-title, 'Aegidio Viterbien. Cardinali interprete'. It will need a separate study to decide how much of the manuscript is by Giles; the first 29 folios have his marginal notes and comments, including the unexpectedly contemporary reference on f. 18v, 'veluti Picus cum uxore Laurentii', when discussing the sin of adultery. It is a massive volume, an impressive final draft rather than a finished work; the last book begins on f. 408r but ends abruptly, incomplete, on f. 408v.

Narducci, cit., describes the Angelica copy as lacking the first three books, the beginning of the fourth, and the fourteenth. He believes most of it is in Giles's hand, but Pélissier, cit., rightly doubts this. Narducci entitles it 'Tractatus de Anima libri XV'. F. Stegmueller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, 2 (Madrid 1950), p. 24 (934), wrongfully identifies this with a Giles MS at Rome, Vatican, MS Lat. 5808, see above, No. 10.

28) *Traductio et expositio librorum Cabalae et Talmudis* (I)

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 527 (1). Described in *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss latin*, I. 184.

Ff. 566. Text and marginalia in Giles's hand. F. 5r begins 'Incipit Liber Zohar super libros Mosis: labore magno quesitus: maiore inunctus: maximo rescriptus: longe ac multo cumulatiore in latinum raptim cursimque excerptus, F. Egidio Viterb. Erem.', and at the foot of f. 5r is a 12 line latin verse, signed by Giles, published by F. Secret,

Le Zohar chez les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance. Paris 1958, pp. 35-6 n. 3. The book *Sefer ha-Temunah* is given in translation but in disjointed order, ff. 299r-308v, 314r-361r, 561r-566v. This MS includes translations of *Zohar*, *Sefer ha-Temunah*, *Ginat Egoz*, *Hortus Nucis*, *Raziel* (see F. Secret in *Archivio di Filosofia*, 1958, pp. 132 n. 9, 135 n. 18). There are a great number of marginalia, and at foot of f. 264v the Giles symbol of three hills crowned each with a cross; cf. f. 218v. It is a scholar's crowded MS, not a finished work.

The preliminary folio, before f. 1, is blank but for 'N° 2'; this corresponds to N° 2 in the Ridolfi list, ed. Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', p. 551.

29) *Traductio et expositio librorum Cabalae et Talmudis* (II)

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 527 (2). Described in *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss latin*, I. 184.

Ff. 674. Text and marginalia in Giles's hand. The *MS* contains translations of *Brescit Raba*, *Sefer ha Bahir*, *Medras Ruth*, *Scir ha scirim*, *Cohelet*, *Ehalot*, *Liber Palatiorum*, *Agadot Talmud*, (see F. Secret in *Archivio di Filosifia*, 1958, p. 135 n. 18). There are typical marginal sketches by Giles of towers and hands, e.g. ff. 21v, 213r. At the foot of f. 273v is 'Finis Canticorum Fratris Aegidii' in Giles's hand, and on f. 670r 'Finis Agadot Talmut, Frater Egidius excerpsit'. Like MS Lat. 527 (1) it is a scholar's collection of pieces, crowded and unfinished.

F. 1r is headed 'N° 7', with a title, which corresponds with N° 7 in the Ridolfi list, ed. Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', p. 552.

30) *Glossarium Chaldicae linguae et Cabalae vocabula*

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 596. Described in *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss lat.*, I. 212. Ff. 525 [+ 1]. Partly in Giles's hand and with Giles's marginalia throughout.

It is a scholar's manuscript, crammed with notes; on ff. 8r-72v there are four columns to a page, in Giles's hand, and on f. 73r 'frater Egidius: strinxit: chaldaica'. The rest of this section, ff. 73r-202v is in another hand but with marginalia by Giles, and f. 202v is headed 'Chaldea Babylonica, Aramea: fratris Egidii Viterbiensis'. The rest of the volume, ff. 203r-[526r] is in four column pages, in Giles's hand.

At the very end, f. 526v, another hand has inserted 'N° 4' and a title which corresponds to the No. 4 and title in the Ridolfi catalogue, published by Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', p. 551.

31) *Vocabula diversorum librorum hebraicorum exposita*

Paris, BN, MS Lat 597. Described in *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss lat.*, I. 212. Ff. 721. Partly in Giles's hand and with Giles's marginalia throughout.

Here again we have a scholar's manuscript, crammed with notes; there are usually 4-5 columns to a page, and occasionally there are 7, and all in small script.

This has been identified by Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', p. 551, as No. 1 in the Ridolfi catalogue.

32) *Interpretatio et annotationes Aegidii Viterbiensis in Librum decem Sephirot et in libros Cabalae*

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 598. Described in *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss lat.*, I. 212-13. Ff. 382. In Giles's hand and with Giles's marginalia.

This is a further example of a scholar's crowded manuscript, in many cases with two columns to a page, as on ff. 305r-353r; on f. 131v there is in the margin the Giles device of the triple hill surmounted by a cross. At the end of the first section, f. 65r there is a longish, moving, prayer by Giles and his signature; f. 118r, 'Finis Mayrehet: 1513: 10 maij'; f. 163v, 'Sequitur oratio fr. Egid. in Racanatensis super quinque Libros Moisis'; f. 376v has Giles's signature.

There are seven preliminary folios, blank except on f. [7v], whose 'N° 9' corresponds to No. 9 in the Ridolfi catalogue published by Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', p. 552.

33) *Ben Hacane liber qui Pelia dicitur*

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 3667. Listed in *Cat. cod. mss Bibl. Regiae*, 3 (Paris 1744) 445.

Ff. [4+] 38 [+10]. The text, ff. 1r-36r, is in Giles's hand, and there are many marginalia throughout, also in his hand. The title on f. 1r, 'Ben Hacane liber qui Pelia dicitur: frater Egidius', indicates that he compiled the work before he was created cardinal in July 1517. The script is cramped and there are many marginalia. In a word, it was a translation Giles made for his own use, not for publication.

It is listed as No. 38 in the Ridolfi catalogue, ed. Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', p. 553, but with a misleading title, 'Neconia Ben Acana traductus per reverendissimum cardinalem Aegidii [sic]'.

How devoted Giles was to Hebrew studies and how anxious he was to acquire a copy of *Ben Hacane* appears in a letter he wrote on 9 jan. 1514 to the Venetian Augustinian, Gabriele Della Volta

> Nos quidem in studiis sanctae linguae hebraeae libentissime conquiescimus et optamus optimos quosque in eo genere sortiri libros: quotquot occurrunt tibi gratissimum nobis faceres si tua opera haberi a nobis poterunt. De libro quem scribis, sine mercede vigini aureorum exemplari non posse, qui quidem liber *Bencana* dicitur super primum cap., hic scribentibus volumina hebraica pro singulo quinternione Marcellos praebemus duos; idcirco curato quantum poteris detrahere, sed ut habeatur liber *Bencana* nullis pecuniis stetur

in BA, MS Lat. 1001, ff. 295v-296r (also BA, MS Lat. 688, ff. 49r-50r, where it is undated).

34) *Nonnulla opera cabalistica*

Rome, Vatican, MS Lat. 5198. Ff. ii + 324 [+ 1]. The sub-title runs, 'Aegidio Viterbiensis Card. interprete'.

The script is inelegant, by two different hands (1) 1r-228v, 247r-258v, (2) 229r-246v, 259v-324v. This is a scholar's notebook, in use, covered with Latin marginalia in Giles's hand. There are Hebrew symbols throughout, particularly ff. 229r-246v, and three lines of Arabic on f. 259r under the heading "Zohar B^{r}". On f. 324v, 'Finis Sodot Aramban in Lege: via veritatis; quae Frater Egidius conscripsit. Christo Dei cuius filio eidemque deo decus honor gloria. Amen'.

35) *Liber de revolutione 27 litterarum hebraicarum secundum viam in lingua hebrea*

Listed as No. 37 in the Ridolfi catalogue (now BN, Paris, MS Grec 3, 074, f. 77v) of Giles's library, and described as 'traductus per Reverendissimum Cardinalem Aegidii [sic]'. slightly misrepresented as 'versus per Reverendissimum Cardinalem Aegidium' in Montfaucon, *Bibl. bibl. mss nova*, II. 779, and by Perini, *Bibl. Aug.*, I. 183, as 'interprete Aegidio Viterbiensi', but correctly reproduced by Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', p. 553. It has not yet been located in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. It is liable to be confused with another work which was No. 18 in the Ridolfi catalogue, 'Revolutio septuaginta duorum nominum in hebreo', listed in Astruc and Monfrin, cit., p. 552. On the original evidence (the Ridolfi catalogue), the 'Liber de revolutione' was translated by Giles.

36) *De moribus Turcarum*

Listed by Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 194, who adds, 'quod vivente adhuc Egidio Jacobus Sadoletus periise arbitratur', as appears from a

letter of Sadoleto to Giles, in *Epistolae Sadoletae*, Lyons 1559, Lib. III, p. 149. Giles is credited with having embarked on a study of Turkish and Persian, see Xystus Schier, 'Adnotationes in Dominici Antonii Gandolfi', in BA, MS Lat. 353, p. 201.

ATTRIBUTED TO GILES: DOUBTFUL

37) *Philosophia ad mentem Platonis*

It is attributed to Giles by Gandolfo, *Dissertatio*, p. 19, a claim repeated by Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 195, who describes it, 'in 4. In Bibliotheca Carbonaria ad S. Joannem'. The vague title could apply to several of Giles's compositions, but it may well refer to the second item in a MS at Naples, BN, MS VIII. F. 7, which seems to have come from the library of the Augustinian priory of San Giovanni in Carbonara. The work is not by Giles, but was compiled for him by Nicolo Scutelli. It is noted by Kristeller, *Iter*, I. 409-10. The MS, which runs to 512 folios, appears to be composed of three parts, i) 'Proclus in Timaeum', ff. 1r-34v; ii) 'Proclus, id operis Periclii', ff. 38v-299r; iii) 'Iamblicus de Mysteriis', ff. 311r-511v. The second item begins on f. 38v, 'Philosophia Platonis divinitus revelata'. There are marginalia by Giles throughout the MS, but particularly on the second item. Among Scutelli's notes are, 'Jesu Domino sempiterna laus. Hanc lecturam Viterbium peperit MDXX. Urbs Roma partum solvit' (f. 299r), 'F. Nicolaus Trid. e Graecia colligebat' (f. 299v), 'Interprete F. Nicolao Er^to^ Aug^o^' (f. 511v).

38) *Liber dialogorum*

J. Pamphilius, *Chronicon Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini*, Rome 1581, not merely gives the title of the work, but convincingly adds the incipit, 'En ad Te Princeps Praesulque Humanissime'. It is listed as a bare title by C. Curtius, *Virorum illustrium ex Ordine Eremitarum S. Augustini elogia*, Antwerp 1636, p. 106; and Elssius, *Encom. Aug.*, Brussels 1654, p. 14, adds credibility to the attribution by citing part of the incipit, 'En ad te Princeps'. Neither they nor the several other Augustinian authors who mention this work cite its location. D.A. Gandolfo, *Dissertatio*, Rome 1704, p. 19, looked in vain for it. There is a short text at Naples, BN MS V.F. 5, entitled 'Platonis Dialogus de Iusto', see Kristeller, *Iter*, I. 418. It was composed by Scutelli, 'Fratre Nicolao Tridentino Eremita Augustiniano interprete' (f. 8v), at Rome, in Giles's house, during

April 1525, 'Romae in aedibus R^mi Egidii. Idibus April. MDXXV' (f. 1v). It is possible that, as with other texts composed or copied by Scutelli for Giles (see above, Nos 17 and 37) it gave rise to the mistaken notion that Giles was the author. However, the incipit of this Naples MS is not 'En ad te Princeps'. On the evidence supplied by Pamphilius, the balance of probability is in favour of the existence of such a work at one time, though it is unlikely to have been a substantial composition.

39) *Scholia Platonica conformia Evangelio*

It was attributed to Giles by Gandolfo, *Dissertatio*, pp. 18-19, who adds, 'Scribit de hoc libro P.M. Augustinus Rubeus, iam excell. Principis Ioannis Andreae Auriae viventis magister et a secretis in indice MSS apud me: Est eiusdem Aegidii, ut opinor: nam nomen auctoris non apparet, licet scriptio et doctrina satis Aegidium ostendant'. He added that it was 'in 4 ... in Carbonaria'. This was repeated by Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 195.

The MS in question appears to be one noted by Kristeller, *Iter*, I. 409-10, a quarto volume, ff. 207, apparently from the Augustinian priory of San Giovanni in Carbonara, 'Orphei et aliorum laniamenta ac Proclus in Rempublicam Platonis', now Naples, BN, MS II. F. 7. However, though this MS has many marginalia by Giles, for whom it was written, there is no doubt that it was composed by Nicolo Scutelli; see his notes on ff. 184r, 191v, 207r, all dated to 1526. For Scutelli see Perini, *Bibl. Aug.*, III. 175-6, who does not however note this MS.

40) *Porphyrii mysteria et Procli*

This work was mentioned in a letter from Celio Calcagnini to Jacopo Zieglero, undated but written on receiving a letter of 26 April 1519 from Zieglero,

> 'Accedit Aegidius Cardinalis vir singulari integritate ac nominis celebritate, qui Porphyrii mysteria et Procli theologiam latinam fecit. Is vero, Dii boni, quantum habet literarum, quantum ingenia ad eruenda totius vetustatis arcana.

in Caelius Calcagninus, *Opera Aliquot*, Basle 1544, pp. 100-101. This unsatisfactory title of the work may refer to Giles's *Sententiarum liber primus*, see above No. 17, or it may be a confusion with two MSS which were copied for Giles by Scutelli, namely Vatican, MS Barb. Lat. 322, ff. 133r-144r, 'Porphirii 'Αφορμα', sive Ansae ad rerum divinarum captum' (see Kristeller, *Iter*, II. 458), or Naples, BN, II. F.

7, 'Orphei et aliorum laniamenta ad Proclus in Rempublicam Platonis' (Kristeller, *Iter*, I. 409-10). G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, Tome VI, pt 3 [vol. 10], Rome 1785, p. 418, claimed to be the first commentator to note this work (or works) of Giles.

41) *Annotationes in tria priora capita Geneseos*

Described by J. Pamphilius, *Chronicon Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini*, Rome 1581, f. 141v, as 'In principium Geneseos sive Hexameron'. Listed by C. Curtius, *Virorum illustrium ex Ordine Eremitarum S. Augustini elogia*, Antwerp 1636, p. 106, and Elssius, *Encom. Aug.*, Brussels 1654, p. 14, but with no further information. In 1704 Gandolfo, *Dissertatio*, p. 19, stated that he looked without success for the MS, but A. Arpe, *Pantheon Augustinianum*, Genoa 1709, p. 269, claimed to have seen among Giles's works in the Biblioteca, Rome, the 'Notas in Genes[im]'. In 1768, Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 194, gave somewhat more detail when he described it as 'Annotationes in Genesim, aliosque Veteris Testamenti libros, et in Talmud Codex chart.', but the Austrian Augustinian historian, Xystus Schier (1727-1772), writing about the same time as Ossinger and giving the same title as had Ossinger, commented, 'unde patet, id quod alii viderunt, hujus tantum fuisse fragmentum', in BA, MS Lat. 353, p. 203. The work in question may be identical with a MS at Paris, BN, MS Lat. 527 (1), listed in the Ridolfi catalogue as 'Traductio libri Zoar in tribus primis libris Moysis cum ejusdem annotationibus ad extra. Liber Temuna cum suis expositionibus ac annotationibus. Index nominum sanctorum. Secundus liber Temuna cum aliis annotationibus ab extra alterius intentionis.', see Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latin et hébreux', p. 551 : described in *Bibl. Nat. : cat. gen. mss latins*, I. 184.

42) *Psalterium translatum*

Joannes Matthaeus Tuscanus, *Peplus Italiae*, Paris 1587, p. 50, prints a verse in praise of Giles, then adds, 'Patri Aegidio fuit Viterbium professus est Ordinis Eremitarum institutum: eruditione et sanctimonia purpurem galerum est assecutus. Extat psalterium ab eo translatum'. The translation, if it still exists, has not been located. The solution may however lie in a Vatican MS, Vat. Lat. 2930, ff. 155-169, which are notes on the Psalter, showing a knowledge of Hebrew and Arabic. Giovanni Mercati has suggested that the notes may be the work of Giles, see Giovanni Mercati, 'A propositio del commentario di

Probo a Virgilio', in *Giovanni Mercati: opere minori*, 4 (Vatican 1937) 434. Giles was expert in Hebrew and was credited by Widmanstetter, in the preface to his edition of the Syriac of the New Testament, as being the only christian scholar in western Europe with a knowledge of Arabic, see *Liber Sacrosancti Evangelii de Jesu Christo Domino et Deo nostro* ... characteribus et lingua Syra, Vienna 1555, f. [10r-v].

43) *De locis quae sapientes Hebraeorum gratia commutaverunt*

Giles, in an undated letter to Giovanni Matteo Giberti, the noted reformer and later cardinal, relates that he had compiled a work for Cardinal Bernardino Carvajal:

> Jussit Reverendissimus Cardinalis Sanctorum Quatuor [Coronatorum] ea scribere loca, quae sapientes Hebraeorum abdendorum arcanorum gratia commutaverunt. Scripsi ea quae non iniuria abscondita voluisse intelliges: quippe quae omnia nostri Salvatoris mysteriis complectantur. Mitto ea ad te, ut vel legis vel legendas fido alicui trades....

in Martène and Durand, *Veterum scriptorum*, III. 1260. There is no evidence that this compilation was more than an aide-mémoire or list of passages from Jewish authors. It hardly merits to be described as one of Giles's writings, as it has been by J.A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis*, Florence 1858 ed., I. 22.

44) *De adventu Messiae*

In a letter to Reuchlin, Rome 1516, Giles mentioned, 'Mitto testimonia de adventu Messihaei', in *Illustrium virorum epistolae, hebraicae, graecae et latinae, ad Joannem Reuchlin ... quibus iam pridem editus est liber secundus nunquam antea editus*, Hagenau 1519, f. [50r]. The more precise dating for the letter, 25 October 1516, is given in Vat.Lat. 3461, f.31v, and was recorded contemporaneously in Giles's register, in A.G.A., Dd 12, f. 82v, 'Dedimus litteras familiares ad Dominum Reuclin'.

In the list of Giles's manuscripts in the royal library at Paris was an entry, No. 53, entitled 'Opus contra Hebreos de Adventu Messiae et de nominibus divinis contra eosdem', see Astruc et Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', p. 553, below No. 57. On the strength of that entry, it has been assumed by Fabricius, op. cit., I. 22, Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 195, and Perini, *Bibl. Aug.*, I. 183, that the work was by Giles. It may, in fact, be identical with the 'Testimonia' sent to Reuchlin in 1516, but there is no proof that this is so, and that particular MS, No.

53, has not yet been located for examination in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

On the strength of the letter to Reuchlin, the only safe conclusion is that Giles sent notes to the German humanist. They may well be identical with 'De locis quae sapientes Hebraeorum gratia commutaverunt', see above No. 43, but, on the evidence at present available, it would not be justified to describe the 'De adventu Messiae' as a literary work of Giles. Furthermore, there has been confusion between 'De adventu Messiae' and an 'Opus contra Hebreos', see below, No. 57.

45) *De immortalitate animae*

In an undated letter, Giovanni Matteo Gilberti thanks Giles for a composition, written by midnight oil ('lucubrationem tuam'), and mentions that it deals with immortality ('Ubi enim tu immortalitatem illam, omnibus rebus praeponendam dicis, quid aliud niteris, nisi ut haec fluxa caducaque tantisper aequo animo feramus, quo ad illam pervenire possimus?'). The letter is in BA, MS Lat. 1001, ff. 27v-28r; published from BN, Naples, V.F. 20, by Martène and Durand, *Veterum scriptorum*, cit., see above, No. 43.

On the strength of those references, it is claimed by E. Massa, 'Egidio da Viterbo e la metodologia del sapere nel cinquecento', in *Pensée humaniste et traduction chrétienne aux XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles*, ed. H. Bédarida, Paris 1950, pp. 185-239, at p. 185 n. 1, that Giles wrote a separate work, 'De immortalitate animae', but the evidence does not support this deduction. The composition may have been a mere series of notes, or a brief essay, or even Giles's 'Sententiarum liber primus', see above, No. 17. No such work as 'De immortalitate animae' is known to have survived.

46) *De materia et forma*

E. Massa in *Pensée humaniste*, cit., (see above, No. 45), p. 185 n. 1, states that a work of Giles, now lost, entitled 'De materia et forma'., is referred to in BA, MS Lat. 1001, ff. 127v-128r, as finished. The letter is from Giles to Fra Serafino, dated from the Cimino 19 July [1507?]. While it speaks about the opposition between Aristotelians and Platonists, and refers in that context to the interpretations of 'materia et forma', and the completion of a work (which may be any of Giles's several works such as his 'Sententiarum liber primus', see above, No. 17), there is no solid evidence for attributing to him a monograph, 'De materia et forma'.

47) *De disciplinis Ethruscis*

L.-G. Pelissier, *De opere historico Aegidii Cardinalis Viterbiensis*, Montpellier 1896, p. 15, stated that Giles mentioned he had composed this work. In fact, Giles, in the MS in question, BA, MS Lat. 502, f. 23r, refers to his intention to write such a work (as he does in his *De aurea aetate*, ed. J.W. O'Malley in *Traditio*, 25 (1969) 285, 287), but there is no evidence that he ever did so. See O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo*, p. 13 n. 4.

48) *Informatio contra Lutheranam sectam pro Apostolicae Sedis auctoritate*

Listed as No. 14 in the Ridolfi catalogue of Giles's library, which is printed by Montfaucon, *Bibl. bibl. mss nova*, II. 779, ed. Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', pp. 551-4 at p. 552. The work is described, with an obvious slip, as 'pro Aristotelicae Sedis auctoritate'. The cataloguer adds the comment, 'Credo sit opus Cardinalis Aegidii', which is imprecisely reproduced by Montfaucon as 'Puto esse opus Aegidibus Cardinalis Viterbiensis'. The question of authorship has so far remained open, as the MS has not yet been located for examination in the Bibliothèque Nationale. For two other similar works, sometimes attributed to Giles, see below Nos 56 and 57; see also D. Gutiérrez, 'I primi Agostiniani che scrissero contro Lutero', in *Anal. Aug.*, 39 (1976) 7-74 at p. 73.

ATTRIBUTED TO GILES: DUPLICATED TITLES

49) *De arcana Judeorum doctrina*

It is thus listed in *Cat. cod. mss Bibl. Reg.*, 3 (Paris 1744) 409, Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 194, and Perini, *Bibl. Aug.*, I. 183 (17); described in *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss lat.*, 5 (1966) 291-2.

In fact it has been published under its more correct name, *Scechina* by F. Secret, *Scechina e libellus de litteris hebraicis*, Paris 1959, 2 vols, pp. 63-239, 1-340, from Paris, BN, MS Lat. 3363, ff. 154r-394v. See above No. 11.

50) *Commentaria in quosdam Psalmos, ad Leonem X*

Mentioned by Elssius, *Encom. Aug.*, p. 14, repeated by Gandolfo, *Le porpore agostiniane*, Mantua 1695, p. 40, and Perini, *Bibl. Aug.*, I. 184 (28). In fact this is the work now known as 'Historia XX Saeculorum', see above No. 18. Giles had to title on the work, but a disciple, probably Girolamo Seripando, described it as 'Aegidii

Viterbiensis Hystoria XX Saeculorum', and added the sub-title, 'per totidem Psalmos digesta. Ad Leonem X Pont. Max.'. Hence the mistake by Elssius, Gandolfo, Perini and others.

51) *Liber de decem seculis*

Listed as No. 55 in the Ridolfi catalogue of Giles's library, in Montfaucon, *Bibl. bibl. mss nova*, II, 779, ed. Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux, p. 553, but not attributed to Giles. This was a copy of Giles's *Historia XX Saeculorum*, see above No. 18, and was copied from the original at Naples, BN, MS IX.B.14, which has an inscription on f. 1r, at the foot of the page, 'Liber de decem seculis, No. LV'. Another copy of Giles's work at Naples, BN, MS IX.B.12, likewise has the title, 'Liber de decem seculis'.

52) *De Romanis Pontificibus*

Listed by Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 195, and described as 'MS extat in Angelica Romae'. Almost certainly this is a confusion with Giles's 'Historia XX Saeculorum', for which see above, No. 18.

Wrongly Attributed to Giles

53) *De opere sex dierum*

Listed by Perini, *Bibl. Aug.*, I. 183 (9), and F. Stegmueller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, 2 (Madrid 1950) 23 (918),' as at Naples, BN, MS VII.A.10. In fact this is a work of Aegidius Romanus († 1316); it ends, f.101r, 'Explicit Liber Exameron. i. de operibus Sex Dierum, editus a Fratre Egidio Romano Ordinis Eremitarum Divi Augustini'.

54) *Promemoria ad Hadrianum Papam VI de depravato statu Romanae Ecclesiae, et quomodo reformari possit ac debeat.*

Published by Konstantin Hoefler in *Analecten zur Geschichten Deutschlands und Italiens* in *Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der könig. Bayer. Akd. der Wissenschaften*, IV, Bd III, Abthl. (B.), Munich 1846, pp. 62-98, and attributed to Giles. Fifty years later it was proved that the author was Cardinal Campeggio, see W. Friedensburg, 'Ueber den Verfasser des "Promemoria ad Hadrianum Papam de depravato statu Romanae ecclesiae"', in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, N.F., I-II (Vierteljahrshefte, 1896-7) pp. 71-74. Authors such as Palmieri in *D.T.C.*, 6 (1915) 1368, and Perini, *Bibl. Aug*, I. 184 (31) have continued to attribute it to Giles.

55) *Resolutio lutheriana super propositionem suam XIII de potestate Papae*

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 3395, pp. 1-40. Listed as No. 28 in the Ridolfi catalogue of Giles's library, printed by Montfaucon, *Bibl. bibl. mss nova*, II. 779, ed. Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', pp. 551-4, and described in *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss lat.*, V. 341-2.

Far from being from Giles's pen, it is a work by Luther, ed. in the 'Weimarer Ausgabe' of his works, II (1884) 184-240. Neither the text nor marginalia are in Giles's hand. This and two works, see above no. 48, below no. 57, which were listed in the Ridolfi catalogue are briefly discussed by D. Gutiérrez, 'I primi Agostiniani italiani che scrissero contro Lutero', in *Anal. Aug.*, 39 (1976) 73, and he rightly concludes that none of them can be ascribed with any certainty to Giles.

56) *Informatio pro concilio contra Lutheranos*

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 3395, pp. 43-134. Listed as No. 29 in the Ridolfi catalogue, printed by Montfaucon, *Bibl. bibl. mss nova.*, II. 779, ed. Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', pp. 551-4, and described in *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss lat.*, V. 341-2.

Neither text nor marginalia are in Giles's hand. No positive evidence points to him as author. The style is not his, e.g., describing Luther as 'ministrum Sathanae' (p. 43), and 'primogenitum Sathanae' (p. 44). The possibility of Giles being the author is briefly discussed by O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo*, p. 18 n. 1; see also Gutiérrez cit. in *Anal. Aug.*, 39 (1976) 73. The document was one of the memorials on the Lutheran problem which Pope Leo X called for in consistory on 6 Feb. 1521.

57) *Racha*

Paris, BN, MS Lat. 3461, ff. 1r-19v. Listed as No. 43 in the Ridolfi catalogue of Giles's library, published by Montfaucon, *Bibl. bibl. mss nova*, II. 779 (A), ed. Astruc and Monfrin, 'Livres latins et hébreux', pp. 551-4, and described in *Bibl. Nat.: cat. gen. mss lat.*, V. 445-6.

It is anonymous, beginning, 'Super verbis Evangelii. "Non ad solvendam legem sed ad implendam veni". Antiqua disceptatio fuit apud Mathei evangelium ...'. This was a tract, commonly attributed to Jérôme Aléandre, dating from the year 1526, an attack on the Protestant position and Erasmus. It was never printed and, though mentioned several times by Erasmus, it disappeared from sight, see

J. Paquier, *L'humanisme et la Réforme : Jérôme Aléandre*, Paris 1900, p. lxix.

An anonymous tract was examined at Paris by Professor Eugenio Massa, who announced the discovery in an article, 'Egidio da Viterbo, Machiavelli, Lutero e il pessimismo cristiano', in *Archivio di Filosofia*, 18 (1949) 96, and unhesitatingly attributed the work to Giles — 'Lo stile, i pensieri, la cultura, le premesse sono tutte tipicamente egidiane. Anche senza l'indicazione de MS 3074, l'identificazione dell'autore sarebbe stata evidente'. He repeated his judgement in 'Egidio da Viterbo e la metodologia del sapere nel Cinquecento', in *Pensée humaniste et tradition chrétienne aux XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles*, Paris 1950, pp. 185-239, now identifying it as the long-lost *Racha*. A. Renaudet, *Erasme et l'Italie*, Geneva 1954, pp. 225-6, p. 236 n. 6, rejected the attribution to Giles. Professor Massa reconsidered the evidence, and in a detailed article, 'Intorno ad Erasmo, una polemica che si credeva perduta', in *Classical, Medieval and Renaissance studies in honor of Berthold Louis Ullman*, ed. C. Henderson, 2 (Rome 1964) 435-54, appeared to reverse his judgement, but according to S. S. Menchi, in *Eresia e Riforma*, Miscellania I, Florence-Chicago, 1974, p. 73, n. 11, Massa still contends that Giles is the author of *Racha*. This remains to be proved.

58) *Opus contra Hebreos de adventu Messiae et de nominibus divinis contra eosdem*

The title first appeared as No. 53 in the Ridolfi catalogue of Giles's library, published in 1739 by Montfaucon, *Bibl. bibl. mss nova*, II. 779. At that stage it was mentioned as merely a work in Giles's library among the collection of Giles's MSS and books in the royal library at Paris, but Ossinger, *Bibl. Aug.*, p. 195, in citing the entry from Montfaucon mistakenly attributed the work to Giles, 'In eadem Bibliotheca [Regia, Pariis] num. 53 reperitur opus Aegidii, cujus titulus: Contra Hebraeos de Adventu Messiae, et divinis nominibus contra eos'. The mistake was repeated by various writers such as Palmieri in *D.T.C.*, 6 (1915) 1369, and Perini, *Bibl. Aug*, 1 (1929) 183, but Astruc and Monfrin, editing the catalogue 'Livres latins et hébreux', pp. 551-4, at 553, correctly reproduce the title without any attribution to Giles. F. Secret, 'Aegidiana Hebraica', in *Revue des études juives*, 1 (1962) 409, establishes that in a MS at Paris, identified by Astruc and Monfrin, cit., p. 552, as No. 24 of the Ridolfi catalogue, now Paris, BN, MS Italien 612, there is a section, ff. 148r-194v, in

Giles's hand, 'les éléments d'un Adversus Judaeos, en latin de la main de Giles de Viterbe', from the year 1517. Giles was there copying from some other work, not composing. For Giles's personal friendly attitude to the Jews see F. Secret, *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance*, Paris 1964, pp. 107-120, also O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo*, pp. 82-4.

There has been confusion between the 'Opus contra Hebreos' and another work attributed to Giles, 'De adventu Messiae', see above No. 44.

59) *Là've l'aurora.* Pseudo-Giles.

As already noted above (see No. 13) two editors, Arrivabene and Dolce, by a coincidence published in the year, 1553, and in the same city, Venice, a poem entitled *Là've l'aurora*, and attributed it to Giles. The coincidence of publication is a puzzle and the attribution to Giles a mystery. Perhaps the text was circulating without an author's name and the similarity of its theme to that of Giles's *Caccia de amore* convinced Arrivabene and Dolce that this also was from his pen. However, it is more likely that, in the tightlyknit world of Venetian publishers and editors, they were supplied with the text, and with Giles's name as the author, by some person, at present unknown.

Thirty-eight of the verses were published separately at Florence in 1560 as *Stanze divinissime del Reverendissimo Cardinale Egidio*, 'ad instantia de Damonfido pastore, detto el Peregrino'; copy at London, BL, 11427.b.25. The poem has been continually attributed to Giles right to the present day, though the attribution was sharply (and, I believe, correctly) rejected in 1571.

Là've l'aurora became more popular than *Caccia de amore*. Dolce, who had published *Là've l'aurora* in his collection of *Stanze* in 1553, reprinted it in his *Rime scelte da diversi autori*, in that same year, in preference to *Caccia*, and thus set the standard for most of the editors who followed him over the centuries. Yet, a direct and convincing challenge to the assertion that Giles was the author of *Là've l'aurora* was published by Agostino Ferentilli, *Della scielta di stanze di diversi autori Toscani*, Venice: B. Giunta, 1571, pp. 18-19.

The facts and sources which Ferentilli cited are cogent. The poem, on the reign of 'La Pudicitia', was written, he stated, by Giovambattista Lapini, known as 'Fisicoso Intronato' of Siena, at the request of a noble Sienese lady, Laura Piccolomini de' Turchi. Ferentilli claimed to have the written testimony of Donna Laura

herself, as well as that of several citizens of Siena who had copies of the poem addressed to Donna Laura and in Lapini's own hand. Furthermore, the first drafts of the poem, with Lapini's emendations, were in possession of Lapini's nephews. All this evidence, according to Ferentilli, had been duly registered by a public notary at Siena, Ser Buonsignor Gherardi.

Ferentilli's little volume was published by the firm of Giunta at Venice in 1571 (copy at London, BL, 11426.a.46), reprinted in 1579 (copy at London, BL, 1062.a.2) and again in 1584 (copy at Rome, Bibl. Casanatense, Rari 25). But Ferentilli's work was overshadowed by the *Stanze* and *Rime* of Dolce, which went through many editions and reprintings between 1553 and 1600. The result was a general acceptance that Giles was author of *Là've l'aurora*, though Bulgarini in his *Repliche di Bellisario Bulgarini alle risposte del Sig. Orazio Capponi*, Siena, 1585, p. 49 (copy at Rome, BA, RR.4.12), reaffirmed that Lapini was the author. This made no impression on the Augustinian, Domenico Antonio Gandolfo, whose *Fiori poetici dell'eremo agostiniano*, published at Genoa in 1682 (copy at Rome, BA, T.10.35) reprinted both *Là've l'aurora*, pp. 81-93, and *Caccia de amore*, pp. 94-107, as by Giles. Gandolfo blandly reasserted this view in his *Le porpore agostiniane*, published at Genoa in 1695, p. 37 (copy at Rome, BA, FF 9.21). As an Augustinian, he was obviously determined to claim the most credit possible for a member of his order.

The controversy about the authorship of *Là've l'aurora* was unintentionally revived three years later by a great literary figure, Giovanni Maria Crescimbeni, principal founder of the Arcadia Academy at Rome. In the first general history of Italian poetry, *L'istoria della volgar poesia*, Rome 1698, p. 322, he paid tribute to Giles as author of *Là've l'aurora*, but, while the work was still in the press, somebody drew his attention to Ferentilli's book. Crescimbeni then added a note on p. 397, mentioning that it was necessary to reconsider the authorship in the light of Ferentilli's evidence. Gandolfo was not going to relinquish his view easily, and in his last published work, *Dissertatio historica de ducentis celeberrimis Augustinianis scriptoribus*, Rome 1704, pp. 16-20, he surveyed Giles's achievements and repeated the claim for both *Caccia de amore* and *Là've l'aurora*. He referred to the doubts expressed by Crescimbeni about the authorschip of *Là've l'aurora*, but reported confidently that he had convinced Crescimbeni that the poem came from Giles's pen.

This was wishful thinking on the part of Gandolfo. When Crescimbeni published volume 3 of his *De' comentari intorno all'istoria della volgar poesia*, Rome 1711, he gave due praise to Giles as an Italian poet and for evidence printed, pp. 225-235, the *Caccia de amore*, not *Là've l'aurora*. In a second edition of his *L'istoria della volgar poesia*, Rome 1714, p. 334, Crescimbeni repeated his praise of *Là've l'aurora*, but now described it ambiguously as by Giles or some other author. In the final edition of his *De' comentari*, vol. 4, Venice 1730, pp. 14-15, he mentioned the controversy about the authorship of *Là've l'aurora* but gave no judgement of his own on the issue. He went on, however, to state that Giles did not need that particular poem since he could safely be ranked among the restorers of poetry in Italy by reason of his *Caccia de amore*. To prove his point, Crescimbeni then printed (pp. 15-23) the poem.

A clear-cut stand was taken by Francesco Saverio Quadrio, *Della storia e della ragione d'ogni poesia*, vol. 3 [tom. II, pt 2], Milan 1742, when he praised (p. 261) Giles as author of *Caccia de amore*, but opted for Lapini as composer of *Là've l'aurora*. It has already been noted, see above No. 13, how confusion arose not merely about the authorship of *Là've l'aurora*, but between it and *Caccia de amore*, a confusion which has come down to our own century. It is now, we hope, at an end.

One further aspect of *Là've l'aurora* deserves mention since it reveals a still further complication about the question of authorship and directly involves Giles. There are two MS version copies of the poem — Venice, BN Marciana, MS It. IX. 307 (= 7564), ff. 18v-30r, and Venice, Museo Civico Correr, MS 2546 (998), ff. 164r-170r. Both not only attribute the poem to Giles but state that he wrote it in reply to what his friend, Pietro Bembo, had expressed in verse about love. How this further refinement about *Là've l'aurora* arose is anybody's guess; the problem requires further detailed research.

The copies of the poem at Venice have hitherto escaped the notice of those studying Giles. Clare O'Reilly pointed out to me in 1968 that *Catalogo di manoscritti ora posseduti da D. Baldassarre Boncompagni*, ed. E. Narducci, 2nd ed. Rome 1892, p. 57, referred to a poem by Giles, an octave entitled, 'Nel regno di costui s'impara spesso', in MS 99 (365). But the Boncompagni collection had been dispersed in 1898 and 1906, and it was only after several years' searching that I located the MS in the Marciana Library at Venice, due to the assistance of Dr Angela Dillon, of the Marciana, and of Dr E. Giovi, director of the

Library. It was only then I discovered that the octave was merely part of a longer poem, in fact *Là've l'aurora*, and that it was supposedly a reply to Bembo. By a coincidence about the same time, 1975, I discovered also at Venice, in the Museo Civico Correr, another copy of the poem with the same mention of Bembo. Surprisingly, the Giles item in the Marciana escaped mention in Kristeller, *Iter*, vol. II, and the copy in the Museo Civico Correr was mentioned, ibid., II. 281, simply as unspecified *stanze* of Giles.

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Un Hérodote annoté par Egidio da Viterbo

Le Catalogue des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris, à l'article Hérodote, a relevé que l'exemplaire de l'Hérodote traduit par Lorenzo Valla, de l'édition de Venise 1494 (J. et G. de Gregoriis)[1]) comporte des notes de la main d'Egidio da Viterbo. Cet ouvrage de la collection Piot[2]) porte en effet sur la page de titre «fr(atr)is Aegidii erem(itae) Viterb(iensis)», et au dernier folio CXXXIII: «fr(atr)is Aegidii Viterb(iensis) er(emitae)».

L'ouvrage tout entier a été lu la plume à la main (à l'encre rouge), et les résumés dans les marges sont, quand le sujet est important rappelés tant en haut de page qu'en bas, avec, à l'occasion, une main dessinée pour attirer l'attention, ou le dessin favori d'Egidio da Viterbo de trois sommets plantés de croix, dont la médiane est la plus haute. Egidio comparaît aussi la traduction avec un texte grec, puisqu'au fol. XIIII il a noté: «hic deficit in latino .q.in graeco». Les *Tabulae*, qui se trouvent en tête de l'ouvrage, ont été complétées, et certains mots ont été soulignés. On trouve soulignés par exemple les mots: «Anni-Acheron-Artemisa, Cabyri-Graeci ab Aegypt. Graecanica nova-Oraculis-» et les mots chers à Frater Aegidius Palaeologus ont été ajoutés: ainsi «Tyrrhena-Isis-Osiris».

Quand on sait le soin qu'Egidio da Viterbo mit à composer des dictionnaires[3]), où les grands thèmes de ses préoccupations nées à la lecture de son compatriote Annius de Viterbe, comportent de longues listes de références aux ouvrages de sa bibliothèque, il est certain que cet Hérodote sera de quelque utilité pour l'étude en profondeur qu'il faudra bien mener un jour d'une œuvre étonnante restée à l'état

[1]) *Réserve J. 821.* C'est le seul ouvrage annoté par Egidio da Viterbo, qui figure au Catalogue des appartenances (salle de la Réserve). Nous remercions M. V. Juren de nous avoir signalé cet ouvrage.

[2]) Avec une note sur Egidio da Viterbo, le collectionneur a noté: «J'ai un relief du sceau d'Annius de Viterbe parmi les plaquettes de bronze».

[3]) On trouve ces dictionnaires dans Ms Lat. 596 et 597; cf. *Annuaire de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes études (sciences religieuses)* LXXXIII (1974-75) p. 289; cf. aussi *Notes sur Egidio da Viterbo, Augustiniana* XXVII (1977), p. 205s.v.

manuscrit. Le réformateur a par exemple noté au fol. XXV à propos du «voluptatum contemptus»: «Haec ut totis mediter faciamque diebus F; Eg.». Au fol. XXXXIIII à propos de l'expression «idque ut credere debemus solerti divinitatis prudentia» il a traduit «Divinitatis providentia» avec la figure des trois monts couronnés de croix. Il a souligné la remarque imprimée: «Res. divinius futurae signis declarantur». (fol. CXXXII), tout comme fol. CIIIv. il a résumé: «Sacris freti vincunt».

A l'époque où Egidio da Viterbo lisait, il avait déjà pratiqué l'étude de la kabbale, et l'on trouve par deux fois noté le thème du char et de la Mercava[4]). Ainsi fol. LXXIIII v. il a souligné «decimam quoque redemptionis consecrarunt. Facta aerea quodriga...» et dans la marge: «Decima consecratur: Palladi aequestri MRKBH» (Mercavah); également fol. LXXXXV v. il a souligné: «sequebatur sacer Javis currus: quem 8 equi albi trahebant», et tant dans la marge qu'en haut de page il a écrit: «decem equos currus Jovis: 8 albi... MRKBH»[4]).

Les mequbalim apparaissent en note fol. LXXXIIII v. sur le passage: «negavit te esse suum: quia tempus decem mensium non exisses: per inscitiam talium rerum illi hoc verbum excidit. Nam mulieres etiam 9 menses ac 7 mensium partum edunt...» Et Egidio a écrit: «Cur septimum, cur 9 non a qque de hoc ignotum: nisi MQWBLYM» (Mequabalim, les kabbalistes).

Au fol. XXXVI v. il a souligné «foedus cum rege Arabum... Arabes servant fidem inter homines qui maxime quam hunc in modum dant acuto lapide ferit volam ... sumpto flocco ... inungit eo sanguine 7 lapides, inovocans Dionisum et Uranium ...» et de noter «Dionysium et Uranaiam vocant ὀυροτειλτ καὶ ααιλατ quasi nox: et lux superior suspensa et impendens foedus ut illa secundo inungitur 7 nodorum roboribus: ita duo haec arcana foederis ex QBLH (Kabbalah) quae docet jurare esse septimare»[6]). Et en marge de cette note les

[4]) Cf. *Notes sur Egidio da Viterbo*, p. 214.

[5]) Cf. Egidio da Viterbo, *Scechina*, Rome, 1959 s.v.

[6]) Cf. Paulus Ricius, in J. Pistorius, *Artis cabalisticae*, Bâle, 1587, p. 168 (trad. du *Porta lucis*) «Lex ipsa nomen exprimit Scefua, id est juramentum: quamvis enim dictio juramentum referens, prolatione adaequatur dictioni scivea, id est septem: quo pacto protulit et Abraham Evimelech, Seva, id est septem (inquiens) agnas manu mea suscipe, ideo locum vocavit Beersceva, id est puteus septem...».

équivalences en caractères hébraiques: ASYRYT (ashirith: dixième et YSWD (Yesod, la 9e sephira), puis en dessous NQBH (nequebah = femme) et BRYT (berith: pacte, et membre viril)[7]).

François Secret

[7]) Dans la *Porta lucis*, la seconde sephira, en partant de la dixième, a pour symbole non seulement le Sept, mais encore Yesod (donc Berith), et la dixième est Malkut, la Scechina (femelle).

The Life of John Capgrave, O.E.S.A. (1393-1464)

I

The received biography of John Capgrave is characterized as are many other medieval lives by errors and uncritical accretions, most of them results of confusion, lack of information, and the acceptance of unsubstantiated traditions. Only a few dates in Capgrave's life may be given with certainty: his birth on April 23, 1393; his promotion to the final pre-degree status of *lector* on April 8, 1421; his appointment as a student to Cambridge on April 13, 1422; his formal completion of the bachelor's degree on March 20, 1423; his reception of Henry VI while he was prior at the Austin convent in Lynn on August 1, 1446; his election as prior-provincial of England on July 22, 1453 at Winchester and his confirmation in the office on May 8, 1454; his re-election at Lynn on August 15, 1455 and reconfirmation on February 14, 1456; his recognition of Edmund Rede as the founder of the Austin convent at Oxford in 1456; and his death on August 12, 1464. For the rest there is little sure evidence. Some problems have been convincingly resolved in recent years, and it is hoped others will be settled or clarified here.

There are no further records of a public role which would account for the great reputation Capgrave apparently enjoyed in his own time and certainly had attained by the time the literary biographers began to take note of him in the next century. He is little help himself, for he makes only minimal and bare references to a few of the people he met, and he makes no comment at all on the internal conditions of contemporary England. To come to some understanding of how he could have reached a prominence which is not reflected in his vernacular works, it is important to realize that he always lived not in a rural monastery but in convents in the centres of busy towns, that he came into contact with many of the important religious and political figures of his time, that he travelled abroad, and that he rose to the highest post in the English province of his order. Some aspects of this knowledge, especially the study of his educational course, aid in the interpretation of his works, but chiefly they administer a corrective to the view of Capgrave as a sequestered figure, unaware of or uninvolved in the life about him.

In *The Chronicle of England* Capgrave gives his birthdate as April 23, 1393[1]), and in *The Life of St. Katherine* he specifically says; "My cuntre is of northfolke, of þe town of lynne"[2]). Apart from these bare statements, the only genealogical relationship which has ever been suggested for Capgrave is that he was the nephew and namesake of a fourteenth-century Austin friar, who was appointed to study at Oxford on the recommendation of the masters, bachelors, and priors of the Oxford *limit* (administrative district) and who received his doctorate in theology in 1390. Unfamiliar with the Augustinian archives, the early biographers were unaware that there had been two men of the same name; and in the only instance where they are both mentioned before Alberic de Meijer's 1955 biography, the literary productions are assigned to the earlier man[3]). It is possible to use the few details known about the first John Capgrave to remove certain errors in the author's history.

Apparently the biographies of the two men, one obscure and the other renowned in his own age, were soon confused; and they were certainly conflated as early as the sixteenth century. Without exception until the eighteenth century, the commentators name Oxford as the writer's university. After his own works with their references to Cambridge were discovered, it became customary to describe Capgrave as a «doctor of both the universities». In itself this description is suspect, for the places at the universities were few and zealously guarded in the middle ages. Now that a John Capgrave who did attend Oxford is known, the anomaly is resolved.

This new awareness of the first John Capgrave also helps answer the question of the author's birthplace. In absolute terms, the statement in the *St. Katherine* that he was a man of Lynn, Norfolk, may mean no more than that he was a resident of the Lynn convent at the time of the poem's composition while he originally came from Kent as his first biographers say. But, although there is no mention of his unusual surname in the lists of guild members and borough officials or

[1]) Ed. F.C. Hingston (London, 1858), p. 259.

[2]) Ed. C. Horstmann, E.E.T.S., O.S. 100 (London, 1893), *Prologue*, l. 240.

[3]) L. Torelli, *Secoli Agostiniani*, VII (Bologna, 1682), 314. A. de Meijer comes to the same conclusion in his three part article on Capgrave. Under the title, "John Capgrave, O.E.S.A.", the three parts were published in *Augustiniana*, V (1955), 400-440; and *Augustiniana*, VII (1957), 118-148, 531-574. They will be cited subsequently as de Meijer, Part I, Part II, or Part III. De Meijer discusses the relationship of the two John Capgraves in Part I, 405-406.

in any of the legal documents extant in the town records, there is reason to assume that he was born either in Lynn itself or in the immediate vicinity.

In the first place, one of the statutes of the Austin friars required that a novice enter and thereafter be considered a conventual of the convent nearest his parental home[4]). Since Capgrave was sent to Cambridge, it is reasonable to assume that he belonged originally to the *limit* which it served, that is, to one of the houses at Cambridge, Norwich, Clare, Lynn, Little Yarmouth, Orford, Huntingdon, or Thetford. Because he was made prior at Lynn by 1446 at the latest, kept the house as his permanent residence even during the period when he was prior-provincial, and remained there until his death in 1464, it seems most likely that he had also entered the order there.

Second, there are internal indications in his works which reveal a familiarity with Norfolk, and particularly with Lynn, in his early years. Most important are the references to local events which he makes in *The Chronicle of England*. Throughout the book, he takes note of disasters such as fires in the county and gives more specific accounts of the actions of the various bishops of Norwich than of any others. More particularly, for the year 1400, between the notice of the death of Richard II and the report of the rebellion of Owen Glendower, he records the capture of some Scottish fishing boats by men of Lynn and their being brought to the town (pp. 276-277). In 1404, when he was eleven, he was apparently an eyewitness to the departure of Princess Philippa from Lynn for her marriage to King Eric of Norway (*Chronicle*, p. 292, *De Illustribus Henricis*, p. 109). And, finally, among the more national events of 1416, he reports the stealing of three children of Lynn by beggars and their later recovery in London (*Chronicle*, p. 316).

Finally, since the elder Capgrave was nominated to the university by the senior members of the Oxford *limit*, he clearly came from one of the eight convents under their jurisdiction. One of these was in Kent, at Canterbury, and it may well have been his home. In any case, though this explanation does not help place the writer in Norfolk, it makes it more likely that it was the first John Capgrave who was "in Cantiorum comitatu natus".

[4]) F. Roth, *The English Austin Friars, 1249-1538*, I (New York, 1966), 47.

Since the medieval populace was not highly mobile and since these pieces of evidence strongly suggest that the fourteenth century Capgrave was from the south and Capgrave the author from East Anglia, the hypothetical uncle-nephew link between the two is questionable. In the face of the historical evidence, de Meijer's literal reading of "faders" as "kinsmen" in the following lines is exceedingly tenuous :

> Owt of þe world to my profyte I cam
> On-to þe brotherhode quech I am Inne—
> Godd 3eue me grace neuyr for to blynne
> To folow þe steppes of my faders be-for,
> Whech to þe rewle of Austen wer swore.
> (*The Life of St. Katherine, Prologue*, 11. 241-245)

Thus, while it is tempting to provide Capgrave with some bond in the past, it is more practicable to regard him autonomously and look first at the town where he spent so much of his life.

Whether he was born in the town itself or in one of the nearby hamlets, Lynn would have provided Capgrave with opportunities to view the full range of medieval economic, social, and religious activities. Although it is no longer a prominent centre, Lynn's geographical position made it an important port and market town in the fifteenth century. By 1377 it was ninth in size among the cities of England[5]); and a petition in 1422 for additional chapels to serve the public gives evidence of the numbers who frequented the town[6]). In

[5]) J. C. Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, 1948), p. 142. He estimates Lynn's population as 4,691. The eight towns larger than Lynn and their estimated populations in 1377 were: London, 34,971; York, 10,872; Bristol, 9,518; Plymouth, 7,256; Coventry, 7,226; Norwich, 5,928; Lincoln, 5,354; and Salisbury, 4,839.

[6]) The contents of the petition are known from the reply to it contained in the *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, Vol. VII, A.D. 1417-1431*, ed. J. A. Twenlow (London, 1906), 441-442:

To the bishop of Ely. Mandate as below. The recent petition of the townsmen of Bishop's Lynn (*opidanorum ville de Lenne episcopi*) in the diocese of Norwich contained that within the bounds of their parish church of St. Margaret, appropriated by papal authority to the prior and convent of Norwich, and served by four monks thereof, one of them called prior, who are removeable at the pleasure of the said prior and convent, and by a hired chaplain, a secular priest, the parishioners built at a time immemorial a chapel of St. James and another of St. Nicholas, in each of which a chaplain has hitherto been and still is/ placed by the said prior and convent, who celebrates therein mass and other divine offices and administers to a number of the parishioners by old custom all ecclesiastical sacraments, but not baptism, marriage nor churching of women; and adding that in the said town the multitude and devotion of the said parishioners has

the same way, the total of fifty-two churches, chapels and oratories shows that there were great resources available for private endowment. That one of the four remaining English factories of the Hanseatic League was in Lynn demonstrates its continuing involvement in the Baltic trade. And, while much of England's international trade was destroyed by the wars with the French, by the shifting alliances in the Low Countries, and by the increasing isolation and eastward turning of the Baltic merchants, the merchants of Lynn entered the newly developing Icelandic ventures by 1420 and continually sought to preserve their rights in it by negotiations on their own behalf with the king of the Danes [7]).

As concomitants of this busy trading activity, Lynn not only had a relatively large alien population for an English town [8]), but also felt the struggle for political strength on the part of the middle class. The increasing prosperity of the members of the seventy-five trade guilds in Lynn finally brought them into open conflict with the local merchants in the early years of the fifteenth century while John Capgrave was a student friar. And though Lynn was to become "one of the closest of the close boroughs" [9]) in the end, for the moment the small oligarchy controlling the guild of the Holy Trinity was forced by the general class of burgesses in conjunction with the privileged group of episcopal tenants to allow greater participation in the choice of officials. The increased democracy the townsmen had earned did not last long, but their capacity to get their grievances heard and to force agreements reflects the communal power and, therefore, their relative affluence. Many of the meetings at which corporate affairs were discussed and compromises established were held within the Augustinian convent. Such intrusions of the outside world upon their religious life were of

increased so much that on Easter day every year about 1,600 persons receive the communion (*sacramento Eucaristi communicantur*) in the said parish church, and in the said chapels of St. Nicholas and St. James about 1,400 and 900 respectively. The pope orders the above bishop, if he finds the facts to be as stated, to grant to the parishioners that they may in the said chapels hear mass and other divine offices by the said chaplains and receive from them the said sacraments, and that the said chaplains may freely administer to them the same; saving the right of the parish church and of any other. *Ammonet nos suscepti cura.*

[7]) B. Power and M.M. Postan, *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1933), p. 166.

[8]) H.J.M. Kerling, "Aliens in the County of Norfolk, 1436-1485", *Norfolk Archaeology*, XXXIII (1962), 200-212.

[9]) J. Tait, *The Medieval English Borough* (Manchester, 1936), p. 148.

course characteristic of the mendicant orders in the late middle ages, and witnessing the struggle at close range, Capgrave must have become aware of political realities early.

With so large a population and so much prosperity, Lynn enjoyed dramatic entertainments similar to those in other large centres. There is no evidence for a mystery cycle, but plays of St. Thomas and of Mary and Gabriel were certainly acted[10]); and the various public records of Lynn mention several payments for plays or to players (including minstrels) during the first half of the fifteenth century[11]). Since the Augustinian convent was located in the centre of the town and frequently housed visiting dignitaries, it is likely that Capgrave saw both the public spectacles in the nearby streets and market place and the private entertainments occasionally staged for guests. Two aspects of Capgrave's style in his saints' lives bear considerable resemblance to the techniques of the medieval stage. Everywhere, he focuses on central, objective and dramatically realizable episodes, and whenever an occasion arises in the narrative for a debate, an exorcism, or a conversion, the scene is either carefully described or, at least, established by some prominent object.

Probably Capgrave had joined the Augustinian order no later than 1410[12]). Why he chose the Augustinians over the Franciscans, Dominicans, or Carmelites, all of whom were represented in Lynn, cannot be determined. Certainly, his order was an important one in the

[10]) E.K. Chambers says, in *The Medieval Stage*, II (Oxford, 1903), 374:
There was a Corpus Christi guild as early as 1400, and the Tailor's *Ordinances* of 1441 require them to take part in the Corpus Christi procession; but I do not find evidence of regular annual plays. The Chamberlain's Accounts for 1385, however, include:
'iij^{s}iiijd to certain players, playing an interlude on Corpus Christi day'.
'iij^{s}iiiijd paid by the Mayor's gift to persons playing the interlude of St. Thomas the Martyr'.
and those for 1462 —
'iij^{s} paid for two flagons of red wine, spent in the house of Arnulph Tixonye, by the Mayor and most of his brethren, being there to see a certain play at the Feast of Corpus Christi'. In this same year the Skinners and Sailors 'of the town' received rewards 'for their labour about the procession of Corpus Christi this year'. In 1409-1410 Lady de Beaufort came to see a play.
and Chambers, *ibid.*, p. 384, also records:
In 1444 the corporation of Lynn showed a play with Mary and Gabriel before Lord Scales. [at Middleton, Norfolk].

[11]) Further payments are recorded in the extracts from the Lynn records published in the *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Eleventh Report, Part III* (London, 1887), 162-163.

[12]) de Meijer, Part I, 407.

town, with a house large enough to entertain Bishop Arundel and his retinue in 1383[13]) and the Duke and Duchess of Clarence with three hundred horses in 1413[14]). Moreover, it was chosen as the arena for the meetings of the representatives of the town and of the Bishop of Norwich which have been referred to earlier. As prior, Capgrave was to receive Henry VI there in 1446[15]).

There were many differences in the original intentions of the founders of the great mendicant orders, but within a few generations, they had grown essentially alike. For instance, at the command of the pope — inspired in a vision by St. Augustine, according to Capgrave[16]) — the Augustinians left their rural convents for the urban life of the other friars. The Minors soon neglected St. Francis' injunction to renounce human learning and with the other orders followed the Dominicans in developing advanced schools for the study of theology and allied arts. Moreover, all the orders of friars sought to disseminate the basic Christian beliefs to the people, and in order to discourage concern for local interests and large estates such as occupied so many monastic establishments, they denigrated worldly possessions and created centralized controls ultimately vested in the pope. Finally, despite the Great Schism and the attempts of secular authorities to gain their support for nationalistic goals, they all remained committed to the authority of Rome. Among them, the Augustinian theologians provided the chief arguments for the pope's dominion.

In the late middle ages the spiritual state and moral authority of the friars weakened; and they became subject to charges of worldliness as they fell away from absolute poverty[17]). Medieval sources point to a

[13]) M. Aston, *Thomas Arundel* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 184-185.

[14]) H.J. Hillen, *A History of the Borough of King's Lynn*, (Norwich, 1907), p. 165.

[15]) As he reports in his *De Illustribus Henricis*, ed. F.C. Hingston (London, 1858), pp. 137-139.

[16]) In *The Chronicle of England*, p. 157.

[17]) Throughout his work, Father Roth mentions individual cases of lapsed friars and he discusses frequently recorded cases of the abuse of the vow of poverty (I, 186-189). In addition, he seeks to refute charges of Lollardry made against the Austins. He agrees that the two masters who "spoke against the shirking of taxes by the higher clergy" in 1374 were on the royal or nationalist, as opposed to papal side — "while it is true that they voiced only the popular sentiment it also indicates the inroads Wyclif's teaching had made among those whose first allegiance should have been to the Pope" (I, 64). But, he says later, "It has often been said that some English Austins sided with Wyclif's social teaching. Whatever their ideas in the matter might have been, his attack upon faith turned them against him" (I, 66). Finally, while he suggests there was a

general decline in their intellectual activity as well. The change from great strength to weakness is perhaps less noticeable in the case of the Augustinians because they were third in size among the orders of friars in England, and because they did not produce any scholars at Oxford and Cambridge as important in the shaping of medieval thought as the Franciscans Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and William Ockham or the Dominican Nicholas Trivet. It must also be remembered that what appears on the surface as a sudden increase in the number of Augustinians attending the universities in the last decades of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth, and might be taken as evidence of an upsurge in the academic level, is in fact one of the results of the Great Schism (1382-1417). Since France supported the Anti-pope, the Paris *studium generale* was closed to the other European friars whose countries still adhered to Rome. In consequence, they were drawn to Oxford, Cambridge, and London, and their names in the rolls of students hide the continuing decline to a certain extent[18]).

decline in scholarship after Capgrave's death (I, 430), he does not see spiritual desuetude until about forty years before the Act of Supremacy (I, p. 431 ff.). For a more generalized view of the possible truth behind charges made against the friars, see A. Williams, "Relations between the Mendicant Friars and the Secular Clergy in England in the Later Fourteenth Century", *Annuale Medievale*, I (1969), 22-93.

[18]) A survey of the data in A. B. Emden's two biographical registers substantiates these conclusions. These two monumental works, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957-1959) and *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1963), include notices of some 434 Augustinian friars. (This number was arrived at by reducing the combined total of 212 at Cambridge and 224 at Oxford by the 22 who are either repeated in the Oxford volumes — Abyndon, de Venezia, de Lucca, Hervy, and Schwarzenberg — or who occur in the registers of both universities — Berewyck, Newbigging, Herford, Godwick, Owenby, Cressall, Constanz, Colchester, Marpes, Benit, Sharyngton, Penketh, Galyon, Curteys, Thwaytes, Rose, Toneys.) Of these, 135 received the *magisterium*, the doctorate in theology. The proportion completing the degree reached nearly 50 per cent in the generation immediately prior to Capgrave's (35 of 76 English friars between 1360 and 1400). In addition, none of the 66 foreign friars — primarily Italian and German — appears before 1358, and there are only 17 after the beginning of the fifteenth century. Even more obvious than these indications of the isolation of the English province of the Augustinian order is the sharp decline in the number of friars who are listed as licensed to preach after c. 1352. Between 1274 and 1352, 42 of 84 are licensed, but only 4 of 113 between 1360 and 1400. Certainly more would have been covered by the blanket licenses issued by some bishops; and, of course, Emden's registers do not include any of the friars who received enough theological training to be licensed to preach but who did not attend either of the universities.

Such data provide a meaningful comment on the men who were Capgrave's teachers and senior colleagues. When one-third of those recorded at the convents in

For all this, although the period which saw scholasticism developed to its greatest subtlety by a series of brilliant English friar doctors had ended a century before, it was still among the mendicant rather than the monastic orders that the leading theologians were found in the fifteenth century; and, in this respect, the Augustinians were not unimportant. They provided their share of bishops, particularly to Irish sees; the Augustinian Geoffrey Hardeby was foremost in replying to Archbishop Fitzralph's attacks on the friars; and members of the order were given equal place with other orders in the great meetings on the heretical teachings of Wyclif which were held at Blackfriars under Archbishop William Courtenay and at Oxford[19]) and in the fifteenth century heresy trials which followed the passage of the statute *De Haeretico Comburendo*[20]).

Augustinian historians do not discuss the connection in detail, but the order, or at least the Oxford convent of it, had good reason to sympathize with Wyclif's opinions in the early stages of the controversy. Since disputations were regularly held in the Austin convent, it is not especially important that Wyclif was lecturing there when he received the news of his condemnation. But many of his beliefs were derived from the greatest of the Augustinian theologians, Giles of Rome[21]); and the later prior-provincial, Thomas Winterton, was one of his close associates. In addition, the appearance of Wyclif's *Determinatio* in the collection of works made by another Austin friar, Adam Stocton, in the 1370's also reflects interest in Wyclif's ideas[22]).

After the authoritative condemnation of Wyclif's opinions by the mendicant theologians and by Archbishop Courtenay at the Blackfriars (or "Earthquake") Council of 1382, there is, with the single exception of Peter Pateshull[23]), no occasion to question the orthodoxy

university towns were foreigners and nearly one-half continued to the final degree, there can be no doubt that their view extended well beyond the insular and that the disputations they undertook were sophisticated and diverse.

[19]) H.B. Workman, *John Wiclif: A Study of the English Medieval Church*, II (Oxford, 1926). At the Blackfriars Council each of the mendicant orders had two representatives.

[20]) One of the most famous was the trial of William Taylour in 1423. At that time John Lowe, later Bishop of St. Asaph, was one of the Augustinian doctors.

[21]) A. Gwynn, *The English Austin Friars in the Time of Wyclif* (London, 1940), pp. 230, 235.

[22]) *Ibid.*, pp. 236-239.

[23]) *Ibid.*, pp. 274-275. Capgrave mentions his defection in *The Chronicle of England*, p. 244.

of the English Augustinians. In fact, their reaction was as immediate and severe as might be expected in the atmosphere of fear and shock which developed when essential doctrines were questioned. Wyclif's friend Thomas Winterton, for example, answered Wyclif's treatise *Confessio* in a work entitled *Absolutio*, relying heavily on the characteristic Augustinian doctrines of lordship and grace; and, in a revision, the words of praise for Wyclif in Stocton's collection were removed. Cambridge, where Capgrave was to go, never had significant contact with the heresy though the theological students must have been aware of the controversy; and few attempts were made to raise the issues at Oxford after Archbishop Arundel's visitation in 1411.

Persecution was moderate in England and most heretics recanted[24]); but the severity of the penalties ensured that orthodoxy was at pains to demonstrate itself. Yet if only his English works were considered, Capgrave would seem to have had little interest in debating theological points. Apart from notes on the doctrinal issues raised in the early days of the church, condemnations of Wyclif and Oldcastle, a few references to Lollard activities in the years before his *Chronicle* ends in 1417, and explanations of the specific heresies the saint combatted in *The Life of St. Augustine*, he does not touch the subject. In fact, however, this is another instance where the literary personality and the public man are widely divergent, for Capgrave must often have been in close contact with the disputes. For example, he cannot have been unaware that suspicions of the Lollard heresy were several times raised in Lynn; and investigations which must have been part of the common gossip were frequently carried out in the diocese of Norwich. A single illustration will suffice to show to what extent he covered his own opinions with an anonymous style. In 1401, when Capgrave was a boy of eight, a townsman, William Sawtre, was the first man executed under the new statute; and later Capgrave recorded the event in his *Chronicle*. He gives not a single detail which suggests any personal knowledge:

> In the third 3ere of this Herry was a Parlement at London, wher was mad a statute ageyn Lollardis, that where evyr thei were founde preching her evel doctrine, thei schuld be take, and presentid to the bischop; and if thei meynten here opiniones, thei

[24]) See J. A. F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards, 1414-1420* (London, 1965).

> schuld be committed to the seculere hand, and thei schuld brenne hem and her bokes. This statute was practized in a prest that sone aftir was brent at Smythfeld.
>
> (*Chronicle*, p. 277)

Given the position he attained, it is unlikely that the attitude displayed in his written work reflects either apathy or cautious time-serving on Capgrave's part. Certainly, when Capgrave entered the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine, he found himself in a community of men who were officially committed to the authority of the church both by their Rome-centred government and by their newly tested and newly strengthened intellectual convictions. The self-discipline their rules required and the education their most promising students underwent enabled them to provide many of the foremost defenders of the faith. The events of the immediately preceding decades must have deeply affected the men who taught Capgrave, and Wyclif's opinions must have been answered and condemned in the lectures he heard. In addition, as the next section will show, even if he was not himself involved in heresy trials or public answers to heretical opinions, a number of his fellow conventuals were.

II

This survey of some of the more important events in the town of Lynn and in the religious orders during this period helps to place Capgrave in his historical context. Similarly, an examination of the available materials on theological education at the time reveals both the content of the works which were his frame of reference and the analytical method which is such an important aspect of his literary style. However, although scholars in the last two decades have unearthed a large body of facts, there is still uncertainty about the details of courses pursued by medieval students and the periods of time necessary to complete the various requirements. For example, the full grammar course apparently took four years, but in their regulations, the Augustinians mention only one after entry[25]). On the other hand, they also expected the novice to be able to read and sing distinctly when he entered, and, therefore, the young friars had presumably already had

[25]) Roth, I, 143.

some elementary training. In fact, there are frequent references to boys who do not seem to be members of the order studying grammar in the convents[26]); and it may well be that there were provisions for a period of pre-training which would resolve the anomaly. Accepting these limitations, it is possible to provide a reasonably accurate picture of the course of Capgrave's education.

Father de Meijer chooses the first of the two possibilities inherent in Capgrave's statement that he was ordained four or five years before the birth of Henry VI in 1421 (*De Illustribus Henricis*, p. 127) and places the ordination in 1417. Then he substracts seven years from this date and puts Capgrave's entry into the order in 1410. There is in fact no evidence to confirm or refute his choice. The average age of entry was fourteen; but the Austins were allowed to accept boys as young as eleven and some cases of ten year olds being admitted are known[27]). As the following discussion will show, the most that can be said is that to have become a *lector* in 1421, Capgrave cannot have joined later than 1410 and that if he were seventeen (as he was then), he had probably previously completed the full grammar course. So far as the effect on his later work is concerned, the systematic division of the material into orthography, prosody, syntax, and *ethimologia*, using compilations such as those of Donatus, Priscian, and Alexander de Villa Dei[28]), would have been much the same whether Capgrave studied in his own convent[29]), the Lynn grammar school, or at the school of one of the other orders.

Having entered, Capgrave spent his novitiate learning the observances of the rule. Their constitutions required the Austins to celebrate five canonical hours, and they had in addition a conventual mass which all of the brothers attended. For the purposes of self-

[26]) *Ibid.*

[27]) *Ibid.*, p. 137.

[28]) The terms had specialized meanings in the middle ages. Thus, orthography taught the student to spell and write Latin words; and prosody, to read aloud correctly. Then he proceeded to syntax, a study of the rules of grammar and their application to the construction of sentences; and, finally, he studied the parts of speech by themselves in the division known as *ethimologia*. Brother Bonaventura discusses these divisions and many of the texts in his article, "The Teaching of Latin in Later Medieval England", *Medieval Studies*, III (1961), 1-20. Father Roth specifies the three books mentioned in the text as the basic grammers used by the Augustinians (I, 142).

[29]) When Capgrave was prior at Lynn more than thirty years later, he mentions that sixteen boys were studying at the convent (*De Illustribus Henricis*, p. 189), and it is reasonable to assume that the practice was a long-standing one.

discipline, they held a chapter of faults twice a week, kept strict silence (except for the reader at the lectern) during their two daily meals, and observed a great many obligatory fasts.

After his novitate, a young friar was to take grammar for an additional year; but, being older than the average, Capgrave had doubtless finished the course, and he probably studied dialectics[30]). This second year done, the constitutions of the order provided for three years of study at what was known as a *studium particulare*, a school of elementary philosophy. For the Cambridge *limit* this school was located in Norwich; and if Capgrave did follow the course outlined above, he must have been sent there by the end of 1412. Apart from the fact that it was a well-known *studium*, frequently attended by foreign friars, little is known about the school in Norwich[31]). If the three-year courses in the Old and New Logic were given concurrently as they seem to have been[32]), Capgrave would have completed his term at Norwich and returned to Lynn about the end of 1415[33]). His recording of two Norwich events of 1415 (a fire and the death of the bishop, p. 303) in the *Chronicle* provides at least circumstantial confirmation.

The methods of instruction in these lower schools were essentially the same as in the universities. Texts were read; problems were isolated, explicated, and argued in detail; and then the individual parts were reintegrated. Disputations were made on grammatical points just as

[30]) Father Roth sees a conflict between the order's prescriptions for education and what is known of medieval education. Thus, he says of the first year following the novitiate: "Only one year of grammar school was prescribed though both the course in logic (dialectics) and that in grammar lasted one year. From an analogy with the course in philosophy we must surmise that the missing course was taught at the next higher *studium* or had been anticipated in the novitiate" (I, 143). In Capgrave's case it is possible to resolve the problem in another way and suggest that, as he appears to have been older than the average entrant, he had studied his grammar earlier.

[31]) Roth, I, 314.

[32]) *Ibid.*, p. 145. In addition, he lists the texts Capgrave probably used; "The textbooks for the Old Logic were the *Isagoge* of Porphyrius, the Categories or *Praedicamenta* of Aristotle and his *Perihermeneias*, all of them in the translation of Boethius. The New Logic comprehended in particular the teaching of syllogisms as propounded in the *Topica*, *Analytica Priora* and *Posteriora* of Atistotle".

[33]) N. Toner, "Augustinian Spiritual Writers of the English Province in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", *Sanctus Augustinus, vitae Spiritualis magister* II (1959), 508. Because Capgrave does not mention the Duke of Clarence's visit to Lynn in 1413, Father Toner doubts whether he had yet joined the order. If he was in Norwich, he would not have seen it himself.

they were on theological. In fact, in the schools of the friars, the basic training in "arts" was intended to prepare the student for his higher studies. The literal sense of the Bible could not be understood without a thorough grounding in language and grammar. Arithmetic was essential for number symbolism; and natural history for the symbolism of birds and beasts. Finally, rhetoric was required both in the student's own work and for his later teaching and preaching[34]).

Similarly, the rules of religious observance went far beyond the inculcation of piety and self-discipline. The public examinations of conscience held twice-weekly and the heavy penalties for errors in liturgical recitation encouraged both a critical attitude and precision in performance. Thus, it is hardly surprising that Capgrave's works bear the impress of his early training, since he had spent thirty years in the order as a student and teacher before he wrote his first extant English work in 1440[35]).

Though none of the published registers contains his name — and few exist for the whole diocese of Norwich in any case[36]) — Capgrave must have been entered upon the various degrees of ordination from first tonsure — through accolyte, subdeacon, and deacon — to priest during his years in Lynn and Norwich. Given the vagueness of Capgrave's dating of his final vows, it is quite possible that they were taken in 1416, perhaps even in 1415. In fact, an earlier date than 1417 is more likely, for ordination normally followed soon after the completion of pre-theological studies[37]), and Capgrave must have been entered upon the six years course as student and *cursor* by early 1416 at the latest in order to have completed it by 1421 when he was made a *lector*.

> Concessimus venerabili viro Willelmo Wellis provinciali provincie Anglie ut completa forma debita fratrum Iohannis Capgrave cursoris Londonis ac Gilberto Grey possit ipsis conferre gradum lectori in universitate Oxoniensi vel

[34]) B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1952), p. 26.

[35]) *The Life of St. Norbert.*

[36]) *Sede vacante registers* for the see of Norwich in the period 1415-1417 appear in *The Register of Bishop Chichele*, ed. E.F. Jacob, III (Oxford, 1945), 347-425, but Capgrave's name does not appear.

[37]) Roth, I, 141, n. 253. The age of ordination varied, the candidate usually being 22 in Capgrave's time. If Capgrave may be allowed some further looseness in his account, perhaps he was ordained six years before Henry VI's birth, i.e. in 1415, the year he was 22 and the year he finished his pre-theological studies in Norwich.

> Cantabriggensi, prout ipsi coniunctim vel divisim ellegerint, habita tamen depositione quatuor magistrorum etc. Et si ipse provincialis non posset dictos fratres lectorare, committat alteri vices suas auctoritate nostra. Concedentes insuper dictis iuvenibus et volentes, ut scilicet primo, videlicet fratri Iohanni, quod annus primus lecture sentenciarum computetur pro primo anno universitatis, et quartus annus lecture naturalium commutetur similiter in annum theologie dicto fratri Gilberto Grey de gratia speciali[38]).

By the time he had finished at the *studium particulare* in Norwich (c. 1415) Capgrave's scholastic abilities must have been recognized, for the prior-provincial had to recommend promotion to the few places available in the higher schools. Though there can be little doubt that the masters of Capgrave's own area supported him, there is an additional factor which cannot be ignored in accounting for Capgrave's extra-ordinarily rapid preferment[39]). The long-time prior-provincial (1402-1417; 1419-1422) William Welles was himself originally a member of the Lynn convent, and he is known to have spent much of his time there. Since he must have met Capgrave, he may have personally sponsored him.

For most students the universities offered the only avenue for the pursuit of advanced studies, but after a series of disputes early in the fourtheenth century the friars won certain privileges. The university faculties of arts preserved their rights to the extent that the theological degrees of the friars were subject to the approval of all the regents and that only one member of each order could receive the doctorate every two years; but the friars were customarily exempt from the requirement that the arts programme be fully satisfied, and they were allowed to study elsewhere and yet receive Oxford and Cambridge degrees[40]). The result of this compromise was that there were two kinds of schools in which the requirements of the first years of the theological programme could be fulfilled by a member of the mendicant orders. The lesser of these was the so-called *studium generale provinciae*, a school of theology under the control of the prior-provincial. The major ones, the *studia generalis ordinis*, under the direct control of the prior-general, were located in the university towns, and

[38]) General Archives, O.E.S.A., Register Dd 4, f. 55 as printed by de Meijer, part I, 408, n. 40.

[39]) Roth, I, 174.

[40]) D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 190-191.

they were more international in character. But since the Augustinians, like the others orders of friars, did not enter the faculty of theology proper and studied instead at their own houses with their own *lectors*, the courses given in the university towns varied little from those provided by the other established *studia*.

Lynn and London were among the three known *studia provinciae* in the English Augustinian province, and it was in them that Capgrave followed the theological course. In all probability, he spent the first two years (1415-1417) at Lynn, where there had been a *lector* in theology since at least 1382[41]), and then moved to London for the period 1417-1422. The basic of the assumption that Capgrave was at Lynn for his first two years in theology is that, following the statutes of the order, he would not have been permitted to spend more than five years in London and that he is known to have remained there until 1422. Accordingly, he passed through the three pre-degree grades of student, *cursor*, and *lector* with their increasing degrees of responsibility for responses and lectures before he reached Cambridge. Two of his student years were at Lynn, and then he was one year a student, three a *cursor*, and one a *lector* at the London convent, long the largest and most important one in the country.

Perhaps of less relative importance than the one in Lynn so far as the citizenry was concerned, the Austin convent in London was nevertheless imposing. It was located against the city walls at Bishopsgate, and its enormous church, built in 1354, was not much smaller than Canterbury Cathedral. Large crowds — including the water-bearers whose guild church it was — filled the preaching apse on Sundays, and rooms were frequently let to them and others for offices, meetings, and entertainments. Guild members as well as prominent citizens and members of the royal family were buried there[42]), and bequests, conditional or otherwise, were frequent. All of these details emphasize the many connections the friars had with the outside world.

The particulars of Capgrave's life in London cannot be precisely reconstructed. Unfortunately for the historian, the friars were exempt from episcopal visitation; and records which would doubtless have revealed some of the more characteristic trials of group living are not

[41]) Since he was nominated as a *lector* in 1421, had been at London only since 1417, and was required to spend a total of six years (three as a student and three as a *cursor*) before he was eligible for this rank, there can have been no break in his studies.

[42]) Roth, I, 280-291 lists some of the better known.

available. Surely there were complaints (ranging from the foul meat supplied by the kitchener's relatives to the favouritism of the prior) such as were made to Bishop Alnwich when he visited the abbey of St. James at Northampton, where Capgrave's friend, the Augustinian canon regular John Watford, was abbot. If so, they were unrecorded or lost, and only more prosaic accounts of conventual life are left.

One specialized rule for the government of an Augustinian *studium generale* which has been published is the *Mare Magnum* produced about 1354 under the direction of the prior-general, Thomas de Strasbourg, for the Paris convent[43]). Since the extant copy is dated 1468, it was clearly in force in the fifteenth century, and probably the rules for London were similar. Much is concerned with the handling of expenses, diet, choice of officials, and punishments allotted for failure to comply with the regulations. Hearing or reading of the mass was a daily requirement for all the brothers, with ordained students below the rank of master or bachelor ordered to celebrate it at least three times weekly[44]). This is the only religious observance specifically mentioned, but certainly the hours would also have been celebrated.

Some additional details about the organization of studies are also found in the *Mare Magnum*. Two elected bachelors of theology or *lectors* were to examine the student within six days of his entry to determine that his Latin was not merely conversational but according to the rules of grammar; that he adequately understood the principles of logic and philosophy; and that he was sufficiently versed in theological terms to complete the course in the specified time[45]). The whole course is not outlined, but the actual lectures on the books of the Bible were to be finished in two years — the first devoted to a study of the Pentateuch; the second, to the prophets and the New Testament[46]). Disputations, with the students who were to argue and respond appointed by an elected master of studies, were held weekly, and they were attended by all the bachelors and masters.

According to this rule, the student was to be admitted as a *lector* when he had finished the three-year course. However, it seems likely that here the term *lector* reflects the usage of an earlier period, for by Capgrave's time an intermediate three years as *cursor*, when the

[43]) Ed. E. Ypma, *Augustiniana* VI (1956), 275-321.
[44]) *Ibid.*, p. 282.
[45]) *Ibid.*, p. 310-311.
[46]) *Ibid.*, p. 308-309.

student had to lecture on the Bible and the *Sentences* as well as continue his studies, was required[47]). Obviously, the three daily lectures and the disputations were not the student's total occupation. Each had a study, of which he might be deprived for various faults, and it was there that he read privately. Each student was allowed to borrow three books at a time from the library, and the rules to protect these after their heavy use are a further indication that these theological studies were not mere rote exercises but allowed for, and indeed required, individual interest and initiative.

Some of the other items the author of this rule felt obliged to include are reminders that these students were not ascetics divorced from the world outside, but high-spirited young men living in the centre of a bustling city. Punishments are enjoined for "immoderate laughing, whistling, shouting, hand-clapping ... and beating of dishes"[48]) in the dormitory, chapter-room, cloister, church, or refectory, for staying overnight in the city, and for frequenting taverns. Similarly, the insertion of rules against eating in the cells or entertaining seculars there, even against removing or selling items of furniture from the rooms, suggests that a good deal of misbehaviour was either expected or known to exist.

By the fifteenth century, biblical study had evolved to a point where the theological questions had been separated from the study of literal meanings or moral applications[49]). The debates to resolve apparent contradictions in doctrinal questions had led to the establishment of disputations as a teaching method and to the systematization of doctrine in such works as Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, which with the Vulgate and its glosses were the standard textbooks of the period[50]). In practice this separation meant that in his first years of theological study the student heard lectures on the books of the Bible and the *Glosses*, often given by a *cursor* or *lector* rather than a master. Each passage of the text was explained at the literal and moral level, phrase by phrase, or word by word if necessary, and homely examples were frequently given. During the course of the lecture, the theological *quaestiones* (doctrinal problems) would be pointed out and these would frequently be set for the disputations of

[47]) Roth, I, 160.
[48]) Ypma, pp. 304-305.
[49]) Smalley, p. 209.
[50]) Roth, I, 147-170.

the senior students. These disputations were intended not just to be scholastic exercises but to make more clear the reason for accepting proven truths. In the later years, of course, the student's primary focus was doctrinal and the *Sentences* his major study.

These exercises had considerable effect on Capgrave's style. Throughout his works there is a tendency to state opposing views which he sometimes, in Origen's fashion, refuses to choose between and, sometimes, tries to resolve as the Lombard and his successors did. Similarly, his constant pauses for literal explanations, etymologies, and moral and symbolic applications all clearly show the shaping force of his long years of biblical study.

The most important political events of his years in London could not have escaped Capgrave's notice, but the only direct reference he makes in his works is to the birth of Henry VI in December of 1421 and the public rejoicing on that occasion[51]). His *Chronicle* stops before the period he was in London; and his *De Illustribus Henricis* demonstrably relies on popular reports. He may have had opportunities to meet John Kemp, who was later one of his patrons, and some of the other dignitaries who frequented the Austin convent; but there is no evidence that he did.

Certainly he would have been concerned with the scandalous disputes over the election of the provincial in 1419 and with the resulting turmoil in the order; but his primary occupation was almost certainly with his individual duties as student and conventual in London. The record has disappeared, but Capgrave must have been made a *cursor* early in 1418 in order to complete the full three-year term before his appointment as *lector* in 1421. When he assumed the position of *cursor*, he enjoyed some special privileges and shared the lecturing duties; but in a convent as large as London there were friars of senior rank.

The little that is known about his fellow friars in London reflects the climate in which he lived. Some twenty, including the prior, are merely names from ordination lists or from the registers of the prior-general; but others, like Henry of Colchester who was a mediator in the 1419 dispute, Nicholas Bonet who sat at the heresy trial of William Taylour in 1423, and the *lector* John Stocton who later became the prior at Oxford, were figures of some significance in the order. The

[51]) *De Illustribus Henricis*, p. 127.

man who was to become Capgrave's successor as prior-provincial, John Bury, came to London from Clare in 1417, about the same time as Capgrave arrived from Lynn. With his illegal trip to Rome and adventures in France, Bury was clearly a less serious student than Capgrave. Nevertheless, he eventually received his doctorate and had reputation enough to be appointed by Bishop Bourgchier, at the instance of John Lowe, to write an answer to Reginald Pecock's *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy* in 1457. John Lowe, the only Austin friar elevated to an English see during Capgrave's lifetime, was himself appointed to London in 1420. With Bonet he was a judge at Taylour's trial, and he went on to become prior-provincial from 1427-1433, confessor to the king in 1432, Bishop of St. Asaph in 1433, and Bishop of Rochester in 1444. While he was Bishop of St. Asaph, he was one of Capgrave's patrons, and it may have been he who commended Capgrave's exegetical skill to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. To complete the catalogue, mention should be made of the far less important but equally interesting Thomas Southwell, one of the few friars whose training was in arts and medicine rather than theology. Southwell was instrumental in the founding of the College of Physicians and Surgeons in London in 1423, and he was later arrested with Duke Humphrey's wife, Eleanor Cobham, on charges of necromancy.

After Capgrave was made a *lector*, he would normally have spent an additional four years before being admitted as a bachelor of theology[52]). In the first years he was to give lectures on the Bible and the *Sentences* and in the last year, the one known formally as the "opponency", he was expected to engage in a series of difficult formal disputations. However, numbers made it impossible for all candidates to give a full course of lectures, and Capgrave had already been a *cursor* for three years. Consequently as the document cited above states, he was granted exemption from the lectures on the *Sentences* when he was appointed a *lector* on April 8, 1421.

There was apparently no place immediately available at either university, for Capgrave was still in London eight months later when Henry VI was born on December 6, 1421; and a second letter of appointment, this time specifically to Cambridge, appears in the prior-general's registers for April 13, 1422:[53])

[52]) Roth, I, 166-169.

[53]) General Archives O.E.S.A., Register Dd 4, f. 75v as printed by de Meijer, Part I, 409, n. 42.

> Assignavimus fratri Iohanni Capgrave, lectori formato provincie Anglie, proximum bacchalario, promoti locum alienigenis debitum in universitate Cantabriggensi eiusdem provincie, ita quod cum promoto pro limite Cantabriggensi debeat commutari et quartus annus ab anno presenti oppositione sibi deputetur in eadem universitate. Eoque ordine procedat usque ad gradum magisterii inclusive, non obstante quacumque ordinatione aut statuto quomodolibet huius oppositum dictante, super quibus omnibus dispensamus.

This appointment is in the standard from, assuming that the student will not be presented for the bachelor's degree for four years and then will proceed to his *magisterium* (doctorate in theology) without any impediment. However, not only must Capgrave's earlier exemption from the *Sentences* have been honoured, but his additional year in London must also have been construed as his year on the Bible, for, as he himself confirms, he entered the year of opponency immediately and was promoted to the baccalaureate on March 20, 1423:[54])

> Fecimus fratrem Iohannem Capgrave lectorem provincie Anglie Bacchalarium auctoritate nostra, assignantes ei promotum Bacchalarii promoti locum alienigenis debitum in nostro conventu et universitate Cantabrigensi de gratia speciali.

Because no documentary evidence exists, it is not possible to date Capgrave's final degree with certainty. It is clear from the form of his appointment to Cambridge in 1422 that it was assumed that Capgrave would proceed directly from the baccalaureate to the *magisterium*. And both that document and the one awarding him his bachelor's degree assigned him to a "locum alienigensis debitum", a phrase which indicates that Capgrave was among the select group of four students in the convent at various stages in their studies for the highest degree. Since each order of friars was permitted only one promotion to the *magisterium* every two years, the Austins restricted the number preparing for the degree at each university to four; two from the English province, one from Italy, and one from another foreign country. After the Schism had ended and the number of other *studia*

[54]) In his Prologue to *The Life of St. Gilbert of Sempringham*, ed. J.J. Munro, E.E.T.S., O.S. 140 (London, 1910), 61 Capgrave mentions a sermon he wrote "þe 3er befor myn opposicion", and at the opening of the sermon itself (*Ibid.*, p. 145) he gives the precise date. Clearly, he means by "opposicion" the end of the year of opponency, for his bachelor's degree was awarded early in 1423. The document is preserved in the General Archives O.E.S.A., Register Dd, f. 106.

generalia for the order had increased, it was less necessary for foreigners to come to Oxford and Cambridge. Consequently, Capgrave was assigned one of the two places formerly reserved for foreign friars when he was made a *baccalarius formatus*; that is, when, having completed all the requirements as a *lector*, he was waiting to be able to incept as a *magister*.

To this point the evidence is relatively uncomplicated, but, unfortunately, missing details make a definitive chronology or catalogue of the Austin *magisters* at Cambridge impossible. It is known that a Geoffrey Schale was the Austin *magister* in 1421; but whether or not the Thomas Lassell who was directed in 1420 to qualify for the degree ever did is uncertain, for there are no further references to him[55]). If he did take the degree, it was probably in 1423; if he did not, there is one other possibility for that year — the poet Osbern Bokenham. Bokenham was made a *baccalarius* the day after Capgrave had been (March 21, 1423), and it is possible as Father Roth suggests that the words "incorporari possit" in the document conferring the degree on him meant he was to incept as *magister* directly[56]). Some circumstantial evidence that he did so comes from the fact that he applied for and received permission to go to Rome later in that same year. If he had become a *magister*, he would not have been interrupting his studies, although he could not then have performed the two-year tour of duty as a regent performing academic functions that was required of each new master. Because, in fact, Bokenham did not go to the continent until about ten years later, in all probability he did take the degree in 1423, act as regent until 1425, and then return to his home convent of Clare where he is to be found by 1427. Following him, Capgrave would have incepted in 1425 and remained at Cambridge as a regent until at least 1427[57]).

[55]) According to the General Archives O.E.S.A., Register Dd 4, f. 18, as printed in F. Roth, *The English Austin Friars, 1249-1538*, II (New York, 1961), 295, he was directed to take the *magisterium* at either Oxford or Cambridge, but A.B. Emden assigns him to Cambridge in his *Register*.

[56]) Roth, I, 172.

[57]) The matter of Capgrave's progression from *lector* to *magister* is somewhat confused in the earlier biographies, largely as a result of the handling of recorded dates. While the civil year began on March 25 in England, the dates in the registers of the Augustinian priors-general accord with modern usage as the foliation makes clear.

Father de Meijer states (Part I, pp. 408, 409) that Capgrave was first appointed a *lector* in 1422. But in his evidence, the entry in Register Dd 4, f. 55, he gives the date as "8 Aprilis 1421". That this is the correct year for the initial appointment de Meijer seems

During his first three years at Cambridge Capgrave must have engaged in public disputations, for sixteen were required in the year of opponency before the bachelor's degree was awarded and two more were part of the formalities surrounding the inception as *magister*. However, there is no record of them; and, in fact, no bachelor's *Responsiones* (the ideas he presented in answer to the question which was set for the disputation) or master's *Determinationes* (the pronouncement of the correct answer at the end of the disputation) have survived for any English Austin friar[58]).

Capgrave's one required sermon, which he preached in 1422, exists in his own later English redaction appended to his *Life of St. Gilbert*. His subject, the orders under the rule of St. Augustine, is not typical of the moral and doctrinal points on which most sermons were based, but it was timely. The dispute between the canons regular and the hermits over their respective antiquity and relationship to the communities founded by St. Augustine was longstanding; and an Augustinian canon had published a tract ridiculing the direct descent of the order of hermits from St. Augustine's desert establishments in the same year[59]).

to have recognized, for when he cites the document of April 13, 1422 from Register Dd 4, f. 75v assigning Capgrave specifically to Cambridge, he says it is "a year later" and goes on to say "This year was 1422" (p. 410), using Capgrave's own date in the sermon cited in n. 54 as further evidence.

In his two references (part I 406-407, 409) to the notice of the celebrations in London at the time of Henry VI's birth in December 1421 found in *De Illustribus Henricis*, de Meijer accepts Capgrave's self-denomination *studens* in a strict rather than a generic sense. But, as the document of April 8, 1421 shows, Capgrave was already a *cursor* when he was made a *lector*. At either of these ranks, Capgrave was responsible for certain lectures; and though space apparently prevented him from gaining immediate preferment to one of the universities, there was nothing to prevent him from undertaking the required lectures at the London *studium*. Indeed it is presumably because he did so that he was dispensed from the lectures on the *Sentences* and proceeded to the bachelor's degree with such rapidity.

Father Roth derived most of his biographical information from Father de Meijer's articles, altough he does place the document of 1421 in the proper context. In one sentence (I, 111) of his discussion of Capgrave as prior-provincial, however, he doubles the length of Capgrave's stay in London and as a consequence places the completion of Capgrave's academic training in 1433. In turn, this date does not coincide with his conclusion on p. 174, that "The fastest promotion on record is that of John Capgrave, the author, who obtained the *magisterium* ten years after his ordination and just within the prescribed time limit". In this instance he has no additional evidence for the date of either ordination or of the inception; and he is not following de Meijer, who places the ordination in 1417 and the *magisterium* in 1425, a period of only eight years.

[58]) Roth, I, 169.

[59]) *Ibid.*, p. 105.

Within its brief compass, this sermon demonstrates the ingenuity of practitioners of the exegetical method; and it provides a developed example of the kind of contrived analogy which become characteristic brief digressions in Capgrave's vernacular works. It begins by likening Augustine to Jacob in three ways; but the specific purpose of the comparison is to prepare for the use of the twelve tribes of Israel, Jacob's sons, as a schema on which to arrange the twelve orders. Following this introduction, Capgrave proceeds in logical order, mentioning one of Jacob's sons, giving the etymology of his name, and adducing a reason why a certain order may be likened to him.

As a bachelor and then master, Capgrave enjoyed privileges denied those of lesser academic rank. He was entitled to at least one servant, to additional books for his personal use, and even to larger portions at meal times. More important, however, were the dispensations from the rules which allowed him opportunity for private conversations with his own brothers and freedom to meet and entertain acquaintances from outside the order. Only one other Austin friar present at the Cambridge convent during these years is still a familiar name, the poet Bokenham. If he had indeed shown such promise as a theologian that he was preferred to the *magisterium* before Capgrave, there is no evidence of it in his later works. Bokenham spent most of his life in the Clare convent, and though he had a circle of friends among the Suffolk gentry who commissioned his works, he never achieved the reputation for learning or the distinguished patronage that Capgrave did. Provincial chapter meetings ensured the continuing contact of the two friars, and Bokenham is known to have seen Capgrave's *Life of St. Katherine* before he began his own. However, there is no clear evidence of influence — reciprocal or unilateral.

Capgrave may have known the Premonstratensian canon John Wygenhale before he came to Cambridge, for all four of the Norfolk towns called Wiggenhall lie within close proximity to Lynn. Since the priory of the white canons was directly across from the Austin convent, they certainly had every opportunity to meet at the university. It is also possible that Capgrave faced such future bishops as William Ayscough, Marmaduke Lumley, and Robert Fitzhugh in the disputations and that he was able to use such associations to advantage later. The first two were close friends of the Duke of Suffolk, who was, in turn, the protector of Sir Thomas Tuddenham, who financed Capgrave's trip to Rome.

There can be no doubt that Capgrave sharpened his critical senses in the wider field of the university's theological halls and that as a regent he became expert in the resolution of debated points. When he was replaced as regent by whoever became the new Austin *magister* in 1427, Capgrave was ready to move back into the system of his order and begin training younger men in the laborious course he had just finished.

III

From the completion of his Cambridge studies in 1427 until 1437, there is no reference to Capgrave's activities. Furnivall speculated that it was during these years that he travelled to Rome[60]), but his hypothesis was invalidated by the discovery of Capgrave's *Solace of Pilgrims*, his guide-book to the holy city, which can be conclusively dated c. 1450 on internal grounds. De Meijer thinks "it is possible that Capgrave returned to his native friary, dedicating himself to historical studies and theological commentaries"[61]). It is equally possible that he was appointed to lecture at one of the other convents in the province and that the biblical studies he superintended for young friars provided the basis for his earliest writings. One convent where he may well have gone was the one in Northampton. It was so short of brothers by 1427, the year in which Capgrave finished his term as regent, that the prior-general empowered the superior of the house to "receive and keep four brethren from each English limit and six brethren from each ultra-marine province"[62]). Because he had just finished his academic duties and had not embarked on any other course, it is quite likely that Capgrave was chosen to swell its members. Residence in Northampton would account for Capgrave's otherwise unexplained acquaintance with the abbot of the abbey of St. James there, John Watford, to whom he adressed his *Concordia*, a work intended to reconcile the differences between the Austin friars and the Augustinian canons regular[63]). In addition, if he were living at Northampton rather than

[60]) *The Life of St. Katherine, Forewords*, p. viii.

[61]) Part I, 411.

[62]) General Archives O.E.S.A., Register Dd 4, f. 220v as printed in Roth, II, 308.

[63]) This work is now lost. Capgrave describes its contents in his *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes*, ed. C.A. Mills (Oxford, 1911), p. 92; John Bale once had it in his possession and noted the *incipit* with the dedication to Watford. See de Meijer, Part III, 548.

Lynn, his trip to Woodstock in 1439 to present his Genesis commentary to Duke Humphrey of Gloucester would have been far more feasible.

The list of works no longer extant which are attributed to Capgrave is lengthy. All of them are presumed to be in Latin; and, with the exception of a life of Duke Humphrey, they are all theological in content, but the authorities for their existence are of unequal value. For example, Bale gives *incipits* for the three missing commentaries on books of the Pentateuch and for commentaries on the Psalms, the Pauline Epistles, and the Apocalypse, but none for those on Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Daniel, the twelve minor prophets, the canonical epistles, or the four evangelists; and, thus, these may well be ghosts. Capgrave certainly wrote commentaries on the four books of Kings. He mentions them in his dedicatory letter to the Genesis commentary; books I and III were among the works given to the Oxford library by Duke Humphrey in 1444; and Leland notes that he saw commentaries on Kings, presumably to books II and IV[64]), dedicated to John Lowe, both at a former library of the Austin friars in Cambridge and at Walsingham monastery.

Two of the lost manuscripts, those of the *Manipulus Doctrinae Christianae* and of the *Concordia* or *De Augustino et Suis Sequacibus*, were in the library of Leland's friend Thomas Key; and the *Concordia*, which is mentioned by Capgrave in two of his other works[65]), found its way into Bale's possession[66]). The early biographers further credit Capgrave with five works of a scholastic character: *Commentarii Quattuor Super Sententias*, *Determinationes Theologiae*, *Ordinariae Disputationes*, *Ad Positiones Erroneas*, and *Orationes ad Clerum*. There is not a single *incipit* preserved for any of these works, however, any more than there is for a book of sermons some have attributed to him; and given the tendency of early bibliographers to take the various kinds of scriptural and scholastic works and assign them at random to swell the catalogues, there seems little reason to perpetuate these titles

[64]) The dedication to the Genesis Commentary is printed as an appendix in *De Illustribus Henricis* and the reference in it to the commentary on Kings appears p. 231; Leland's note appears in his *Commentarii de scriptoribus britannicis*, ed. A. Hall, II (Oxford, 1709), 453.

[65]) In *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes* (see n. 63) and in the sermon delivered at Cambridge (see n. 54) pp. 146, 147.

[66]) de Meijer, Part II, 120, n. 8 and part III, 548.

in Capgrave's canon. And, finally, a history of the illustrations Augustinians which may correspond to the *Concordia* mentioned earlier is usually attributed to him[67]).

Capgrave is generally regarded as a patronized writer[68]), but he was never as fashionable as John Lydgate nor did he enjoy a coterie fame comparable to that of his fellow friar, Osbern Bokenham. Theological commentary was not the genre sought after by the new patrons or by the humanists, and they did not entreat the man Bale was to describe as "the most learned of the Augustinians" to write for them. Patrons normally paid for the elaborate dedication copies of manuscripts, and those who received Capgrave's may well have done so too, especially since books made in the convent *scriptorium*, as his were, were not to be alienated unless they were sold with special permission. However, Capgrave never petitions for more money; at most he includes a plea to be remembered in his patron's prayers as he does at the end of his *Life of St. Augustine*[70]).

In the few works which Capgrave is known to have written on request, the subject is always appropriate to the recipient. The *St. Norbert* was written for a canon of his order, John Wygenhale; the *St. Augustine*, for an unnamed lady born on the saint's feast day; and the *St. Gilbert* for Nicholas Reysby, the master of the order of Sempringham. These volumes contain neither the long dedications of the Latin works nor the sycophantic tone which Furnivall condemns and others apologize for[71]). In each case, Capgrave praises the piety of his patrons, but only in modest terms.

Some of his biblical commentaries were also written on request, but as in his *De Illustribus Henricis*, *The Chronicle of England*, and *The Solace of Pilgrims*, he was basically drawn to the task of explication through his own interest in the subject matter. In the commentaries the

[67]) de Meijer, Part III, 548-549.

[68]) As such he is discussed by S. Moore in his article, "Patrons of Letters in Norfolk and Suffolk c. 1450", *PMLA*, XXVIII (1913), 97-100 and by K. Holzknecht in his *Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1923), pp. 55, 69, 94n, 104n, 112, 121, 145n, 146, 151, 160, 178 among others; and it is standard for the biographers to refer to Duke Humphrey and John Lowe especially as Capgrave's patrons.

[69]) Roth, I, 371-378 discusses the various rulings.

[70]) Ed. J.J. Munro, E.E.T.S., O.S. 140 (London, 1910), 60.

[71]) See Furnivall in the *Forewords* to *The Life of St. Katherine*, pp. xv-xvi, Hingston in the *Preface* to *De Illustribus Henricis*, p. xvi, de Meijer, Part I, 439-440, Roth, I, 417-418, and D. Brimson in "John Capgrave, O,S.A.", *Tagastan*, IX (1946), 110-111.

dedications are compliments on the attainments of the man addressed and expressions of esteem for the position he holds.

Capgrave dedicated all or part of his commentary on Kings to the former prior-provincial of the order, John Lowe, during the years (1433-1437) when Lowe was the bishop of St. Asaph. The manuscripts are lost, but the form was the same as he later used in the Genesis and Exodus commentaries which he presented to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. As he explains to the duke at the beginning of the Genesis, Capgrave's method involved a "triple exposition" for each passage, giving the literal, allegorical and moral interpretations. Capgrave points out that the exegesis in these works is not original and that he regards himself merely as the selector and organizer of the fruits of his research. But, while this is true, in examining his sources critically, choosing and selecting his materials in terms of his own beliefs, Capgrave was employing the same scholarly method as is evident in his English works.

Because Duke Humphrey owned two volumes of the commentary on Kings, it has often been assumed that they were dedicated to him[72]). However, since John Lowe had been the young king's confessor while Gloucester was his guardian and since it was at least partially through Humphrey's intercession that he obtained his bishopric[73]), he may well have forwarded Capgrave's work to the Duke.

Humphrey of Gloucester was certainly the most important English patron of his day, supporting both native and continental writers. He received dedications from many of the contemporary English poets and chroniclers including John Whethamstede, John Lydgate, John Russell, George Ashley, and Thomas de Norton. Studies of fifteenth century humanism have revealed his correspondence with Decembrio, who translated the *Republic* for him; he commissioned a number of other translations into Latin from Greek by his secretary Beccaria and by Leonardo Bruni; and he gave financial support to Tito Livio Frulovisi among many others. Moreover, his large gifts of books were

[72]) It is certain Humphrey owned two volumes (1 and 3) of the commentary on Kings, because they were among the books he donated to Oxford in 1443. (See the record of the bequest as printed in the *Introduction* to *Chronicle of England*, pp. xiv-xv). However, the *incipits* for these are nowhere recorded, while the other two volumes were seen by Leland before their disappearance and their dedication to Lowe noted.

[73]) Roth, I, 106.

essential to the growth of the library at Oxford. For all this, it is easy to overemphasize Humphrey's role and literary character. When the contents of his library are analysed, it is clear that his interests were primarily theological and historical, and thus John Capgrave fits easily into the mainstream of those the duke patronized.

On the other hand, it is improbable that their relationship was as close as biographers since the seventeenth century have implied when they state that Capgrave was the duke's confessor. It may be that Humphrey chose Augustinians for this capacity in his personal retinue; and certainly an Austin friar named John South was his confessor in 1446. But that Capgrave ever was is not demonstrable. Leland says only that Humphrey "toties literatissimi Capogrevi prudentissimo consilio utebatur"; and Bale does not necessarily mean more than that the two men discussed moral problems in private when he says:

> Illum igitur prae aliis elegit piissimus sui temporis princeps Umfridus Glocestriae dux praedictus, Henrici quinti frater, ut ei adesset a concientiae secretis.

or

> Illum ergo prae aliis multis elegit piisimus eius temporis princeps, Hunfridus Glocestriae dux, illustrissimi Henrici quinti Anglorum regis frater, ut sibi interdum esset a conscientiae colloquio.

It was John Pits who finally introduced the word "confess" into the standard biography in 1619:

> Singularum habuit patronum Humfredum Glocestriae Ducem, princepem optimum, apud quem multum valuit gratia nec minus auctoritate. Erat enim illi a confessionum secretis ...

And, finally, in a work published in 1644 a Spanish Augustinian friar, Tomas de Herrera, makes the relationship clearly sacramental:

> Fuit a sacris confessionibus Hunfrido Duci Glocestriae, Henrici V Anglorum regis fratri[74]).

[74]) The comments of Leland, Bale, Pits and Herrera have all been collated against xeroxed copies of the originals; for convenience, however, they are here cited as they appear in de Meijer, Part II, 119-128. After the seventeenth century, it was standard to call Capgrave Humphrey's confessor as Father de Meijer did as late as 1955 (Part I, 419). Without explicity disagreeing, Father Roth suggests that such a formal relationship was improbable:

> Within the English province Capgrave is not known to have done anything against the ever growing tendency for personal independence, though his dislike is evident from his attitude towards honorary papal chaplains. For the same

These quotations demonstrate the gradual alterations in a written record which was unsubstantiated in the first instance; and there is, in fact, no evidence that Capgrave met Humphrey more than once, in January, 1439, when he presented his dedication copy of the Genesis commentary to the Duke at Woodstock.

The reasons Capgrave gives for dedicating the Genesis to Humphrey do not suggest that the two had any personal relationship earlier:

> Meditationes meas, quibus in Scriptuarum campo ludens delectabar, scriptis mandare intendens, aliisque communicare cupiens, nulli alio melius destinandas putabam, serenissime Princeps, quam Dominationi vestrae, quippe qui, acumine intellectus subtilissimi vigens, studiosissime, ut fertur, in scrutandis veterum auctorum opusculis indulgetis. Et, quia excellentior via humani studii Sancta Scriptura esse dinoscitur, ideo ad eam specialissime invisendam Spiritus Ille Supremi Patris vos, ut audivi, inspiravit.
>
> O quam gloriosum mihi est videre Principem, in his diebus malis, quibus ab ecclesiasticis quasi repellitur scientia, scientiae insudantem et tamquam iis, qui in ecclesia sunt et studium negligunt sanctum, ...
>
> ... Causa ergo studii vestri, qua occupatissime animum libris impenditis, me maxime movit ut illuc opusculum parvitatis meae mitterem, ubi scientia judicandi de litteratura invenitur.
>
> Sed et, Annualia mea revolvens, aliud inveni quod me monet. Scriptum enim in iis reperi, quod anno Domini M. CCXLVIII. fundatus fuerat Ordo Heremitarum Sancti Augustini in Anglia per Ricardum de Clara, filium Gilberti de Clara, comitemque Gloverniae. Quia igitur per gloriosos progenitores vestros in hanc ubertatis terram ducti sumus, digne ad illum, qui generalis fundator noster est, ego totius Ordinis novissimus hoc opus meum direxi, ut si qua Catholice, et ad Fidem aedificandam, ibi inventa fuerint, ipse non tantum fundator, sed et protector eorum habeatur. Si qua vero inculta, aut piis moribus dissona, illic inveniantur, ipse correctionis lima benignissime emendet.

reason he probably disliked the constant recruiting of his best men for the service of noble families. (I, 115)

And, on grounds similar to my own, Peter Lucas has denied the possibility, "John Capgrave, O.S.A., (1393-1464), Scribe and 'Publisher'", *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, V, Part I (1969), p. 31.

John South's dispensation to act as Humphrey's chaplain is reprinted from the *Calendar of Papal Registers* in Roth, II, 328.

> Movit me etiam hoc tertium, quod contra venenosas linguas modernorum Dominatio vestra murus sit, qui tunciones excipiat ... Non ignoramus, inclite Domine, quod ex bona voluntate vestra optimoque desiderio tota salus nostra dependeat, nec sumus apti ad reddendas vices tuarum sanctarum meditationum, quas Deo offerimus [75]).

In this passage Capgrave makes clear, first of all, that he had no dedicatee in mind when he undertook his exegesis; and then he enumerates three considerations which prompted his choice of Humphrey. He pays tribute to the duke for taking an interest in theology in a time when many clerics themselves are seeking more worldly rewards; he recalls that an earlier Duke of Gloucester was a founder of the Augustinian order in England; and finally he points to the present duke as their guardian against "poisonous tongues". This last item seems to be a reference to Humphrey's intervention at Oxford in 1438 when he threatened to withdraw his support after an Austin friar and then the whole convent had been suspended; and it may be, therefore, an indirect expression of gratitude to the duke from Capgrave and his order. At all events, the author and his work were well enough recommended that Capgrave was allowed to make a personal presentation of the book on January 1, 1439; the reception apparently being favourable, he began his commentary on Exodus a little more than two weeks later [76]) and dedicated it to the duke as well.

Capgrave probably worked on these scriptural exegeses systematically in the hours he had free from his teaching and canonical duties. In addition to them, he also wrote the lost *Concordia*, commonly called *De Augustino et suis sequacibus* by the biographers, during this first period of literary activity [77]). Dated c. 1440, the *Concordia* was dedicated to the Augustinian canon regular John Watford, who headed his priory in Northampton from 1430 until his death in 1445. Capgrave provides a précis of its contents in *The Solace of Pilgrims* where he calls it "a maner of concord betwix þe chanonys and us", that is, between the canons regular under the rule of St. Augustine and the Austin friars. And he also says it contains some

[75]) *De Illustribus Henricis, Appendix IV*, 229-231.

[76]) See the colophon as printed in De Meijer, Part III, 539 : *Incepit hoc opus frater iohannes capgrave in festo sancti antonii confessoris que occurit mense ianuarii anno domini m. cccc. xxxviii.* [i.e. 17 Jan. 1439].

[77]) de Meijer, Part III, 548. The assumption is strengthened by the evidence that suggests Capgrave returned to Lynn c. 1440.

additional material concerning how "monica came thider [to Rome] and in whos tyme". Obviously the work was part of the same long literary dispute over the priority of the Augustinian orders which Capgrave had used a few years earlier as the topic of his university sermon. In keeping with his avowed desire for "concord", Capgrave would have avoided the polemical tone in his treatise, although his conclusion there as elsewhere was doubtless that "heremites of this ordre be the very childyrn of seynt Austyn"[78]). His methods in his other works suggest that he cited the various arguments, expressed scepticism about some, and resolved others to his own satisfaction.

Besides continuing with his religious pieces, Capgrave wrote six of his seven English works between 1440 and 1453; and it is chiefly from a knowledge of their backgrounds and from a few internal references in them and in the Latin *De Illustribus Henricis* that it is possible to describe his non-literary career. For example, the fact that he completed his long poetic *Life of St. Norbert* in August, 1440[79]), shortly after he finished work on the Exodus commentary, is important on the literary level because it provides a reminder that the methods of biblical exegesis were natural to him and that they are bound to be apparent in his vernacular works as well. But also what is known about the dedicatee of the *Life of St. Norbert* is the basis for the conjecture that by this time Capgrave was again a member of the Austin convent at Lynn. It was produced at the request of John Wygenhale who had been his contemporary at Cambridge and had become the abbot of the Premonstratensian Priory at West Dereham, Norfolk. The renewed association of the two men which the commision of the poem assumes would be most likely if Capgrave had returned to Lynn, for West Dercham is less than ten miles away.

The only direct evidence Capgrave provides of his movements in the early part of the decade occurs in *De Illustribus Henricis* (p. 133) when he mentions his presence in Cambridge at the laying of the cornerstone for King's College in 1441. While it would not have been

[78]) *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes*, p. 93.

[79]) As Capgrave says in his epilogue :

the freris name þat translate þis story
Thei called Ion Capgraue, whech in Assumpcion weke
Made a end of all his rymyng cry
The 3er of Crist our Lord, wit3-outen ly,
A thousand, four hundred & fourty euene.

(11. 4104-4108)

difficult for him to go to Cambridge from Lynn for such an occasion, the reference is too vague to be used to confirm or refute any conjecture about his home at the time. However, he was certainly in Lynn by the time he undertook his second and last poetic work, *The Life of St. Katherine of Alexandria*, for it was there that he says he found his source. And since Osbern Bokenham had seen Capgrave's work when he wrote his own version of the life for Katherine Denston, Capgrave must have completed his poem by 1445. All four of the manuscripts of it are dated in the mid-fifteenth century;[80]) and none is the author's original. The number of extant manuscripts probably reflects less Capgrave's popularity than that of saints' lives in general and lives of St. Katherine in particular, but that there should be so many so close in date suggests that it was copied rapidly.

The *St. Katherine* is the only one of the English works which bears neither a dedication nor words of praise for some titled person, and this fact substantiates Capgrave's statement that he was modernizing an older version which was the work of a priest who died at Lynn[81]). It also suggests that Capgrave had a broader purpose than the satisfaction of a single patron when he wrote the poem. What evidence there is about the provenance of the manuscripts gives no indication that the *St. Katherine* ever spread beyond Norfolk and Suffolk or that it was ever read or heard by any but a religious audience. Even the copy with the fewest of Capgrave's linguistic forms was presented to the Augustinian canonesses at Campsey Ash, Suffolk[82]). Throughout the work there are summaries and comments on the method of composition which indicate that the poem was intended to be heard by an audience rather than read privately; and it may have been designed to be read as a work of devotion during mealtimes in convents.

Because both his Latin and English works were either requested or at least gratefully received by important as well as lesser figures, it is clear that Capgrave's theological reputation was established by this time. There is also evidence that he had become a highly regarded member of his order, for by 1446, and perhaps as early as 1440,

[80]) See P. Lucas, pp. 4-5, for the following dates: BM. MSS. Arundel 20 (1460-1500); Arundel 168 (1460-1500); Arundel 396 (1445-1460); and Bodley MS. Rawlinson poet. 118 (1460-1500).

[81]) *The Life of St. Katherine*, Book I, Prologue, 11. 218-219.

[82]) Arundel 396, See *The Life of St. Katherine*, Forewords, pp. xxix-xxx and de Meijer, Part III, 564-565.

Capgrave was elected prior at Lynn. In this capacity he would have continued to attend the provincial chapters as he presumably had done since, on obtaining the *magisterium* in 1425, he became eligible to vote. His office as prior had to be confirmed at each meeting of the provincial chapter, but this confirmation was largely a formality. As a prior, his influence would have been greater than it had been when he was simply a master, and probably he held various offices subordinate to the provincial before his later election to that highest office, as those who succeeded him, including Bury, Halam, and Penketh, are known to have done. Unfortunately, however, the leaves in the prior-general's register which should cover this period in the history of the English province are missing. It is not even certain who the priors-provincial were, much less the minor officials and the places where the meetings were held.

In his *De Illustribus Henricis* (pp. 137-139), Capgrave records the visit of Henry VI to Lynn in 1446 and the conversation they had on their tour around the convent. He also says that the house numbered thirty priests and sixteen boys, evidently attending grammar school, and an unspecified number of brothers in minor orders. Such a population makes Lynn one of the largest of the Austin convents; and the presence of so many junior members suggests that it was at this time a *studium provinciae*[83]). The administration of the financial and religious activities in the convent, including the appointment of confessors and preachers to the well-attended church, agreements with servants, tenants, and public officials, and the supervision of students and studies left Capgrave little time for literary work.

Nevertheless, he apparently inserted a chapter on Henry VI and finished the *De Illustribus Henricis* soon after the king's visit. The holograph manuscript with its different coloured inks and marginal additions makes clear that Capgrave composed the parts sporadically; and marked changes in the script, ink, and ruling demonstrate that the seventh gathering on Henry VI was added later[84]). It should also be noted that this work contains the only reference to Capgrave's intention to write a life of the Duke of Gloucester (p. 109), and it is possible that Leland and Bale and others following them credited Capgrave with such a work without any further manuscript evidence. As the title

[83]) Roth, I, 291.
[84]) Lucas, pp. 12-16.

indicates, the book is thoroughly adulatory and uncritical in tone even of such recent figures as Henry Despenser, Bishop of Norwich, with whose true character and history Capgrave must have been familiar.

Sometime during his years as prior or earlier, Capgrave became acquainted with the notorious extortionist Sir Thomas Tuddenham, who with his fellow justice of the peace, Thomas Heydon, blackmailed and terrorized many among the Norfolk gentry, including notably the Paston family. Tuddenham's estate at Oxburgh was near Lynn, and he doubtless frequented the borough. Not only was he a man whose enmity was to be feared and, therefore, whom Capgrave would seek to mollify, he was also evidently a benefactor of the Augustinian friars, for he was buried in the church of their London convent after his execution for treason in 1461[85]). The precise association Capgrave had with him is not known, but it was at Tuddenham's expense that Capgrave made his only documented visit outside England, a pilgrimage to Rome.

Since Capgrave himself does not date his trip and no record of an exit for him has been discovered, only the general dates c. 1447-1452 can be given for the composition of *The Solace of Pilgrims*. The *terminus a quo* reflects his notice of the April 1447 death of Cardinal Beaufort; the *terminus ad quem*, the fact that he refers to John Kemp as cardinal titular of St. Balbina and Archbishop of York rather than as cardinal bishop of St. Rufina and Archbishop of Canterbury as he became in 1452.

There was a steady stream of English travellers to Rome during the middle ages, several hundred a year by Capgrave's time[86]), both on business to the papal curia and on pilgrimages. De Meijer speculates that Capgrave's trip was in 1450, the year of Pope Nicholas' jubilee, on the grounds that Capgrave several times mentions large crowds[87]), but there are a number of reasons for suggesting that 1449 is a more likely

[85]) Roth, I, 291.

[86]) G. Parks, *The English Traveller to Italy*, I (Roma, 1954). Park's figures are inexact because precise records are scanty and the data scattered. It is interesting that he says of 1450, the year many assume Capgrave made his trip to Rome:

> In 1450 all records were said to be broken when 40,000 pilgrims were thought to arrive daily; during this year nearly 200 persons were trampled to death in a panic on the crowded bridge.

Such a crowd would indeed have been one to reckon with. I find no evidence of so great a crush in the *Solace of Pilgrims*.

[87]) Part I, 422.

year. Not only would Capgrave surely have noted the special celebrations of a holy year, but also the crowds at certain shrines on days of indulgence would have seemed large to an Englishman who had spent most of his life in smaller, less holy centres regardless of the year. There are, however, two stronger reasons for choosing 1449. First, it is known that there was a meeting of the General Chapter of the order in that year; since there is no evidence of another English representative having been sent, it is not unlikely that Capgrave, who was appointed prior-provincial only four years later, was chosen. Moreover, Capgrave's patron Tuddenham immediately fell from his position of prominence on the death of the Duke of Suffolk in 1450, and he and Heydon were the subjects of a great series of lawsuits during that year. While the charges were ultimately dismissed and Tuddenham restored, Capgrave would not have been likely to commemorate Tuddenham at the beginning of the *Solace* in the year of his disgrace.

Capgrave left no description of his trip to Italy, but he probably stopped at Paris which was a major *studium generale*, and he may have seen there the manuscript of Jordanus of Saxony's *Vita Sancti Augustini*, the source for his own *Life of St. Augustine*[88]). Travelling through Italy, he no doubt visited other major Augustinian houses, including Lecceto where the English Austin friar William Flete, a confidant of St. Catherine of Siena, lived his hermit existence. His stay in Rome was long enough to enable him to see all the major shrines; and it was extended by an illness.

While he was ill, he was befriended by William Gray. They may have met more than a decade earlier when Capgrave entered the circle surrounding Duke Humphrey and Gray was a Balliol student. Gray's lineage would have have given him entry into the group, and his own theological interests and knowledge of Humphrey's first gift to the university would have attracted him to Woodstock. By the time Capgrave came to Rome, Gray was himself a distinguished collector of manuscripts and a well-known patron as well as Henry VI's proctor at the papal court. It is a significant indication of Capgrave's reputation and further evidence that he was not acting in a private capacity on the

[88]) R. Arbesmann, "Jordanus of Saxony's *Vita Sancti Augustini*, the source for John Capgrave's *Life of St. Augustine*", *Traditio* I (1943), 353.

trip that he should be attended by a man whom the pope personally, albeit unsuccessfully, was to try to promote to a bishopric in 1450.

Capgrave may have had access to Gray's extensive library where he would have seen many Italian works not often found in England[89]), and he probably made at least the outline of his *Solace of Pilgrims* during his period of recuperation. Apart from the recollection of scenes in considerable detail, the many inscriptions which he records suggest that he worked on the book while he was still in Rome.

One authority suggests that Capgrave remained in Rome for a year and a half[90]). If so, he must indeed have begun his trip in 1449 and worked on the *Solace of Pilgrims* during his absence, for he had returned to England and completed his last two saints' lives by 1451[91]). For an Augustinian author, a life of the founder was a natural project, and Capgrave's *Life of St. Augustine* reveals a close familiarity with both the genuine and spurious writings in the saint's canon, especially in the early chapters where he is not depending on his main source. The *St. Augustine* is in every way superior to the hastily composed *Life of St. Gilbert* which followed it. When the master of the order of Sempringham, Nicholas Reysby, made known his admiration for the *St. Augustine* and requested a similar work on his patron, he may well have provided the Latin manuscript which Capgrave took as his source. It is an ill-conceived work containing two recensions of the life. Capgrave applied little of his usual critical judgment in his translation; he made few additions; and there is no indication that he tried to remove the repetitions in it.

The only other work which has been assigned to this period immediately before his election to the provincialate is the lost *Manipulus doctrinae Christianae* which, according to Bale, was dedicated to John Kemp. Bale's note on it is ambiguous, however, for he refers to Kemp as both Cardinal of Balbina and Archbishop of Canterbury, titles he did not hold concurrently. It is more likely that Bale added the better known title than that Capgrave erred in his

[89]) R. Weiss, *Humanism in England in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 86-96.

[90]) Toner, p. 508. He offers no documentary evidence, however.

[91]) *The Life of St. Gilbert*, which Capgrave says was composed shortly after *The Life of St. Augustine* (p. 61), ends with a precise date:

> Thus endith þe lif of Seint Gilbert translat in-to our moder tonge, þe 3ere of þe incarnacioun of our Lord a Mcccli.
>
> (p. 142)

dedication, and consequently the work can be dated anywhere between 1439 and 1454. Circumstantial evidence for a date closer to 1454 is provided by Bale's cryptic note "Poggio allegat", indicating that Capgrave makes some allusion to the Italian humanist. Poggio had visited England between 1418 and 1422, and he was well known after that time. Moreover, Duke Humphrey owned at least one of his works, and Capgrave could have seen it. However, since Capgrave so infrequently refers to contemporaries and since Gray was friendly with Poggio during his stay in Italy[92]), it is most likely that Capgrave's reference to the scholar would follow his lengthy exposure to the humanist group in Rome.

In 1453 Capgrave was elected provincial at Winchester, and the choice was confirmed by the prior-general the following year[93]).

> Confirmavimus in priorem provincialem fratrem Iohannem Capgrave provincie Anglie electum unanimiter et concorditer in capitulo provinciali Veyntonie celebrato 1453 in festo Marie Magdalene approbando electionem ac confirmationem eius per vicarium nostrum de eo factam, dando sibi auctoritatem in temporalibus et spiritualibus ut aliis provincialibus dare consuevimus, precipiendo singulis fratribus dicte provincie, ut sibi sicut legitimo pastori obedient. Confirmavimus acta predicti capituli precipientes prefato provinciali ut illa observari faciat.

Two years later the chapter met at Lynn, where Capgrave made his permanent home, and re-elected him:[94])

> Confirmavimus in priorem provincialem huius provincie magistrum Iohannem Capgrave electum unanimiter et concorditer in capitulo Lynie celebrato 6a die mensis Augusti 1455, approbando electionem et confirmationem eius per vicarium nostrum de eo factam dando sibi omnem auctoritatem et potestatem sicut alias habuit in huiusmodi officio provincialatus et confirmavimus omnia acta et diffinitiones in dicto capitulo, precipiendo ut observaret et observari faceret similiter diffinitiones capitulorum generalium.

The only record of his public duties appears in two documents concerning the recognition of Sir Edmund Rede as a founder of the Oxford convent[95]). Capgrave attended the formal services at the

[92]) Weiss, p. 90.

[93]) General Archives O.E.S.A., Register Dd 6, f. 16, as printed by de Meijer, Part I, 401.

[94]) General Archives O.E.S.A., Register Dd 6, f. 16, as printed by de Meijer, Part I, 400.

[95]) Printed in *The Chronicle of England, Appendix II*, 329-334.

convent church on that occasion and many of his activities must have been of a similar functional kind. He was also responsible for ensuring that the general rules of the order were observed in the thirty convents of the province, and to that end he made visitations and heard complaints like those noted by the author of the Augustinian rule *Mare Magnum*. Other duties were the recommendation of students to the *studia generalia*, the provision of lectorships, the arbitration of disputes, and the awarding of special dispensations and licenses.

Recent scholars agree that Capgrave finished his term as provincial in 1457 and returned to a quiet life at Lynn, carrying on with his last commentaries and *The Chronicle of England*. Only two of these commentaries are extant; those on the Acts of the Apostles and on the Creed. Both of them are dedicated to William Gray, and they still remain at Balliol College where Bishop Gray deposited them. With the Apocalypse of John, Capgrave finished his gathering of "eld exposiciones upon scripture into o collection" (*Chronicle*, p. 1), and turned to an enlargement of the *Annualia* which he had mentioned as early as 1438 in the Dedication to the Genesis commentary. Capgrave's dedication of this book to the new king, Edward IV, earned him the contempt of F.J. Furnivall, and Furnivall's condemnation of him as a time-server has too long been part of the standard characterization.

The power struggles which resulted in the civil war had their origins in events which took place before Capgrave's birth; and they were not concluded until two decades after his death. The older historical interpretation which placed all fifteenth-century figures on either the Lancastrian or Yorkist side has been supplanted by a far more complex view. It is now clear that the battles with the Percies, the rivalries of Henry V's brothers (the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester) for influence in the councils of the young king Henry VI during the 1420's, the disgrace of Gloucester in the 1440's and of the Duke of Suffolk in 1450, as well as the battles of the next three decades were all manifestations at the courtly level of the struggle for the control of wealth and policy which is seen not only in the alliances formed by aristocratic families but also in borough activities.

Many of the lesser known disputes, important for their effect on the social and economic stability of fifteenth-century England, took place in the Northern counties and in East Anglia. The troubles in Lynn itself were mentioned earlier; severe riots took place in Norwich in the 1420's, and the general lawlessness in the county is reflected in reports in the Paston Letters.

The administration of justice was dependent on influence, and the cost of appeals was so great that there was little the average person could do if he were injured. Moreover, without wealth, he had little chance of effecting any change in the situation. In such circumstances the loyalty of the individual lay with those who could protect his interests, and, obviously, his concern was primarily on a local level. There is no doubt that the office of the king was respected, but it is equally certain that the general populace was willing to support whoever could gain the throne.

The source of the conflict was not the justice of either side's claim to the crown. In addition, the small numbers involved in actual battles forcibly demonstrates that the mass of people were not moved by the issues. Most of Capgrave's associates have been described as violent adherents of one or the other side; but in fact they were moved by considerations of advantage rather than principle. What their actions show above all is that Capgrave, without family or high ecclesiastical position, would not have been required to take sides and that he had little reason to do so. And it is hardly surprising, nor a matter for condemnation, then, that Capgrave, among many others, should laud Henry VI in the dedication to one work and Edward IV in another.

Whether his *Chronicle* was cut short because of his death, because he was concerned not to indulge in controversy, or because he had partially covered the ground in his *De Illustribus Henricis* cannot be definitively determined. While his sources are well known and he added little, the work is an interesting pastiche of medieval interests and beliefs. Moreover, there is individuality in the characteristic scepticism of many of his comments.

Capgrave died in Lynn, where he had spent most of his life, on August 12, 1464. His reputation for learning, enhanced by the report that Henry VII tried to have him beatified[96]), was passed from annalist to annalist, but for nearly four hundred years the only work considered to be his that was ever printed was a version of John of Tynmouth's *Nova Legenda Angliae*[97]), and even in his own day his

[96]) The origin of this report is not ascertainable: de Meijer gives the *Introduction* to Mills' edition of *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes* p. xii as his only source. I have found no evidence that Henry VII made any petition to Rome.

[97]) This legendary has been printed under Capgrave's name since 1516, although it was long ago conceded that little of the material was original. In fact, none of the

works do not seem to have been as well known as he was. With the recent publication of *The Life of St. Norbert*, however[98], all of his vernacular works are finally in print, and through them, a new perspective on certain aspects of fifteenth-century letters may be achieved, for Capgrave is the only recognized scholar of the time with a large vernacular canon.

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manuscripts contain Capgrave's name For a survey of the connection between Capgrave and this legendary, see Peter J. Lucas, "*John Capgrave and the Nova Legenda Angliae : a Survey*", *The library*, XXV (1970), pp. 1-10.

[98]) Ed. C.S. Smetana (Toronto, 1977).

Notes on the Tübingen Edition of Gregory of Rimini

The first of a new seven-volume edition of Gregory of Rimini (†1358) which the SFB 8 at the University of Tübingen had been preparing for some years, is on the desk of the reviewers and readers[1]).

A new edition had become necessary because the literary heredity of Gregory of Rimini, partly left in handwritten Codices of the 14th-15th century, partly in early prints, was inaccessible on account of the irrevocable step taken by the learned world, about 1550, to write or print henceforth only in longhand script, thereby putting seven seals on all older publications done only in shorthand i.e. in medieval paleography. The new edition gives Gregory a legibility he never had before.

A new typographical dress may also be helpful in overcoming all those psychological handicaps which, as a rule, endanger the enjoyment of scholastic literature as such, even of the best. There is first of all their style, so different from ours; already at Gregory's own time the question of bookish style did assume an importance as rarely before or afterwards. Gregory himself did write a Latin style of prefabricated scholastic terminologies, while a good number of his contemporaries, protohumanists you may call them, hankered for a sweeter style of latinity, though the consummation of their good intentions, at least initially, had to content itself with the resurrection of equally prefabricated Latin clauses, which only humanistic fervor might be willing to proclaim as classical.

[1]) Gregorii Arimensis OESA Lectura super Primum et Secundum Sententiarum *edidit* A. Trapp O.S.A. Tomus IV Super Secundum (Dist. 1-5), *elaboraverunt* A. Damasus Trapp, Manuel Santos-Noya, Manfred Schulze, *in*: Spätmittelalter und Reformation Texte und Untersuchungen *herausgegeben* von Heiko A. Oberman Bd 9 (Walter De Gruyter Berlin New York 1979) pages I-LXI, pp. 388, DM 198; Vorwort by Oberman, pages V-IX, interesting on account of several personal studies, and welcome on account of his merit of having made, and making, the edition possible; Einleitung (pages XI-XXXIX) signed by Trapp and Schulze, followed by Schulze, 'Themen und Probleme' (pages XLI-LXI, see footnote 3 below); Text pp. 1-388.

There remains the important fact, though, that in Gregory's day two languages were cultivated, not necessarily by two different groups, but certainly by two different idealities, which little by little, first just linguistically, but later also emotionally, became incomprehensible to one another. At the end, the humanist did, and had to indulge in facile contempt of the scholastic, because down in his very heart he knew only too well that with the new language, unfit for severer speculation, he could never rival the intellectual depth of philosophical, theological, and mathematical speculation done in the other language; viceversa scholastics in general, the Augustinian School may be excepted, did hardly share the feeling of urgency and indispensability of historical and patristic studies, as the humanists were promoting them, nor could they be expected to admire the first humanistic conquests just as whole-heartedly.

One little illustration: A reader may wonder why the Tübingen editors have printed only arabic numbers in their texts; the reason is a simple one: most Augustinian manuscripts, and many others of the 14th century, knew only the arabic number, and despised the clumsy Roman numeral (the Roman XI, when used, seems to be a concession to an older generation). If the humanists had not rediscovered the 'majesty' of the Roman number, modern mathematics might have started its triumphant march a whole century earlier.

There are other examples showing precisely that the mutual contempt of humanist and scholastic, and their opposite superiority complexes, too, psychologically speaking, were often nothing but fig-leaves covering up plain ignorance of the rival's achievement[2]).

In the bitter struggle between the humanist and scholastic the former won out, and being destined to write the history of the struggle, he penned it with all his linguistic charm, but with sarcastic disdain for the rival.

By a tragic coincidence of history, not only the new protestants needed condemnations of theological scholasticism for their own propaganda, the official church, too, was looking about to find some scapegoats, liable and ready to furnish explanations and assume

[2]) E. Renan, Averroes et l'Averroisme (Paris 1861), page 374, repeats such a little sarcastic story of how the admiration for the hardworking Averroist Zimara, to whom we owe so many precious tools for the study of Averroes, turned from one day to the next into a chorus of derisive laughter. — Platonism could thrive on the sweet new language, Aristotelianism could not.

responsibilities for certain unpleasant developments of the then recent past, like the triple Roman Schism; and so it came about that the old and the new church made a united effort to propagandize the humanistic slanders against late medieval theology and theologians.

Later secular and church historians took over the verdict of the humanists with the almost natural effect that researchers shied away from the later Middle Ages, and printers could not afford to print unpopular texts. Clichés were, and are in circulation about the later Middle Ages; they are still so often repeated that the very repetition takes the place of scientific conviction. Examination of the sources proper is rather discouraged as extravagant, and as upsetting the serene peace of academy.

Now, with Gregory of Rimini's texts in pleasant typographical vest upon the researcher's desk, anyone having the courage to read and to read and to read, will discover an intellectual world which is surprisingly vigorous, and challenging, and silencing the cliché mongers [3]).

The Tübingen team has dared to print Gregory on the assumption that Gregory is one of the greatest theologians of the 14th century.

[3]) The editor-in-chief would have preferred that the critical edition of Gregory of Rimini appear without interpretative attempts like Dr. Schulze's Themen und Probleme, ed. Tübingen, 1979, pages XLI-LXI. To say the least, it looks strange to those who know, and very confusing to those who don't, when a co-editor, personally, invites a pretendedly known Ockham to make the presentations of a supposedly unknown Gregory. — Besides faux pas of bad taste and strategy, some inaccuracies slipped into the 'Themen'. I mention a few. The Latin *ipsam* in Gregory's sentence: "Unde sola fide et auctoritate sacrae scripturae *ipsam* tenemus", Schulze reads: "Unde sola fide et auctoritate sacrae scripturae *ipsam creationem* tenemus" (ed. Tübingen, page XLIX and P 69, 21-24) while Gregory himself means: *ipsam conclusionem tenemus*. Creationism is not under discussion at all, but rather its probability or rather its provability. Schulze overlooks a very remarkable development in Gregory's quest for truth. Gregory does not believe in two truths — the old cliché — but he admits gladly the examination of two proceedings of proof. — In several other contexts of his commentary we observe a similar attitude; at times Gregory admits candidly that he does not know which one of two given contradictory conclusions is arrived at *conclusively* but Schulze seems to know what Gregory doesn't. We have one instance in Gregory 2 Sent ed 1522, fol. 116K, where he says plainly: "Idcirco neutri parti alteram praeferens diiudicationem earum lectori relinquo", and Schulze (for the sake of the old cliché of the tortor infantium?) ignores it (ed. Tübingen, page LVI, n. 5). — We have another case in the question whether God can undo the past, where Gregory states that he treats the question per sic et per non (Gregory 1 Sent ed. 1522, fol. 164A) and at the end leaves the question wide open (ed. cit. fol. 165B): "Ecce posui utriusque partis probationes et defensiones, quarum quae cui praeferenda sit, doctorum iudicio relinquo"; Schulze again knows more than Gregory. Gregory never accepted the so-called double truth but was most willing to examine two proceedings of proof, and find them both ... wanting.

Capreolus, too, when he wanted to incorporate the best of the 14th century into the last medieval commentary on the Scriptum of St. Thomas, almost never let anyone else but Gregory have the final say in the theological concert of the 14th century 'opiniones'.

The undeniable fact that Gregory, though supposedly a genius, left no enthusiastic school in his wake, cannot be considered as the indisputable argument that settles all questions as to Gregory's stature. It ought not to be forgotten that the Black Death tore physical gaps into the continuity after Gregory, and so did the Oxford-Paris schism in the scholastic field, and the triple Roman Schism in the ecclesiastical field, the tidal wave of humanism, of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. The black cloud of Ockhamism thwarted an appearance of the editio princeps before 1482. Instead of a schola, an anti-Gregorian emotion prevailed for a long time. A reexamination of Gregory by catholics, and by protestants, is thereby not foreclosed at all.

A. D. Trapp, O.S.A.

Boekbesprekingen — Comptes rendus

Gregorii de Arimino O.S.A. registrum generalatus 1357-1358. Quod edendum curavit Albericus De Meijer eiusdem ordinis (Fontes historiae ordinis sancti Augustini, prima series : Registra priorum generalium, I). Roma, Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, 1976, xvii-421 pp.

Les archives du généralat de l'ordre des ermites de S. Augustin à Rome figurent parmi les archives les plus riches des ordres religieux. Bien que beaucoup de documents datant de la période de la formation de l'ordre soient perdus, grand nombre de pièces importantes ont été conservées soigneusement. La correspondance des prieurs généraux forme un fond intéressant et riche, et constitue la série Dd. Ces registres, tenus au jour par leurs secrétaires, contiennent les lettres, soit in extenso, soit in minute, expédiées par le prieur général. Le premier volume de cette série (Dd 1) a été édité soigneusement par l'archiviste de la province néerlandaise des augustins, le père Albéric de Meijer, connu par ses publications importantes pour l'histoire de l'ordre. Ce premier codex contient la correspondance de Grégoire de Rimini et se compose de deux parties. La première a gardé les lettres expédiées depuis le 28 sept. 1357 jusqu'au 19 mai 1358 (doc. 10-352); la deuxième contient celles du 21 mai jusqu'au 20 nov. 1358 (doc. 353-735). Quelques autres documents (doc. 1-9) précèdent cette correspondance, dans laquelle se trouvent deux lacunes (en total une vingtaine de feuillets) après les ff. 187 et 219; ainsi manque le courrier expedié entre le 12 nov. et le 7 déc. 1357, et entre le 20 avril et le 15 mai 1358.

Signalé à la bibliothèque conventuelle de Cesène, sous le généralat de Gilles de Viterbe, retrouvé à Gênes, le codex se trouvait à Rome à la bibliothèque des carmes depuis 1648. Rendu gracieusement aux augustins, le volume, ayant souffert de l'humidité, a été restauré par les services des archives du Vatican en 1928 sur l'instigation du p. Casamassa. On connait G. de R. surtout par son Commentaire sur les Sentences de Pierre Lombard, et spécialement par la réfutation originale de la critique des realistes sur le nominalisme d'Ockham et ses adhérents. Introduisant le concept du «*complexe significabile*» G. de R. voulait éviter un nominalisme unilatéral. Né aux environs de 1300, il faisait des études de théologie à Paris de 1323 à 1329. Il enseignait ensuite à Bologne, à Padoue et à Perugia. En 1341 retourné à Paris, il y poursuivait ses études et fut promu maître en théologie en 1345. En 1351 il fut nommé «*lector principalis*» au *studium generale* des augustins à Rimini. Après la mort de Thomas de Strasbourg, décédé à Vienne en 1357, Grégoire de Rimini a été élu prieur général. Ayant

remplie cette fonction pendant dix-huit mois, il mourut, lui aussi, à Vienne en nov. 1358. Une biographie succincte, aussi qu'une liste d'ouvrages concernant G. de R., son influence et l'histoire des augustins se trouvent dans la préface (*opera consultanda*, p. XIII-XVI). Le registre de la correspondance du généralat de G. a été tenu par plusieurs secrétaires. On peut distinguer sept mains différentes. Chacun des secrétaires avait une orthographe caractéristique, que l'éditeur a maintenue. Dans l'apparat il signale où commence une autre main. Il a respecté également l'interponction de l'original, parfois complétée pour faciliter l'interprétation de certains passages difficiles. Le corps de l'ouvrage forment les deux parties du registre, numérotés de 1 à 739. Les notes marginales — additions et corrections — ont été placé dans l'apparat. Le volume est muni d'une table de citations bibliques, et d'une table générale, détaillée et soigneusement élaborée, des matières et des noms, où certains termes sautent aux yeux, p.e. *absolutio*, *apostata*, *bibliotheca*, *capitulum*, *constitutiones*, *fratres conversi*, *delicta*, *(in)oboedientia*, *itinera*, *prior*, *studia*, *venditio*.

Ces registres reflètent la situation de l'Europe ravagée par la Grande Peste, dont la population avait été décimée. Par ses directives, décisions et exhortations Grégoire essayait de restaurer la discipline monastique et la vie communautaire et d'inspirer la vie religieuse de son ordre qui avait perdu plus de trois mille de ses membres. Il soulignait spécialement l'observance de la pauvreté, de l'office divin et du jeûne, et stimulait les études. Très souvent on retrouve ces mêmes thèmes dans ses lettres, surtout dans celles adressées aux couvents d'Italie.

Dans la préface, en latin, l'éditeur expose clairement son travail. Cette édition soignée des registres de G. de R. n'est pas seulement d'un grand intérêt pour l'histoire des augustins; elle l'est également pour l'histoire de l'Eglise ainsi que pour l'histoire culturelle de l'Europe du XIV^e^ siècle, et de différents pays. Nous félicitons le p. De Meijer d'avoir édité ce premier volume des «*Fontes historiae ordinis sancti Augustini*». Que d'autres volumes de cette qualité poursuivent bientôt cette série.

Martijn SCHRAMA O.S.A.

Gabrielis Biel Collectorium circa quattuor libros Sententiarum. Libri quarti pars secunda (d. 15-22). Ausp. H. RÜCKERT†, ed. W. WERBECK et U. HOFMANN, coll. M. ELZE et R. STEIGER. Tübingen. J. C. B. Mohr, 1977, XX-624 pp., DM 355.

With a regularity worthy of admiration three volumes of the text-critical edition of Biel's *Collectorium* have now appeared: I in 1973 (reviewed in *Augustiniana* 24 (1974), 213-215); IV, 1 in 1975 (reviewed in *Augustiniana* 25 (1975), 186-188); IV, 2 in 1977. Like the previous editions this one too has been excellently prepared, and

great care has been given to the printing and to the critical apparatus. This volume contains that part of the *Collectorium* on which Biel was working up until the time of his death on the 7th of December, 1495. He was actually still working on the fifth sacrament, the anointing of the sick (d. 23). The original editor, Biel's pupil and confrere Wendelin Steinbach, mentions in a postscript that Biel himself had certain reservations about the publication of this work of his and that Steinbach had to assure him that he would see that the whole work was published with great care : «*Praeter ac contra voluntatem suam opus illud (ad plurimum rogatum) ecclesiae destinatum est. Siquidem crebris vicibus, dum in humanis adhuc ageret, immo etiam cum iam agoni appropinquaret, instanter, instantius ac instantissime (prout potuit et debuit) pariter et adiuravit, ne eo inscio et ignorante Scriptum seu Collectorium istud (furtive impressorum characterisatione multiplicandum) in mundum universum ire faciam, nisi eo per me lecto, viso et reviso videatur eius publicatio ecclesiae et eius membris theologicam veritatem adamantibus non obesse, sed prodesse*». (p. 624). In fact, six years elapsed between Biel's death and the first edition of the first part of the *Collectorium*.

In IV, 1 Biel had spoken of the sacraments of baptism, confirmation and the eucharist, and in d. 14 he had been concerned with the sacrament of penance in general. In IV, 2 he considers penance with reference to a wide range of particular cases. And because human sinfulness always has an effect on others, this part at the same time forms a mirror of social relationships, a social ethic, and it is of importance for the history of economics. The following are some examples of the subjects treated : the payment of restitution, booty taken in war, the master-servant relationship, taxation, bribery, legal assistance pro deo, prebends, forgery, counterfeit money, devaluation, commercial fraud, banking, interest, the profits of prostitution, playing for money (e.g. the question whether clerics were forbidden to play chess; it seems that Biel's principal objection was the length of time taken to finish a game!), superannuation, punishment through negligence, insults, backbiting, rape, the commandments of the church, alms, the problem of the mendicants, *potestas clavis*, the confessional secret, fasting.

Related to the last mentioned there is the casus whether the head of the family or the inn-keeper sins if during Lent he serves everyone simply with the same amount of food. (p. 412-413, d. 16, q. 2, dub. 6). To this Steinbach appears to have added a survey of opinion (p. 425-431) in which answers to the problem are provided by C. Summenhart, A. Proles O.E.S.A., M. Plantsch, Steinbach himself, C. Ebinger, M. Uranius, C. Vesseler, and by the theological faculty of Mainz (5th October, 1495). For the readers of *Augustiniana* it is to be mentioned that in dealing with *correctio fraterna* (p. 592) Biel refers to his *Expositio canonis missae*, lect. 74 (III, p. 235) where he quotes the *Rule* of Augustine.

Even though IV, d. 15 exists in manuscript (Trier, Stadtsbibliothek Ms 8° 971 (929) coming from the Gervasius-Germanus monastery that was at one time a residence of the congregation of Windesheim), this manuscript *U* is identical with the printed edition *T* (Tübingen, 1501). The text-critical edition is based on *T*. *U* has the same mistakes as *T*, which has led scholars to the conclusion that *T* was followed by *U*.

D. 15, q. 9 had already been published separately c. 1516 as *De potestate et utilitate monetarum* (Oppenheim, J. Köbel) and is also dependent on *T*. This fragment was reprinted several more times: Nuremberg, 1542; Cologne, 1574; Lyons, 1605; Turin, 1609; an English translation was published by R. Burke, Philadelphia-London, 1930.

Wendelin Steinbach († 1519) himself put together a *Supplementum in Gabrielis Biel librum quartum Collectorii* which was published by his pupil, Gallus Muller, Paris, 1521, and reprinted Brixen, 1574. Steinbach spoke of the *Supplementum* even as early as 1504.

When one considers that the printing of the *Collectorium* was begun in 1501, that it was published in parts by Jacobus Pfortzen in Basel and completed by 1508, may we perhaps expect that the text-critical edition may follow suite and reach its completion within a span of seven years.

Martijn SCHRAMA O.S.A.

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Die Bekehrung zum Christentum nach Augustins Büchlein De Catechizandis Rudibus*

4. Kapitel

DAS WESEN DER BEKEHRUNG

Nach Augustinus begann die Unheilsituation des Menschen damit, *ut... homo a suo creatore auersus uictus diabolo subderetur* (18, 30). Diese Abwendung des Menschen von Gott durch die Sünde mit ihren Folgen kann jedoch wiedergutgemacht werden durch die Bekehrung. Was ist nun die Bekehrung im Sinne Augustins und seines Büchleins? Da Augustinus keine ausführliche Wesensbestimmung bietet, soll eine Untersuchung der von ihm verwendeten Terminologie seine Auffassung über das Wesen der Bekehrung und anschliessend die Unterscheidung zwischen wahrer und falscher Bekehrung aufzeigen.

Augustinus bietet in *De catechizandis rudibus* eine Fülle von Aücken und gewählten Formulierungen, die sich auf das Wesen der Bekehrung beziehen.

Dem Abfall des Menschen von Gott wird das *converti ad Deum*[1]), das ἐπιστρέφομαι der Hl. Schrift gegenübergestellt[2]). Der sündige Mensch muss sich von der Sünde abwenden (*recedat ab iniquitate*, 11, 16)[3]). Von Mitleid mit der eigenen Seele gepackt, müssen die Menschen *magno impetu* sich Gott zuwenden[4]). Die Trennung vom Sündenleben

* Siehe *Augustiniana* 27 (1977), 26-69, 333-363; 28 (1978), 255-287.

[1]) *De cat.rud.* 18, 30: «homini ad creatorem suum conuerso...»; 19, 32: «Si conuerterentur ad deum...» 21, 37: «si ad uerum Deum conuersi fuerint...»; 24, 44: «etiam ipsa persequentia regna cesserunt et ad Christum cognoscendum atque uenerandum fracta superbiae ceruice conuersa sunt»; 25, 48: «ad placendum deo miseranti animas suas magno impetu conuertuntur».

[2]) W. BAUER, Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments, 545.

[3]) Über *recedo* cf. A. BLAISE-H. CHIRAT, Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens, 698.

[4]) *De cat.rud.* 25, 48: «deo miseranti animas suas magno impetu conuertuntur». Über *misereor* mit Akk. cf. BLAISE, 534. Über *impetus* cf. Thesaurus Linguae Latinae VII/1, 610.

fordert Opfer und Busse: «*Paenitendo conuersi crediderunt in eum millia Iudaeorum... Itaque iam ueteris hominis terrena desideria mortificantes*[5]) *...vendebant omnia quae habebant*». (23, 42) Das *mortificare* besagt, entsprechend dem griechischen θανατάω ein Ertöten der sündigen, fleischlichen Werke[6]). Gottes Barmherzigkeit und Langmut «führt zum heilsamsten Reueschmerz» (25, 48). Der Mensch muss seine Sünde bekennen (*peccata confessus*) und zum *recte uiuendum* zurückkehren. (18, 30)

Die Bekehrung zum Christentum bezeichnet Augustinus als *fieri Christianus*[7]) oder *uelle* (*desiderare*) *esse Christianus*[8]). Das Christwerden besteht näherhin in *uiam Christi alacriter ingredi* (7, 11), *Christum sectari* (14, 21), *fieri Christianus et incorporari ecclesiae* (6, 10), *sociari ecclesiae* (8, 12), *ad societatem populi christiani accedere* (8, 12), *esse in ecclesia dei* (14, 21), *coniungi ecclesiae dei* (16, 25), *intrare ecclesiam* (17, 26). Die Bekehrungswilligen werden bezeichnet als *rudes qui fide imbuendi sunt*[9]). Das Bekehrtwerden wird genannt *aedificari ad fidem*[10]), *primis sacramentis imbui* (13, 19), *ad sacramentorum participationem uenire* (8, 12), *aliquem christiano nomine imbuere* (10, 14).

Durch die Bekehrung soll der Mensch *ab erroris morte in uitam fidei transire*[11]) (12, 17); er soll befreit werden *ab errorum saecularium*[12]) *morte* (14, 21). Der Sünder, der den *deliciis carnalibus* verhaftet (17, 27) und *carnalis* (4, 8) geworden war, soll umgewandelt werden zu einem *spiritualis* (4, 8). Augustinus übernimmt hier die von Paulus häufig gebrauchte Gegenüberstellung des sarkischen und pneumatischen Menschen[13]). Das alte Leben erstirbt durch die Tilgung der Sünden[14]).

Alle Sünden der Vergangenheit werden ausgelöscht, während die

[5]) Cf. BLAISE, 541.

[6]) Cf. *Rom.* 8, 13.

[7]) *De cat.rud.* 5, 9; 6, 10; 8, 12; 9, 13; 10, 14; 13, 19; 14, 21.

[8]) *Ibid.* 8, 12; 16, 24; 17, 26; 26, 51.

[9]) *Ibid.* 1, 1; 2, 4; 5, 9.

[10]) *Ibid.* 24, 44; 27, 53.

[11]) Über *transire* cf. BLAISE, 824.

[12]) *Saecularis* entspricht hier dem griech. κοσμικός in der Bedeutung «weltlich mit dem Nebensinn des Gottfeindlichen, sittl. Verwerflichen». (BAUER, Wörterbuch, 807).

[13]) Zu σαρκικός, σάρκινος cf. BAUER, Wörterbuch, 1352; πνευματικός *Ibid.*, 1236-1237.

[14]) *De cat.rud.* 20, 34: «peccata uero eorum tamquam inimici delentur atque moriuntur»; 26, 52: «deletis omnibus peccatis praeteritis». BLAISE, 251: deleo = effacer, faire disparaître.

unbussfertigen Menschen Gottes Strafgericht verfallen[15]). Der sündige Mensch, der ein Feind Gottes war, wird dessen Freund[16]). Des Menschen Seele wird erneuert nach dem Bilde Gottes[17]). «So hat also Christus die Offenbarung vom Neuen Bunde der ewigen Erbschaft gebracht, worin der Mensch durch die Gnade Gottes wiederhergestellt wird und ein neues Leben, d.h. ein Leben des Gesetzes führen soll» (22, 40). Von den bekehrungswilligen Juden sagt Augustinus, dass sie *spiritalis uitae nouitate flagrantes* (23, 42) waren. Durch die Taufe *fideles in nouam uitam transeunt* (20, 34). Auch hier erweist sich Augustinus als Interpret des Apostels Paulus, der von der Neuheit des christlichen Lebens spricht[18]).

Die Zusammenstellung der von Augustinus gebrauchten Ausdrücke lässt erkennen, dass die Bekehrung zum Christentum wesentlich in Abkehr und Hinwendung besteht. In der prägnanten Formulierung *paenitendo conuersi crediderunt* (*millia Iudaeorum*) (23, 42) sind die beiden Wesenselemente enthalten, die auch folgender Satz wiedergibt: *Converti autem ad Deum nemo, nisi ab hoc mundo se avertat, potest.* (*De duabus animabus contra manichaeos* 8, 10).

A. Aversio.

Bekehrung ist wesentlich Abwendung von allem, zu dem sich der Mensch bei, in und infolge der Sünde hingewandt hat. Die Abkehr des Menschen von seinem Schöpfer führt zu einem gottwidrigen Zustand, der in einer böswilligen Gesinnung wurzelt, aus der die bösen Taten und Sünden hervorgehen.

Die Wurzel dieses Abfalles aber ist der Stolz, der «Anfang des bösen Willens»[19]), «das Streben nach verkehrter Hoheit»[20]), das Wohlgefallen

[15]) *De cat.rud.* 27, 53: «Factum est aliquando diluuium per totam terram, ut peccatores delerentur».

[16]) *Ibid.* 7, 11: «dilexit inimicum, ut iustificans faceret amicum».

[17]) *Ibid.* 22, 39: «ut hac sexta aetate mens humana renouetur ad imaginem dei».

[18]) Cf. BÜCHSEL, παλιγγενεσία in: Kittel, Theologisches Wöterbuch zum Neuen Testament I, 685-688; DEY J., ΠΑΛΙΓΓΕΝΕΣΙΑ. Ein Beitrag zur Klärung der religionsgeschichtl. Bedeutung von Tit 3, 5 (Nt.Abh.hg.v.M.Meinertz, XVII, 5), Münster i.W. 1937; VON HARNACK A., Die Terminologie der Wiedergeburt und verwandter Erlebnisse in der ältesten Kirche (Texte u. Unters. 3. R., 12.Bd., H. 3), Leipzig 1918, 97-143.

[19]) *En. in ps.* 18, 15 (PL 36, 163): «Magnum hoc delictum est, et caput atque causa omnium delictorum...» «Ab hoc vitio, quod est caput omnium vitiorum, quia inde caetera nata sunt, facta est apostasia a Deo...».

[20]) *Ibid.*

am eigenen Ich[21]). Folglich fordert eine Wandlung des Menschen zunächst eine Änderung seiner falschen Einstellung zu Gott, zur Welt und zum eigenen Ich. Der Mensch muss seine Gottesferne erkennen und bekennen. Dies aber setzt Demut voraus. Wie der Stolz den Abfall von Gott, leitet die Demut[22]) die Rückkehr zu Gott ein. Der Demütige erkennt die wahre Existenz des Menschen, die Abhängigkeit jeder Kreatur von Gott[23]). Während der Hochmut in Selbstbehauptung blind ist für die eigenen Schwächen und Fehler[24]), sieht die Demut in Offenheit die Sünden[25]). Wie sollte die Medizin zu einer Heilung wirkkräftig werden ohne diese Erkenntnis? Das Erkennen des heillosen Zustandes wieder führt zum offenen Bekenntnis der Sünden[26]) und zum *recedere ab iniquitate* (11, 16), mag auch dieses Sichlosreissen von sündigen Gewohnheiten schmerzhaft sein.

Die Abkehr von der Sünde und ihrem Urgrund bedingt gleichzeitig die Abwendung von allem Gottwidrigen und Teuflischen. Dazu gehört an erster Stelle die Abwendung von allem heidnischen, mit dem Teufel in engster Verbindung stehenden Götterglauben und Götzendienst. Augustinus stellt zwar in *De cat. rud.* jede Auseinandersetzung mit heidnischen Religionen zurück, deren Bekämpfung er so viele seiner Schriften gewidmet; hier setzt er die Überwindung des Polytheismus als so

[21]) *Ep.* 118, 15 (CSEL 34/2, 679): «nam cum se ipso sibi quasi suo bono animus gaudet, superbus est».

[22]) Cf. ADNÈS P., L'humilité vertu spécifiquement chrétienne d'après saint Augustin, in: *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 28 (1952), 208-223; BOYER C., Augustin, in Dictionnaire de Spiritualité I, 1109-1110.

[23]) Cf. SCHELER M., Vom Ewigen im Menschen. Bern 1954⁴, 90: «Die Demut führt uns vom zufälligen Dasein irgendeines Etwas (und allen in diese Sphäre gehörigen kategorialen Seinsformen und Seinsverknüpfungen) in die Richtung zum Wesen, zum puren Wasgehalt der Welt». *Ibid.*, 38: «Nur wenn die Demut als Erlebnisfolge eines stetigen Wandels vor der klaren Idee jenes absolut Guten, dem wir uns nicht genügen sehen, die Verdrängungs-, Verhärtungs- und Verstockungstendenzen des Stolzes auflöst und den im Stolze gleichsam von der Dynamik des Lebensflusses isolierten Ichpunkt zu diesem Flusse und der Welt wieder in eine flüssige Bewegung setzt, nur dann ist Reuebereitschaft möglich. Der Mensch ist verhärtet und verstockt weit mehr aus Stolz und Hochmut, denn aus der aus seiner Konkupiszenz geborenen Furcht vor Strafe, und er ist es um so mehr, je tiefer die Schuld in ihm sitzt und je mehr sie gleichsam ein Teil seines Selbst geworden ist. Nicht das Bekenntnis, sondern zuerst die Selbstpreisgabe vor sich selbst ist dem Verstockten so schwer». Über den Einfluss Augustins auf M. Scheler cf. GROOTEN J., L'augustinisme de Max Scheler, in: Augustinus Magister II, 1111-1120.

[24]) *In ev. Jo. tr.* 25, 16 (CC 36, 256): «Cura superbiam, et nulla erit iniquitas».

[25]) *En. in ps.* 118, s. 15, 2 (PL 37, 1541).

[26]) *De cat. rud.* 18, 30: «si peccata confessus ad recte uiuendum redierit, laudabilem inuenit per misericordiam indulgentiam».

selbstverständlich voraus, dass er sich auf einige Andeutungen beschränken kann[27]).

Ausführlich befasst sich Augustinus dagegen mit der Abwendung vom Teufel und der gottwidrigen Welt. Die gottvergessene Weltverhaftung, *huius saeculi pompa* (26, 52), ist letztlich eine *pompa diaboli.* Christwerden ist nach Augustinus undenkbar ohne entschiedene Absage[28]) an diese *pompa*[29]).

Schon Tertullian hatte auf die gefährliche Verbindung der Schauspiele mit der Idolatrie hingewiesen und ihre Verwerfung mit dem Hinweis auf die Absageformel der christlichen Taufe begründet[30]). Die *ludi publici*[31]), die im 4. Jh. an 175 Tagen des Jahres stattfanden, werden von Augustinus unter dem Namen *spectacula*[32]) zusammengefasst. Die eigentlichen sakralen Feste erwähnt er nicht; um so mehr warnt er vor den *ludi scaenici* der Theater, die immer mehr im Mimus und in der Pantomime der Erotik und dem trivialen Witz dienten und in Tanz und Revue entarteten[33]). Jedes sittliche Empfinden wurde von den *scaenici*[34]) und *thymelici*[35]) in Possen und Anzüglichkeiten niedergerissen. Das grösste Interesse fanden beim Publikum die *ludi circenses* und die *munera* (Gladiatorenkämpfe), zu denen die Tierhetzen hinzugehörten, die zu einer solchen Verrohung und solchem Blutrausch der Massen führten,

[27]) *De cat. rud.* 21, 37: «terreni reges desertis idolis, pro quibus persequebantur Christianos, unum uerum deum et Christum dominum cognouerunt et colunt...» *Ibid.* 23, 43: «ex idolorum cultu uenientes, et ad unum deum colendum rudes...».

[28]) Cf. ROTHENHAUENSLER M.-OPPENHEIM Ph., Apotaxis, in: Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum I, 558-564.

[29]) Cf. RAHNER H., Pompa diaboli. Ein Beitrag zur Bedeutungsgeschichte des Wortes πομπή in der nachchristlichen Taufliturgie, in : *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 55 (1931), 239-273; WASZINK J.H., Pompa diaboli, in: *Vigiliae Christianae* 1 (1947), 13-41.

[30]) Cf. KÖHNE J., Die Schrift Tertullians «Über die Schauspiele» in kultur- und religionsgesch. Beleuchtung. (Dissert.), Münster i.W. 1929.

[31]) Cf. HABEL, Ludi publici, in: PAULY-WISSOWA, Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Suppl. V, 608-630; FRIEDLAENDER L., Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis z. Ausgang der Antonine. II, Leipzig 1910[8], 293-663; WISSOWA G., Religion und Kultus der Römer (Hdb. d. kl. Alt.-Wiss. hg. v. Müller, V, Bd., 4. Abt.), München 1912[2], 449-467; LAVEDAN P., Dictionnaire illustré de la mythologie et des antiquités grecques et romaines. Paris 1952, 558-560.

[32]) *De cat. rud.* 7, 11; 16, 25; 27, 55.

[33]) Cf. KEENAN M.E., The life and times of St. Augustine as revealed in his letters. Washington 1935, 56-61. GETTY M.M., The life of the North Africans as revealed in the Sermons of St. Augustine: Washington 1931, 37-42.

[34]) Cf. BLAISE, 741.

[35]) Cf. BLAISE, 817; CHRISTOPHER, The First Catechetical Instruction. Westminster 1946, 121 (n. 159).

dass Augustinus mit Recht schreiben konnte: «In ihrer Leidenschaft für Schauspiele werden sie aber wie Dämonen: durch ihr Geschrei hetzen sie Menschen dazu auf, aufeinander loszuschlagen und miteinander auf Leben und Tod zu kämpfen, Menschen, die einander nicht beleidigt haben und nur dem wahnsinnigen Volk zu gefallen wünschen» (16, 25). Von diesen brutalen Spielen im Zirkus und Amphitheater erwähnt Augustinus die *sintae*[36]), *aurigae*[37]) und *uenatores*[38]). Als gefährlichste und hartnäckigste Verbindung mit der heidnischen Vergangenheit erwies der weitverbreitete Aberglaube[39]), besonders die durch die orientalischen Religionen geförderten Astrologie und Magie.

Der Aberglaube, den man als «Nachtseite des Religion» bezeichnet[40]), die Furcht vor übersinnlichen Mächten und das Suchen nach Mitteln, ihren schädlichen Einfluss zu brechen, beherrschte zu Augustins Zeiten die breiten Massen bis in die gläubigsten Christenkreise hinein. In den mannigfaltigen Anliegen und Nöten schlichen Arme und Reiche, Gebildete und Ungebildete zu den berufsmässigen Heilskünstlern (*praecantores*)[41]) und legten heilskräftige Zaubermittel an (*remediorum sacrilegorum alligatoribus*)[42]).

Die Astrologie, als deren Erfinder die Aegypter und Chaldäer gelten[43]), verbreitete sich seit der alexandrinischen Epoche in der ganzen hellenischen Welt und wurde während der Kaizerzeit als die vornehmste aller Künste und als Königin der Wissenschaften gefeiert. Gegen die Überzeugung fatalistischer Schicksalsbestimmung, die von dieser Pseudowissenschaft verbreitet wurde, richteten die christlichen Apologeten heftigste Angriffe. Sie konnten aber nicht verhindern, dass sie in den folgenden Jahrhunderten weiterblühten. Sternenglaube und Fatalismus

[36]) Bedeutung und Herkunft dieses Wortes sind unbekannt. Cf. BLAISE, 762; CHRISTOPHER, First cat. instr., 121 (n. 158).

[37]) Über die Wagenrennen, für die sich die Nordafrikaner leidenschaftlich begeisterten cf. CHRISTOPHER, l.c., 121 (n. 160).

[38]) Über die Tierkämpfe cf. CHRISTOPHER, l.c., 121 (n. 161); FRIEDLAENDER, l.c., 393-413.

[39]) Über Begriff und Arten des heidnischen Aberglaubens in der Antike cf. PRÜMM K., Religionsgeschichtliches Handbuch für den Raum der altchristl. Umwelt. Rom 1954, 366-464; RIESS, Aberglaube, in: PAULY-WISSOWA, RE I/1, 29-93. Über die Terminologie bei Augustinus cf. KEENAN M.E., The Terminology of Witchcraft in the Works of Augustine, in: *Classical Philology* 35 (1940), 294-297.

[40]) RIESS. l.c., 29.

[41]) *De cat. rud.* 7, 11; 25, 48. Cf. BLAISE, 640.

[42]) *De cat. rud.* 7, 11; 25, 48. Über die *remedia* cf. VAN DER MEER, Augustinus, 76.

[43]) RIESS, Astrologie, in PAULY-WISSOWA, RE II/2, 1805.

waren in Nordafrika so allgemein verbreitet, dass Augustinus jede Gelegenheit wahrnahm, um vor den *mathematici* zu warnen[44]). Die in Griechenland und im Römerreich geachtete Mantik forderte von den Kirchenvätern eine klare Stellungnahme[45]). Augustinus war davon überzeugt, dass die *divinatio* im Dienste der Dämonen stand[46]) und er wollte, dass die Neuchristen sich von diesen *uanae et malae artes* (7, 11) unbedingt fernhielten.

Bekehrung zum Christentum fordert schliesslich Aufgeben eines Lebensstiles und Brauchtums, die völlig infiziert sind vom Geiste der *civitas terrena*.

B. Conversio.

Der Abkehr des Menschen von allem Gottwidrigen und Dämonischen muss nach *De catechizandis rudibus* eine Hinwendung zu Gott, zu Christus und zur Kirche entsprechen.

1. Nach Augustin, für den das gesamte Leben, Irren und Suchen ein ungestümes Ringen um Gott war, bzw. Gott den Gegenstand des Sehnens, Denkens und Liebens bildete[47]), muss der gottferne Mensch zu Gott zurückfinden. Diese Hinwendung des Menschen zu Gott aber soll zunächst in der rechten Hinordnung des Verstandes auf Gott hin bestehen. Nach Augustinus ist Gott die unbedingte Wahrheit, die Sonne, in deren Licht[48]) der Mensch das Wahre, das wirklich Existierende schaut[49]). Die unmittelbare Schau der Wahrheit in Gott gibt es allerdings in diesem irdischen Leben nicht. «Denn wer schaut in diesem Leben anders als wie in Rätseln und wie durch einen Spiegel? Wird es ja doch selbst der grössten Liebe nicht möglich, das irdische Dunkel zu

[44]) *De cat. rud.* 7, 11; 25, 48. Cf. VAN DER MEER, Augustinus, 78-85.

[45]) PRÜMM, l.c., 413-434; HOPFNER, Mantike, in: PAULY-WISSOWA, RE IV/1, 1258-1288.

[46]) *De cat. rud.* 25, 48: «impiorum artium diuinatoribus deditos». 27, 55: «diuinationum diabolicarum».

[47]) GRABMANN M., Die Grundgedanken des Heiligen Augustinus über Seele und Gott. Köln 1929², 72-73.

[48]) *Solil.* I, 8, 15 (PL 32, 877).

[49]) *Conf.* VII, 15, 21 (CSEL 33, 161). Über erkenntnistheoretische Probleme bei Augustinus cf. KÄLIN B., Die Erkenntnislehre des hl. Augustinus (Dissert. Freiburg i. Schw.), Sarnen 1920; HESSEN Joh., Augustinus Metaphysik der Erkenntnis. Berlin u. Bonn 1931 (Leiden 1960²); HOFFMANN W., Augustinus. Das Problem seiner Daseinsauslegung (Aevum Christianum, 6), Münster 1963; MANDOUZE A., St. Augustin. L'aventure de la raison et de la grâce. Paris 1968; RATZINGER J., Der Weg der religiösen Erkenntnis nach Augustin, in: Kyriakon (Festschr. J. Quasten) II, Münster 1970, 553-564.

durchbrechen und in jene ewige Klarheit einzudringen, unter deren Glanz alles Vergängliche hier auf Erden erhellt wird» (2, 4). Der Mensch kann jedoch die wichtigsten Wahrheiten und Gott selbst in seinem Leben erkennen. Die Frage, ob es einen Gott gebe, erübrigt sich für Augustinus. Gottes Dasein ist eine so evidente Wahrheit, dass sie keinem verborgen bleibt[50]). Die Zweckmässigkeit und Schönheit der Schöpfung ist der begeisterte Hymnus der Natur an ihren Schöpfer. Aus ihr vermag der Mensch durch seine Vernunft den Schöpfergott zu erkennen (18, 29)[51]), wie schon Cicero in seinem teleologischen Gottesbeweise ausführte[52]). Auch aus den Stufen der Vollkommenheit vermag der denkende Mensch auf das höchste und absolute Gut zu schliessen (18, 29).

Auch unter den Heiden gab es Menschen, die Gott tatsächlich erkannt haben. «Unter den babylonischen Königen, in deren Knechtschaft die Juden standen, gab es einige, die bei dieser Gelegenheit durch verschiedene Wunderzeichen zur Erkenntnis des einen wahren Gottes, des Schöpfers aller Dinge gelangten». (21, 37).

Der Mensch muss ferner seinen Willen auf Gott hinordnen, und zwar im Glauben, in der Verehrung und in der Liebe. Der Mensch muss sich im Glauben der Führung der göttlichen Autorität anvertrauen; er muss *credere Deo* (25, 48), d.h. sich der göttlichen Autorität unterwerfen. Dieses *credere Deo* wieder muss sich entfalten zum *credere in Deum*, wie später eingehender gezeigt werden wird. Die gläubige Hingabe wieder fordert die Verehrung des einen, wahren Gottes nach dem Verlassen der falschen Götter des Heidentums (21, 37). Gott hat «den Menschen den freien Willen gegeben, damit sie nicht in knechtischer Notwendigkeit, sondern in freier Selbstentscheidung Gott verehrten» (18, 30). Allerdings vermag der heillose Mensch nicht aus eigener Kraft aus der Ausweglosigkeit und dem Zweifel zur Wahrheit und zum Heil zu gelangen.

[50]) Cf. *En. in ps.* 74, 9 (PL 36, 952): «De nullo loco judicat, qui ubique secretus est, ubique publicus; quem nulli licet ut est cognoscere, et quem nemo permittitur ignorare».

[51]) *De cat. rud.* 12, 17: «Sed si in rebus contemplandis aliquantum proficimus, iam uolumus eos quos diligimus laetari et stupere, cum intuentur opera manuum hominum: sed uolumus eos in ipsam artem consiliumue institutoris adtollere, atque inde exsurgere in admirationem laudemque omnicreantis dei, ubi amoris fructuosissimus finis est. Quanto ergo magis delectari nos oportet, cum ipsum deum iam discere homines accedunt, propter quem discenda sunt quaecumque discenda sunt; et in eorum nouitate innouari, ut si frigidior est solito nostra praedicatio, insolita eorum auditione feruescat».

[52]) Zu Gotteserkenntnis und Gottesbeweisen in Augustins Schriften cf. GRABMANN M., l.c.; MADER J., Die logische Struktur des personalen Denkens. Aus der Methode der Gotteserkenntnis bei Aurelius Augustinus. Wien 1965; KOWALCZYK St., L'argument idéologique de la vérité de saint Augustin, in: *Giornale di Metafisica* 28 (1968), 586-599.

Vor allem müssen sich Wille und Gemüt des Menschen in der Liebe zu Gott hinwenden. Gott ist nicht nur als höchstes Gut der alles überragende Gegenstand unserer Liebe, sondern die Liebe selbst (*Deus charitas est*, *Sermo* 23, 9), der Urquell aller Liebe (4, 7). Aus Liebe hat er die Welt geschaffen, seinen Sohn Mensch werden und die Welt erlösen lassen. Die Weltschöpfung war das Werk überquellender Liebe Gottes, der selbst keiner anderen Liebe bedurfte. Vor allem aber sind Menschwerdung und Kreuzestod des Erlösers die gewaltigste Offenbarung göttlicher Liebe: «Was gäbe es aber für die Ankunft des Herrn für einen tieferen Grund, als dass er uns seine Liebe zu uns zeigen und eindringlich ans Herz legen wollte?» (4, 7) Christus ist «hauptsächlich deshalb auf die Welt gekommen..., damit der Mensch erkenne, wie sehr ihn Gott liebt und damit er es darum erkenne, damit er selbst den recht innig wieder liebe, von dem er zuerst geliebt worden ist...» (4, 8) Die Hl. Schriften enthüllen nichts anderes als Liebe des Erlösergottes: «Die ganze Heilige Schrift, die vor Christus geschrieben wurde, ist nur zur Vorbereitung auf die Ankunft des Herrn geschrieben worden und ... alles, was später aufgezeichnet und mit dem Charakter göttlicher Autorität ausgerüstet worden ist, enthält nur die Predigt von Christus und die Ermahnung zur Liebe...» (4, 8)[53]). Der Prüfstein echter Liebe ist der Wille und die Bereitschaft zum Leiden und Opfer, das seine höchste Krönung in der Hingabe des eigenen Lebens erfährt. Ihre letzte Besiegelung erfuhr Christi Liebe im Kreuzestod.

Die Liebe Gottes zu den Menschen ist eine Liebe reinsten Wohlwollens. «Denn da berührt die Liebe am angenehmsten, wo sie nicht aus armseliger Dürftigkeit, sondern aus der Fülle des Wohlwollens entspringt: jene Liebe ist eine Liebe aus dem Bewusstsein des eigenen Elends, diese aber entspringt aus erbarmender Güte. Und wenn erst der Niedrige gar nie auf Liebe von seiten des Höheren auch nur hoffen durfte, so wird eine ganz besonders feurige Liebesglut ihn entflammen, wenn sich der Höhere ganz aus freien Stücken dazu herablässt, zu zeigen, wie sehr er den Niedrigen liebt, der es doch nie gewagt hätte, sich ein solches Glück zu versprechen. Wer aber steht höher als der richtende Gott und wer hätte mehr Grund (an seiner Liebe) zu zweifeln als der sündige Mensch, der sich um so vollständiger dem Schutz und der Dienstbarkeit jener stolzen Mächte überlassen hatte, die doch niemanden selig machen können, je mehr er voll Verzweiflung die Hoffnung

[53]) Cf. *De cat. rud.* 10, 15.

aufgegeben hatte, es könnte sich vielleicht jene Macht seiner noch annehmen, die nicht durch Bosheit hoch stehen will, sondern die durch ihre Güte tatsächlich hoch steht» (4, 7)! Die Liebe Gottes aber will Gegenliebe: «Nichts treibt ja so sehr zur Liebe an als die zuvorkommende Liebe, und gar zu hart wäre doch ein Herz, das nicht bloss nicht zuerst lieben, sondern nicht einmal Liebe mit Gegenliebe vergelten wollte. Wenn wir schon bei sündhaften und schmutzigen Liebesverhältnissen sehen, dass diejenigen, welche wiedergeliebt zu werden wünschen, nichts Angelegentlicheres zu tun haben als durch alle möglichen Beweise die Grösse ihrer eigenen Liebe zu zeigen und dass sie es sogar als eine Forderung der Gerechtigkeit darzustellen suchen, dass diejenigen Personen, die sie zu verlocken trachten, ihnen Gegenliebe gewähren müssen und dass sie selber noch heftiger entbrennen, wenn sie wahrnehmen, dass das gleiche Liebesfeuer endlich auch das Herz ihrer Geliebten in Wallung bringt, auf das sie es abgesehen haben: wenn also ein vorher kaltes Herz warm wird, falls es sich geliebt sieht, und wenn ein bereits warmes Herz noch mehr erglüht, sobald es merkt, dass es wiedergeliebt wird, dann ist es doch klar, dass die Liebe durch nichts mehr erregt und gesteigert wird, als wenn der noch nicht Liebende sich geliebt sieht oder wenn der, welcher selbst zuerst liebt, Gegenliebe erhofft oder bereits wirklich erfährt. Ist dies schon bei schändlichen Liebesverhältnissen der Fall, um wieviel mahr bei (wahrer) Freundschaft» (4, 7). Nur das Einströmen der Liebe Gottes in eine Menschheit, deren ganzes Sinnen um das eigene Ich kreiste und eingefangen war in die Endlichkeit einer materiellen Welt, konnte die Menschen befreien von der Tyrannei dämonischer Weltliebe und ihre Seelen öffnen für die Liebe zu Gott und sie zur Umkehr bringen. Die Gottesliebe wird zum Gegenpol der hochmütigen Selbstliebe. In der aufkeimenden Gegenliebe des Menschen vollzieht sich die wahre und echte Umkehr.

2. Die Hinkehr zu Gott vollzieht sich durch das *Christum sectari* (14, 21). Ein *reconciliari Deo* ist nach Augustinus nur möglich durch den menschgewordenen Logos, den alleinigen *mediator Dei et hominum* (3, 6). Diese Forderung wird verständlich, wenn man sich Augustins Christologie vergegenwärtigt. Die Versöhnung zwischen Gott und Menschheit geht ausschliesslich auf die Initiative Gottes zurück, «der uns zuerst geliebt und seines einzigen Sohnes nicht geschont, sondern ihn für uns dahingegeben hat» (4, 7). Der gleiche Gott, der die Menschen schuf, wollte sie auch erlösen[54]). Ein Schöpfer, ein Erlöser der gesamten

[54]) Cf. Gilson E., Philosophie et Incarnation selon Saint Augustin. Montréal 1947, 45-46: «C'est pourquoi la création paraît ici intimement liée à l'Incarnation, car si Dieu a

Menschheit[55]). Ein Sündenfall, eine einzige Heilsgeschichte. Wie bereits Tertullian und vor ihm Irenaeus die Einheit des Alten und des Neuen Testamentes verteidigt hatten, so machte Augustinus die Einzigkeit des Erlösers und das Ineinandergreifen des Alten und des Neuen Bundes zum Fundament seiner Soteriologie[56]). Die ganze Hl. Schrift, als erste Inkarnation Christi bezeichnet, enthält Jesus Christus und nur ihn[57]). «Demnach ist der Alte Bund das dunkle Vorbild des Neuen, der Neue Bund aber die Erfüllung des Alten» (4, 8)[58]). Die Zeit ist keine fortlaufende Linie, sondern ein Kreis, in dessen Mitte Christus steht, über allem Wechsel, in gleicher Entfernung von jedem Punkte des Kreises, jeder Zeit und ihrer Generation gleich nahe[59]). Vor seinem Erscheinen im Fleische existierte Christus bereits und streckte wie Jakob aus dem Mutterschosse die Hand aus, bevor das Haupt sichtbar wurde (3, 6; 19, 33). Wie eine Blume im Samenkorne ist Christus im Alten Testament enthalten, während das Neue Testament die Entfaltung und das Aufblühen bedeutet[60]). Die alttestamentlichen Patriarchen und Könige waren die *seminatores Christi*[61]); sie waren die Strahlen der Sonne, die Christus ist. Bereits vor seiner Menschwerdung wirkte Christus als *Dominus prophetarum, impletor prophetarum*[62]). Die Geschichte des Judenvolkes und seiner Schicksale, die Gesetze und gottesdienstlichen Anordnungen tragen symbolischen und prophetischen Charakter[63]). Der Symbolismus des Alten Testamentes ist ein heiliger

créé l'homme dans le temps, il s'est incarné pour le racheter du temps, de l'autre, du multiple et de la dispersion dans le devenir dont le péché n'est que la forme la plus tragique».

[55]) Die Einheit der Erlösung wird besonders stark betont in *De pecc. orig.* 24, 28 (CSEL 42, 182-187); *ibid.* 25, 29 (189-190); *ibid.* 26, 30 (190).

[56]) Zu Augustins Schriftinterpretation cf. COMEAU M., St. Augustin, exégète du quatrième évangile. Paris 1930; VOGELS H.J., Die Hl. Schrift bei Augustinus, in: Aurelius Augustinus, Köln 1930, 411-421; LE BLOND J.-M., Conversions, 276-307; PONTET M., L'exégèse de Saint Augustin prédicateur (Théologie, 7), Paris 1945.

[57]) Cf. *De civ. Dei* XVI, 2 (CSEL 40/2, 124-127); C. FAUST. XVI, 9 (CSEL 25/1, 447-448); *En. in ps.* 96, 2 (PL 37, 1237-1239).

[58]) Cf. COPPENS J., Les Harmonies des deux Testaments. Tournai-Paris 1949[2]; DE LUBAC H., A propos de la formule: Diversi, sed non adversi, in: *Recherches de Sience Religieuse* 40 (1952), 27, 40; GILLET R., Temps et exemplarisme chez St. Augustin, in Augustinus Magister II, 933-941; SCHILDENBERGER J., Die Gegenwartsbedeutung exegetischer Grundsätze des hl. Augustinus, *ibid.*, 677-690.

[59]) PONTET, l.c., 165.

[60]) *En. in ps.* 72, 1 (PL 36, 913-914).

[61]) *In ev. Jo tr.* 15, 32 (CC 36, 163).

[62]) *In ev. Jo. tr.* 24, 7 (CC 36, 247).

[63]) Cf. *De cat. rud.* 19, 32; 19, 33; 20, 34; 20, 35; 20, 36; 21, 38; 27, 53.

Symbolismus, ein *sacramentum*[64]), von Gott intendiert. Prophetie aber bedeutet nicht bloss Voraussage eines zukünftigen Geschehens, sondern lässt das Zukünftige bereits praeexistieren und führt damit zu einer Aufhebung der Zeit[65]). Nicht bloss im Judenvolk, auch unter den Heidenvölkern wurde Christi Erscheinen auf Erden vorbereitet[66]). Den Zeitpunkt der Menschwerdung bestimmte die göttliche Weisheit selber. «Darum ist Christus zu einer Zeit, als er es in seiner Weisheit für notwendig erachtete, Mensch geworden und vom Weibe geboren worden» (17, 28). Sein Erscheinen in der Welt bedeutete den Anbruch des sechsten und letzten Weltzeitalters und damit die Vollendung und Erfüllung der vorhergehenden[67]).

Christum sectari bedeutet zunächst an Christus glauben[68]). Dieser Glaube begegnet uns schon bei den Gerechten des Alten Bundes. Die Gerechten, die vor Christi Ankunft lebten, wurden durch den Glauben an den kommenden Erlöser gerechtfertigt: *Ipsum antiqui sancti uenturum in reuelatione spiritus cognouerunt et prophetauerunt: et sic salui facti sunt credendo, quia ueniret, sicut nos salui efficimur credendo, quia uenit...* (17, 28)[69]). Abraham wird der Vater all jener Völker genannt, die ihn in seinem Glauben nachahmten (22, 39). Er wurde dazu auserwählt, dass ihm das Geheimnis des Sohnes Gottes kundgetan werde, *ut propter imitationem fidei omnes fideles omnium gentium filii eius futuri dicerentur*»

[64]) Cf. PONTET, l.c., 261.

[65]) Zum augustinischen Zeitbegriff cf. GUITTON J., Le temps et l'éternité chez Plotin et Saint Augustin. Paris 1933; 1959[3]; MARROU H.-I., L'ambivalence du temps de l'histoire chez Saint Augustin. Montréal 1950; BERLINGER R., Le temps et l'homme chez saint Augustin. Temps et temporalité dans la pensée augustinienne, in: *L'Année Théologique* 13 (1953), 260-279; *id.*, Zeit und Zeitlichkeit bei Aurelius Augustinus, in: *Zeitschr. f. philos. Forschung* 7 (1953), 493-510; CALLAHAN J.F., Four views of time in Ancient Philosophy. Cambridge 1948; GILLET R., Temps et exemplarisme chez saint Augustin, in: Aug. Mag. II, 933-941; LECHNER O., Idee und Zeit in der Metaphysik Augustins. München 1964; SCHMITT Br., Der Geist als Grund der Zeit. Die Zeitauslegung des Aurelius Augustinus. (Phil. Dissert.), Freiburg 1967.

[66]) *De civ. Dei* V, 11 (CSEL 40/1, 231).

[67]) *De cat. rud.* 22, 39. Über die Einteilung der Weltgeschichte in 6 Zeitalter cf. *De civ. Dei* XXII, 30 (CSEL 40/2, 669-670); *En. in ps.* 92, 1 (PL 37, 1182); *Sermo* 259, 2 (PL 38, 1197/8); CHRISTOPHER, First cat. instr., 136; LÖWITH K., Weltgeschichte und Heilsgeschehen (Urban-Bücher hg. v. F. Ernst u. K. Gutbrod, 2), Stuttgart 1953[2], 157-158.

[68]) *De dono pers.*, 22 (PL 45, 995): «Quod enim est initium verius christiano, quam credere in Christum»?

[69]) Über *credere* cf. BLAISE, 229; Thesaurus Linguae Latinae IV, 1129-1150 (bes. 1147-1150).

(19, 33)[70]). Von den Juden, die, beeindruckt durch die Wunder der Apostel, sich bekehrten, sagt Augustinus: «diese letzteren taten darum Busse und bekehrten sich und glaubten zu Tausenden an ihn» (23, 42). Der wütende Christenverfolger Paulus wurde nachher sogar «gläubig und ein Apostel und erhielt als solcher die Sendung, den Heiden das Evangelium zu predigen» (23, 43)[71]). Die neubekehrten Heidenchristen werden zu Liebesgaben aufgefordert für Arme, «die in den christusgläubig gewordenen kirchlichen Gemeinden der Juden in Armut lebten» (23, 43). Die ersten Christen mussten «noch durch Wunder zum Glauben veranlasst werden» (24, 45).

Christum sectari besteht ferner darin «wacker auf dem Wege Christi einherzuschreiten» (7, 11), in der Nachfolge Christi durch Nachahmung der Demut Christi (4, 8) und einen christlichen Lebenswandel.

Christusnachfolge bedeutet schliesslich Eingehen in die Leidensgemeinschaft mit dem Gekreuzigten, Augustinus verschweigt dem Neuling keineswegs, dass der Anschluss an Christus Leiden und Verfolgungen bringt. Die ungezählten Scharen von Martyrern in allen Ländern bestätigen die Wahrheit der Prophezeiungen und der Weissagungen des Herrn (24, 44). «Denn nicht bloss mit Hilfe solcher Leute, die einen Hass auf alles haben, was Christus heisst und die voll Grimm darüber sind, dass sich dieser Name schon den Erdkreis erobert hat und die noch heute am Götzendienst und an Teufelskünsten ihre Freude haben, wagt es der Teufel, die Christen zu versuchen, sondern auch vermittels der eben erst erwähnten, von der Einheit der Kirche gewissermassen bei der Reinigung des Weinstockes abgerissenen Zweige, das heisst vermittels der sogenannten Häretiker und Schismatiker, macht er zuweilen die gleiche Anstrengung. Manchmal indessen bedient er sich auch der Juden zu diesen Versuchungen und Verführungen» (25, 48). Daher die wiederholte Mahnung: «Musst du aber um des Namens Christi willen zuweilen Anfechtungen und Trübsale ausstehen und weichst du trotzdem nicht vom Glauben ab und verlässest du den guten Pfad nicht, dann wirst du um so grösseren Lohn erhalten...» (25, 49). «Indes, was der Mensch auch immer für den Namen Christi und in der Hoffnung auf ein künftiges Leben leidet und mit Beharrlichkeit erträgt: es wird ihm ein Lohn zuteil werden, der noch grösser ist» (27, 55).

[70]) Über *fides* und *fidelis* cf. BLAISE, 315; Thesaurus Linguae Latinae VI/1, 655-661; 661-691.

[71]) Über *credens* cf. BLAISE, 229.

3. Die Hinwendung zu Christus wieder verlangt und besagt Anschluss an den mystischen Leib Christi, an die katholische, eine und heilige Kirche. Was versteht Augustinus unter dem mystischen Leib Christi oder der Kirche? Nach Augustinus eignen Christus drei Existenzweisen: die der göttlichen Person, die des Gottmenschen und die des *totus Christus*[72]) *in plenitudine Ecclesiae, id est caput et corpus*[73]). Um letztere geht es hier. Um die Menschen zu erlösen, hat Christus das neue, erlöste Adamsgeschlecht zu einem Leibe vereint, dem er als beherrschendes und belebendes Haupt aufs innigste verbunden bleibt. Hier führt die Lehre vom Mittlertum Christi zum Kernpunkt der augustinischen Theologie[74]), zu seiner Lehre vom mystischen Leibe Christi[75]).

Die urchristliche Christusmystik, welche die Einheit Christi, des übernatürlichen Lebensprinzips aller Gläubigen und der Kirche veranschaulicht, geht auf Christus selbst zurück. Sie fand ihre Ausgestaltung in den glutvollen Briefen des Apostels Paulus und wurde von der christlichen Tradition der folgenden Jahrhunderte treu gehütet[76]). Keine Lehre, auch die Gnadenlehre nicht, war dem Geiste des grossen Kirchenlehrers von Hippo «so kongenial wie eben diese Lehre vom *corpus Christi mysticum*»[77]).

Dieser mystische Leib Christi existierte schon vor der Ankunft Christi auf Erden[78]); dies wird in *De catechizandis rudibus* besonders betont: «Denn nur zu dem Zweck ist all das, was wir in den heiligen Schriften lesen, schon vor der Ankunft des Herrn geschrieben worden,

[72]) Cf. T.J. VAN BAVEL-B. BRUNING, Die Einheit des «Totus Christus» bei Augustinus, in: Scientia Augustiniana (Festschr. Zumkeller), Würzburg 1975, 43-75.

[73]) *Sermo* 341, 1 (PL 39, 1493). Auch in der Unterstellung, dass der Text durch Cäsarius v. Arles leicht modifiziert wurde (LAMBOT C., Le florilège augustinien de Vérone (Atti del Congresso intern. di diritto romano e di storia del diritto. Milano 1953), 199-213) bleibt der wesentliche Inhalt gewahrt.

[74]) K. ADAM, Die geistige Entwicklung des hl. Augustinus. Augsburg 1931, 41.

[75]) Cf. HOFMANN, Kirchenbegriff, 148-212; MERSCH E., Le corps mystique du Christ II, Louvain 1933², 34-131; PHILIPS G., L'influence du Christ-Chef sur son Corps Mystique suivant saint Augustin, in: Aug. Mag. II, 805-815; RATZINGER, Volk und Haus Gottes, 205-218; VETTER J., Der heilige Augustinus und das Geheimnis des Leibes Christi. Mainz 1929; VAN BAVEL T., Recherches sur la Christologie de S. Augustin. L'humain et le divin dans le Christ d'après s. Augustin (Paradosis, 10), Fribourg 1954; GRABOWSKI St., St. Augustine and the Doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ, in *Theological Studies* 7 (1946), 72-125.

[76]) Cf. MERSCH E., Le corps mystique du Christ. 2 vol. Bruxelles-Paris 1951³.

[77]) HOFMANN, Kirchenbegriff, 149.

[78]) BEUMER Joh., Die Idee einer vorchristlichen Kirche bei Augustinus, in: *Münchener Theol. Zeitschr.* 3, (1952), 161-175.

damit es auf seine Ankunft vorbereite und die künftige Kirche zum voraus verkünde, d.h. das alle Nationen umfassende Volk Gottes, seinen Leib. Dazu gehören dann auch noch all die Heiligen, die schon vor seiner Ankunft in dieser Welt gelebt haben und die geradeso fest geglaubt haben, er werde einstens kommen, wie wir heute glauben, dass er schon gekommen ist» (3, 6). Bereits vor seiner Menschwerdung, in welcher der Menschensohn zum stellvertretenden und sühnenden Menschenleib wurde[79]), hatte er alle «Heiligen» (3, 6), Juden und Heiden, durch den Glauben an seine Menschwerdung zu Gliedern seines Leibes geeint[80]).

Augustinus hat diese Lehre von einer präexistierenden Kirche, welche die augustinischen Schriften und Predigten durchzieht[81]), in der Tradition begründet gefunden[82]), sie aber durch Hinweise auf «die erste geistige Kirche»[83]) in der lateinischen Theologie vertieft und ausgebildet und dem Nachweis der Einheitlichkeit der Heilsordnung in der vorchristlichen und christlichen Zeit nutzbar gemacht[84]).

An die biblische Erzählung der Geburt Jakobs anknüpfend, erklärt Augustinus: «So streckte auch Jakob bei seiner Geburt zuerst eine Hand aus dem Leibe seiner Mutter und hielt damit zugleich den Fuss des vor ihm geborenen Bruders (Esau) fest; auf die Hand folgte dann sicherlich das Haupt und dann natürlich all die übrigen Glieder; und doch übertraf das Haupt an Bedeutung und Macht nicht bloss die übrigen Glieder, welche nachfolgten, sondern selbst die Hand, die sich bei der Geburt (des Jakob) zuerst zeigte; es ist, wenn auch nicht gerade in der Zeit des Hervortretens (aus dem Mutterschoss), so doch der Ordnung der Natur nach das erste. So war es auch bei (unserm) Herrn Jesus Christus: bevor nämlich er, der Mittler zwischen Gott und den Menschen, im Fleische

[79]) *En. in ps.* 21, 3 (PL 36, 172).

[80]) Cf. BOUESSE H., Un seul Chef ou Jésus-Christ, Chef de l'Univers et Tête des Saints. Paris 1950.

[81]) Textsammlung bei BEUMER J., l.c., 162 (Anm. 7); CONGAR Y., Ecclesia ab Abel, in: Abhandlungen über Theologie und Kirche (Festschr. K. Adam), Düsseldorf 1952, 79-108.

[82]) Cf. BEUMER J., Die altchristliche Idee einer präexistierenden Kirche, in: *Wissenschaft und Weisheit* 9 (1942), 12-22; MÜLLER A., Ecclesia-Maria. (Paradosis, 5), Freiburg i. Schw., 1951; RIMA J., Die Kirche als corpus Christi beim Hl. Ambrosius. Rom 1940; PLUMPE J.C., Mater Ecclesia. (Cath. Univ. America. Studies in Christ. Antiquity ed. by J. Quasten, 5), Washington 1943; TROMP S., Corpus Christi quod est Ecclesia. Roma 1937, 114-115.

[83]) PS.-CLEMENS, II. Ep. ad Cor. 14, 1-2 (Übers. BKV² 35, 302).

[84]) Über den Zusammenhang der Lehre einer vorchristlichen Kirche mit der Zweistaatenlehre cf. CONGAR, l.c., 85-86.

erschien und sozusagen aus dem Mutterschosse seines geheimnisvollen Wesens vor die Augen der Menschen als Mensch hintrat, der da ist Gott über alles, hochgelobt in Ewigkeit, liess er in den heiligen Patriarchen und Propheten gleichsam einen Teil seines Leibes schon zum voraus erscheinen und wies dadurch wie mit der Hand auf seine künftige Geburt hin, während er zugleich das übermütig einherschreitende Volk mit den Banden des Gesetzes wie mit fünf Fingern umspannt... Wiewohl also Christus der Herr, wie gesagt, schon in den Heiligen, die ihrer Geburtszeit nach vor ihm erschienen, einen Teil seines Leibes zum voraus erscheinen liess, so ist er doch selber das Haupt am Leibe der Kirche, und alle jene Heiligen waren mit dem Leibe, dessen Haupt er ist, dadurch verbunden, dass sie an ihn glaubten, den sie vorherverkündeten. Denn dadurch, dass sie ihm vorausgingen, waren sie nicht von ihm getrennt, sondern sie waren vielmehr durch ihre gläubige Unterordnung mit ihm verbunden. Die Hand mag immerhin dem Haupte vorangehen, sie steht doch durch ihre Verbindung mit dem Haupte unter ihm» (3, 6). Bereits unter den Patriarchen[85]) und Propheten, ebenso wie der Heidenwelt[86]) fanden sich Glieder der noch unsichtbaren Kirche, so besonders der Stammvater des Judenvolkes, Abraham, der fromme und getreue Knecht Gottes, dazu auserwählt, dass ihm das Geheimnis des Sohnes Gottes kundgetan werde, auf dass die Gläubigen aller Völker in der Nachahmung seines Glaubens seine künftigen Söhne heissen sollten. Vom ihm stammte jenes Volk, von dem der eine wahre Gott, der Himmel und Erde geschaffen hat, verehrt werden sollte, während die übrigen Völker den Götzenbildern und den Teufeln dienten» (19, 33)[87]). Im übrigen erleichterte die Zugehörigkeit zum auserwählten Volk Israel, in dem «die Kirche Gottes schon viel deutlicher vorgebildet «war (19, 33), wohl den Glauben an den kommenden Erlöser. Sie war jedoch kein praejudicium für die Zugehörigkeit zum unsichtbaren Leibe Christi. Im Gegenteil, die Masse des Judenvolkes war» fleischlich gesinnt und verehrte Gott nur um seiner sichtbaren Wohltaten willen» (19, 33).

Die Verbindung mit dem unsichtbaren Haupte schuf in den Zeiten der präexistierenden Kirche der Glaube an den Erlöser, derselbe Glaube,

[85]) Abel wird als erstes Glied am mystischen Christusleib bezeichnet. Cf. CONGAR, l.c., 84.

[86]) Textbeweise bei BEUMER, l.c., 165.

[87]) Cf. *De cat. rud.* 27, 53.

der auch nach dem Erscheinen Christi verlangt wird[88]). «Sein künftiges Erscheinen haben die Heiligen des Alten Bundes dank der Offenbarung des (Heiligen) Geistes erkannt und vorhergesagt und so sind sie selig geworden, weil sie an seine dereinstige Ankunft glaubten, wie auch wir selig werden durch den Glauben, dass er bereits gekommen ist» (17, 28). Eines *fides implicita* an den kommenden Erlöser und sein Heilswerk[89]) genügte nach Augustinus nicht. Eine Verbindung mit Christus, dem Haupte, konnte nur ein bestimmter, ausdrücklicher Glaube und die mit diesem Glauben verbundene, von Gott gewirkte Liebe herstellen[90]). Ein solcher Glaube bedingte die Erschliessung des Heilsplanes Gottes durch direkt[91]) oder indirekt[92]) vermittelte Offenbarung. An der Offenbarung des kommenden Erlösers fehlte es in den fünf Perioden der vorchristlichen Zeit keineswegs, da während derselben der Erlöser «unablässig sein künftiges Erscheinen laut vorhersagen und prophezeiern liess» (3, 6). «Von der Zeit an, wo sie das Gelobte Land erhielten und Könige zu haben begannen, wurde ihnen immer deutlicher durch eine Menge von Prophezeiungen Christus vorherverkündigt, damit sie nicht glauben sollten, die Verheissung von Christus, dem Befreier, sei bereits in einem ihrer Könige in Erfüllung gegangen. (Diese Prophezeiungen geschahen) nicht allein von David selbst in seinem Psalmenbuch, sondern auch von all den anderen grossen und heiligen Propheten bis zur babylonischen Gefangenschaft. Ja selbst in der Gefangenschaft erstanden Propheten, welche die Ankunft unseres Herrn Jesus Christus als des allgemeinen Befreiers vorhersagten» (21, 38)[93]). In der vorchristlichen Zeit gab es freilich nur eine geringe Zahl[94]) von wirklich Gläubigen und Gerechten, denen der Glaube zum Heile wurde. Dafür haftete aber der Kirche

[88]) *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum* III, 4, 11 (CSEL 60, 498); *In ev. Jo. tr. 45, 9 (CC 36, 393)*.

[89]) Über den Inhalt des Heilsglaubens cf. HOFMANN, Kirchenbegriff, 177-179.

[90]) Cf. *In ev. Jo. tr.* 65, 1 (CC 36, 491).

[91]) *De cat. rud.* 19, 33: «Ex quibus Abraham pius et fidelis dei seruus electus est, cui demonstraretur sacramentum filii dei». *Ibid.*: «Erant ibi autem pauci futuram requiem cogitantes et caelestem patriam requirentes, quibus prophetando reuelabatur futura humilitas dei...».

[92]) Über die Offenbarung und die Heilsmöglichkeit ausserhalb des jüdischen Volkes cf. BEUMER, l.c., 166-167; HOFMANN, Kirchenbegriff, 216-220. WALTER G., Die Heidenmission nach der Lehre des Hl. Augustinus. Münster i. W. 1921, 59-65.

[93]) Cf. *De cat. rud.* 27, 53.

[94]) *De cat. rud.* 19, 33: «Erant ibi autem pauci...». *Ibid.* 20, 34: signa a paucis sanctis et intelligebantur ad fructum salutis et obseruabantur ad congruentiam temporis». *Ibid.* 22, 39: «spiritalis gratia, quae paucis tunc patriarchis et prophetis nota erat...».

keinerlei Makel an, da nur Heilige zur vorchristlichen Kirche gehörten, deren ewigkeitsbezogenes Leben im Einklang mit ihrem Glauben stand. Sie war das Idealbild der *sponsa sine macula nec ruga*, die wahre *civitas dei*[95]).

Die Kirche, die ihrem innersten Wesen nach als mystischer Christusleib bereits vor der Menschwerdung Christi bestand und damals ein verborgenes Dasein führte, ist zur empirischen, sichtbaren katholischen Kirche bei der Herabkunft des Heiligen Geistes am Pfingsttage geworden[96]). Die vorchristliche Kirche weniger Auserwählter wurde zum *populus dei per omnes gentes* (3, 6), zum «Weinstock, der seine fruchtbringenden Reben über den ganzen Erdkreis hin ausstreckte» (24, 44). Der menschgewordene Logos wurde zum «Eckstein, ... indem sich beide wie von verschiedenen Seiten her —von den Juden und von den Heiden her— zusammenlaufende Wände in gegenseitiger Bruderliebe verbinden sollten» (23, 43)[97]).

Einheit zwischen der vorchristlichen und der christlichen Kirche besteht deshalb, weil der Wesenskern bei beiden derselbe war und ist: die Verbundenheit Christi mit der Gemeinschaft der Christusgläubigen.

Es war eine theologische Leistung Augustins, als ihm der Nachweis von der Einheit der katholischen Kirche der Gegenwart mit der Kirche der Hl. Schrift gelang[98]). Nur «zu dem Zweck ist all das, was wir in den heiligen Schriften lesen, schon von der Ankunft des Herrn geschrieben worden, damit es auf seine Ankunft vorbereite und die künftige Kirche zum voraus verkünde, d.h. das alle Nationen umfassende Volk Gottes, seinen Leib» (3, 6). Die Geschichte des Alten Testamentes und der *gens prophetica*[99]) des Judenvolkes ist überreich an Hinweisen und Weissagungen, die nur auf die Weltkirche bezogen werden können. «Durch das Geheimnis der Sintflut, in der die Gerechten durch das Holz (der Arche) gerettet wurden, wurde aber auch die zukünftige Kirche vorgebildet, die Christus, ihr König und Gott, durch das Geheimnis seines

[95]) Unzutreffend ist die von BEUMER, l.c., 172 gebrauchte Formulierung einer «leichteren» Heilsmöglichkeit der Heiden vor Christus, da doch der Zugang zur unsichtbaren Kirche viel schwieriger war, als zu der überall verbreiteten katholischen Völkerkirche.

[96]) *In ep. Jo. tr.* 2, 3 (PL 35, 1991): «Ubi inchoata est Ecclesia, nisi ubi venit de coelo Spiritus sanctus, et implevit uno loco sedentes centum viginti?» — Cf. BATIFFOL P., Le catholicisme de saint Augustin. I, Paris 1920², 215.

[97]) Cf. LAURAS A., Deux images du Christ et de l'Eglise dans la prédication augustinienne, in: Aug. Mag. II, 667-675.

[98]) RATZINGER, Volk und Haus Gottes, 152-156.

[99]) *Ep.* 102, 15 (CSEL 34/2, 557).

Kreuzes über den Fluten dieser Welt aufgerichtet hat» (19, 32). «Diejenigen aber, die in der Arche entrannen, stellten so das Geheimnis der künftigen Kirche vor, die jetzt auf den Fluten der Welt umherschwimmt und durch das Holz des Kreuzes Christi vor dem Untersinken bewahrt wird» (27, 53)[100]). Von Abraham «stammte jenes Volk, von dem der eine wahre Gott, der Himmel und Erde geschaffen hat, verehrt werden sollte... In diesem Volke war die Kirche Gottes schon viel deutlicher vorgebildet». Bei den Heiligen, «die der Zeit nach der Geburt des Herrn vorangingen, war nicht nur ihr Wort, sondern auch ihr Leben, ihre Eheschliessung, ihre Kinder und ihre Taten eine Prophetie der Jetztzeit, in der sich die Kirche aus den Heiden zusammenschart durch den Glauben an das leiden Christi» (19, 33). Die jüdischen Speisegesetze, Tieropfer und die unzähligen Vorschriften waren alles «nur Bilder geistige Dinge, die sich auf Christus, den Herrn, und die Kirche bezogen» (20, 35). In Kanaan, dem Lande der Verheissung, ist vieles geschehen, «was auf den kommenden Christus und seine Kirche hinwies» (20, 36). Die babylonische Gefangenschaft «deutete vorbildlich an, wie die Kirche Christi in all ihren Heiligen, welche dem himmlischen Jerusalem als Bürger angehören, unter der Knechtschaft der Könige dieser Welt stehen muss (21, 37).

Die Kirche aber, der man sich anschliessen muss, um zum Heile zu gelangen, ist jene, welche die entsprechenden sichtbaren Eigenschaften und Merkmale hat, so das Merkmal der Katholizität[101]).

Augustinus bezeichnet die Katholizität als das entscheidende und wesentliche Merkmal der wahren Kirche Christi[102]). Die Donatisten hatten diesen Begriff zu verfälschen gesucht und verstanden unter ihm nur eine innere oder intensive Katholizität, nur die Fülle der Sakramente[103]) oder das Festhalten an allen Geboten und allen Sakramenten[104]).

[100]) Über die Arche als Vorbild der Kirche cf. DANIÉLOU J., Bible et Liturgie. (Lex orandi, 11), Paris 1951, 104-118.

[101]) Nach ROTTMANNER O., Catholica, in: *Revue Bénédictine* 17 (1900), 1-9 gebraucht Augustinus 240 mal in seinen Werken für *ecclesia catholica* die Bezeichnung *Catholica*.

[102]) *Ep.* 52, 1 (CSEL 34/2, 150): «ipsa est enim ecclesia catholica, unde καθολική graece appellatur, quod per totum orbem terrarum diffunditur, hanc ignorare nulli licet; ideo secundum uerbum domini nostri Jesu Christi abscondi non potest».

[103]) *Brev. collationis contra Donatistas* III, 3 (CSEL 53, 53): «Donatistae autem responderunt non catholicum nomen ex uniuersitate gentium, sed ex plenitudine sacramentorum institutum...».

Ihre Versuche, auch ausserhalb Nordafrikas Anhänger zu gewinnen, hatten nur geringen Erfolg. Umso chauvinistischer verkrampften sie sich in die Vorstellung einer rein afrikanischen Kirche. Dagegen betont Augustinus neben der intensiven Katholizität vor allem auch die extensive, die «raumzeitliche Erstreckung über den ganzen Erdkreis»[105]). Die zeitliche Katholizität der Kirche ist mit ihr als dem Leib Christi gegeben, der alle Gerechte von Abel bis zum Weltende umfasst. Was die räumliche Ausdehnung betrifft, so wurde die Verbreitung der wahren Kirche Christi über den ganzen Erdkreis bereits im Alten Bunde vorausgesagt. «Vorausgesagt wurde auch, und zwar nicht bloss von den Propheten, sondern auch vom Herrn Jesus Christus selbst, es werde sich seine Kirche über den ganzen Erdkreis verbreiten und der Same hierzu durch den Martyrertod und das Leiden der Heiligen ausgesät werden, und zwar geschah diese Voraussage schon zu einem Zeitpunkt, wo der Name Christus den Heiden noch unbekannt war und wo er dort, wo er wirklich schon bekannt war, bloss verlacht wurde» (27, 53).

Zur Zeit der Apostel ist dann diese Kirche gewachsen und zu Augustins Zeit war sie schon überall verbreitet. Wir sehen, dass kraft der Wunder... jetzt wo diese Lehre verkündigt und geglaubt wird, die Vorhersage bereits in Erfüllung gegangen ist und dass sich sogar Könige der Erde, welche vorher die Christen verfolgten, jetzt unter das Joch des Namens Christi gebeugt haben» (27, 53)[106]). Diese Katholizität eignet nur der katholischen Kirche, während Häresie und Schisma sich immer auf einen bestimmten Raum beschränken.

Mit der Katholizität hängt aufs engste die Einheit der Kirche zusammen. Die Wahrheit von der Einheit der Kirche gehört zu den notwendigsten Lehren, die dem Neuling eingeschärft werden müssen (13, 18). Das innerste Wesen der Kirche fordert diese Einheit: *Unum caput, unum corpus, unus Christus* (*Sermo* 138, 5, 5). Spaltungen und Irrlehren in der Kirche, mögen sie auch Christi Namen tragen, bergen den Keim des Todes. Schisma und Häresie bedeuten Abfall von Christus, weil sie gewaltsam vom lebenspendenden Leibe Christi trennen. «Notwendigerweise musste auch der Weinstock genau nach der Vorhersage des Herrn beschnitten und die unfruchtbaren Schösslinge von ihm entfernt werden;

[104]) *Ep.* 93, 7, 23 (CSEL 34/2, 468): «Acutum autem aliquid uideris dicere, cum catholicae nomen non ex totius orbis communione interpretaris sed ex obseruatione praeceptorum omnium diuinorum atque omnium sacramentorum».

[105]) HOFMANN, Kirchenbegriff, 201.

[106]) Cf. 24, 44; *Sermo* 22, 4, 4 (PL 38, 151).

denn es entstanden an verschiedenen Orten Häresien und Spaltungen, die zwar den Namen Christi trugen, die aber nicht Christi Ehre suchten, sondern die eigene; aber gerade durch deren feindseliges Benehmen sollte die Kirche mehr und mehr geübt, ihre Lehre und Ausdauer erprobt und ins Licht gesetzt werden» (24, 44). Der Neuchrist möge an diesen Spaltungen nicht irre werden (24, 44; 27, 53), doch möge er sich vor ihnen hüten, da vermittels der Häretiker und Schismatiker der Teufel die Christen zu versuchen wagt (25, 48). Die ganze Ekklesiologie Augustins kreist um den Zentralbegriff der Einheit der Kirche[107]): *Christus unica ecclesia est, et una est* (*In ev.Jo.tr.* 10, 8)[108]).

Da nur ein Haupt und ein Leib, gibt es keine Glieder ausserhalb der Liebesgemeinschaft der Kirche[109]). In seiner antidonatistischen Argumentation beweist Augustinus die Unwirksamkeit der ausserhalb der wahren Kirche gespendeten Sakramente aus dem Fehlen der Liebe zur Einheit. Nur die wahre caritas verbindet zur Einheit, während jeder Egoïsmus zu Zersetzung, Zerrissenheit und Uneinigkeit führt, welche die Charakteristika des Heidentums wie der kirchlichen Spaltungen und Häresien sind (27, 53). Wie kann jemand die caritas haben, der die Einheit zerreist? Das Abirren von der Liebesgemeinschaft führt zum Abirren von der Wahrheit: *multi multa perniciosa dogmata concisa communionis unitate pepererunt* (8, 12).

Als Kirche, welcher sich der Nichtchrist anzuschliessen hat, kommt ferner nur die heilige Kirche in Betracht. Seit dem Bestehen der afrikanischen Kirche führte der Kampf um das Merkmal der Heiligkeit der Kirche zu den heftigsten Auseinandersetzungen. Tertullian und Cyprian hatten es nicht zu einer befriedigenden Lösung des Problems gebracht. Montanisten und Novatianer gründeten ihre Angriffe auf den Einbruch der Sünde in die Kirche, während die Donatisten die Heiligkeit der Kirchengemeinde als Existenzgrundlage der Kirche forderten. Augustinus litt zutiefst unter dem tragischen Zwiespalt zwischen der heiligen Kirche und ihren sündenverhafteten, ärgernisgebenden Gliedern. Seitdem die geistige Kirche der Heiligen aus der Verborgenheit in die Erscheinung getreten und zur allgemeinen Heilskirche und Weltkirche geworden war, nahmen die unheiligen Elemente die Überhand. Es konnte nicht verschwiegen werden, dass auch auf der Tenne der Kirche

[107]) Rinetti P., Sant'Agostino e l'«Ecclesia Mater», in: Aug. Mag. II, 829.

[108]) *In ev. Jo. tr.* 10, 8 (CC 36, 105).

[109]) *Ep.* 61, 2 (CSEL 35/2, 223-224): «quis autem uere dicit se habere Christi caritatem, quando eius non amplectitur unitatem?».

die Spreu die Weizenkörner übertraf, dass die Kirche zum corpus permixtum von Guten und Bösen geworden[110]), bis zum grossen Scheidungstag des Weltgerichtes. In rückhaltloser Offenheit weist der grosse Lehrer wiederholt die Neulinge auf die schmerzliche Tatsache hin, dass Christen, die an Festtagen die Kirchen füllen, sogar Schlimmeres tun als die Heiden[112]). Nach einer Erklärung des Zwiespaltes suchend, fand Augustinus eine dreifache Tiefenschichtung in dem Begriff der Kirche: «er versteht darunter bald die unsichtbare heilige Kirche (nach ihrem augenblicklichen Stande), bald den *numerus certus praedestinatorum*... Die Zugehörigkeit zu einer tieferen Schicht setzt jeweils die Zugehörigkeit zu den weniger tiefen Schichten voraus: niemand steht also in der *ecclesia sancta*, der nicht auch in der sichtbaren Kirche steht; niemand steht in der *ecclesia praedestinata*, der nicht wenigstens am Ende seines Lebens auch in der *ecclesia sancta* und in der *ecclesia catholica* steht; aber nicht hat umgekehrt die Zugehörigkeit zu einer oberflächlicheren Schicht die Zugehörigkeit zu den tieferen Schichten notwendig zur Folge: Wer zur sichtbaren Kirche gehört, braucht durchaus nicht auch zur Kirche der Heiligen, werzu irgend einer Zeit seines Lebens zur *ecclesia sancta* gehört, braucht nicht auch zur *ecclesia praedestinata* gehren»[112]). Solange die Kirche unterwegs ist[113]), wächst in ihr, trotzdem sie jetzt schon «das Reich Christi und das Himmelreich» ist[114]), das Unkraut mitsamt dem Weizen heran. Diese *permixtio* wird im Diesseits bis zur grossen Scheidung dauern. Um der Einheit willen soll die Kirche die Sünder «in grösster Geduld ertragen» (27, 54), bis in der Herrlichkeit seiner Macht derjenige kommen wird, «der sich ehedem dazu herabliess, in der Niedrigkeit der Menschennatur zu kommen; dann wird er alle Frommen von den Bösen scheiden, und zwar nicht bloss von jenen, die Glauben an ihn mit Hartnäckigkeit zurückwiesen, sondern auch von jenen, deren Glauben an ihn vergeblich und unfruchtbar blieb; mit den einen wird er sein ewiges Reich teilen, den andern aber wird er eine ewige Strafe beim Teufel geben» (24, 45). Dann erst wird die Kirche als *ecclesia coelestis*, als Siegerin, die volkommene Gemeinschaft der Heiligen sein. Mag auch das Versagen vieler Mitglieder und amtlicher Diener das

[110]) Zum ekklesiologischen Begriff des *corpus permixtum* cf. ANDRESEN C., Kirchen der alten Christenheit. Stuttgart 1971, 169.

[111]) *De cat. rud.* 7, 11; 14, 21; 17, 26; 25, 48; 27, 55.

[112]) HOFMANN, Kirchenbegriff, 242-243.

[113]) *Sermo* 341, 9, 11 (PL 39, 1500): «Ecclesia, quae nunc peregrina est».

[114]) *De civ. Dei* XX, 9 (BKV², 3, 287).

Antlitz der Kirche entstellen, so zeugen diese Mitglieder doch nicht gegen die Heiligkeit der Kirche, die auf der Gerechtigkeit Christi, nicht auf der Gerechtigkeit der Menschen aufbaut. Christus hat die Ärgernisse vorausgesehen und vorhergesagt; diese mindern nicht die sichtbaren Beweise tatsächlicher Heiligkeit. Ein unerhört neuer und der antiken Welt fremder Geist, der Geist der Liebe, beseelte die junge christliche Kirche (23, 42). Die Echtheit eines Werkes erprobt das Leiden. Keine Religion kann auf eine solche Zahl von Martyrern blicken, wie die katholische Kirche (23, 42-43): «Als nun die Martyrer in allen Ländern in ungezählten Scharen für die Wahrheit ihres Glaubens starben, da wurden endlich auch die verfolgenden Reiche (der Verfolgung) müde und wandten sich, nachdem ihre hochmütigen Nacken gebrochen waren, der Erkenntnis und Verehrung Christi zu» (24, 44). Auch in der Gegenwart fehlt es in der Kirche nicht an einer grossen Anzahl guter Christen, wahrer Bürger des himmlischen Jerusalem (7, 11; 25, 49). Als mystischer Leib Christi bleibt die Kirche unsichtbar verbunden mit ihrem sündenlosen Haupt, belebt durch den Hl. Geist. Durch das Geheimnis seines Kreuzes hat Christus, ihr König und Gott, sie aufgerichtet über den Fluten dieser Welt, zur Rettung, Entsündigung und Heiligung der Menschen (19, 32). Mit Vorliebe stellt Augustinus den Katechumenen und Neophyten die Kirche als *mater Ecclesia* (1, 1) vor, als die grosse, heilige Mutter[115]). «Sie ist es, die den natürlichen Menschen in eine unnennbare, nur zu glaubende Tiefe zieht, Grab und Schoss zugleich, und ihn durch den ja schon liturgisch als Geburtsvorgang bestimmten Akt der Taufe in das neue christliche Dasein gebiert»[116]). «Ein Elternpaar gebar uns zum Tode, ein Elternpaar, Christus und die Kirche, gebar uns zum Leben»[117]).

Alles in allem ergibt sich folgendes: Es gibt keinen Anschluss an Christus ohne Anschluss an die eine, katholische Kirche. Nicht das Erleben und Tun des Menschen bestimmen seine Wiedergeburt zu neuem Leben, sondern das Sicheinfügen in die von Gott, der allein bekehrt und erlöst, festgesetzte Heilsordnung. Die Bekehrung zum Christentum kann nicht getrennt werden von den heilsgeschichtlichen Gegebenheiten.

[115]) Cf. Busch B., De modo quo s. Augustinus descripserit initiationem christianam, in: *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 52 (1938), 387; Müller A., Ecclesia-Mater. Freiburg i. Schw. 1951, 178-206; Rinetti P., Sant'Agostino e l'Ecclesia Mater, in: Aug. Mag. II, 827-834; Lamirande E., Études sur l'ecclésiologie de s. Augustin. Ottawa 1969.

[116]) Guardini R., Die Bekehrung des Aurelius Augustinus. München 1950², 180.

[117]) *Sermo* 22, 10, 10 (PL 38, 154): «Quia duo parentes nos genuerunt ad mortem, duo parentes nos genuerunt ad vitam».

Echte Bekehrung und Scheinbekehrung

Das Wesen echter Bekehrung zum Christentum wird noch deutlicher in der Gegenüberstellung mit der Scheinbekehrung.

Die Namengebung bedeutet für ein Individuum oder eine Gemeinschaft die Bestätigung einer neuen Existenz. Wie der in Antiochien geformte Namen «Christen» die Anhänger Jesu von den Judengemeinden abgrenzte[118]) und im christlichen Alterum die Martyrer die Frage nach ihrem Namen, Stand und Geburt mit *christianus sum* beantworteten, so umschliesst für Augustinus das *christianus fieri*[119]) einen radikalen und totalen Umbruch des Menschen. Dieser Umbruch vollzieht sich jedoch nicht bei allen, nicht einmal bei denen, welche den christlichen Namen annehmen und sich taufen lassen. Es hat immer Scheinbekehrungen gegeben, auch zu Augustins Zeiten, Ja, die Gefahr der Scheinbekehrungen und die Zahl der Scheinbekehrungen war damals sehr gross.

Mit dem Abklingen der innerchristlichen Streitigkeiten, der Reorganisation der katholischen Kirche unter der Führung Augustins und des Bischofs Aurelius von Karthago sowie der verschärften Aus-führung der kaiserlichen, antiheidnischen Gesetze setzten zu Beginn des 5. Jahrhunderts umfangreiche Bekehrungen ein[120]). Die Zahl derer, die uns auslachen, sinkt von Jahr zu Jahr, stellt Augustinus fest[121]). Bauern kommen vom Lande, andere aus den Wäldern, von fernen Gebirgen, begehren die Taufe und verlangen Geistliche[122]). Allein in Sitifis liessen sich 2000 Heiden taufen[123]). Theveste, das sich des Grabes der Martyrin Crispina rühmte, musste das Baptisterium der Basilika vergrössern, in

[118]) Cf. BICKERMAN E.J., The Name of Christians, in: *The Harvard Theological Review* 42 (1949), 109-124; DE LABRIOLLE P., Histoire du mot christianus, in: *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1930, 100-101; *id.*, Christianus, in: *Arch. Latin. M. Aevi* 5 (1929/30), 69-88; HARNACK, Mission, 410-445; KARPP H., Christennamen, in: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* II, 1114-1138 (Christiani: 1131-1137); LECLERQ H., Chrétien, in: *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* III/1, 1464-1478; MACKINTOSH R., Christians (Names applied to) in: *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* III, 573a-576b; PETERSON E., Christianus, in: Misc. G. Mercati, I: Studi e testi, T. 21, Vatikan 1946, 355-372.

[119]) *De cat. rud.* 5, 9; 6, 10; 8, 12; 9, 13; 10, 14.

[120]) MESNAGE J., Le Christianisme en Afrique. Alger-Paris 1914, 176-179.

[121]) *De divinatione daemonum* 10, 14 (CSEL 41, 617).

[122]) *En. in ps.* 134, 22 (PL 37, 1753): «Veniunt subito de silva, de deserto, de remotissimis et arduis montibus ad Ecclesiam». Cf. *De vera religione* 3, 5 (PL 34, 125).

[123]) *Sermo* 19, 6 (PL 38, 137).

dem 78-80 Taufkübel Aufstellung fanden[124]). Diese Massenbekehrungen erleichterten unaufrichtigen Taufbewerbern den Eintritt in die Kirche.

Ausser politischen Spekulationen erwies sich hier als zugkräftig «die Hoffnung, bei Straffälligkeit die Interzession des Bischofs zu erlangen, bei Prozessen von christlicher Seite Unterstützung zu finden und bei Bedrückung den Schutz der Kirche zu geniessen. Der Dienst bei einem christlichen Herrn mag auch vielen heidnischen Sklaven eine bessere soziale und wirtschaftliche Lage versprochen haben; die christlichen Sklavenhalter aber waren verpflichtet, für die Bekehrung ihrer Dienstleute Sorge zu tragen. So war der Massenandrang zum Christentum, dem Augustinus gegenüberstand, nicht bloss eine Folge der religiösen, geistigen und übernatürlichen Anziehungskräfte, sondern auch das Ergebnis leiblicher Not und sozialer und wirtschaftlicher Hoffnungen. Verstärkt wurden diese Motive durch die gesetzliche Ächtung, unter der das Heidentum im damaligen römischen Reiche stand»[125]).

Obwohl Augustinus diese gesetzlichen Massnahmen lobend anerkennt und in der staatlichen Unterdrückung des Götzendienstes den Anlass zu vielen Bekehrungen sah[126]), musste er gestehen, dass manche von diesen Neubekehrten heimlich wieder zum alten Götterglauben zurückschlichen[127]).

Wie der Platonismus Sein und Schein schärfstens unterschied, unterscheidet Augustinus die wahre Bekehrung zum Christentum von der Scheinbekehrung. «*Si enim aliquod commodum spectando ab hominibus, quibus se aliter placiturum non putat, aut aliquod ab hominibus incommodum deuitando, quorum offensionem aut inimicitias reformidat, uult fieri Christianus: non fieri uult potius quam fingere*»[128]). (5, 9) Diese Scheinbekehrten sind *non ipsa ueritate, sed solo nomine Christiani* (14, 21), *Christiani appellantur* (7, 11). Der christliche Name genügt nicht zum

[124]) MESNAGE, l.c., 178.

[125]) WALTER, Heidenmission, 193.

[126]) *Ep.* 93, 26 (CSEL 34/2, 471): «Pagani uero magis nos blasphemare possunt de legibus, quas contra idolorum cultores Christiani imperatores tulerunt, et tamen ex eis multis correcti et ad deum uiuum uerumque conuersi sunt et cotidie conuertuntur». Cf. SIHLER E.G., From Augustus to Augustine. Cambridge 1923, 249-278; 304-331; WALTER, Heidenmission, 130-134; VAN DER MEER, Augustinus, 49-63.

[127]) *Sermo* 62, 18 (PL 38, 423).

[128]) Über *fingere* cf. Thesaurus Linguae Latinae VI/1, 774-778; *De cat. rud.* 5, 9: «Sed si ficto pectore accessit, humana commoda cupiens uel incommoda fugiens, utique mentiturus est». Über *fictus* cf. Thesaurus Linguae Latinae VI/1, 779-780.

Christwerden, das Christsein muss sich im Leben auswirken, Vor Scheinchristentum kann der Taufbewerber nicht eindringlich genug gewarnt werden: «Was ich noch sagen könnte, das wirst du wohl selber sehen, hast es vielleicht selber schon erfahren: es ist dir ja doch nicht unbekannt, dass viele, die sich Christen heissen, all das Böse wirklich tun, das ich dir eben kurz aufgezählt habe. Ja, du weisst recht wohl, dass manche Leute, die du Christen hast nennen hören, sogar noch Schlimmeres tun. Doch wenn du in der Absicht gekommen bist, um solcherlei böse Taten gleichsam in Sicherheit vollbringen zu können, so befindest du dich in grossem Irrtum. Nichts wird dir (in diesem Falle) vielmehr der Name Christi helfen, wenn der einmal sein so strenges Gericht beginnen wird, der dir zuvor voll Erbarmen entgegenkommen wollte. Das hat er ja vorausgesagt, wo er im Evangelium sagt: «Nicht ein jeder, der zu mir sagt: «Herr, Herr!» wird in das Himmelreich eingehen, sondern nur der, welcher den Willen meines Vaters tut. Gar viele werden an jenem Tag zu mir sprechen: «Herr, Herr! In deinem Namen haben wir gegessen und getrunken... «Für alle also, die in solchen Werken (bis ans Lebensende) ausharren, ist das Ende Verdammnis» (25, 48). Mögen die Scheinchristen auch materialiter der Kirche angehören, sie haben keinen Anteil an Christus und seinem Reiche. «Glaube aber nicht, dass die bösen Menschen wie sie eingehen in die Mauern der Kirche, jemals so auch ins Himmelreich eingehen werden: nein, zu ihrer Zeit werden sie ausgeschieden werden, falls sie sich nicht (noch zuvor) bessern wollen» (27, 55). Ihre *peruersae turbae corporaliter implent ecclesiam... in ipsa ecclesia tolerandi*[129]), *ex qua in fine separandi sunt* (7, 11). Menschen, die nur aus irdischen Rücksichten Christen wurden, «sind Verworfene und wenn sie die Kirche auch eine Zeitlang trägt, wie ja auch die Tenne bis zur Zeit der Reinigung Platz für die Spreu hat, so werden auch diese Leute schliesslich ausgeschieden werden, wenn anders sie sich nicht bessern und anfangen, um der künftigen, ewigen Ruhe willen wahre Christen zu sein» (17, 26)[130]).

Wert oder Unwert einer Bekehrung hängt weitgehend von den Motiven der Sichbekehrenden ab; die Prüfung der Motive wird in einem folgenden Kapitel eingehender zu untersuchen sein. Als Vorbild totaler Bekehrung stellt Augustinus den Neulingen das Leben der Urchristen

[129]) Brown P., La vie de saint Augustin. Paris 1971, 277: «C'est pourquoi il abondonnait à Dieu le problème des pseudo-conversions».

[130]) Cf. *De cat. rud.* 25, 48: «homines qui sunt in ipsa catholica ecclesia, quos uelut paleam usque ad tempus uentilationis suae sustinet...».

hin: «Diese verlangten jetzt von Gott keine zeitlichen Wohltaten und keine irdische Herrschaft mehr und warteten auf den Messias nicht mehr in fleischlichem Sinn als auf den verheissenen König, nein, sie erkannten und liebten jetzt geistigerweise den, der für sie durch ihre eigenen Hände im sterblichen Leben so vieles hatte erdulden müssen... Darum ertöteten sie jetzt in sich die Begierden des alten Menschen und in ihrer glühenden Sehnsucht nach einem neuen geistigen Leben verkauften sie, wie es der Herr im Evangelium befohlen hatte, alles was sie besassen und legten den Erlös aus ihrem Eigentum zu den Füssen der Apostel nieder, damit diese einem jeden nach Bedürfnis davon zuteilen möchten. In christlicher Liebe lebten sie einträchtig zusammen und nannten nichts ihr Eigentum, sondern alles war ihnen gemeinsam; sie selbst aber waren ein Herz und eine Seele für Gott» (23, 42).

Die Zusammenstellung der wesentlichen Elemente der Bekehrung zum Christentum nach *De catechizandis rudibus* zeigt, dass Augustinus an der Metanoia-Forderung der Evangelien und des Hl. Paulus festhält, lässt aber zugleich erkennen, dass er den menschlichen Schwächen Rechnung trägt, von überspanntem Rigorismus und schwächlicher Laxheit gleich weit entfernt. Das Idealbild des Christentums und der Kirche ist keineswegs verblasst, doch prägten sich schärfer, im Laufe der Jahrhunderte, die Züge der Kirche der Heiligen und der Kirche der Sünder aus.

5. Kapitel

DIE VERANLASSUNG DER BEKEHRUNG

Philosophie und Theologie, ebenso wie das Recht, unterscheiden von den eigentlichen Ursachen den äusseren Anlass, der das ursächliche Wirken begünstigt und auslöst. Obwohl es gerade bei Bekehrungen in vielen Fällen fast unmöglich ist, Ursache und Anlass zu unterscheiden [1]), wird hier nur vom Eintreffen oder Zusammentreffen äusserer Umstände die Rede sein, welche zur Bekehrung anregen und diese begünstigen. Im folgenden werden dann jene Faktoren aufgezeigt werden, die in einem realen, wirkursächlichen Zusammenhang mit der Bekehrung stehen,

[1]) PENIDO M.T.-L., La conscience religieuse. (Cours et documents de philosophie. Coll. publ. s.l. dir. d'Yves Simon), Paris 1935, 48.

während die Untersuchung der Motive die im innerseelischen Bereich wirksamen Vorstellungen und Antriebe für den Entschluss zur Bekehrung darstellen.

Bei Bekehrungen, wie bei anderen menschlichen Entscheidungen, spielen *gesellschaftliche Verhältnisse* eine grosse Rolle. Augustinus war zutiefst ein sozialer Mensch, dessen Eigenleben von einem ausgeprägten Bedürfnis nach Freundschaft und Gemeinschaft getragen war[2]) und, bei stärkster Individualität, vom Einfluss menschlicher Beziehungen weitgehend bestimmt wurde. Im äusseren Zusammenleben wertete er die von Mitmenschen ausgehenden Einflüsse ebenso wie im geistigen und religiösen Leben[3]). Seine *Confessiones* verraten, auser der Gnadenführung Gottes, den Einfluss seiner Mutter, des Bischofs Ambrosius und des Vorbildes seines Landmannes Marius Victorinus auf seine Bekehrung[4]).

Augustinus wusste sehr gut, dass Gemeinschaften und Freundschaften Bekehrungen veranlassen, dass Gott sich oft Menschen bedient, um eine Seele an sich zu ziehen. Nicht zu Unrecht schreibt H. Delacroix: « C'est souvent à une personne que l'on se convertit au moins autant qu'à une Eglise»[5]). Den oft entscheidenden Anlass des Familien- und Ehelebens berührt Augustinus in seinem Büchlein nicht, obwohl heute, wie in der Vergangenheit, vor allem Bekanntschaften oder Verlobungen mit einem christlichen Partner einen häufig festgestellten Anlass zur Konversion bilden.

Die Bekehrung hat einen eminent soziologischen Aspekt, weil sie eine Loslösung von einem bestimmten sozialen Milieu und den Anschluss an eine neue Gemeinschaft bedeutet. Diese Lösung sozialer Bindungen führt oft zu einer schweren Krise, da die veränderte Umwelt nicht ohne Einfluss auf die Persönlichkeit bleibt. Die Bekehrung zu einer anderen Religion, vor allem zum Christentum, bedeutet einen Bruch mit National- oder Familientraditionen und wird oft als Verrat an Volk oder Sippe empfunden und bewertet. Vor allem bei Menschen aus primitiver

[2]) Cf. NOLTE V., Augustins Freundschaftsideal in seinen Briefen. (Cassiciacum, VI), Würzburg 1939.

[3]) LE BLOND, Conversions, 29: «Il est remarquable, en effet, que saint Augustin a possédé à un degré étonnant le sens de médiation des autres hommes dans le développement et la constitution même de la vie de l'esprit».

[4]) Über die exemplarische Bedeutung des Marius Victorinus für Augustins Bekehrung cf. DINKLER E., Die Anthropologie Augustins. (Forsch. z. Kirchen-u. Geistesgesch., 4), Stuttgart 1934, 38-39; BOYER Ch., Christianisme et Néo-Platonisme dans la formation de Saint Augustin. Paris 1953², 120.

[5]) DELACROIX H., La religion et la foi. Paris 1922, 365.

Stammeskultur wird eine persönliche Entscheidung wesentlich erschwert oder unmöglich gemacht ohne Zustimmung des Stammes. Daher förderten die Kirche oder christliche Herrscher oft den Übertritt ganzer Stämme zum Christentum in richtiger Einschätzung ihrer religiös-sozial-politischen Einheit[6]). Da Augustinus in seinen Richtlinien für den Erstunterricht hauptsächlich Einzelbekehrungen vor Augen hat, musste er um die seelischen Konflikte der Bekehrungswilligen wissen. Auch die Anpassung an eine neue Gemeinschaft vollzieht sich oft nicht ohne Hemmungen. Nicht alle religiösen Gemeinschaften haben das Charisma echter Bruderliebe wie die urchristlichen Gemeinden (*De cat.rud.* 23, 42). Bei fehlender Anziehungskraft und mangelndem Anpassungsvermögen entsteht oft das Gefühl der Entwurzelung und des Unverstandenseins. Daher Augustins Empfehlung an Neophyten, sich guten Christen anzuschliessen, ohne zu grosse Hoffnungen auf Menschen zu setzen (25, 49).

Obwohl das Christentum nicht an bestimmte politische Formen gebunden und Bekehrungen nicht von politischen Faktoren abhängig sind, können politische Strukturen und gesetzliche Massnahmen Bekehrungen veranlassen. Dazu bietet *De cat.rud.* einige aufschlussreiche Stellen: Augustinus geht hier nicht ein auf die Garantierung der Religionsfreiheit durch den Staat und dessen Aufgaben gegenüber dem Christentum[7]). Nach ihm deutete die babylonische Gefangenschaft «vorbildlich an, wie die Kirche Christi in all ihren Heiligen, welche dem himmlischen Jerusalem als Bürger angehören, unter der Knechtschaft der Könige dieser Welt stehen muss... Alle aber müssen den menschlichen und irdischen Gewalten nur bis zum vorher bestimmten Zeitpunkt dienen, was die siebzig Jahre andeuten wollen, wo dann die Kirche ebenso wie einstmals Jerusalem von der Verwirrung dieser Welt wie aus einer babylonischen Gefangenschaft befreit wird. Unter dem Einfluss dieser Gefangenschaft haben sogar auch irdische Könige ihre falschen Götter, um deretwillen sie die Christen verfolgten, verlassen, den einen wahren Gott und Herrn Jesus Christus anerkannt und sich seinem Dienst ergeben; für diese Könige befiehlt der Apostel Paulus auch dann zu beten, wenn sie die Kirche verfolgen... So ist durch diese Obrigkeiten der Kirche ein wenn auch nur zeitlicher Friede und zeitliche Ruhe zuteil

[6]) Cf. VICEDOM G.F., Gruppenbekehrungen, in: Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart II, 1896-1897.

[7]) Cf. BROWN P., St. Augustine's attitude to religious coercion, in: *Journal of Roman Studies* 54 (1964), 107-116; MICHELS Th., De relatione cultus ad politiam Augustino referente brevis dissertatio, in: *Augustinus* 12 (1967), 309-311.

geworden, um geistigerweise Häuser zu bauen und Gärten und Weinberge anlegen zu können... Und unter dem Friedensschutz christlicher Könige geht es so auf der ganzen Erde nach dem Worte des gleichen Apostels Paulus: «Gottes Ackerfeld, Gottes Gebäude seid ihr». (21, 37) Sogar Verfolgungen können Anlass zu Bekehrungen sein: infolge der Verfolgung der ersten Christen durch die Juden und ihre Zerstreuung in alle Welt konnte «Christus in weiterer Ferne gepredigt werden». (23, 42) Nach Ratzinger gehört «der Gedanke an eine Verchristlichung des Staates und der Welt bestimmt nicht zu den Programmpunkten Augustins»[8]), doch betont auch er die Bedeutung der kontinuierlichen Durchdringung des Volkes mit christlichem Geist neben den Einzelbekehrungen.

Anlass zu Bekehrung kann selbst die Sklaverei sein[9]); daher die Mahnung Augustins: «Aber auch die christlichen Knechte und die guten Gläubigen sollen in Herzenseinfalt und Treue ihren weltlichen Herren dienen, über die sie entweder einst richten sollen, wenn diese bis ans Ende ungerecht befunden werden, oder mit denen sie gleichberechtigt herrschen sollen, wenn sie sich zum wahren Gott bekehren» (21, 37).

Augustinus bietet in seinen Schriften scharfsinnige Analysen seelischer Vorgänge, «aber von Religionspsychologie als eigener Wissenschaft kann doch erst die Rede sein, seitdem die Untersuchung des religiösen Seelenlebens nach methodischen Gesichtspunkten in Ausrichtung auf die religiöse Erfahrungswirklichkeit vorgenommen wurde»[10]). Wie der Bekehrungsverlauf selbst meistens zu seelischen Konflikten von höchster Intensität führt, wird er auch durch seelische Schockwirkungen ausgelöst. Hier müssen Nöte und Leiden, vor allem Katastrophen genannt werden, die als Schicksalsschläge das Leben des Einzelnen erschüttern oder ganze Völker treffen (Erdbeben, Kriege, Epidemien)[11]). Furcht und Angst sind nicht nur eine allgemeine Befindlichkeit des modernen Menschen[12]) sie sind auch in der Geschichte der Bekehrungen ein wichtiger Faktor[13]). Augustinus, welcher in der eigenen Bekehrung

[8]) RATZINGER, Volk und Haus Gottes, 316.

[9]) WALTER, Heidenmission, 125-126.

[10]) PÖLL W., Religionspsychologie. München 1965, 17.

[11]) Cf. PENIDO, l.c., 53-54.

[12]) Cf. RIEMANN Fr., Grundformen der Angst. München-Basel 1975[9]; Les Rencontres Internationales de Genève, 1953: L'angoisse du temps présent et les devoirs de l'esprit. Neuchâtel-Bruxelles 1954.

[13]) Cf. BOULARAND E., Crainte, in: Dict. de Spiritualité II, 2498-2500; GUITTON J., L'enfer et la mentalité contemporaine, in: L'Enfer (Foi Vivante), Paris 1950, 328-330;

«die Geisselschläge der Furcht und der Scham»[14]) empfunden hatte, schreibt der Angst eine grosse Rolle in der Auslösung der Bekehrung zu. Er war Zeuge, wie zu Beginn des 5. Jahrhunderts aussergewöhnliche Ereignisse und Naturkatastrophen ängstliche und abergläubische Gëter in Nordafrika erschütterten und der Kirche manche Taufbewerber zuführten[15]). In *De catechizandis rudibus* weist Augustinus darauf hin, dass Gott sich oft Strafgerichte bedient, um die Menschen aus Gleichgültigkeit oder Bosheit aufzuschrecken. Noës Zeitgenossen wurde «das ihnen bevorstehende Strafgericht Gottes (*ira dei*) laut genug angekündigt» (19, 32). Die Geschichte des Volkes der Juden ist überreich an Beispielen körperlicher Züchtigung (*coercitiones poenarum corporalium*), «wodurch sie zur rechten Zeit erschreckt werden sollten», (19, 33). Von der Bekehrung zum Christentum gilt: *Rarissime quippe accidit, immo uero nunquam, ut quisquam ueniat uolens fieri Christianus, qui non sit aliquo dei timore perculsus* (5, 9)[16]).

In der Antike[17]) wie in der modernen Psychoanalyse wird den Träumen [18]) eine so grosse Bedeutung zugemessen, dass auch die Psychologie der Bekehrung[19]) mit diesem Faktor rechnen muss. Augustinus[20]) war zwar überzeugt, dass Gott sich in Einzelfällen der Träume bedient[21]), doch erklärt er in vorsichtiger Zurückhaltung, es sei Gottes Wille, «dass der Katechumene nunmehr sicherer und ruhiger den in der Heiligen Schrift vorbereiteten Weg gehen und sich daran gewöhnen solle, hier nicht so fast sichtbare Wunder zu suchen, sondern unsichtbare zu

JUNG C.J., Die Beziehung der Psychotherapie zur Seelsorge. Zürich 1948; URS VON BALTHASAR H., Der Christ und die Angst. Einsiedeln 1951.

[14]) *Conf.* VIII, 11 (CSEL 33, 191): «flagella ingeminans timoris et pudoris».

[15]) VAN DER MEER, Augustinus, 48.

[16]) Über die Furcht als Motiv der Bekehrung wird in anderem Zusammenhang einzugehen sein.

[17]) Cf. HOPFNER Th., Traumdeutung, in: PAULY-WISSOWA, RE, VI A, 2, 2233-2245.

[18]) Cf. FRENKLE N.J., Der Traum-Die Neurose-Das religiöse Erlebnis. Köln 1974; POLL W., Das religiöse Erlebnis und seine Strukturen. München 1974; KEILBACH W., Religiöses Erleben. Erhellungsversuche in Religionspsychologie, Parapsychologie und Psychopharmakologie. Paderborn 1973; DESOILLE R., Le rêve éveillé en psychothérapie. (Bibl. d. phil. cont.), Paris 1945; BINSWANGER L., Le rêve et l'existence. (Übers. J. Verdeaux), Bruges 1954; CARMA A., La psychanalyse des rêves. (Übers. M. u. W. Baranger), Paris 1954; SCHULTZ-HENCKE H., Lehrbuch der Traumanalyse. Stuttgart 1949.

[19]) Cf. TERTULLIANUS, *De anima* 47 (PL 2, 731): «et major pene vis hominum ex visionibus Deum discunt»; ALLIER R., La psychologie de la conversion chez les peuples non civilisés, I. Paris 1925, 14-15; 368-397.

[20]) Cf. VAN DER MEER, Augustinus, 547-549; BROWN P., St. Augustin, 33.

[21]) Cf. *Confessiones* III, 11, 19, wo er von seiner Mutter Traum sagt: «Woher kam dieser Traum, wenn nicht von dir, ...o du gütiger und allmächtiger Gott?».

erhoffen und aus ihr nicht im Schlafe, sondern wachend Belehrung und Weisung zu schöpfen» (6, 10).

Auch innere Antriebe und Einsprechungen, die sich manchmal zur Vorstellung mahnender Stimmen verdichten können, Anlass der Bekehrung sein[22]). In der Kinderstimme *Tolle, lege!* in Mailand[23]) erkannte Augustinus eine göttliche *admonitio*, die zur Lösung seiner Bekehrungskrise führte. Augustinus hat, wie Warnach feststellt, «seit der Frühzeit seines literarischen Schaffens der inneren Einsprechung vonseiten Gottes eine hohe Bedeutung in der Entfaltung des menschlichen Geistes beigemessen»[24]). In *De catechizandis rudibus* anerkennt er Gottes liebevolle Sorge, die sich in inneren Einsprachen und Mahnungen offenbart (6, 10), doch leitet er, wie im Aufbauschema seiner *Confessiones*[25]), von diesen göttlichen Einwirkungen über auf den festeren Boden der Heiligen Schriften.

Die durch Analyse des numinosen Erlebens vertiefte Religionsphnomenologie ermöglicht heute wertvolle Einblicke in die religiöse Erlebniswelt. Augustinus konnte die Bedeutung solcher Erlebnisse nur ahnen. Wichtig für ihn, wie für die ersten Christen, sind die Wunder (*De cat.rud.* 6, 10)[26]). Durch grosse Wunderzeichen setzte Moses das gottlose Volk der Ägypter in Schrecken (20, 34). Viele Juden bekehrten sich, weil «im Namen dessen, den sie verlacht hatten, weil er sich von ihnen hatte überwältigen lassen, so grosse Wunder geschahen» (23, 42). Kraft der Wunder, die Christus oder seine Diener wirkten, verbreitete sich das Christentum über den Erdkreis (27, 53).

Das gleiche gilt von Prophezeiungen: «Wie wir nun all diese Dinge in den lange vorher geschehenen Prophezeiungen lesen, so sind sie, wie wir sehen können, auch in Erfüllung gegangen: und wie die ersten Christen noch durch Wunder zum Glauben veranlasst werden mussten,

[22]) Cf. ALLIER, l.c., 384-387.

[23]) *Conf.* VIII, 12, 29 (CSEL 33, 194).

[24]) WARNACH V., Erleuchtung und Einsprechung bei Augustinus, in: Augustinus Magister I, 439.

[25]) COURCELLE P., Recherches sur les Confessions de St. Augustin. Paris 1950, 23-24.

[26]) Cf. FREI Th., Das Wunder bei Augustinus (mit bes. Berücksichtigung auf seinen Zeichencharakter). Diss. theol. München 1965; BRAZZALE E., La dottrina del miracolo in S. Agostino. Roma 1964; GRANT R.M. Miracle an natural law in Graeco-Roman and early christian thought. Amsterdam 1952; DE VOOGHT P., La notion philosophique du miracle chez Saint Augustin, in: *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 10 (1938), 317-343; *id.*, Les miracles dans la vie de Saint Augustin, *ibid.* 11 (1939), 5-16; *id.*, La théologie du miracle selon Saint Augustin, *ibid.*, 197-221.

weil sie die Erfüllung der Prophezeiung noch nicht vor Augen sahen, so werden wir deshalb zum Glauben auferbaut, weil sich jetzt alles geradeso erfüllt hat, wie wir es in jenen Büchern lesen, die längst vor der Erfüllung abgefasst wurden und wo alles das, was wir jetzt gegenwärtig sehen, als erst in der Zukunft eintretend dargestellt wurde. Diese unsere Erbauung ist so gross, dass wir in unablässigem Vertrauen auf Gott die zweifellose Erfüllung auch der (bis jetzt) noch nicht eingetroffenen Prophezeiungen für die Zukunft erwarten» (24, 45).

Augustinus selbst fühlte sich durch die Lektüre der neuplatonischen Schriften *admonitus quaerere incorpoream ueritatem.*[27]). In seinen *Confessiones* bestätigt er den grossen Einfluss der Erzählung des Ponticianus auf seine eigene Bekehrung[28]). Welche grosse Bedeutung er der Lektüre von Büchern zumisst, verrät folgende Anweisung: «Jedenfalls muss man aus dem Kandidaten auch herauszubringen suchen, welche Schriftsteller er am meisten gelesen und zu welchen Werken er eine besondere Vorliebe gefasst hat und wie in ihm so der Entschluss gereift sei, sich der Kirche anschliessen zu wollen. Hat er uns hierüber Auskunft gegeben, so wollen wir freudig unsern Beifall äussern, falls wir diese Bücher selber kennen oder wenigstens aus dem Ruf, den sie in der Kirche geniessen, wissen, sie seien von einem angesehenen Katholiken verfasst. Ist er aber auf häretische Bücher gestossen und hat er dadurch häretische Ansichten, die der wahre Glaube verwirft, aus Unwissenheit als katholische Lehre fest in sich aufgenommen, so muss er nachdrücklich darüber belehrt werden» (8, 12).

Doch war auch Augustinus zu der Erkenntnis gekommen, dass bei der Bekehrung nicht der Intellekt allein, sondern das gesamte Gefühlsleben und der Wille beteiligt sind.

Augustinus beschränkt sich in seinem Büchlein auf einige, wenige Andeutungen über die Veranlassung der Bekehrung, da diese für die seelsorgliche Betreuung der *rudes* eine untergeordnete Rolle spielt; wichtiger sind ihm Ursachen und Motive der Bekehrung.

(*Fortsetzung folgt*) JEAN-PIERRE BELCHE

[27]) *Conf.* VII, 20, 26 (CSEL 33, 165).
[28]) *Conf.* VIII, 6, 14-15 (CSEL 33, 181-183).

Augustine,
Confessiones 10.1.1-10.4.6

The introductory chapters of the tenth book of Augustine's *Confessiones* are of considerable interest, both intrinsic and relative to the rest of the work. The coherence of the tenth book with those around it has been questioned; I offer some evidence to indicate that those questions are perhaps overstated. More pertinently, I hope that this commentary shows something of the essential function which the tenth book performs in the whole work as Augustine conceived it. Even if the book was added to the other twelve after the fact, it can be demonstrated that Augustine realized that its presence was a matter of necessity, not of superfluity.

The tenth book comprises chiefly the lengthy examination of conscience by which Augustine brought his readers up to date, so to speak, after the revelations about his past life contained in the first nine books. The resolute honesty of his scrutiny of self is never more pronounced than at this juncture. At the time of writing the *Confessiones* in the late 390's, Augustine had recently been elevated to his bishopric; but he greeted the elevation with something less than unalloyed glee. He knew his own unworthiness for the position, he felt the bitterness of some of his colleagues and enemies in the North African church, and he was struggling to explain to himself how he could go about doing his job as bishop while still a sinner himself[1]). (It is for that reason that I would

Sigla:

C + Parisinus 1913 (saec. 9)
D + Parisinus 1913A (saec. 9)
G + Parisinus 12193 (saec. 9)
O + Parisinus 1911 (saec. 9)
S + Sessorianus sanctae crucis 55 (saec. 5/7)

Abbreviations:

G-M: *The Confessions of Augustine*, edited by J. Gibb and W. Montgomery (Cambridge [second edition] 1927).

Knauer: G.N. Knauer, *Psalmenzitate in Augustins Konfessionen* (Göttingen 1955).

Sk: References to passages of the *Confessiones* not printed here are given first by book, chapter, and section and then (in parentheses) after this abbreviation by page and line to Skutella's edition (note 4 above). These page numbers also appear in the margins of the bilingual editions of A. Solignac (Paris 1962) and M. Pellegrino (Rome 1965 [third edition: 1975]).

[1]) P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (London 1967) 161-164.

argue, but reserve the detailed documentation for another place, that the last three books of the *Confessiones*, an exposition of scripture [that is, of a part of scripture neatly chosen to be an epitome of the whole of salvation history], are a sample of the way in which Augustine saw it was possible for himself as a bishop to go on confessing his own sinfulness and God's glory in the remainder of his life. He could succeed as a bishop if he succeeded as a preacher of the word of God[2]).

I present the text in an unfamiliar fashion[3]). Since Augustine's prose throughout this passage is consciously rhetorical and elevated, I print it *per cola et commata* with a minimum of other punctuation, in an attempt to recreate some of the effect which the text must have had on its first readers. Any such arrangement of text is subjective and arbitrary; it is itself a form of commentary on the text. The notes in my commentary indicate, however, that I think the practice is not uninstructive.

My text is essentially that of Skutella's 1934 Teubner edition as reprinted in 1969[4]). My reports of manuscripts (included principally to demonstrate the authority and reliability of the transmitted text) are selected from his apparatus, which reports all cases where the primary manuscripts (CDGOS) diverge from the printed text. In limiting myself to these manuscripts, I have consulted with immense profit the important articles of L. Verheijen on the text of the *Confessiones*[5]). His priciples seem to me sound, but I take them one step further than Verheijen himself has gone.

The material is present in Verheijen's articles to demonstrate that the manuscript identified as G is almost as important in determining the authentic tradition as CD (treated as one MS by editors, since both are copies of one exemplar but while C is the better manuscript it is also lacunose and D is needed to fill its gaps); the two together are slightly less important than O and S. This is important in cases where the three

[2]) Cf. *Conf.* 1.1.1 (Skutella's ed., 1.13-2.6) for the fundamental role of preaching in any sequence leading to confessional praise.

[3]) The only preliminary essay along these lines of which I know appears in A. Solignac's edition of the *Confessiones* in the *Bibliotheque Augustinienne* (volumes 13-14); but there only the translation is set in this fashion.

[4]) Augustinus, *Confessiones* (Leipzig 1934) ed. M. Skutella; reprinted with corrections by H. Jürgens and W. Schaub (Stuttgart 1969).

[5]) L. Verheijen, «Contributions à une édition critique améliorée des *Confessions* de saint Augustin», *Augustiniana*, 20 (1970) 35-53, 329-335; 21 (1971) 405-416; 22 (1972) 35-52; 23 (1973) 334-347, 348-368; 24 (1974) 217-233; 25 (1975) 5-23, 205-209.

witnesses favored by Verheijen (CD, O and S) disagree two against one, particularly when CD is opposed to OS. By my calculations, CD is right against GOS only 5 % of the time, but CDG are right against OS in 20 % of cases. Similarly, S is right against CDOG only 12 % of the time, but GS are right against CDO 40 % of the time. Verheijen has already demonstrated that G is the closest representative in our surviving Augustine manuscripts to the tradition represented for select passages of the *Confessiones* by Eugippius' sixth-century excerpts.

In sum, then, I would hold that O and S are the most important manuscripts, but they are to be checked at every turn against CD (closer to O) and G (closer to S).

TEXT

10.1.1 Cognoscam te, cognitor meus,
cognoscam
sicut et cognitus sum.
Virtus animae meae
intra in eam et coapta tibi
ut habeas et possideas sine macula et ruga.
Haec est mea spes
ideo loquor
et in ea spe gaudeo
quando sanum gaudeo.
Cetera vero vitae huius tanto minus flenda
quanto minus fletur
et tanto magis flenda
quanto minus fletur in eis.
Ecce enim veritatem dilexisti
quoniam qui facit eam
venit ad lucem.
Volo eam facere
in corde meo coram te in confessione
in stilo meo coram multis testibus.
10.2.2 Et tibi quidem, Domine,
cuius oculis nuda est abyssus humanae conscientiae
quid occultum esset in me
etiamsi nollem confiteri tibi?
Te enim mihi absconderem
non me tibi.

16 qui S *s.l.* eam] ea CD
19 confessione OS confessionem CDG

Nunc autem quod gemitus meus testis est displicere me mihi
tu refulges et places et amaris et desideraris
ut erubescam de me et abiciam me atque eligam te
et nec tibi nec mihi placeam nisi de te.
Tibi ergo, Domine, manifestus sum
quicumque sim.
Et quo fructu tibi confitear, dixi.
Neque id ago verbis carnis et vocibus
sed verbis animae et clamore cogitationis
quem novit auris tua.
Cum enim malus sum
nihil est aliud confiteri tibi quam displicere mihi;
cum vero pius
nihil est aliud confiteri tibi quam hoc non tribuere mihi
quoniam tu, Domine, benedicis iustum
sed prius eum iustificas inpium.
Confessio itaque mea, Deus meus,
in conspectu tuo tibi tacite fit et non tacite.
Tacet enim strepitu
clamet affectu.
Neque enim dico recti aliquid hominibus
quod non a me tu prius audieris,
aut etiam tu aliquid tale audis a me
quod non mihi tu prius dixeris.
10.3.3 Quid mihi ergo est cum hominibus
ut audiant confessiones meas
quasi ipsi sanaturi sint omnes languores meos?
(Curiosum genus ad cognoscendam vitam alienam
desidiosum ad corrigendam suam.)
Quid a me quaerunt audire qui sim
qui nolunt a te audire qui sint?
Et unde sciunt
cum a me ipso de me ipso audiunt,
an verum dicam
quandoquidem nemo scit hominum
quid agatur in homine
nisi spiritus hominis
qui in ipso est?
(Si autem a te audiant de se ipsis
non poterunt dicere
Mentitur Dominus.)

27 mihi] tibi O *in ras.*
28 refulgens et placens C^1D
30 mihi nec tibi G
31 tibi ergo tibi C^2
34 Neque] neque enim O^1
53 sunt C^1D

Quid est enim a te audire de se
nisi cognoscere se?
Quis porro cognoscit et dicit
Falsum est
nisi ipse mentiatur?
Sed quia caritas omnia credit
(inter eos utique,
quos conexos sibimet unum facit)
ego quoque, Domine, etiam sic tibi confiteor
ut audiant homines
quibus demonstrare non possum
an vera confitear;
sed credunt mihi
quorum mihi aures caritas aperit.
10.3.4 Verum tamen tu, medice meus intime,
quo fructu ista faciam
eliqua mihi.
Nam confessiones praeteritorum meorum
quae remisisti et texisti
ut beares me in te
mutans animam meam fide et sacramento tuo
cum leguntur et audiuntur
excitant cor
ne dormiat in desperatione et dicat
Non possum
sed evigilet in amore misericordiae tuae
et dulcedine gratiae tuae
qua potens est omnis infirmus
qui sibi per ipsam fit conscius infirmitatis suae.
Et delectat bonos audire praeterita mala eorum
qui iam carent eis
nec ideo delectat
quia mala sunt,
sed quia fuerunt et non sunt.
Quo itaque fructu, domine meus,
cui cotidie confitetur conscientia mea
spe misericordiae tuae securior quam innocentia sua
quo fructu, quaeso,
etiam hominibus coram te confiteor per has litteras
adhuc qui ego sim
non quis fuerim?
Nam illum fructum vidi et conmemoravi.

87 bearis S
98 quia G
99 delectant G

Sed quis adhuc sim
ecce in ipso tempore confessionem mearum
et multi hoc nosse cupiunt
qui me noverunt
et non me noverunt
qui ex me vel de me aliquid audierunt
sed auris eorum non est ad cor meum
ubi ego sum quicumque sum.
Volunt ergo audire confitente me
quid ipse intus sim
quo nec oculum nec aurem nec mentem possunt intendere;
crediturí tamen volunt
numquid cognituri?
Dicit enim eis caritas
qua boni sunt
non mentiri me de me confitentem
et ipsa in eis credit mihi.

10.4.5 Sed quo fructu id volunt?
An congratulari mihi cupiunt
cum audierint
quantum ad te accedam munere tuo
et orare pro me
cum audierint
quantum retarder pondere meo?
Indicabo me talibus.
Non enim parvus est fructus, domine deus meus,
ut a multis tibi gratiae agantur de nobis
et a multis rogeris pro nobis.
Amet in me fraternus animus
quod amandum doces
et doleat in me
quod dolendum doces.
Animus ille hoc faciat fraternus
non extraneus
non filiorum alienorum
quorum os locutum est vanitatem
et dextera eorum dextera iniquitatis
sed fraternus ille
qui cum approbat me
gaudet de me
cum autem inprobat me
contristatur pro me

18 confitente CDS confitentem GO
24 quia G
30 ad te *om.* CD

quia sive approbet sive inprobet me
diligit me.
Indicabo me talibus:
respirent in bonis meis
suspirent in malis meis.
Bona mea instituta tua sunt et dona tua
mala mea delicta mea sunt et iudicia tua.
Respirent in illis
et suspirent in his
et hymnus et fletus ascendant in conspectum tuum de fraternis cordibus
turibulis tuis.
Tu autem, Domine,
delectatus odore sancti templi tui
miserere mei secundum magnam misericordiam tuam propter nomen tuam
et nequaquam deserens coepta tua
consumma inperfecta mea.
10.4.6 Hic est fructus confessionum mearum
non qualis fuerim
sed qualis sim
ut hoc confitear non tantum coram te
secreta exultatione cum tremore
et secreto maerore cum spe
sed etiam in auribus credentium filiorum hominum
sociorum gaudii mei et consortium mortalitatis meae
civium meorum et mecum peregrinorum
praecedentium et consequentium et comitum vitae meae.
Hi sunt servi tui
fratres mei
quos filios tuos esse voluisti dominos meos
quibus iussisti ut serviam
si volo tecum de te vivere.
Et hoc mihi Verbum tuum parum erat
si loquendo praeciperet
nisi et faciendo praeiret.
Et ego id ago factis et dictis
id ago sub alis tuis nimis cum ingenti periculo
nisi quia sub alis tuis tibi subdita anima mea
et infirmitas mea tibi nota est.
Parvulus sum
sed vivit semper Pater meus
et idoneus est mihi tutor meus;

52 approbet me *editores prisci*
60 et *om.* G
64 odorem CD sancti templi] templi sancti S
77 vitae OS viae CDG
78 Hii G

idem ipse est enim
qui genuit me et tuetur me
et tu ipse omnia bona mea
tu omnipotens
qui mecum es et priusquam tecum sim.
Indicabo ergo talibus
qualibus iubes ut serviam
non quis fuerim
sed quis iam sim
et quis adhuc sim;
sed neque me ipsum diiudico.
Sic itaque audiar.

93 idem *om.* O
94 et tuetur me *om.* S (*per homoioteleuton*)
1 sim *om.* CD
3 diiudico] iudico O (*et Vulgata*)

COMMENTARY

10.1.1

Cognoscam te... cognitus sum. Cf. 1 Cor. 13.12; this verse is often echoed in the *Confessiones*, but this phrase of it appears only here. Just as the theme of the *Confessiones* was the praise of God and the blame of self, so also knowledge of God and knowledge of self (to the limited extent possible in this life) were important preliminary stages. Cf. *Conf.* 1.1.1 (Sk. 1.13-16): «da mihi, domine, scire et intellegere, utrum sit prius invocare te an laudare te et scire te prius sit an invocare te». (The rhetorical inquiry is answered in favor of the sequence: *scire — invocare — laudare*). In that passage, however, *scire* refers to an imperfect form of knowledge of God (and is probably to be equated in fact merely to *credere*, as Augustine himself says at *Retract.* 1.14.3). *Cognoscere* here, following the scriptural text, has an eschatalogical sense.

The repetition of *cognoscam* may be significant. The context in the first instance at least requires that the word be taken as subjunctive; in the second instance, however, it may still be the future indicative of the passage from Corinthians. The effect then would be that of using the word as a key to recalling a scriptural passage which gives assurance (in the indicative) that what one has been praying for (in the subjunctive) will indeed come to pass. That this can be done merely by repeating the same word without altering a letter is an elegant touch.

virtus animae meae. For God as *virtus* see *Conf.* 1.13.21 (Sk. 16.11) and 11.2.3 (Sk. 265.6) and compare 1.1.1 («magna virtus tua» — Sk. 1.6). On the whole *topos* see Knauer, 46-48, esp. 48 n. 1.

sine macula et ruga. Cf. Eph. 5. 27: «gloriosam ecclesiam, non habentem maculam, aut rugam, aut aliquid huiusmodi, sed... sancta et immaculata». Augustine seeks to model his soul after the perfect purity of the church.

spes. The word furnishes a kind of theme for all of book ten. Cf. 10.43.69 (Sk. 262.15), on the last page of the book: «merito mihi spes valida est». (Knauer 148) Thus «in ea spe gaudeo» echoes Rom. 12.12, «spe gaudentes», which is elsewhere used by Augustine (e.g., *De civ. Dei* 18.32, 18.51) as a kind of catch-phrase summarizing the typical and fitting attitude of Christians towards life in this world. It is in fact an oxymoron, since one customarily in this life postpones joy until hope is fulfilled; the quality of Christian hope, however, is clearly so strong and certain that the Christian can begin to rejoice even before his hopes are realized.

quando sanum gaudeo. Here an idea enters Augustine's mind which runs counter to what has gone before. Two kinds of joy are possible for man: joy inspired by Christian hope and the more familiar joy of delight in earthly things. Only the former is healthy (note *sanum* as an adverb, not attested in Latin before Augustine). Cf. *De civ. Dei* 4.26.28.

cetera vero ... in eis. The adversative force of *vero* introduces an antithetically balanced and (for that very reason) somewhat gnomic reflection on the other kinds of joy, the unhealthy kinds. The obscurity is enchanced by the choice of negative forms of speech, concentrating on tears (the opposite of joy). Behind both tears and joy lies the same attitude, that of emotional attachment to and dependence on the thing that can inspire the extremes of emotion. The sense of the sentence, then, is that the things of this world (things other than the objects of Christian hope) are less to be cherished in the heart to just such a degree as the mass of men (implied in the impersonal *fletur*) is attached to them. (Cf. *Conf.* 10.28.39 [Sk. 238.1]: «laetitiae meae flendae». *Flere* is common elsewhere in Augustine for the Christian's dismay at the world's injustice; e.g., *En.Ps.* 38.20 and esp. *Tr.in Ioh.* 49.19: «Quare enim flevit Christus, nisi quia flere hominum docuit?»). The things of this world (to resume Augustine's argument) are so much the *more* to be cherished (*et*

tanto magis flenda) by how much less the world at large weeps over them (*in eis*). In other words, the mass of men generally direct their emotional attachments wrongly. The Christian can hence safely direct his own attachments if he takes care simply to keep them the opposite of what he sees around him. (The rhetorical effect of the phrase *in eis*, not necessary for the content, is striking: it keeps the neat antitheses from becoming too facile and at the same time insinuates a reminder that one does not weep for good things *in themselves* but only for their relation to ultimate value).

Ecce enim veritatem dilexisti. This exactly quotes the text of Ps. 50.8, including the causal particle, which is appropriate in this context as well (cf. Knauer 96 n. 2), since it takes up again the hopefulness of the last sentence but one and proceeds to explain it by means of scriptural authority. This passage is in turn explained by the further scriptural allusion to Jn. 3.21, which reads, «qui facit veritatem, venit ad lucem, ut manifestentur opera eius, quia in Deo sunt facta». Augustine's exegesis of these two scriptural passages elsewhere makes their function here intelligible.

Aug., *Tr. in Ioh.* 12.13 interprets that part of the John passage quoted here thus: «ad lucem, id est, ad Christum... Initium operum bonorum, confessio est operum malorum... Qui autem facit veritatem, accusat in se mala sua: non sibi parcit, non sibi ignoscit ut Deus ignoscat». At *Tr. in Ioh.* 12.14, the man who walks in the love and mercy of God thus «facit veritatem confessionis, et venit ad lucem in operibus bonis». 'Doing the truth' for Augustine, therefore, means 'confession'. He has the warrant of his interpretation of John to assure him that this 'confession' leads to the 'light', that is to Christ.

Thus the John passage provides support and explanation (the connection is made by the *quoniam*) for the Psalmist's statement that God has loved the truth. (That the two quotations occur to Augustine's mind together is further facilitated by the half-verse which follows the section of Ps. 50.8 which is cited: the Psalmist goes on, «incerta et occulta sapientiae tuae manifestasti mihi». In both Ps. 50.8 and Jn. 3.21, therefore, there is mention of both *veritas* (in the sections quoted by Augustine) and the *manifestatio* of God's work to man (in the sections not quoted by Augustine). In expounding Ps. 50.8, Augustine makes the connection to confession clearer (*En. Ps.* 50.11): «veritatem dilexisti: ... Ignoscis confitenti, ignoscis, sed seipsum punienti: ita servatur misericor-

dia et veritas; misericordia, quia homo liberatur; veritas, quia peccatum punitur». God's love of the truth is hence verified by his willingness to forgive the sins of those who confess their own sins (but his justice is preserved because, in this view, confession is self-punishment). The hope Augustine cherishes at this point, therefore, is that through confession he will find forgiveness and thus come to the light, which is Christ.

(A somewhat different approach to this sentence, less closely adhering to the exposition of the scriptural passages, may be found in J. Ratzinger, «Originalität und Überlieferung in Augustins Begriff der *confessio*», *REA* 3 (1957) 375-392, esp. 385-389. I have not been able to examine G. Schmaltz, «Das 'veritatem facere' des Augustinus als Wesen des Reifungsvorganges (mit einem klinischen Beitrag zur 'Kurz-therapie')», *Psyche* 6 (1952) 306-319.

volo ... testibus. Augustine's confession is twofold: before God and before men. The following paragraphs commented on here will attempt to understand the purpose of this twofold confession in terms of these audiences. The first audience (God) can be treated here rather briefly, for the purpose of confessing to God has already been discussed elsewhere. To what end Augustine confesses before men as well is the principal object of discussion. The rationale of the whole work is at stake here as nowhere else in the *Confessiones*.

confessione. Instrumental rather than purposive (as *confessionem*, in the less accurate manuscripts, would be).

10.1.2

oculis nuda. These words are the only verbal echoes of Heb. 4.13 in this passage, but the whole tenor of Heb. 4.12-14 supports their use here: «Vivus est enim sermo Dei, et efficax et penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti: et pertingens usque ad divisionem animae ac spiritus: compagum quoque ac medullarum, et discretor cogitationum et intentionum cordis. (13) Et non est ulla creatura invisibilis in conspectu eius: omnia autem nuda et aperta sunt oculis eius, ad quem nobis sermo. (14) Habentes ergo pontificem magnum, qui penetravit caelos, Iesum Filium Dei, teneamus confessionem». Here again a passage of scripture having some direct bearing on the idea of confession is cited at the outset of Augustine's discussion of the value of confession in general. (Noteworthy is the notion expressed at Heb. 4.12 of the power of the *sermo Dei*. Augustine's use of scriptural language throughout the

Confessiones seems clearly inspired by a similar notion: it is the language of scripture that allows him to penetrate the mysteries of his own soul.

occultum. Echoes Ps. 50.8 again (quoted above), confirming the power of God to make all things manifest.

abyssus. Ecclesiasticus 42.17-18: «Nonne dominus fecit sanctos enarrare omnia mirabilia sua, quae confirmavit Dominus omnipotens stabiliri in gloria sua? (18) Abyssum et cor hominum investigavit, et in astutia eorum excogitavit». It is not necessary to assume that Augustine explicitly considered each of these verses scripture before placing a word here, a phrase there into his discourse in the Confessiones. At the same time, he must have had some idea of the resonances of his vocabulary, the way in which that vocabulary came directly from just those passages of scripture most in harmony with his purpose at this point in the argument.

etiamsi nollem confiteri tibi. God derives no benefit from confession; the emphatic irreality of the condition underlines the negative answer anticipated to the rhetorical question.

absconderem. Still governed by the *etiamsi* clause.

tu refulges ... placeam nisi de te. Four verbs applied to God are answered by the four verbs immediately applied by Augustine to himself. Compare *refulges* with *erubescam* (verbs whose visual images contrast vividly), *amaris et desideraris* with *abiciam me atque eligam te*, and *places* with *nec tibi nec placeam nisi de te* (postponed to the end of the sentence because of the complexity of the idea expressed in its nest of pronouns).

tibi ergo, domine, manifestus sum. Cf. 2. Cor. 5.11, «Deo autem manifesti sumus. Sero autem et in conscientiis vestris manifestos nos esse». Just that hope of the apostle (to be visible to his fellow men as well as to God) is shared by Augustine, who justifies it in this paragraph and the next.

et quo fructu tibi confitear, dixi. Cf. *Conf.* 10.3.4: «nam illum fructum [sc. confessiones] vidi et commemoravi». It is not clear what past statements Augustine has in mind in these two passages. G-M hold that *dixi* here refers to the last sentence but one («nunc autem, etc.»). Pellegrino, in his edition of the *Confessiones* (Rome 1965; third edition 1975), 299, refers to passages earlier in the whole work, such as 2.3.5,

2.7.15, 4.1.1, 5.1.1, and 9.12.33. In any event what is clear is that it is the *fructus* of confessing to God that is in question; perhaps Augustine meant to do no more than allude to the whole scope of the earlier books of the work, which do reflect a concern with confession particularly to God and the purpose thereof. In both cases here in book ten, such back-references precede discussions of the particular import of confession to Augustine's fellow men. (The difficulty with Pellegrino's cited passages is that in some of them both kinds of confession are on Augustine's mind, e.g., in *Conf.* 2.3.5 (Sk. 27.15-18): «cui narro haec? neque enim tibi, deus meus, sed apud te narro haec generi meo, generi humano, quantulacumque ex particula incidere potest in istas meas litteras. et ut quid hoc? [etc.]».

cum enim malus sum ... Cum-temporal with the indicative, almost meaning 'whenever'. The two *cum*-clauses are carefully balanced word for word, but then the second opens up another thought, itself expanded in two well-balanced clauses (see next note). Augustine rarely balances clauses exactly without some addition like this, which exploits the surprise the reader feels when the symmetry is broken to emphasize the additional idea. Cf. my note above on *cetera vero ... in eis* in 10.1.1.

quoniam tu, domine, benedicis iustum. This echoes Ps. 5.13, «Quoniam tu benedices iustum, domine, ut ...». The word order has been rearranged here to make a clause which balances the next clause in length and also rhymes with it:

Quoniam tu, domine, benedicis iustum (13 syllables)
sed prius eum iustificas impium. (12 syllables)

(See Knauer 178-179) That second clause itself echoes Rom. 4.5; this is no surprise after we examine the *Enarrationes* on the Psalm passage in question. There Augustine makes essentially the same point as here about the precedence of justification over benediction; in support of that typically Augustinian doctrine (that God does not choose to bless those who have made themselves just, but first makes them just and then blesses them) he quotes at *En. Ps.* 5.17 numerous passages from Romans not including 4.5, but others which make essentially the same point about the role of God in justifying the impious.

mea ... meus. The variety of Augustine's forms of address for God (Knauer 31-74) allows him to use rhetorical devices as simple as this variation in gender of the personal pronoun, which underscores the very different senses in which the word is used in each case.

in conspectu tuo. Cf. Knauer 75 n. 3, who finds the phrase 14 times in the *Confessiones* (and that does not count parallel phrases like «in vultu tuo» at *Conf.* 10.5.7 [Sk. 214.12]). The most pertinent parallel in scripture is probably Ps. 95.6: «confessio et pulchritudo in conspectu eius». In commenting on that passage (*En. Ps.* 95.7) Augustine interpreted *confessio* as our action in response to God's grace, which fits neatly into the sequence just established, whereby God's action precedes man's response.

audieris ... dixeris. Perfect subjunctives following the indefinite antecedent, *aliquid*. The sentence is thus of a generalizing nature ('Whatever I say ...') and not a promise of particular action on Augustine's part.

10.3.3

quasi ipsi sanaturi sint omnes languores meos. This phrase recurs thematically throughout book ten. The Psalm text to which it alludes (Ps. 102.3) is part of a long sequence of characterizing relative clauses (Ps. 102.3-5) and it reads: «Qui sanat omnes languores meos». In this first appearance in book ten it is ironically reversed: Augustine speaks *as if* (*quasi*) men were to do that which (because we know the origin of the quotation) is only God's business. (A similar reversal occurs in the next line with «ad cognoscendam», which imitates the true cognition of 1 Cor. 13.12, already cited at the beginning of *Conf.* 10.1.1 [see above].)

In *Conf.* 10.30.42 (Sk. 240.6-7), Augustine is asking whether God can in fact perform this feat: «Numquid non potens est manus tua, deus omnipotens, sanare omnes languores animae ...»? The *numquid* gives away the negative answer to this rhetorical question. (Note as well that *Conf.* 10.33.50 [Sk. 247. 16-18], along the course of the description of Augustine's sickness, closes with an analogous prayer, verbally drawn from Ps. 6.3 *inter alia*, for healing: «domine deus meus, exaudi respice et vide et miserere et *sana* me ...»). By the end of the book, however, Augustine is ready to state confidently that God can do what men cannot, what he has been asking whether God can do (*Conf.* 10.36.58 [Sk. 253.14-22]). There Augustine quotes all of Ps. 102.3-5 with no sense of question or ironic reversal. (On this whole theme, see Knauer 144-148).

The theme of disease is common in the *Confessiones* and particularly common in other ways in book ten. Just in the immediate vicinity of this

first occurrence of Ps. 102.3, note that the next paragraph begins by addressing God as *medicus*. In the same way, we saw how Augustine used an uncommon adverbial form to describe the kind of joy which is positive and valuable in 10.1.1: «quando *sanum* gaudeo».

What is the disease Augustine sees in himself? In commenting on the Psalm (*En. Ps.* 102.5) he describes it in detail. «Post remissionem peccatorum corpus infirmum geris: necesse est sint quaedam desideria carnalia quae te titillent, et quae tibi suggerant delectationes illicitas; de languore tuo veniunt. Adhuc enim infirmam carnem geris, nondum est absorpta mors in victoria, nondum corruptible hoc induit incorruptionem [cf. 1 Cor. 15.53-54 — which also came to mind for Augustine when quoting Ps. 102.3 later in the tenth book: *Conf.* 10.30.42 (Sk. 240.25-26)]: adhuc quibusdam perturbationibus etiam ipsa anima quatitur post remissionem peccatorum; adhuc in periculis tentationum versatur, quibusdam suggestionibus delectatur, quibusdam non delectatur, et in eis quibus delectatur, aliquando quibusdam consentit, capitur. Languor est; sanat et omnes languores tuos». (Cf. *Conf.* 10.5.7 [Sk. 214.3-5]: «ego vero quibus temptationibus resistere valeam quibusve non valeam, nescio»). Augustine then develops the image of God the *medicus* at some length in the passage from the *Enarrationes*.

What Augustine describes in the *Enarrationes* is of course precisely the kind of disease under discussion in book ten (and despite its frequency of citation in this book, the Psalm was not quoted earlier in the *Confessiones*). For book ten represents Augustine's turning from his past to his present, from the sin which preceded his conversion to the ugly realization that he remained a sinner and liable to temptations.

(*Curiosum genus* ...) I have added the parentheses here and at «Si autem ...» below to emphasize that the paragraph is essentially a succession of five questions, all answered in the last sentence (beginning «Sed quia ...»).

et unde sciunt ... an verum dicam. From here to the end of this paragraph, Augustine is strictly digressing into a preliminary question. Before deciding with what profit he can confess to his fellow men, he must decide whether and why they can even believe what he says to them.

nemo scit hominum ... This passage quotes 1 Cor. 2.11, changing it from a rhetorical question to an assertion. Here the distinction is between what one man knows of himself and what other men know of him. The

phrase will be recalled at *Conf.* 10.5.7 (Sk. 213.21-23) to change the perspective to a comparison of what one man knows of himself to what God knows of him.

quid est enim a te audire de se nisi cognoscere se? An allusion to the ancient proverb, «Know thyself», on which see P. Courcelle, *Connais-toi toi-même de Socrate à saint Bernard* (Paris 1974-1975).

cognoscit. Sc. «*se* cognoscit», as the previous sentence makes clear.

sed quia caritas omnia credit. As so often in the *Confessiones*, a scriptural tag provides the answer to a question which Augustine has been examining from different angles. Compare, for example, *Conf.* 1.1.1 (Sk. 1.18-2.1), where a sequence of rhetorical questions is disentangled and the key to a solution provided by two quotations from Rom. 10.14 (abridged for the purpose) and Ps. 21.27, after which point what had been obscure is all made clear. Here Augustine has been worrying, as a preliminary point to settling what the benefit of his confessing to men will be, whether men will even believe what he has to say. It seems that they will not, particularly the evil-minded among them. But *caritas* believes all things (1 Cor. 2.4-7). That is all the answer Ausgustine needs. Those who are bound to him through *caritas* will believe the truth of what he says. (Other men, we are left to deduce, are alienated so far from God that it is of no pertinence whether they will listen to Augustine. This is evidence of Augustine's envisioned audience for the work as a whole: it is to be read by Christians and those favorably disposed to Christianity and is not meant as an apologia for the religion to a decidedly non or anti-Christian audience).

(*inter eos utique, quos conexos sibimet unum facit*). These clauses need to be set off by parentheses (which former editors have neglected) to make clearer the relation between the scriptural tag and the confident determination to confess which follows.

10.3.4

Verum tamen. Sometimes used in Latin to resume a train of thought after an interruption (see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik* (Munich 1965), 2.495-496, and cf. Cic., *Att.* 1.10.1). Here it returns to the point of the third paragraph (before «et unde sciunt ...»), asking what is the point of confession before men.

nam confessiones praetoritorum malorum meorum ... excitant cor. This phrase has been used (first by E. Williger, «Der Aufbau der Konfessionen Augustins», *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 28 [1929] 81-106, supported most authoritatively by P. Courcelle, *Recherches sur les Confessions de S. Augustin* [Paris 1950, rev. ed. 1968], 25) in an attempt to demonstrate that the first nine books of the *Confessiones* (*conf. praet. mal. meo.*) had been in circulation before book ten was written; that book ten was in fact interpolated into an earlier 12-book version of the whole work. It should at least be pointed out that the phrase does not flatly demand such an interpretation. First, the earlier books could have been read as they were being written to a narrow circle of Augustine's intimates, prior to any formal 'publication' (on which see H.-I. Marrou, «La technique de l'édition à l'époque patristique», *Vigiliae Christianae* 3 [1949] 208-224). Similarly, even if the tenth book was in fact the thirteenth in order of composition, nothing in the evidence advanced by Williger or Courcelle refutes the possibility that it was still written and included before the work as a whole began to circulate.

The parallels this passage exhibits with Augustine's remarks on the *Confessiones* in his *Retractationes* (2.6) are striking: «Confessionum mearum libri XIII et de malis et de bonis meis Deum laudant iustum et bonum atque in eum excitant humanum intellectum et affectum; interim quod ad me adtinet, hoc in me egerunt cum scriberentur et agunt cum legentur». This passage was written approximately thirty years after the composition of the *Confessiones*.

quae remisisti et texisti. Ps. 31.1: «Beati quorum remissae sunt iniquitates et quorum tecta sunt peccata». When God covers sins, Augustine holds (*En. Ps.* 31.2.9), he looks the other way, that is to say, he does not punish them; hence the logical connection between remission and covering. The scriptural context of Ps. 31.1 is the source as well for «beares» in the next line, the unusual verb occasioned by the presence of «beati» in the quotation. (On this passage, see also Knauer 187-188).

mutans animam meam ... sacramento tuo. The allusion is to baptism.

ne dormiet ... sed evigilet. Whether Augustine had Cant. 3.2 («ego dormio et cor meum vigilat») in mind or not cannot be demonstrated by such a remote allusion; but the passage is thus a stronger demonstration of the pervasive influence of scripture on Augustine's style less than a decade after his elevation to the priesthood.

gratiae tuae, qua potens est omnis infirmus qui sibi per ipsam fit conscius infirmitatis suae. Here Augustine reworks and condenses 2 Cor. 12.9-10: «Sufficit tibi gratia mea: nam virtus in infirmitate perficitur. Libenter igitur gloriabor in infirmitatibus meis, ut inhabitet in me virtus Christi. (10) Propter quod placeo mihi in infirmitatibus meis, in contumeliis, in necessitatibus, in persecutionibus, in angustiis pro Christo: cum enim infirmor, tunc potens sum».

per has litteras adhuc quis ego sim, non quis fuerim? A comma after *adhuc* which appears in the critical editions of both Knöll and Skutella is clearly misplaced. «Adhuc quis ego sim» is a phrase to be taken together, as indicated three lines further on by the reccurence of the phrase in «sed quis adhuc sim». The correction already exists in the edition of A.C. Vega: either delete the comma or make it precede *adhuc*. (On the «grosse Bedeutung deś 'adhuc' beim Augustin», see Knauer 126 n. 2).

sed quis adhuc sim ecce in ipso tempore confessionum mearum. I.e., in the late 390's A.D. Augustine had not long before been elevated to the bishopric. The desire of «many» to hear of Augustine's conversion history is at least parallelled, if not precisely documented (Alypius is the individual under discussion) in the letter of Paulinus of Nola to Alypius (published with Augustine's letters, *Ep.* 24.4-5) and Augustine's response (*Ep.* 27. 4-5).

et multi hoc nosse cupiunt ... quicumque sum. The Latin connectives do not suffice to make Augustine's meaning unmistakable here. The best interpretation reads the collective *multi* as divided into two groups (each introduced by a *qui*-clause, then each *qui*-clause's positive statement is undercut by a further clause loosely connected to the first). The two groups: (a) those who have known Augustine (but they have not really known him); and (b) those who have heard something from or about him (but they have not really heeded the voice of his heart).

confitente. Surely the right reading (first printed by Knöll), for the next sentence is nonsense (see following note) unless the understood object of *volunt* there is not «confitentem me» but rather the whole indirect question, «quid ipse intus sim».

credituri tamen volunt, numquid cognituri? A difficult, allusive phrase. The meaning almost surely is: «They who will believe me still want [to hear what I am like]: but are they really going to *know* [what I

am like]? [Answer understood to numquid: No.]» This gnomic conclusion to the paragraph ties together two earlier ideas of the book: first, from the end of the preceding paragraph, the notion that only those who are joined to Augustine in *caritas* will believe his account (thus he goes on after the sentence just translated to say, «dicit enim eis caritas, qua boni sunt, non mentiri me de me confitentem, et ipsa in eis credit mihi»). But no man can really *know* what goes on inside the heart of another (10.3.3: «nemo scit hominum ...»).

10.4.5

The fourth paragraph has succeeded in demonstrating *that* good men will want to read Augustine's account of his past. The question *why* still lingers, and Augustine brings it back into the foreground: «Sed quo fructu id volunt?» By this time it is almost certain that the repeated use of *fructus* is meant as an at least subliminal allusion to the Augustinian doctrine of *usus* and *fructus* (most clearly expounded in *De doctrina christiana* 1.3.3-1.4.4). Augustine's kindly audience, if they are correctly disposed, will *use* Augustine's narrative to enhance their *enjoyment* of God's grace and goodness. To the extent that the allusion is discernible, it is a reminder that what the reader finds in this work is not to be taken as valuable in itself (as most non-Christian modern readers are constrained to take it) but rather is to be referred to the source of all the goodness which Augustine can find in his life, God. Moreover, the reader should be concerned with whether the work has a saving effect on the state of his own soul and his own prospects for achieving true *fruitio Dei.*

All this is made explicit in the content of this paragraph. The work is designed to make men love what is lovable, grieve over what is to be grieved over, and to do so as brethren bound in *caritas.* Identifying and limiting this audience to those who will be properly disposed is important to Augustine: he repeatedly interrupts his lengthy, ornate statements of their qualities with the almost antiphonal phrase *indicabo me talibus* (twice in paragraph five, once again with minor variation in paragraph six).

non enim parvus est fructus ... pro nobis. Here the way in which the *fructus* is contained in the transferring (Augustine would say 'referring') of the benefits of the *Confessiones* to God is made clear.

fraternus animus. That is, one bound by *caritas* (*vide supra*).

filiorum alienorum. From Ps. 143.7, which introduces this description of the Psalmist's enemies as a prayer: «eripe me ... de manu filiorum alienorum ...».

bona mea ... iudicia tua. Every word in the first of these lines has its parallel in the second line in the same order (the first line totals 16 syllables, the second 17). But while the first line says that «bona *mea*» are to be described as possessions of God («instituta *tua*» and «dona *tua*»), the second line changes things slightly, in a way the reader does not expect. The parallel is kept up, but with the significant change of the possessive pronoun following «delicta» (*mea*), which leads the reader to anticipate *mea* again at the end of the line. When *tua* occurs instead, the reader is brought up short and forced to consider more carefully than he might have otherwise done the precise implications of what Augustine is saying.

turibulis tuis. The image comes from the liturgy, but has scriptural authority in Apoc. 8.3-4: «Et alius angelus venit, et stetit ante altare habens turibulum aureum: et data sunt illi incensa multa, ut daret de orationibus sanctorum omnium super altare aureum, quod est ante thronum Dei. (4) Et ascendit fumus incensorum de orationibus sanctorum de manu angeli coram Deo». Augustine makes the implied metaphor of the scriptural text more explicit by making the hearts stand in apposition to the thuribles. Having interjected that phrase makes it possible to speak of God's delight in the *odore sancti templi*, which deepens and enchances the metaphor; for the phrase *sancti templi* can be taken as an allusion to 1 Cor. 3.17: «templum enim Dei sanctum *quod estis vos*» (emphasis added).

tu autem, domine. A common formula of address in the *Confessiones*; see Knauer 32 n. 2.

miserere mei secundum magnam misericordiam tuam. The beginning of Ps. 50.3, a penitential Psalm attributed to David after Nathan had reproached him in the matter of Bathsheba. Augustine pleads for mercy in the words of a model also caught just at the moment of repentance, of turning towards God. (Cf. Knauer 71, 82).

propter nomen tuum. A perfectly scriptural phrase (e.g., Mt. 10.22, Jn. 15.21), but stood on its ear in a way that shows the freedom Augustine felt with respect to his scriptural language. In every passage where the phrase occurs in scripture it refers to actions of followers of

Christ who endure suffering *for his name* (Mt. 10.22: «et eritis odio propter nomen meum»). The situation is quite different here. A theological explanation could perhaps be constructed for applying the phrase in an almost completely reversed situation, but the strain on such an explanation would be great. It is more profitable simply to observe that Augustine can and does use the language of scripture to say things which are not precisely scriptural (though they contradict nothing in scripture, to be sure). He will often use scriptural language to call forth the resonances of the interpretations that particular language had for him in its original context, but he can just as easily use them out of context to give his discourse (on a subject where pertinent scriptural allusions escaped his memory, perhaps) greater authority, in sound at least.

et nequaquam deserens coepta tua consumma inperfecta mea. This echoes Phil. 1.6: «qui coepit in vobis opus bonum, perficiet usque in diem Christi Iesu». Cf. *Conf.* 10.30.42 (Sk. 240.19-23): «nunc tamen quid adhuc sim ... dixi bono domino meo ... lugens in eo, quod inconsummatus sum, sperans perfecturum te in me misericordias tuas usque ad pacem plenariam ...». Augustine is now aware, as he perhaps was not during his early years as a Christian when he still considered theological issues from a philosophical (and somewhat Platonic) perspective, that the perfection of the good works we begin *in hoc saeculo* is something reserved for the time when this *saeculum* will be consumed and brought to the fulness of peace in itself. The context of the Philippians passage here makes it clear that Augustine understands, even as he makes this prayer, that the consummation for which he prays is not to be granted immediately.

10.4.6

This whole paragraph is, in continuation of the developments of the last part of the preceding paragraph, rhythmically constructed. It is worthy of such artful composition because it represents a summary of the argument of the last five paragraphs and an important turning point in the composition of book ten. There are few new ideas in this paragraph, but the purpose of the summary is to state what has been learned clearly and vividly.

hic est fructus. This is Augustine's way of saying, «here then is the answer agreed upon to the question we have been pursuing so far in this book».

non qualis fuerim [cf. 10.3.4], *sed qualis sim*. Confession is to include not just the past but also the present, not only the sins from which one has escaped but those to which one is still liable. Hence the need for book ten in the first place.

non tantum coram te. Cf. 10.1.1 (above).

secreta exultatione cum tremore et secreto maerore cum spe. Both phrases verge on oxymoron, justified by the allusion to Ps. 2.11: «servite Domino in timore et exultate in tremore». See the same verse recalled again at *Conf.* 10.30.42 (Sk. 240.19-21), near the end of the examination of conscience, where Augustine is summarizing his confession: «nunc tamen quid adhuc sim in hoc genere mali mei, dixi bono domino exultans cum tremore in eo ...». Note also that the positive elements in this expression are *exultatio* (approximately the same thing as *gaudium*) and *spes*; cf. my note on 10.1.1 above.

sed etiam auribus credentium. Here Augustine has something new to add. In the first paragraph of the book, he simply distinguishes his audiences between God and «multis testibus». One of the principal results of his inquiry has been to identify who those witnesses will be (believers: those bound to him in *caritas*), whom he now describes at some length.

filiorum hominum. Cf. the antiphonal verse of Ps. 106 (repeated at Ps. 106.8, 15, 21, 31): «Confiteantur Domino misericordiae eius, et mirabilia eius filiis hominum» - clearly a verse much on Augustine's mind in the writing of the *Confessiones*; the first line of it is echoed five times clearly in the work as a whole: *Conf.* 1.15.24 (Sk. 18.23), 4.16.31 (75.25-26), 5.1.1 (77.2), 5.10.20 (93.13), 6.7.12 (110.21-23).

mortalitatis meae. Mortality is a *testimonium peccati* (*Conf.* 1.1.1 [Sk. 1.8-9]), hence the whole phrase («sociorum gaudii mei et consortium mortalitatis meae») includes all men as sharers in both sin and redemption.

civium meorum et mecum peregrinorum. Sharers in the heavenly city and wayfarers in the earthly; the whole of the central metaphor of the *De civitate Dei*, which Augustine began writing more than a decade after this work, is contained in this phrase. Cf. *Conf.* 10.5.7 (Sk. 213.28-214.2): «et certe videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate, nondum facie ad faciem [1 Cor. 13.12]; et ideo, quamdiu peregrinor abs te [cf. 2 Cor. 5.6], mihi sum praesentior quam tibi».

vitae meae. *Vitae* and the variant reading, *viae*, both represent the same metaphor, with the latter reading showing a more explicit and literal-minded form of the idea. Given therefore that *vitae* is a slightly more difficult reading and that it is attested by the more authoritative pair of manuscripts (OS), it is almost certainly the correct reading.

dominos meos. The first clear allusion in all of the *Confessiones* to Augustine's new position in the church as bishop. In this paragraph as rarely elsewhere we see the deep unease he felt at his elevation to a position from which he was expected to care for the souls of others being uncertain of his own. The same people in one sentence are changed from *servi* to *fratres* to *domini*.

Verbum tuum. The capitalization is usually neglected by editors, but is important. Augustine is punning: not only did he have need of the word of God through revelation, but also did he require the example of that Word (in the person of Christ) going before him on the way. Just so (in the next sentence) Augustine hopes to «tecum de te vivere» both in words *and* in deeds — this is indeed the center of the dilemma. He could easily preach the Gospel, but he realizes he must live it as well.

sub alis tuis nimis cum ingenti periculo. An obviously scriptural phrase, but it cannot be determined whether Ps. 16.8 («sub umbra alarum tuarum proteges me») or Ps. 35.8 («filii autem hominum in tegmine alarum tuarum sperabunt») is closer to the surface of Augustine's mind. The former contains the idea of protection, but the latter contains the phrase *filii hominum* already used in this paragraph.

Might one choose to interpret the *alae* as an allusion to the manifestation in dove-like form of the Holy Spirit? In the surrounding sentences one has seen the second person of the Trinity («Verbum tuum») and is about to see the first («sed vivit semper pater meus»); the presence of the third would not be surprising. Unfortunately, Augustine's exegesis of the «wings» (*En. Ps.* 16.8) only sees them as the «caritas et misericordia Dei».

tibi subdita est anima mea. Ps. 61.2: «Nonne Deo subiecta erit anima mea». See Knauer 97 n. 1.

idem ipse est enim. One of many allusions (at least nine) in similar form which can probably be referred to Ps. 101.28, «tu autem idem ipse es» (Cf. Knauer 109). In commenting on the Psalm (*En. Ps.* 101.2.12), Augustine saw the passage as an allusion to Exod. 3.14, «Ego sum qui

sum», and hence as a statement of something fundamental and central about the nature of God; thus the phrase's prevalence in the *Confessiones*.

qui genuit me. Cf. Ps. 2.7: «Dominus dixit ad me: filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te». Though the prevailing interpretation of the second Psalm in the fathers is Christological, such passages can always be referred to the individual Christian soul on the argument that Christ has made us all sons of God through his redemptive mission.

sed neque me ipsum diiudico. After a final summation of what he is doing in this book («indicabo ergo talibus, qualibus iubes ut serviam, non quis fuerim, sed quis iam sim et quis adhuc sim» — almost every phrase of that sentence can be paralleled from earlier paragraphs), the paragraph concludes with this final catch-phrase which opens the way into the rest of the book, explicitly tied to the beginning of the next paragraph by the parallelism of the citations (Cf. 1 Cor. 4.4: «qui autem iudicat me Dominus est»). At the end of his discussion of the value of confession, Augustine therefore admits that his task here is *only* to confess; in the next paragraph, at the beginning of book ten's confessions proper, he admits that God is the one who judges him.

audiar. The paragraphs here commented upon began with a subjunctive of prayer (*cognoscam*) and end with a similar one. After the long, complex periods of this paragraph, the paragraph ends with a sentence of three words, the simplest of prayers. In the next paragraph Augustine represents himself before the judgement seat of God and begins the process which leads (after the long digression on memory) into the confession of his present state, a state in which he has to make the terrifying admission: «ego vero quibus temptationibus valeam, quibusve non valeam, nescio» (*Conf.* 10.5.7 [Sk. 214.3-5]).

JAMES J. O'DONNELL

The Gustatory Augustin*

To the casual reader, the early pages of the *Confessions* seem obviously concerned with Augustine's unsuccessful struggles against the emerging sexual powers of his youthful years. Such is particularly the case in the dark allusions to lust and fornication in the second book of the work [1]). Those insistent urges proved to be too much, so that he took a mistress (*Conf.* IV, ii, 2) with whom he was to spend the next thirteen years of his life. Nevertheless, judging by the many self-recriminations in the later pages of the *Confessions*, his life with this woman did little to soothe the guilt which plagued Augustine on account of his own restless indulgence of his sexual desires. It would seem that nothing short of a life of complete celibacy was to satisfy the idealistic Augustine.

Consequently, the events of the *Confessions* lead with a certain inevitability to the final rejection of all forms of sexual indulgence during the now-famous garden-scene (*Conf.* VIII, xii, 28-29). In a fine study of that scene [2]) one author has shown the central importance of sex as the issue above all others, about which Augustine's decisive struggle with himself occurred.

However, the aim of the present study is to demonstrate the major importance of another and less obvious struggle which was to be of more enduring concern to Augustine. This was his struggle in regard to the enticements of the sense of taste- whence the title of the present article. Moreover, as will be shown, his anxieties in regard to that particular sense become more understandable from a consideration of the known events of his earlier life.

One first becomes aware of Augustine's concern about taste (as it concerns food and drink) during the stern self-examination of the tenth book of the *Confessions*. The self-examination is conducted under the three headings of lust of the flesh, lust of the eyes and pride of life (*Conf.*

* The older spelling of the name is used in the title in the interest of assonance.

[1]) See Leo C. Ferrari, «Symbols of Sinfulness in Book II of Augustine's Confessions», *Augustinian Studies* 2 (1971) 93-104. For a much more general treatment of Augustine's feeling of culpability in the *Confessions* the reader is referred to Peter Schäfer, *Das Schuldbewusstsein in den Confessiones des heiligen Augustinus* (Würzburg, 1930).

[2]) Vinzenz Buchheit, «Augustinus unter dem Feigenbaum (zu Conf. VIII)», *Vigiliae Christianae* 22 (1968) 257-271.

X, xxx-xli)[3]). Of these, the first receives the greatest amount of attention. Under the heading of lust of the flesh, Augustine examines temptations arising from the various senses of the body. First to come under consideration is the sense of touch, from which arise sexual temptations. Here, Augustine makes the surprising statement that he is no longer troubled by such temptations, except in his dreams. (*Conf.* X, xxx, 41 and 42). This seems to illustrate yet again, the power of the experience which he underwent in the garden-scene of the eight book, where he rejected all forms of sexual indulgence.

Next, Augustine examines the temptations arising from the sense of taste. From his pained and lengthy considerations, it is obvious that he was much preoccupied with the power of that sense to lead to excesses at the table. (*Conf.* X, xxxi, 43-47). Furthermore, as he openly confesses (*Ibid.*, paragraph 45), he was never troubled by drunkenness, so that his concern focuses clearly on his temptations to over-indulge in food and drink. This domain would therefore appear to be the proper subject of the present study.

Such temptations were so painfully present to Augustine because he was not able to renounce food once and for all, as he was able to do with sex (*Ibid.*, paragraph 47). Consequently, at the time of writing the *Confessions* he was still engaged in a daily struggle against his longing for food and drink. Indeed, so violent was that struggle that it finds repeated expression in his anguished self-examination- «adversus istam suavitatem pugno ne capiar» (para. 43); «his tentationibus quotidie conor resistere» (para 44) and «in his ergo tentationibus positus, certo quotidie [pugno] adversus concupiscentiam manducandi et bibendi» (para. 47).

In view of the previous considerations, it is surprising, to say the least, that the struggle does not figure more prominently in the preceding pages of the story of Augustine's conversion. Part of the reason for this omission would seem to be that gluttony became an issue only *after* Augustine's conversion, when he was farther advanced along the way of perfection[4]). Moreover, as I have explained elsewhere[5]), food does

[3]) «Concupiscentia carnis, concupiscentia oculorum, et ambitio saeculi» — the division is from I John 2.16.

[4]) Though the prohibition against drunkenness and gluttony was already present (and indeed in the very first words) in the text of Romans 13.13, to the reading of which Augustine attributes his conversion (*Conf.* VIII, xii, 29). This point will be considered later on in the present article.

[5]) Leo C. Ferrari, «The Food of Truth in Augustine's Confessions», *Augustinian Studies* 9 (1978), (in press).

indeed figure most prominently in the *Confessions*, though on a literary and even spiritual level.

Returning to Augustine's self-examination, this is conducted with careful analysis (manifesting the importance he imputed to it) and with a severity which would surprise the modern reader. Thus he observes of his own act of eating:

> During the time that I am passing from the uneasiness of want to the calmness of satiety, even in the very passage doth that snare of concupiscence [*laqueus concupiscentiae*] lie in wait for me. For the very passage itself is pleasure, nor is there any other way of passing whither, whither necessity compels us to pass[6]).

As he proceeds further to explain, the result all too easily is that what should be done only for nourishment is done rather for pleasure. In order to preclude such an eventuality, he strives constantly to regard food merely as medicine (para. 44). This stratagem however still does not solve the problem of exactly where to draw the line between excess and defect; a problem which is implicitly acknowledged as unsolved when he concludes his initial analysis, by alluding to the very same problem with the words: «as yet I have no resolve in this matter» (para 44).

There follow next, two paragraphs (45 and 46) which are concerned with comments on passages from the Scriptures rather than with Augustine's personal struggles against gluttony. The interjection of these two paragraphs is ostensibly to buttress Augustine's attack on gluttony, by giving that attack a scriptural basis. Accordingly, considerations of those paragraphs will be postponed until after treating the concluding paragraph (para. 47) which resumes and concludes the subject of Augustine's personal struggles against gluttony.

In that concluding paragraph, having admitted that his longing for food and drink was not something which he could give up once and for all, as he had done with sex, Augustine at last formulates his policy in regard to the daily temptations arising from the sense of taste:

> The bridle of the throat, therefore, is to be held in the mean of slackness and tightness. And who, O Lord, is he who is not in some degree carried away beyond the bounds of necessity?

This observation virtually concludes Augustine's stern self-examination of the temptations arising from the sense of taste.

[6]) *Conf.* X, xxxi, 44. Citations are from the Pilkington translation.

Going back now to the two paragraphs of biblical excerpts with comments, which paragraphs are purportedly interjected to buttress Augustine's condemnation of gluttony, some interesting features emerge on closer examination.

In the first place, Augustine remarks no less than five times on having heard the voice of God, or of one of his appointed ones, instructing him in the general context of food and drink. One is reminded of a similar episode involving the conjunction of the voice of God and the subject of food. The occasion was the vision which Peter had of the great sheet let down from heaven (*Acts* 10, 9-10). The voice of God commanded him to kill and eat of the great diversity of animals which the sheet contained. This is an episode which is featured on several occasions in Augustine's writings, but without particular significance for the present context.

What is of interest here is that the episode of Peter's vision concerned, not gluttony, but dispensation from the customary dietary laws of Judaism. This dietary aspect could well have been in the back of Augustine's mind when considering the subject of food. Such a suspicion is also reinforced by the prominence which Augustine gives to Paul's various statements on the irrelevance of various dietary considerations in the new dispensation[7]). Augustine follows these statements with examples of biblical personalities who were not polluted by the food that they ate; all of which is very interesting, but scarcely of direct relevance to the subject of gluttony which his self-examination is supposed to concern. It is noteworthy that running through many of the examples given by Augustine is what is implicitly a recurring denial that the eating of flesh meat defiles the eater.

Augustine's predominant interest in the dietary aspects of food is again brought home by yet another detail earlier in the scriptural citations. He cites *I Corinthians* 8, 8: «Neither if we eat, are we the better; neither if we eat not, we the worse». Of this he observes: «And by Thy favour have I heard this saying likewise, *which I have much delighted in* (*quam multum amavi*)»[8]). This remark of Augustine's becomes all the more significant when it is observed that Paul's advice which so much delighted him was in regard to the question of eating meat which had

[7]) Thus, in *Conf.* X, xxxi, 46, the following quotes from Paul are employed to the present end: Romans 14.20; I Corinthians 8.8; Colossians 2.16 and Romans 14.3.

[8]) *Conf.* X, xxxi, 45. Italics are added in the English extract.

been used in the worship of idols[9]). Further, it is noteworthy that Augustine returns to the same citation from Paul later on in the same paragraph. From this and the preceding observations one is left with the impression that during, or before the writing of the *Confessions*, Augustine had been much concerned with religiously sanctioned dietary laws. This will be the subject of subsequent considerations.

Turning next to those biblical citations used by Augustine to buttress his condemnation of gluttony, it is difficult, if not impossible to find one which deals explicitly with the subject of gluttony itself. The opening quote from *Luke* 21, 34 bears more upon drunkenness: «Non graventur corda vestra in crapula et ebrietate»[10]). The quote from *Ecclesiasticus* 18, 30 concerns the subject of concupiscence in general: «Post concupiscentias tuas non eas». (*Ibid.*) At least this receives attention from Augustine in several other places, besides the *Confessiones*, but without narrowing the meaning of «concupiscentiae» down to gluttony[11]). A second quote from *Ecclesiasticus* (23, 6) does limit the concupiscences down to the region of the belly: «Aufer a me concupiscentias ventris». (*Ibid.*) However this is still not specific, since sexual concupiscence also comes under the same description.

At this point it is timely to ask whether the lack of apposite scriptural citations is entirely the fault of Augustine. To the best of my knowledge, gluttony is not dealt with explicitly and in isolation in the Bible. An unusual exception is *Proverbs* 23, 20: «Be not among winebibbers, or among gluttonous eaters of meat». However, this condemnation is not cited by Augustine in the present context. Nor does it seem to be featured at length anywhere else in his writings. As for the presence of gluttony elsewhere in the Bible, it generally seems to have an implied presence, or to be present as one item in a catalogue of vices. Augustine's beloved Apostle, Paul, provides good examples of both manners of presence and one would therefore expect to find these instances cited in the present context. Such however, does not prove to be the case. Thus, gluttony is implied in Paul's condemnation of those whose God is their belly (*Romans* 16, 18 and *Philippians* 3, 19), though sex would also come under the condemnation. However, neither passages are cited by Augustine in the present context, nor do they seem to be

[9]) I Corinthians 8, 8. *Cf.*: I Corinthians 8, 1, 4 and 7-13; 10, 21, 25 and 27-31; Colossians 2, 16 and Romans 14 throughout.

[10]) Luke 21, 34.

[11]) *Sermo CLI*, 3, 3; *Sermo CLIV*, 6, 8; *Sermo CLV*, 9, 9; *Sermo CCX*, 9, 11, etc...

featured prominently elsewhere in his works. Paul also provides an example of gluttony being present in a list of vices, with his listing of the works of the flesh in *Galatians* 5, 19-21. Again however, this is not featured in the present context, nor is it the subject of extensive considerations elsewhere in Augustine's writings.

One is therefore left with the impression that Augustine's use of scriptural citations in the context of *Conf.* X, xxxi, 45-46 is not specifically for purposes of buttressing his condemnation of gluttony. Judging by the citations, concupiscence in general is the subject of attack, rather than gluttony in particular. Further, as has been observed, a large proportion of the texts is concerned with the dietary aspect of eating; a fact which is particularly evident in paragraph 46 which contains more than a half-dozen references to the eating of meat. In that place Augustine seems anxious to prove that such eating of meat is not sinful, but is rather sanctioned by the various individual cases cited from the Scriptures. Further, as has been seen, that this dietary aspect was of personal importance to Augustine was clearly evidenced by his own words in regard to the dietary dispensations implied in *I Corinthians* 8, 8: «I have heard this saying likewise, which I have much delighted in». As to why Augustine introduced these extraneous dietary digressions into his self-examination in regard to gluttony, these strange digressions will be the subject of examination in subsequent pages.

Before proceeding to those considerations, it is instructive to observe how the previous pages point up a new element in the famous text from Paul, to the reading of which Augustine attributes his conversion (*Conf.* VIII, xii, 29). Taking up the volume of Paul in response to a heavenly command, Augustine was converted by the advice of the first passage upon which his eyes fell. The passage is from *Romans* 13, 13-14:

> Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof.

As Buchheit has well observed[12]), the preceding details have been concerned above all with depicting Augustine's stuggle against sexual concupiscence. Consequently, the reader's attention tends to focus immediately on the reference to «chambering and wantonness» in the

[12]) *Art. cit.*

above extract. The very first words of the above passage, referring to wild parties and drunkenness (the Latin has it as: *Non in comessationibus et ebrietatibus*), tend to be passed over. In essence, this easily ignored detail is a prohibition against the twin excesses of gluttony and drunkenness. As Augustine confesses in the section of the *Confessions* which has been examined in the previous pages, it was precisely the prohibition expressed in these few words which was to cause him so much suffering in later life, for his longing for food and drink was not something which he could give up once and for all as he had done with sex (*Conf.* X, xxxi, 47).

Turning next to considerations of relevant details of Augustine's earlier life, the above-mentioned conversion was eventually a renunciation of the Manichean religion which had claimed his allegiance for some nine years, during his twenties. That exotic creed was much preoccupied with the denizens of the heavens and indeed worshipped the sun and moon as divine beings. Nevertheless, and in line with present considerations, the abovementioned preoccupation did not prevent Augustine from depicting his first encounter with that sect in gastronomic terms. Thus he says (*Conf.* III, vi, 10) of the teaching with which they wooed him:

> And these [the teachings] were the dishes (*fercula*) on which to me, hungering for Thee (*mihi esurienti te*), they, instead of Thee, served up the sun and the moon, Thy beauteous works—but Thy works, not Thyself.

However, this alimentary allusion is not as incongruous as may at first sight appear. Interestingly enough, by a strange coincidence, besides their interest in the sun and the moon, the Manichees were also very preoccupied with dietary details. Thus, all flesh was forbidden as food because it was the polluted product of sexual intercourse[13]). The Manichees were therfore vegetarians. Again, even all vegetative foods were distinguished on the basis of their colour; the more lightly coloured, the holier they were thought to be[14]). In view of these considerations, Augustine's digressions about dietary details and the eating of flesh meat, during his treatise on gluttony, is a digression which becomes more understandable. Though he had renounced Manicheism some ten years

[13]) *De moribus Manichaeorum*, 15, 36-37 and 16, 49.

[14]) *Ibid.*, 16, 39. That the dietary exigencies of the Manichees were of lasting concern to Augustine is demonstrated by the gustatory metaphors with which he alludes to them in the *Confessions*. This topic is investigated in my article on the Food of Truth, to which reference has already been made (see footnote 5).

before writing the *Confessions* an abiding concern about religiously sanctioned diet seems still discernible in his treatise on gluttony[15]).

Nor did the attention of the Manichees confine itself to diet. It is noteworthy for present considerations that digestion itself played an exalted role in their system of redemption. As Augustine himself informs us, the Manichean «elect», or priestly members of the sect, could, by their very own digestive processes, play an important part in the liberation of the pieces of divinity entrapped in material things (*Conf.* III, x, 18). Moreover, Augustine confesses that he himself spent some nine years carting food to those «elect» so that «in the laboratory of their stomachs, they should make for us angels and gods, by whom we might be liberated» (*Conf.* IV, i, 1). His involvement in the alimentary aspects of that sect was not therefore merely an intellectual escapade, but very much a lived experience.

It is noteworthy here that the liberation of the divinity trapped in food by the chewing and digestion of the Manichean elect, throws some light upon one of his passages which seems to have puzzled even Augustine himself. The passage in question is from that part of the *On Christian Doctrine* Which was written about the same time as the *Confessions*. Augustine's puzzlement is expressed as follows:

> And yet, I don't know why, I feel greater pleasure in contemplating holy men, when I view them as the teeth of the Church, tearing men away from their errors, and bringing them into the Church's body, with all their harshness softened down, just as if they had been torn off and masticated by the teeth[16]).

Returning next to the feeding of the Manichean elect, this was also spiritually beneficial to the providers of the food, as Augustine informs the reader when recounting the ritual. Through the prayers of the elect, there was effected the moral cleansing of the providers of the food. Again, on a more mundane level, the nourishing of the elect was undoubtedly an important criterion of the degree of commitment of each

[15]) This conclusion is strengthened by the observation that the very text from I Corinthians 8, 8 (as well as Pauline texts similar to it), is featured conspicuously in the anti-Manichean polemics of the preceding years. Similar to I Corinthians 8, 8 are the following texts from Paul: Romans 14 (throughout); Colossians 2, 16; I Corinthians 8, 1, 4, 7-13 and I Corinthians 10, 21, 25 and 27-31. These are cited, often at great length, in the following anti-Manichean treatises of the years prior to the *Confessions*: *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et manichaeorum* 1, 33, 71; 2, 14, 33 and 34; *Contra Adimantum* 14, 1, 2, 3 and 15, 1 and 3 and *Contra Faustum* 6, 2 and 32, 9.

[16]) *On Christian Doctrine* 2, 6, 7.

individual believer. Therefore, for those who ambitiously sought promotion within the sect, this caring for the elect was a practice to be assiduously cultivated. In this regard, we have Augustine's own admission that he once had ambitions of rising to eminence in that religion. Thus, he says of his disillusionment upon meeting the long-awaited and famous Manichean, Faustus: «Caeterum conatus omnis meus, quo proficere in illa secta statueram, illo homine cognito prorsus intercidit». (*Conf.* V, vii, 13). One can reasonably conclude of Augustine's ambitions, that the feeding of the elect had been an important element (among others) in the realising of those aspirations.

Looked at in its crude essentials, what was basically involved in that particular aspect of Augustine's associations with the Manichees was the giving of food in the hope of obtaining favours. It is instructive to realise that this practice was not new to Augustine. He himself has supplied us with a significant detail from his earliest years—as a child he used to steal food at home to give such stolen victuals to other boys in order to induce them to play with him:

> Pilferings I committed from my parents' cellar and table, either enslaved by gluttony, or that I might have something to give to boys who sold me their play, who, though they sold it, liked it as well as I. (*Conf.* I, xviii, 30).

Thus, it appears that even as a child, Augustine had become apprenticed in the power of food to win favours from others. The young mind would therefore see food as a means of controlling the actions of others. In the previous example, it was by the giving of food. But control could also effected by withholding food, or by the threat of withholding the same. In this regard, we have an interesting incident from Augustine's adult life which would also be consistent with the apprenticeship he underwent as a child.

On the evidence of his friend and fellow-religious, Possidius, in later life Augustine had devised an ingenious method of preventing defamation of character among the members of his little religious community. He had the following advice carved into the table at which the members took their meals:

> «Let he who takes pleasure in mauling the lives of the absent,
> Know his own is not such as to fit him to sit at this table[17]).

[17]) *The Life of Saint Augustine, Written by Bishop Possidius*, chapter 22.

Furthermore, this threat of exclusion from the communal table had a significant precedent in Augustine's own earlier life. At about the age of twenty-one, after several years of study at distant Carthage, he returned home, only to find himself excluded from the family table by his angered mother, Monica (*Conf.* III, xi, 19). According to Augustine's account, the chief reason for this exclusion was the fact that in his absence from home he had abandoned the christian faith of his childhood and joined the heretical Manichees. In addition, the thought occurs that Monica may well have been angered by the discovery of her son's mistress and their illegimate offspring.

In any case, this episode of being excluded from the family table makes one wonder whether the use of food in rewarding and punishing children had been a regular feature of Augustine's childhood. If so, the intelligent child would tend to see the stealing of food as a means of circumventing the parental system of rewards and punishments. Accordingly, it is interesting to remark upon the presence of three accounts of the thievery of victuals in the *Confessions*. The most obvious one is the theft of pears about which Augustine berates himself at length (*Conf.* II, iv, 9 to x, 18). This occurred during his sixteenth year (*Conf.* II, ii, 4). Again, earlier in life he had been accustomed to steal food from the home supplies, with which to bribe other children, as has already been observed. This practice reminds one of a third episode, namely that of his mother Monica's own thievery from the family's larder when she was a little girl (*Conf.* IX, viii, 18), with the difference that it was question, not of food but of wine.

According to Augustine's interpretation of that tippling, were it not for the divinely inspired intervention of a family servant, the young Monica's habit of indulging herself would have led her on to a life of drunkenness. As it was, she was so cured that her habitual temperance in regard to wine became the subject of a eulogy in the earlier pages of the Confessions (*Conf.* VI, ii, 2). Apparently her son profited much by her example, for as has been noted, Augustine confesses to his readers that drunkenness was far from being one of his vices (*Conf.* X, xxxi, 45).

The *Confessions* hints at yet another and earlier source of this sobriety of mother and son. Apparently Monica was raised, not so much by her own mother as by an ancient woman-servant who had been with the family long enough to have carried Monica's father on her back when when he was a baby (*Conf.* XI, viii, 17). This crone of a servant used to prevent the children of the family from drinking water between

meals, no matter how parched they had become. According to Augustine, she did this with the express intention of training them for temperance in regard to wine, in later life (*Ibid.*).

As Augustine was to appreciate, one could not begin too early to curb the appetites of infants for food and drink. Indeed, his observance of the instinctive behaviour of mere suckling infants seems to have been one source of his important doctrine about the inherited perversity of the human will. Thus, he cites the experience of having seen an infant, so young as to be incapable of speech, becoming most angry that another babe was simultaneously drinking from the mother's other breast, even though there was a plentiful supply of milk for both babes (*Conf.* I, vii, 11). From witnessing such feeding episodes, Augustine seems to have concluded to the inherent malevolence of will even in mere infants: «In the weakness of the infant's limbs, and not in its will, lies its innocency». (*Ibid.*). Here, it would seem, lies one source of his doctrine about the inheritance of Original Sin. He came to see this as transmitted by the very act of sexual intercourse; a conclusion which seemed substantiated by the lines of Psalm 51: «Behold, I was brought forth in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me». Accordingly Augustine says to God: «Before Thee none is free from sin, not even the infant which has lived but a day upon the earth». (*Ibid.*).

The previous pages have attempted to give some account of Augustine's heightened sensitivity to what can be described as the gustatory aspect of human experience. There remains one intense episode of his earliest years which involved both religion and his stomach and which may well have been one important basis for his later associations of the two:

> Thou sawest, O Lord, how at one time, while yet a boy, being suddenly seized with pains in the stomach, and being at the point of death—Thou sawest, O my God, for even then Thou wast my keeper, with what emotion of mind and with what faith I solicited from the piety of my mother, and of Thy Church, the mother of us all, the baptism of Thy Christ, my Lord and my God. (*Conf.* I, xi, 17).

Significantly too, as Augustine goes on to inform the reader, preparations for the baptism were hardly begun when he suddenly recovered. The baptism was deferred and indeed it was not until the age of thirty-three that Augustine received the sacrament.

Summarizing then, the preceding speculations have attempted to throw some light upon the strange combination of considerations found under the topic of gluttony in *Confessions* X, xxxi, 43-47. It may seem rather far-fetched to claim that Augustine's dietary digressions in that place were a hang-over from his Manichean days, but on the other hand, it is to be observed that his allusions that sect in the *Confessions* abound in alimentary analogies. Finally, and again by way of speculation, some of Augustine's earlier childhood experiences have been considered with a view to trying to understand better the general attitude of disquietude which he seems to manifest in regard to manducation.

While most of the evidence in the above study has been forthcoming from the pages of the *Confessions*, it is noteworthy that a cursory examination of his other works shows that his solicitude about gustatory experiences did not subsequently become an obsession. One criterion in this regard, is his attitude to fasting, which does not receive excessive emphasis. The subject does come under detailed consideration in *Epistola XXXVI* of 396, and therefore composed at about the same time as the *Confessions*. However, it is to be observed that the aim of Augustine in that letter was to answer tedious points raised by a treatise sent to him by a presbyter, Casulanus. In addition to the lengthy treatise, a very brief work of Augustine's: *On the Usefulness of Fasting* (*De utilitate jejunii*) is also extant. The date of composition is unknown. Finally, looking at Augustine's surviving sermons, with the exception of *Sermo CCX*, which treats of fasting at some length, the subject comes under brief consideration in only about half a dozen other sermons[18]).

Leo Charles Ferrari

[18]) R. Arbesmann, «Fasting and Prophecy in Pagan and Christian Antiquity», *Traditio* 7 (1949-51) 1-71; F. Cremer, «Der Beitrag Augustins zur Auslegung des Fastenstreitgesprächs (Mk 2, 18-22 parr.) und der Einfluss seiner Exegese auf die Mittelalterliche Theologie», *Recherches Augustiniennes* 8 (1972) 301-373; L. Verheijen, «Eléments d'un Commentaire de la Règle de saint Augustin», *Augustiniana* 21 (1971) 5-23, 357-404.

Erbsündenlehre des deutschen Augustinertheologen Johannes Klenkok († 1374)*

Johannes Klenkok oder Clenck wurde um 1310 zu Bücken bei Hoya (Niedersachsen) geboren. Erst in reiferen Jahren trat er um 1345 in den Augustinerorden ein, hielt 1354/55 in Oxford seine Sentenzenlesung und wurde dort am 5. August 1359 zum theologischen Magister promoviert. Später war er als magister regens an den Generalstudien seines Ordens in Erfurt und Magdeburg tätig und bekleidete 1363-68 das Amt des Provinzials der sächsisch-thüringischen Augustinerprovinz. 1370 weilte er in Prag. Er starb am 15. Juni 1374 in Avignon, wo er die letzten Lebensjahre als päpstlicher Pönitenziar zubrachte[1]).

* In den Anmerkungen und in der Textbeilage werden folgenden Abkürzungen verwendet:

ALG SANKT AUGUSTINUS, *der Lehrer der Gnade — Deutsche Gesamtausgabe seiner antipelagianischen Schriften*, bis jetzt Bd. I, II, III und VII, Würzburg 1955-1977.

CIC *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. AEM. FRIEDBERG I-II, Leipzig 1879 (Nachdruck: Graz 1959).

PLomb. PETRUS LOMBARDUS, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, lib. I et II: Grottaferrata 1971; lib. III et IV, Quaracchi 1916.

TB Textbeilage (sie ist nach Sinnabschnitten durchgezählt).

Zumkeller-Klenkok A. ZUMKELLER, *Johannes Klenkok O.S.A. († 1374) im Kampf gegen den «Pelagianismus» seiner Zeit. Seine Lehre über Gnade, Rechtfertigung und Verdienst*, *Recherches Augustiniennes* vol. XIII, Paris 1978, 231-333.

Dazu kommen folgende Handschriftensiglen:

A JOHANNES KLENKOK, *Expositio litteralis super libros Sententiarum*: Erfurt, Stadtbücherei, Amplon. Q. 118, Blatt 119ra-135vb (I. Buch); Blatt 86ra-107vb (II. Buch).

K Dasselbe: Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, 304, Blatt 68r-195r (I.-IV. Buch).

S Dasselbe: Siena, Biblioteca Communale, G.V. 16, Blatt 1ra-106rb (I.-IV. Buch).

E JOHANNES KLENKOK, *Quaestiones in secundum librum Sententiarum*, Eichstätt, Staats- und Seminarbibliothek, 471 Fol., Blatt 157vb-186ra.

[1]) Zu seinem Leben vgl. H. BÜTOW, *Zur Lebensgeschichte des Augustinermönches Johannes Klenkok, Bekämpfers des Sachsenspiegels*, *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 29 (1935) 541-575; A.B. EMDEN, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, II, Oxford 1958, 1057; A. KUNZELMANN, *Geschichte der deutschen Augustiner-Eremiten*, V, Würzburg 1974, vor allem 334-336; sowie die in der übernächsten Fußnote erwähnten Arbeiten von D. TRAPP.

Schon seit mehr als 100 Jahren interessiert sich die historische Forschung für die Persönlichkeit dieses Augustiners und zwar wegen seines Kampfes gegen das deutsche Rechtsbuch des «Sachsenspiegels»[2]). Wie umfassend und einflußreich aber auch das theologische Werk Klenkoks war, haben vor allem die Arbeiten von Damasus Trapp aufgewiesen[3]). Von den theologischen Schriften des Magisters seien hier nur die zwei wichtigsten erwähnt, seine «Expositio litteralis» zu den vier Sentenzenbüchern des Petrus Lombardus und seine «Quaestiones super secundum librum Sententiarum». Dieses zweite Werk hat Trapp in der Eichstätter Handschrift 471 Fol. (Blatt 157vb-186ra) vor einigen Jahren wiederentdeckt. Er konnte überzeugend nachweisen, daß die 24 theologischen Fragen, die dort vom Schreiber dem italienischen Augustinertheologen Facinus de Asti († nach 1368) zugewiesen werden, in Wirklichkeit Klenkok zum Verfasser haben[4]).

Ein wichtiger Ausschnitt aus Kenkoks theologischer Lehre ist neuestens vom Verfasser dieses Beitrags näher untersucht worden. Die Abhandlung trägt den Titel: «Johannes Klenkok O.S.A. († 1374) im Kampf gegen den 'Pelagianismus' seiner Zeit. Seine Lehre über Gnade, Rechtfertigung und Verdienst»; sie ist in Band XIII der Pariser «Recherches Augustiniennes» erschienen. Klenkoks Darlegungen über Gnade und Rechtfertigung lassen eine starke Orientierung am späten Augustinus erkennen. Er war in den Schriften des Kirchenvaters, auch im Corpus seiner antipelagianischen Werke, gut belesen. In seinem Interesse an Augustins Gnadenlehre wurde er sowohl von seinem etwas älteren italienischen Mitbruder Gregor von Rimini († 1358) als auch von dem englischen Weltgeistlichen Thomas Bradwardine († 1349) entscheidend beeinflußt. Wie Gregor und Thomas war es auch ihm ein Hauptanliegen, den «Pelagianismus» seiner Zeit bzw. das, was er für Pelagianismus ansah, zu bekämpfen und diesem eine Theologie im Geiste Augustins entgegenzustellen. Mag ihm dies auch nicht mit der Originalität und Meisterschaft eines Gregor von Rimini gelungen sein, so hat er doch mit

[2]) Eine Zusammenstellung der einschlägigen Schriften Klenkoks und ihrer überlieferung siehe bei A. ZUMKELLER, *Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner-Eremitenordens in mitteleuropäischen Bibliotheken*, Würzburg 1966, 247f und 601f. — Vgl. auch H.J. KULLMANN, *Klenkok und die «articuli reprobati» des Sachsenspiegels*, juristische Dissertation der Universität Frankfurt/Main, Maschinenschrift 1959.

[3]) D. TRAPP, *Augustinian Theology of the 14th Century*, *Augustiniana* 6 (1956) 146-274, S. 203 und 223-239 und DERSELBE, *Notes on John Klenkok O.S.A.* († *1374*), *Augustinianum* 4 (1964) 358-404.

[4]) Weitere Beweisstellen dafür siehe bei Zumkeller-Klenkok, I. Kapitel.

seiner profunden Kenntnis des augustinischen Schrifttums die Zeitgenossen in Erstaunen gesetzt[5]). Bei alledem erwies er sich als durchaus selbständiger Denker, der auch den beiden erwähnten Theologen keineswegs sklavisch gefolgt ist.

Für Klenkoks Erbsündenlehre sind die Aufsführungen seiner «Expositio litteralis» zur Dist. 30-33 des zweiten Sentenzenbuches von Interesse. Reicher aber entfaltet er diese seine Lehre in einer dreiteiligen Frage seiner «Quaestiones super secundum librum Sententiarum». Die Frage lautet: Ist es gerecht, daß die Erbsünde (peccatum originale) in den Kindern, die ohne Taufe sterben, ewig bestraft wird? In seiner Antwort geht Klenkok auf folgende Themen der Erbsündenlehre ausführlich ein: (1) Begriff und Wesen der Erbsünde; (2) die Art ihres Übergangs von den Eltern auf die Kinder; (3) Gottes gerechte Stafe für die Erbsünde. Dieses letzte Thema betrifft vor allem das Problem der Kleinkinder, die ohne Taufe sterben. Im Anschluß an das erste Thema — Begriff und Wesen der Erbsünde — hat Klenkok sich auch zur Frage der Empfängnis Mariens ausführlich geäußert[6]). Bei alledem bieten seine Ausführungen aber keine systematische Darstellung des Stoffes und sind keineswegs erschöpfend.

1. *Wesen und Begründung der Erbsünde.*

In engem Anschluß an Petrus Lombardus und mit Berufung auf Augustinus und Gregor den Großen stellt Klenkok zunächst fest, daß es sich bei dem peccatum originale nicht nur um eine Strafe, sondern um Sünde und Schuld handelt[7]). Daß sich die Menschen aus Adam keine Schuld, sondern nur Strafe zugezogen hätten, war einer der Irrtümer, der vom Concilium Senonense 1140 Petrus Abaelard zur Last gelegt worden

[5]) Dies bezeugt ausdrücklich ein Schüler Klenkoks, der Augustiner Johannes Schiphower. — Vgl. W. ECKERMANN, *Eine unveröffentlichte historische Quelle zur Lebensgeschichte der westfälischen Augustiner des Mittelalters*, *Analecta Augustiniana* 34 (1971) 185-238, S. 212.

[6]) Eine alte Hand, verschieden von der Hand des Schreibers, hat in dem Eichstätter Manuskript auf den untern Rändern von Blatt 176v-178v Ausführungen beigegeben, die Klenkoks Kritik an der Lehre von der unbefleckten Empfängnis Mariens durch Zitate aus weiteren Autoren zu stützen suchen. Es handelt sich um Belege aus Bernhard, aus der «Summa theologica» des Aquinaten, aus dem «Rationale divinorum officiorum» des Wilhelm Duranti und aus einem Sermo des Petrus von Ravenna, genannt Chrysologus. Da keine Sicherheit, ja auch wenig Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür besteht, daß diese Ergänzungen zum authentischen Text des Klenkok gehören, werden sie in diesen Darlegungen nicht berücksichtigt.

[7]) TB 6.

war[8]). Klenkok gibt zwar keine erschöpfende Begriffsbestimmung, aber doch eine originelle Beschreibung (descriptio) der Erbsünde, die sich übrigens ähnlich auch in seiner «Expositio litteralis» findet. Das peccatum originale bestehe darin, daß ein mit der Glut der libido behafteter Mensch (homo libidinosae ardoris) mittels der Konkupiszenz, die von den Stammeltern herrührt, empfangen wird und deshalb, nämlich wegen dieser Empfängnis, die sich aus dem Sündenfall der Stammeltern herleitet, der Strafe des ewigen Todes verfallen ist. Im Faktum der Konkupiszenz zeige sich der Strafcharakter, in der Verfallenheit an den ewigen Tod der Sündencharakter des peccatum originale[9]). Oder anders ausgedrückt: sein Sündencharakter, seine «culpa» besteht in der Verunstaltung (deformitas), derentwegen der Mensch die Strafe verdient und vom Reiche Gottes ausgeschlossen bleibt[10]). Die Erbsünde ist keine aktuelle Sünde, hat aber als Ursache das peccatum actuale des ersten Menschen[11]).

Als Schriftbegründung für die Erbsünde erwähnt Klenkok den locus classicus Röm 5, 12 und das Herrenwort Jo 3, 5: «Wenn jemand nicht wiedergeboren wird aus dem Wasser und dem Heiligen Geist, kann er in das Reich Gottes nicht eingehen»[12]). Gelegentlich wendet er sich gegen eine Interpretation der Römerbriefstelle, die in den Worten des Apostels nur eine Aussage über die Sünde des ersten Menschen und den «zeitlichen Tod» als deren Straffolge sehen wollte. Ohne näher darauf einzugehen, stellt er fest, daß dies nicht der Deutung der Kirche entspreche[13]). Mit Petrus Lombardus und in engem Anschluß an

[8]) Vgl. H. DENZINGER-A. SCHÖNMETZER, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, Freiburg 1963[32], 376/728 und die dort verzeichnete Literatur.

[9]) TB 7. — Eine ähnliche Begriffsbestimmung des peccatum originale gibt Klenkok in seiner «Expositio litteralis»: Homo in concupiscentia libidinis culpabili conceptus propter peccatum primorum parentum, et ob hoc ad aeternae poenae supplicium obligatus. — In libr. II, dist. 30: A 98rb, K 118r.

[10]) ... dicitur culpa, quia est deformitas, propter quam homo est dignus poena et exulatus a regno. — l.c.

[11]) Quod sic patet, quod peccatum actuale Adae causa fuit peccati originalis parvulorum. — l.c.: A 98va, K 118v.

[12]) TB 4.

[13]) Probat Magister, quod detur originale peccatum per illud Ad Romanos 5 (12): «Per unius hominis peccatum mors intravit» per universum mundum. Diceret aliquis, quod per istud dictum videtur solum sonare, quod poena peccati intravit in mundum, videlicet mors temporalis, quae est poena peccati. Et diceret, quod Apostolus ibi loquitur solum de peccato primi hominis. Sed sufficiat nobis, quod Ecclesia exponit auctoritatem eo modo quo Magister. — In libr. II, dist. 30: A 98ra, K 117v.

Augustinus[14]) wendet er sich auch scharf gegen die Mißdeutung von Röm 5, 12 durch Pelagius, der behauptete, der erste Mensch habe seiner Nachkommenschaft nur die «occasio peccandi», d.h. das Beispiel des Sündigens gegeben[15]). Er schreibt den Satz: «Man muß sich [in diesen Fragen] stets an Augustinus halten, weil die Kirche auf dem Konzil von Mileve seine Stellungnahme gegen Pelagius als gültig verkündet hat»[16].

Überhaupt beruft sich Klenkok für seine Erbsündenlehre mit Vorliebe auf Augustinus, dessen Schriften De nuptiis et concupiscentia und Contra Julianum er wiederholt zitiert und offensichtlich gründlich studiert hat. Von ihm übernimmt er auch das bekannte Zitat aus dem verlorenen Isaias-Kommentar des hl. Ambrosius, dessentwegen dieser von Augustinus als wichtiger Zeuge für die Erbsündenlehre in Anspruch genommen wurde[17]). Augustinus und Ambrosius sind auch seine Gewährsmänner für folgende Konklusionen: Die Erbsünde wird in der Taufe getilgt, und: Wer immer «ex concubitu matris» geboren wird, zieht sich das peccatum originale zu, so daß niemand, außer Gottes Sohn, der aus der Jungfrau ohne männlichen Samen geboren wurde, von dieser Sünde frei ist[18]). Den zweiten dieser Sätze hat Klenkok als Ausgangspunkt seiner Erörterungen über die Empfängnis Mariens genommen, die im letzten Kapitel dieses Aufsatzes behandelt werden[19]).

[14]) PLomb. II, 30, 4: 497, 2ff; er beruft sich auf AUGUSTINUS, *De pecc. mer. et rem.* I, 9, 9f: CSEL 60, 10f.

[15]) «Hic prius». Dicit «quibusdam» (PLomb. II, 30, 2-3: 496, 10.16), id est Pelagianis negantibus originale peccatum et exponentibus Apostolum ad intentiones suas. Et probavit Pelagius per hoc, quod sequitur: «Per inoboedientiam» etc. Dicit: Non traductum, id est non per naturam gignentis in naturam geniti ductum. Dicit: Similitudine, id est occasione. Voluit enim Pelagius, quod primus homo solum dedisset occasionem peccandi. Argumentum Augustini contra Pelagium factum stat in hoc, quod ergo merito dixisset Apostolus, quod per diabolum mors intrasset in mundum, sicut Sapientiae 2 (24): «Per invidiam mors intravit in orbem». Respondet Pelagius, quod causa occasionis peccati tam hominis quam diaboli est datum exemplum peccandi. Sed semper assistendum est Augustino, quia Ecclesia partem suam contra Pelagium determinavit in concilio Milevitano (richtig: Concilium Carthaginiense von 418, can. 2, Denzinger 102/223). Et similiter diceret Pelagius ad illud, quod «per inoboedientiam» etc., quod ibi loquitur de exemplo sequelae. Et est illud verum contra Pelagium. Ista est sententia Augustini. — In libr. II, dist. 30: A 98ra-b, K 117v-118r.

[16]) l.c.

[17]) AUGUSTINUS, *De nupt. et conc.* I, 35, 40 und II, 5, 15: CSEL 42, 251 und 267. — Freilich war die Lehre des hl. Ambrosius über die Folgen der Erbsünde in Wirklichkeit wenig ausgeglichen und durchaus nicht eindeutig. — Vgl. dazu A. ZUMKELLER, in: ALG III, 565f und die dort angegebene Literatur.

[18]) TB 8 (tertia und quarta concl.) und TB 11-13.

[19]) S. 336ff.

Klenkok erwähnt auch ein Argument des Petrus Lombardus, mit dem dieser — übrigens ganz im Sinne Augustins — die Lehre von der Erbsünde zu stützen suchte: Alle Menschen hätten in Adam gesündigt, weil «alle jener eine Mensch waren», sofern sie in ihm «materialiter», d.h. «secundum rationem seminalem» zugegen waren[20]). Mit Berufung auf die sententia communis der zeitgenössischen Theologen, die hierin dem Lombarden aufgrund naturwissenschaftlicher Argumente ihrer Zeit nicht beipflichteten, lehnt auch Klenkok diese These entschieden ab[21]).

Der Sicherung des Lehrsatzes von der Erbsünde und ihrer begrifflichen Klärung soll es auch dienen, wenn Klenkok eine Anzahl Gegenargumente formuliert und zu lösen sucht. Einige von ihnen übernimmt er von Julian von Eclanum und sucht sie in engem Anschluß an Augustins Contra Julianum zu widerlegen. Sie finden sich übrigens auch, und zwar zum Teil im gleichen Wortlaut, in Klenkoks «Expositio litteralis» zur 30. Dist. des zweiten Sentenzenbuches[22]). Diese auffallende textliche Paral-

[20]) PLomb. II, 30, 10: 501, 22. — Vgl. dazu AUGUSTINUS, *De pecc. mer. et rem.* I, 10, 11: CSEL 60, 12 (in quo omnes peccaverunt, quando omnes ille unus homo fuerunt) und *Op. imp. contra Iul.* IV, 104: PL 45, 1400f.

[21]) «Ita quod omnes fuerunt unus homo, id est materialiter fuerunt omnes in Adam» (PLomb. l.c.). In hoc Magister communiter non tenetur, quia alias homo non nasceretur ex semine, quod est superfluum alimenti. Item nisi poneretur singulare miraculum, illa materia Adae esset tantum rare facta, quod rariora essent ossa nostra, quam fuissent carnes primi parentis. — A 98va, K 118v.

[22]) Klenkok schreibt dort (In libr. II, dist. 30: A 98va, K 118v): «Unde Augustinus» (PLomb. II, 30, 13: 503, 2f). Dicit Iulianus, id est Pelagii discipulus, contra quem Augustinus sex libros scripsit. Ille enim, ut patet libro primo Contra Iulianum, negavit esse peccatum originale. Unde [*primo*] arguebat sic contra Augustinum (cf. *Contra Iul.* I, 8, 39: PL 44, 668): Coniugium est bonum et voluntas est bona. Ergo ex eis non praecedit peccatum. Antecedens patet de duobus parentibus, qui sine crimine commiscebantur, ut fuerunt Zacharias et Elisabeth in generatione sancti Johannis Baptistae. Consequentia patet Matthaei 7 (18): «Non potest arbor bona fructus malos facere». *Secundo* arguit Iulianus (cf. *Contra Iul.* I, 6, 21: PL 44, 654f) auctoritate Johannis Chrysostomi in homilia quadam de baptismate, ubi dicit: «Infantes baptizamus, cum non sint inquinati peccato, ut detur sanctitas, iustitia, adoptio et fraternitas». Ad idem [*tertio*] allegat Iulianus praecipue, quomodo hoc peccatum non esset voluntarium. *Ad primum* respondet Augustinus (cf. *Contra Iul.* I, 8, 40: PL 44, 669), quod mala arbor fuerit voluntas primi parentis. *Ad secundum* dicit Augustinus (cf. *Contra Iul.* I, 6, 22-24: PL 44, 655f), quod in Graeco non habeatur ista auctoritas Johannis Chrysostomi, sed ibi habetur: «Parvulos baptizamus, quamvis peccata non habentes»; exponit Augustinus: propria id est a se facta. Unde ad oppositum allegat Augustinus Johannem Ad Olympiam; ubi dicit Johannes, quod Adam peccavit et istud grave peccatum genus hominum in communi damnavit. Et ibi allegat Augustinus Innocentium Romanum, Carthaginiensem Cyprianum, Cappadocium Basilium, Constantinopolitanum Gregorium Nazianzenum, Gallum Hilarium, Mediolanensem Ambrosium, a quibus non discessit Johannes Chrysostomus. Dicit Augustinus *ad tertium*, quod sufficit nuda voluntas primi hominis.

lele zwischen Klenkoks Expositio und den Quaestiones der Eichstätter Handschrift ist zweifellos ein neues beachtliches Argument dafür, daß Klenkok der Verfasser dieser Quaestiones ist[23]).

Ein erstes Argument Julians besagte: Die Ehe sei etwas Gutes, wie etwa das biblische Beispiel der Ehe des Zacharias mit Elisabeth beweise. Deshalb könne aber aus dem ehelichen Beischlaf, der ohne Sünde geschieht, nicht die Erbsünde entstehen. Hier gelte das Herrenwort (Mt 7, 18): «Ein guter Baum kann nicht schlechte Früchte bringen». Mit Augustinus antwortet Klenkok auf diesen Einwand: Julian berufe sich zu Unrecht auf Mt 7, 18; denn der schlechte Baum, der diese Frucht der Erbsünde hervorgebracht habe, sei ja nicht die Ehe, sondern der Wille des Stammvaters[24]). Für seine Leugnung der Erbsünde stützte sich der Pelagianer außerdem auf das Wort des hl. Johannes Chrysostomus: «Wir taufen die Kinder, obwohl sie nicht mit Sünde befleckt sind, damit sie Heiligkeit und Gerechtigkeit empfangen usw.». Demgegenüber bemüht sich Klenkok im Anschluß an Augustinus zunächst um den Nachweis, daß Chrysostomus in anderem Zusammenhang klar von einer Erbsünde spreche. Dann zeigt er mit Augustinus, der die von Julian zitierte Stelle nach dem griechischen Urtext überprüft und verbessert hatte, daß Chrysostomus hier nur persönliche Sünden im Auge habe[25]).

Ein weiteres Gegenargument, das Klenkok vorlegt, besagt: Wenn alle Menschen in der Sünde empfangen würden, ergäbe sich als Folgerung, daß alle, die ohne Taufe sterben, dem ewigen Tod verfallen. Tatsächlich würden aber die Prädestinierten bei ihrem Sterben irgendwie gerettet. Demgegenüber bezeichnet es Klenkok als unmöglich, daß ein Prädestinierter ohne die Taufe, sei es Begierdetaufe, Wassertaufe oder Bluttaufe, stirbt[26]). Das nächste Argument folgert: Würde der Mensch schon in Sünde geboren, so wäre Gott, der Schöpfer der Seele, die Ursache dieser Sünde. Die Antwort Klenkoks besagt: Gott könne man nur «permissive, non active» als Ursache der Erbsünde bezeichnen. Denn die eigentliche Ursache, warum Gott einer solchen Seele die Gnade nicht eingießt, sei der erste Mensch[27]). Noch ein letztes Argument wird gegen die Erbsünde ins Feld geführt: Wenn wir Menschen auch heute noch wegen Adams Schuld mit der Erbsünde geboren würden, wäre

[23]) Vgl. dazu die weiteren Parallelen bei Zumkeller-Klenkok I. Kap., gegen Ende.
[24]) TB 22 und 33.
[25]) TB 23 und 34.
[26]) TB 24 und 35.
[27]) TB 25 und 36.

dessen Schuld durch Christi Tod nicht wirklich getilgt und Christus somit umsonst gestorben. Klenkok erwidert: Adams Schuld sei durch Christus hinweggenommen und uns aus Gnade das Tor des Paradieses wieder geöffnet; doch werde uns das Heil nur mittels der Taufe zuteil[28]).

2. *Erbsünde und Konkupiszenz*

Wie schon die obige Beschreibung des peccatum originale gezeigt hat, spielt auch in Klenkoks Erbsündenlehre der Begriff der bösen Begierlichkeit (concupiscentia) eine gewisse Rolle. Er versteht darunter die Hinneigung der Seele zu unerlaubten «affectiones carnis». Nach Augustinus heiße sie im Ungetauften Sünde, im Getauften aber nur Strafe[29]). Klenkok bezeichnet sie gelegentlich auch als «tyrannus» oder «inoboedientia», sofern sie gegen die rechte Vernunft die Herrschaft an sich reißt[30]). Hier erhebt sich nun die nicht unwichtige Frage: Welchen Stellenwert weist Klenkok der Konkupiszenz in seinem Erbsündenverständnis zu? Gehört sie nach ihm zum Wesen der Erbsünde oder ist sie gar mit dieser mehr oder weniger identisch? Wie weiter unten gezeigt werden wird, hat Klenkok gelehrt, daß der Konkupiszenz für die Fortpflanzung der Erbsünde entscheidende Bedeutung zukommt und sie gewissermaßen deren «causa» ist[31]). Doch ist er weit davon entfernt, das Wesen der Erbsünde mit der Konkupiszenz gleichzusetzen. Ausdrücklich hat er erklärt: Eine «qualitas» oder irgendeine «res incomplexe significabilis» darf nicht als die Erbsünde bezeichnet werden, es sei denn im uneigentlichen Sinn (denominative et improprie)[32]). Auch stellt er den weiteren Satz auf: Wenn ein Mensch geboren würde, in dem sich die Konkupiszenz nicht findet, so wäre er deshalb doch nicht frei von der Erbsünde[33]). Seine Begründung für diese zwei Sätze lautet: Es ist wenigstens «per Dei potentiam» möglich, daß ein Mensch, der vermittels der Konkupiszenz von Vater und Mutter empfangen und geboren wird,

[28]) TB 26 und 37.

[29]) Concupiscentia ista ante baptismum dicitur peccatum et post baptismum dicitur solum poena, ut patet per Augustinum De nuptiis et concupiscentia (I, 22ff, 24-28: CSEL 42, 237ff). — In libr. II, dist. 30: A 98va, K 118r.

[30]) Vocat [Magister (PLomb. II, 30, 8: 500, 6)] concupiscentiam tyrannum id est contra rationem dominantem, sicut tyrannus contra iustitiam dominatur... Dicitur autem concupiscentia huius inclinatio animae ad affectiones carnis illicitas; et haec inoboedientia primum sentitur, dum puer ad debitam aetatem pervenerit. — l.c.: A 98va, K 118r-v.

[31]) TB 42.

[32]) TB 8, prima concl.

[33]) TB 8, secunda concl.

selbst vor der «sensualis concupiscentia» bewahrt bleibt. Und dennoch sei er dem «Schuldbrief des Stammvaters» (chirographo primi parentis), d.h. der Schuld des Ursprungs (originalis culpa vel vitium) verpflichtet, solange er nicht durch die Taufe von diesem «primum debitum» gelöst wird[34]).

Weiter unten macht Klenkok gegen die beiden erwähnten Sätze den Einwurf, Augustinus habe doch ausdrücklich gelehrt, die Konkupiszenz vor der Taufe werde als peccatum originale angerechnet. Sie sei also mit dem peccatum originale identisch und, wer sie nicht besitzt, sei auch von der Erbsünde frei[35]). In seiner Antwort bestreitet Klenkok entschieden, daß Augustinus die Erbsünde einfachhin mit der Konkupiszenz gleichgesetzt habe. Wo er, wie in De nuptiis et concupiscentia, die Konkupiszenz als Sünde bezeichne, verstehe er diesen Terminus «peccatum» als Sündenstrafe oder Sündenzeichen (poena vel signum peccati — poenale signum)[36]).

So ist die Konkupiszenz für Klenkok zunächst Straffolge der Erbsünde und wird von ihm, anders als von seinem etwas älteren Ordensgefährten Gregor von Rimini[37]), offensichtlich nicht als wesentliches Element des peccatum originale betrachtet. Dessen Wesen dürfte Klenkok vielmehr, im Sinn der sententia communior seiner Ordensschule, im Mangel der Urgerechtigkeit, die der Mensch besitzen sollte, gesehen haben[38]), oder, wie er sich einmal ausdrückt: in der «deformitas», die den Menschen vom Reiche Gottes ausschließt[39]).

3. *Fortpflanzung der Erbsünde und Problematik des Kreatianismus*

Das schwierige Problem der Fortpflanzung des peccatum originale beantwortet Klenkok mit der Conclusio: «Die Ursprungssünde wird bei der Zeugung wegen Adams Vergehen und mittels der Konkupiszenz der Eltern auf die Kinder übertragen»[40]). Die Erbsünde gründet also, wie

[34]) Tb 9-10.

[35]) TB 20-21.

[36]) TB 30-32. — Zu Augustins Verständnis der concupiscentia in De nuptiis et concupiscentia vgl. auch A. Zumkeller in: ALG III, 436ff.

[37]) Zu seiner Lehre vgl. G. Schiavella, *Il peccato originale negli scritti di Gregorio da Rimini*, *Augustiniana* 8 (1958) 444-464. Siehe auch G. Diaz, *De peccati originalis essentia in schola Augustiniana praetridentina*, El Escorial 1961, 131-145.

[38]) Vgl. Diaz l.c. 113-131.

[39]) Siehe oben Anm. 10.

[40]) TB 41, prima concl.

oben schon ausgeführt wurde, im Vergehen des Stammvaters. Klenkok beruft sich dafür auf Röm 5, 12: Durch die Sünde des einen Menschen «..., in dem alle gesündigt haben». Daß aber die Konkupiszenz der Eltern oder, wie er auch sagt, «die Empfängnis mittels der Geschlechtslust» (libidinosa conceptio) die Erbsünde vermittelt und deshalb gleichsam ihre Ursache darstellt, dafür beruft sich Klenkok ausdrücklich auf Augustins De nuptiis et concupiscentia[41]). Auch die schwierige Frage, wieso die Erbsünde auch von getauften Eltern, in denen sie schon getilgt ist, an ihre Kinder weitergegeben werde, beantwortet Klenkok im Anschluß an die erwähnte Schrift des Kirchenvaters mit dem Bild vom wilden Oleaster, der aus dem Samen des edlen Ölbaums wächst[42]). So hat sich Klenkok in dieser Problematik stark an Augustinus orientiert. Freilich wird der schon seit Augustinus in der Frage nach der Fortpflanzung der Erbsünde hervorgehobene Gedanke der naturgegebenen und gottgewollten Einheit des Menschengeschlechts im Stammvater Adam von ihm nicht verwendet.

Seine Auffassung von der Fortpflanzung der Erbsünde mittels der Konkupiszenz der Eltern sucht Klenkok nun gegen Einwände zu sichern. Ein erster Einwand, den er aufgreift, beruft sich auf die Erzählung des Averroes, eine Frau habe im Bad durch den Samen, den ein Mann dort verloren hatte, ein Kind empfangen; auch dieses Kind sei aber offensichtlich nicht ohne Erbsünde gewesen, obwohl es ohne die conceptio libidinosa zum Leben kam. Klenkok erwidert, daß auch in diesem Fall beim Verlust des Samens durch den Mann oder bei der Aufnahme des Samens durch die Frau sicherlich die libido mitgespielt habe[43]). Ein zweiter Einwand setzt den Fall, daß ein Mann und eine Frau beim Verkehr durch Gottes besondere Fügung vor der libido bewahrt bleiben, und folgert, auch ein so entstandenes Kind sei von der Erbsünde nicht frei, da deren Straffolgen ja nicht nur in der Konkupiszenz, sondern auch im Entzug der Gnade bestehen. Klenkok will die grundsätzliche

[41]) TB 42. — Vgl. auch In libr. II, dist. 31: A 99ra, K 119r-v: «Iam ostensum est» (PLomb. II, 31, 7: 509, 12). Ista est in parte sententia Augustini decimo Super Genesim ad litteram in pluribus capitulis, ubi dicit, quod Christus non fuit decimatus in lumbis Abrahae secundum concupiscentiam, licet ibi fuerit secundum carnem. Et dicit ibi Augustinus, quomodo omnes, qui ex concupiscentia nascuntur, in peccato originali nascuntur.

[42]) «Ne autem miremur» (PLomb. II, 31, 6: 508, 24). Exemplum aliud ponit Augustinus De nuptiis et concupiscentia (I, 32, 37: CSEL 42, 248f): Quomodo ex semine olivae nascitur oleaster, sic similiter ab homine baptizato gignitur baptizandus. — In libr. II, dist. 31: A 99ra, K 119r.

[43]) TB 45 und 55.

Möglichkeit eines solchen göttlichen Tuns nicht bestreiten. Doch würde es sich dabei um ein Geschehen «contra consuetum cursum naturae» handeln, während seine oben erwähnte Conclusio nur den «debitus cursus naturae» im Auge habe[44]).

Mit seinen Ausführungen über die Fortpflanzung der Erbsünde verbindet Klenkok die Frage nach dem Ursprung der menschlichen Seele. Berührt sich doch deren Beantwortung eng mit der näheren Erklärung, wie es zu der Befleckung des Menschen mit der Erbsünde kommt. Die diesbezügliche Conclusio Klenkoks besagt, daß die Seele des Menschen nicht von den Eltern aus der Fortpflanzung (non ex traduce) erzeugt, sondern von Gott jeweils neugeschaffen wird[45]). Diese kreatianistische Lösung des Problems hatte sich in der katholischen Theologie erst im Hochmittelalter endgültig durchgesetzt. Vor allem die Autorität Augustins, der die Frage gerade aus Gründen seiner Erbsündenlehre nicht zu entscheiden gewagt hatte[46]), wurde für spätere Väter und viele Theologen ein Hindernis, sich eindeutig für den Kreatianismus auszusprechen. Wie Klenkok in seiner «Expositio litteralis» gelegentlich mitteilt, kannte er Augustins diesbezügliche Äußerungen aus dessen Brief 166 an Hieronymus und aus seiner Schrift De natura et origine animae. Die Schwierigkeit, derentwegen Augustinus die Frage offenließ, wird von Klenkok richtig aufgezeigt, wenn er schreibt: «Wenn sich die Seele nicht aus der Seele des Vaters herleitet, warum sollte diese von Gott unbefleckt geschaffene Seele ohne ein Verschulden ihrerseits einem Körper eingegossen werden, in welchem sie notwendig, d.h. nicht aufgrund eigener freier Entscheidung, sich die Erbsünde zuzieht?»[47]).

Auch bei der Begründung der oben erwähnten kreatianistischen Conclusio und bei ihrer Sicherung gegen mögliche Einwände hat Klenkok sehr eingehend die einschlägigen Schriften Augustins zu Rate gezogen. Ausführlich zitiert er die diesbezüglichen Darlegungen des

[44]) TB 46 und 56.

[45]) TB 41, secunda concl.

[46]) Vgl. dazu die erste deutsche Übersetzung der einschlägigen Schrift des Kirchenvaters De natura et origine animae (ALG III, Würzburg 1977) und die dort in der Einführung und im Kommentar verzeichnete Literatur.

[47]) Haec quaestio, quomodo peccatum transducitur, a beato Augustino insoluta relinquitur, ut patet in epistulis ad Hieronymum (*Epist.* 166) et ad Renatum (*De nat. et orig. an.*, libr. I) ipsius Augustini. Et fundatur Augustini difficultas in hoc: Si anima non transducitur ex anima parentis, quare ista anima a Deo munde creata infundatur sine meritis in corpore, ubi necessario, hoc est non ex libertate sui, peccatum originale contrahit? — In libr. II, dist. 31: A 98vb, K 118v-119r.

Kirchenvaters im 10. Buch von De Genesi ad litteram und findet gerade dort jene Gegengründe formuliert, mit denen er sich zur Sicherung seiner eigenen kreatianistischen Theorie auseinandersetzt. Übrigens glaubt Klenkok, sich für diese seine Lehre von der Neuschöpfung jeder Menschenseele durch Gott irgendwie auch auf Augustinus stützen zu können. Denn in einer Predigt über Röm 7, 18: «Ich weiß, daß in meinem Fleisch das Gute nicht wohnt», habe der Kirchenvater ausdrücklich erklärt, daß die Seele das Übel der Konkupiszenz nicht aus sich besitzt, sondern es sich aus dem Fleisch zuzieht. Indirekt sei damit gesagt, daß die Seele nicht «ex traduce» stammt, da sie sonst das «vitium concupiscentiae» nicht aus dem Fleisch, sondern aus sich selbst besäße[48]). Klenkoks eigentliche Gewährsleute für den Kreatianismus sind aber Hieronymus und Petrus Lombardus; dieser hatte die traduzianistische Lösung als unkatholisch und als von der Kirche verworfen bezeichnet[49]).

Nunmehr setzt sich Klenkok in großer Breite mit den Bedenken Augustins gegen den Kreatianismus auseinander. Als ersten Einwand zitiert er zwei Äußerungen des Kirchenvaters, die besagen, Gott habe nach der Vollendung des Sechstagewerkes keine neuen Naturen mehr geschaffen. Klenkok erwidert: Augustinus habe an diesen Stellen nicht assertive, sondern nur probabiliter gesprochen. Auch könne man den Ausdruck «neue Naturen» hier im Sinn von neuen «species rerum» verstehen[50]).

Das nächste Gegenargument rollt die Problematik um den Ursprung der Seele mit Augustinus Worten aus De Genesi ad litteram auf und zeigt, warum sich der Kirchenvater zu keiner Lösung entschied. Augustinus fragt sich, ob die Aussage des Apostels, daß alle in Adam gesündigt haben (Röm 5, 12), von den Vertretern der beiden entgegengesetzten Theorien mit Recht in Anspruch genommen werden könne. Die Traduzianisten läßt er folgendermaßen argumentieren: Da es nicht das Fleisch, sondern die Seele ist, die sündigt, sofern sie nämlich in ungeordneter Weise begehrt, werden in Adam alle nur dann zu Sündern, wenn sie sich nicht nur dem Fleisch, sondern auch der Seele nach in ihm befunden haben. Daran schließt Augustinus sofort eine Warnung vor gefährlichen Folgerungen, die sich aus der gegenteiligen Theorie des Kreatianismus

[48]) TB 43.
[49]) Vgl. TB 43.
[50]) TB 47 und 57.

ergeben könnten. Er schreibt: «Sodann muß man sich davor hüten, daß Gott nicht als Urheber der Sünde erscheint, wenn er die Seele dem Fleisch übergibt, in welchem sie notwendig sündigt. [Man muß sich aber hüten,] daß es nicht außer der Seele Christi noch eine andere Seele gibt, für die die Erlösungsgnade Christi nicht nötig ist, weil sie in Adam nicht gesündigt hat». Hier folgt in dem Gegenargument ein weiteres kritisches Wort des Kirchenvaters gegen den Kreatianismus aus einem späteren Kapitel seiner Schrift: «Wenn [die Seele] durch die Natur von Gott so gemacht ist, warum wird sie, auch wenn sie durch Gottes Fügung dem Fleisch anheimgegeben wurde, vom ewigen Leben ferngehalten, falls niemand dem Kind, das der Taufe bedarf, zu Hilfe kommt?» Augustinus fordert die Vertreter dieser Ansicht auf, es ihm mitzuteilen, wenn sie darüber in der Heiligen Schrift etwas gefunden hätten, und schließt mit der Feststellung: «Ich gestehe, daß ich selbst dort noch nichts darüber gelesen habe»[51]). In seiner Erwiderung auf die Bedenken Augustins bemüht sich Klenkok, der Schriftaussage, daß alle in Adam gesündigt haben, eine Interpretation zu geben, die deutlich macht, daß auch der Kreatianismus diesem Apostelwort gerecht wird. Nach seiner Auffassung handelt es sich bei dieser allgemeinen Versündigung in Adam um eine Versündigung «secundum carnem». Denn wenn das Fleisch auch nicht im eigentlichen Sinn sündigen könne, so bestehe doch die Möglichkeit, daß es so stark befleckt wird, daß auch die mit ihm verbundene Seele befleckt zu werden verdient[52]).

Auch den nächsten Einwand entnimmt Klenkok Augustins De Genesi ad litteram. Der Kirchenvater weist dort mit Hebr 7, 9f auf den wesentlichen Unterschied hin, der zwischen dem Priestertum Levis und dem Priestertum Christi besteht; er sieht ihn darin begründet, daß Christus zwar dem Fleisch, nicht aber der Seele nach «in den Lenden Abrahams» war. Das Argument folgert daraus, daß nach Augustins Lehre die Seele Levis, anders als die Christi, nicht unmittelbar durch Gott geschaffen wurde, sondern «ex traduce» von Abraham stammte. In seiner Erwiderung schwächt Klenkok das Argument wesentlich ab, indem er erklärt, Augustinus habe mit dieser Interpretation von Hebr 7, 9f nur betonen wollen, daß Christus — anders als Levi und die Leviten — nicht «secundum concupiscentiam» geboren wurde[53]). Noch

[51]) AUGUSTINUS, *De Gen. ad litt.* X, 15: CSEL 28, vol. 1, 314. — Vgl. TB 48.
[52]) TB 48 und 58.
[53]) TB 49 und 59.

für ein weiteres Gegenargument ist Augustins Genesis-Kommentar die Quelle. Es geht um den Psalmvers 32, 15: «Er hat jedes ihrer Herzen gebildet», — ein Vers, den Klenkok weiter oben im Anschluß an Hieronymus als Beweis für den Kreatianismus beigezogen hatte. Die Interpretation Augustins zu diesem Psalmwort, wie sie in dem Gegenargument — übrigens ungenau und unvollständig — zitiert wird, scheint anzunehmen, daß dies im Sinn des Traduzianismus gemeint sei; das Wort besage, daß Gott die Seelen der Nachkommen Adams «ex traduce» aus jener einen Seele gebildet hat, die er dem ersten Menschen einhauchte. Und auch für das Wort Is 57, 16: «Ich habe jeden Hauch gemacht», das Augustinus im gleichen Zusammenhang erwähnt, gibt der Kirchenvater unumwunden zu, daß es eine traduzianistische Deutung zulasse. In seiner Antwort auf diesen Einwand macht Klenkok mit Recht darauf aufmerksam, daß es sich bei diesen traduzianistischen Interpretationen nicht um Augustins eigene Lösungen handelt, sondern daß der Kirchenvater nur aufzuweisen suche, wie der Traduzianismus diese Schriftworte in seinem Sinn auszulegen vermag[54]).

Ein anderes Gegenargument schließt aus der Grundthese des Kreatianismus von der Erschaffung jeder Menschenseele durch Gott, daß der Mensch nach dieser Theorie ja gar nicht von einem Menschen, sondern von Gott gezeugt werde, sofern Gott ihm die «ultima forma» verleiht. In seiner Erwiderung bestreitet Klenkok die Richtigkeit dieser Schlußfolgerung, weil Zeugung sowohl die Empfängnis des Leibes und die Eingießung der Seele als auch das nachträgliche Hervorgehen dieses «compositum» aus dem Mutterschoß meine[55]). Ein letzter schwerwiegender Einwand besagt: wenn Gott der Schöpfer jeder Menschenseele ist, dann ist er auch die Ursache der Erbsünde. Klenkok bestreitet demgegenüber, daß man Gottes Tun nach Menschenart beurteilen darf. Er zitiert das Augustinuswort: «Sicherlich werden wir, wenn wir unsere Untergebenen vor unseren Augen Böses begehen lassen, mit ihnen schuldig. Wie viel ungezähltes Böses aber [Gott] vor seinen Augen auch geschehen läßt, — Böses, das er, wenn er wollte, unter keinen Umständen zuließe, er ist dennoch gerecht und gut»[56]).

Klenkok hat seine kreatianistische Lösung über den Ursprung der Menschenseele im Rahmen seiner Darlegungen über die Fortpflanzung

[54]) TB 50 und 60.
[55]) TB 51 und 61.
[56]) TB 52 und 62.

der Erbsünde vorgetragen. Gerade die Rücksicht auf diese Problematik war es aber, die ehedem Augustins Zurückhaltung gegenüber dem Kreatianismus hervorgerufen hatte. «Suche doch ausfindig zu machen», schreibt er an Bischof Optatus, einen Verfechter des Kreatianismus, «wo, woher und wann [die Seelen], die neu geschaffen werden, das Mißverdienst der Verwerfung sich zuziehen. [Suche es ausfindig zu machen,] aber in der Weise, daß du nicht Gott... zum Urheber ihrer Sünde oder gar zum verurteilenden Richter von Unschuldigen erklärst»[57]). So sucht Klenkok nun in einer dritten Conclusio festzulegen, wie sich die Übertragung der Erbsünde auf die von Gott neugeschaffene Menschenseele vollzieht. Sein Lehrsatz lautet: Die Seele wird infolge ihrer Vermischung mit dem Leib durch das «vitium originale» befleckt[58]). Daß ihr ohne diese Verbindung mit dem Leib die Sünde des Stammvaters nicht zugewendet würde, belegt Klenkok mit dem schon oben erwähnten Wort Augustins: Das Übel der Konkupiszenz besitzt die Seele nicht aus sich, sondern zieht es sich aus dem Fleisch zu[59]). Daß diese Conclusio, die ganz der Lehre des Lombarden entspricht[60]), das dunkle Geheimnis der Erbsünde und ihrer Fortpflanzung im letzten nicht aufhellt, hat Klenkok persönlich stark empfunden. In seiner «Expositio litteralis» steht in diesem Zusammenhang der Satz: «Man kommt also zu der Schlußfolgerung, daß die Ursache der Sünde im Fleisch, nicht in der Seele zu suchen ist. Dies einzusehen ist schwer und für mich, ohne Glauben, soweit es bis dahin feststeht, einfach unmöglich: Warum soll die Seele dem Fleisch eingegossen werden, wo sie sich notwendig das Vergehen zuzieht, welches ihr selbst angerechnet wird, obwohl sie außerstande ist, es zu meiden?»[61])

Auch gegen diese seine dritte Conclusio macht Klenkok zwei Einwände. Der erste besagt: Nach Augustinus ist der Leib nicht der Handelnde gegenüber der Seele (non agit in animam), weil jedes «agens» das, an dem es handelt, an Wert überragt. Demnach befleckt der Leib auch die Seele nicht, weil dies ein Handeln an ihr wäre. Klenkok erwidert darauf im Anschluß an den Lombarden: Es handelt sich hier «proprie

[57]) Epist. 190, 4, 13: CSEL 57, 147.

[58]) TB 41, tertia concl.

[59]) Siehe TB 43.

[60]) Vgl. PLomb. II, 31, 4: 506, 27f und l.c. 6: 508, 19ff.

[61]) Ergo concluditur, quod causa peccati est in carne, non in anima. Hoc est difficile videre et mihi sine fide, quantum ad hoc constat, impossibile. Quare ergo anima infundatur in carne, ubi necessario contrahit vitium, quod ipsi animae imputatur, quod cavere in sua potestate non fuit? — In libr. II, dist. 31: A 98vb, K 119r.

loquendo» nicht um ein Handeln des Fleisches am Geist, sondern um ein Beflecktwerden der Seele infolge ihrer Verbindung mit dem Fleisch[62]). Der andere Einwand lautet: Da der Sündenmakel im Fleisch nicht vor der Eingießung der Seele existiert, weil sonst eine unbeseelte Masse als Sünder bezeichnet werden müßte, wird dieser Makel auch nicht durch das Fleisch in die Seele eingeführt. Klenkoks Antwort lautet: Die Sünde befindet sich zwar nicht derart im Fleisch, daß dieses die Sünde besitzt, aber doch so, daß aufgrund der Verbindung von Seele und Fleisch dessen Schmutz auch die Seele befällt[63]).

4. *Das Los der ohne Taufe sterbenden Kleinkinder*

Die Frage, ob es gerecht sei, daß das peccatum originale in den Kleinkindern, die ohne Taufe sterben, ewig bestraft wird, stellt in Klenkoks Darlegungen, wie schon am Anfang aufgezeigt wurde, die Rahmenfrage dar, in die er seine ganzen weiteren Ausführungen über die Erbsünde eingearbeitet hat. Daß aber in diesen ungetauften Kindern das peccatum originale jedenfalls Strafe erfährt, setzt Klenkok, wie er ausdrücklich erklärt, entsprechend dem katholischen Glauben und der Lehre des hl. Augustinus als Tatsache voraus[64]).

Zunächst klärt Klenkok den Begriff der «poena». Man verstehe darunter etwas Unangenehmes welcher Art auch immer, das als bedrükkend empfunden wird (omne incommodum perceptibiliter offensivum)[65]). Der weiteren Klärung des Begriffs dient auch folgender Satz: Kein Strafübel (malum poenae) bedeutet bloßes Entbehren; vielmehr ist es eine bedrückende «qualitas». Darin erblickt Klenkok den Unterschied zum «malum culpae», das eine bloße «privatio» darstellt[66]). In seiner doppelten Begründung dieser Conclusio führt er aus: Wäre das Strafübel bloße «privatio», so könnte Gott es dem Menschen nehmen, ohne ihm dafür das Fehlende zu geben; auch wäre es dann möglich, daß jemand die Feuerstrafe erleidet, ohne daß überhaupt ein Feuer vorhanden ist[67]). Um diese seine Begriffsbestimmung zu sichern, wendet sich Klenkok gegen den zeitgenössischen Oxforder Theologen Thomas de Buckingham († nach 1353), der unter Berufung auf eine Reihe Augustinusstellen

[62]) TB 53 und 64.
[63]) TB 54 und 65.
[64]) TB 66.
[65]) TB 67.
[66]) TB 68, prima concl.
[67]) TB 69-71.

lehrte, daß nicht nur das «malum culpae», sondern auch das «malum poenae» eine reine «privatio boni» sei. Denn Augustinus wolle nur sagen, daß jedes Strafübel die «privatio» von etwas Gutem zur Folge hat[68]).

Nach dieser Klärung des Begriffes der Strafe bringt Klenkok in vier weiteren Konklusionen seine Antwort auf die Frage nach dem Los der ungetauft sterbenden Kinder. Zunächst stellt er fest, daß sie «perceptibiliter» Strafe erleiden, d.h. daß sie dieselbe als Strafe empfinden. Zur Begründung beruft er sich auf die Lehre der Väter, etwa Augustins und Gregors des Großen, daß diese Kinder von Gott tatsächlich bestraft werden[69]). Man könne aber dagegen nicht einwenden, von einer spürbaren Strafe sei nicht die Rede, weil die Kinder ja nur die «visio divina» entbehren; denn diese «carentia visionis» werde von ihnen durchaus als Strafe empfunden[70]).

Wichtig ist Klenkoks weitere Feststellung, daß diese ungetauften Kinder nicht einen «ignis materialis» zu erdulden haben, sondern nur der «visio divina» entbehren. Er beruft sich dafür auf das berühmte Schreiben «Maiores Ecclesiae causas» Innozenz' III. vom Jahre 1201, in welchem dies ausdrücklich erklärt wurde, und auf die Lehre des Petrus Lombardus, daß die Kinder keine Strafe eines materiellen Feuers oder des «vermis conscientiae» zu erleiden hätten. Daß ihnen die «visio divina» versagt bleibt, begründet Klenkok auch damit, daß diese als etwas schlechthin Übernatürliches nach dem Apostelwort Röm 6, 23 nur durch Gottes Gnade verliehen wird[71]. Auch diesen Lehrsatz verteidigt Klenkok gegen Einwände. Er weiß, daß in «De fide ad Petrum», einer Schrift des Fulgentius von Ruspe, die von ihm und seinen Zeitgenossen als Augustins Werk betrachtet wurde, ausdrücklich das «aeterni ignis supplicium» als Strafe für die ohne Taufe sterbenden Kinder erklärt wird und daß auch die Glossa zu den Dekretalen Gregors IX. beim oben erwähnten Schreiben «Maiores» Innozenz' III. von einer Strafe durch das ewige Feuer spricht. Klenkok dagegen glaubt, daß derartige Stellen nicht von einem «ignis materialis» zu deuten sind.

Übrigens erwähnt Klenkok ausdrücklich jene «aliqui» unter seinen Zeitgenossen, die für die Kleinkinder eine eigentliche Feuerstrafe annahmen. Er mag hier vor allem seinen italienischen Mitbruder Gregor von

[68]) TB 77 und 87.
[69]) TB 68, secunda concl. und TB 72.
[70]) TB 78-79 und TB 88-89.
[71]) TB 68, tertia concl. und TB 73.

Rimini im Auge gehabt haben, dessen Sentenzenkommentar er nachweislich gekannt und in entscheidenden Fragen der Gnadenlehre benützt hat[72]). Gregor und in ähnlicher Weise sein Schüler Hugolin von Orvieto hatten mit Berufung auf Augustinus auch für die ungetauften Kinder eine «poena sensus» vertreten, — eine Lehre, die Gregor den Titel des «tortor infantium» eintrug[73]). Klenkok begründet seine Ablehnung dieses extremsten Augustinismus mit dem Satz: «Besonnener ist es, dem besonneren Teil der Kirche seine Zustimmung zu geben»[74]). Ein untaugliches Gegenargument sieht Klenkok auch in dem Einwand, nach Mt 25, 34.41 gebe es beim letzten Gericht nur zwei Möglichkeiten, die Berufung zum «regnum Dei» und die Verwerfung zum «ignis aeternus»; denn in den erwähnten Worten des Herrn sei von Strafen für die «peccata actualia», nämlich für die Unterlassung der Werke der Barmherzigkeit, die Rede, nicht von Strafen für die Erbsünde[75]).

Übrigens scheint sich Klenkok in der Frage, ob die ungetauften Kinder eine «poena sensus» erleiden müssen, erst nachträglich zu dem Standpunkt der «pars sanior», wie er sie in dieser Quaestio nennt, durchgerungen zu haben. Denn in seiner «Expositio litteralis», wo er sich ebenfalls ausführlich mit dieser Frage befaßt, hat er noch keine eindeutige Stellung gegen die Feuerstrafe bezogen. Zunächst zitiert er auch dort den Lombarden, der einen «ignis materialis» für die Kleinkinder ablehnte. Dann erwähnt er für die strengere Ansicht die schon oben erwähnte Perikope Mt 25, 31ff über das letzte Gericht, wo als Strafe für die Verworfenen nur der «ignis aeternus» genannt wird. Es sei aber nicht möglich, diesen «ignis aeternus» mit der bloßen «privatio visionis divinae» gleichzusetzen, weil man dann behaupten könnte, daß es auch für die Erwachsenen keine Strafe des «ignis materialis» geben werde. Wenn übrigens die Kleinkinder nur die Strafe der «privatio visionis divinae» zu erleiden hätten, dann ergäbe sich die Folgerung, daß Johannes der Täufer und die anderen Frommen der alten Zeit im «limbus patrum», obwohl sie ohne Sünden starben, die gleiche Strafe zu erdulden hatten wie jene, die in Sünden, d.h. von der Erbsünde belastet, gestorben sind. Für die Anerkennung eines «ignis materialis» zitiert Klenkok sodann das schon oben erwähnte Wort aus «De fide ad

[72]) Vgl. Zumkeller-Klenkok, Schlußkap.

[73]) Siehe A. ZUMKELLER, *Hugolin von Orvieto über Urstand und Erbsünde*, *Augustiniana* 3 (1953) 58-62.

[74]) TB 80-81 und TB 90-91.

[75]) TB 82 und 92.

Petrum», ferner einen Satz aus «Contra Julianum», der davon spricht, die Kinder müßten eine so große Strafe erleiden, daß es für sie besser wäre, sie würden nicht geboren, und ein Wort Gregors des Großen, wonach die Kinder, die mit eigenem Willen keine Sünde begangen haben, ewige Peinen erdulden. Für die gegenteilige Lehre von der Strafe der bloßen «carentia visionis divinae» erwähnt Klenkok schließlich auch hier das schon oben zitierte Wort Innozenz' III. und eine Erklärung aus der Glossa zum dritten Teil (De consecratione) des Decretum Gratianum. Der Schlußsatz seiner Ausführungen aber läßt vermuten, daß er damals noch der strengeren Auffassung zuneigte. Er schreibt: «Die Worte der Sancti (d.h. der Väter) scheinen mir wirksamer für die erste Annahme zu sprechen. Der sorgsame Leser möge festhalten, was ihm vernünftigerweise zusagt!»[76])

In seiner nun folgenden Conclusio lehrt Klenkok, daß diese Strafe der Kleinkinder, die mit der Erbsünde belastet sterben, unter allen

[76]) Dicit Magister (PLomb. II, 33, 2: 520, 14ff), quod parvuli nullam ignis materialis vel vermis conscientiae poenam sentient... Contra hoc arguitur: In die iudicii, quando dividentur homines, ad quam manum stabunt pueri vel ad dexteram vel ad sinistram? Si primum, ergo salvabuntur; si secundum, ergo ibunt in ignem aeternum, quia dicetur eis (Mt 25, 41): «Ite, maledicti, in ignem aeternum». Hic ab aliquibus dicitur, quod per ignem aeternum intellegitur privatio visionis divinae vel poena dampni. Contra: Tunc simili modo posset exponi istud dictum de adultis et posset dici, quod nullus istorum iret in ignem materialem. Ad idem arguitur aliter: Si pueri tales non haberent aliam poenam quam privationem visionis divinae, sequitur, quod ante passionem Christi Johannes Baptista habuisset tantam poenam, quantam unus de illis pueris. Et per consequens non magis esset punitus mortuus in peccato quam sine peccato mortuus. Consequentia patet, quia Johannes et omnes existentes in limbo caruerunt tali visione, usquequo Christus eos liberavit. Et quod igne materiali crucientur, videtur intentio Sanctorum. Unde Augustinus (recte: Fulgentius Ruspensis) De fide ad Petrum cap. 23 (27, 70, 1247ff: CCL 91A, 753), et ponitur in Canone dist. 9 cap. «Firmissime» (CIC I, 1362), et allegatur in quarto huius dist. [4] cap. 13 (PLomb. IV, 4, 4: 769, nr. 47). Dicit Augustinus: «Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites parvulos, qui in matris utero vivere incipiunt et ibi moriuntur vel de mulieribus nati sine sacramento baptismatis transierunt, aeterni ignis supplicio puniendos». Item quinto Contra Iulianum (11, 44: PL 44, 809; von Augustinus aber ausdrücklich verneint) dicit «parvulos tanta poena plectendos, ut eos non nasci potius expediret». Item Gregorius nono (corr. ex: quarto) Moralium 22 (IX, 21, 32: PL 75, 877) dicit, quod «perpetua tormenta suscipiunt, qui nihil propria voluntate fecerunt». In oppositum tamen dictorum videtur Extra, De baptismo et eius effectu, cap. «Maiores» (Decretal. Greg. IX lib. III, tit. 42, cap. 3: CIC II, 646). Et est determinatio domini Innocentii III (corr. ex: IV). Ubi dicitur, quod poena originalis peccati sit carentia visionis. Ad idem videtur Glossa Canonis, De consecr., dist. 4, cap. «Nulla» (Corr. ex: «Nullus»), ubi dicitur: «Parvuli manent in tenebris»; exponit Glossa: «id est habebunt carentiam visionis tantum» (Corp. Iur. Can.... Glossis diversorum illustratum, pars I, Lyon 1671, 2030, u). Primam partem magis efficaciter videntur mihi probare dicta Sanctorum. Teneat diligens lector, quod placuerit rationabiliter. — In libr. II, dist. 33: A 100rb-va, K 122r-v.

ewigen Strafen die geringste sei. Er beruft sich dafür auf das bekannte Wort Augustins im Enchiridion von der «mitissima poena» und darauf, daß ihnen überhaupt kein «actuale peccatum» anhaftet[77]).

Die letzte Conclusio besagt: Die ewige Strafe für das peccatum originale ist für alle Kleinkinder, die ohne die Taufe sterben, von gleichem Ausmaß. Als Begründung führt Klenkok aus: Eine Differenz hätte ihren Grund entweder bei den Stammeltern oder bei den eigenen Eltern oder in eigener Schuld. Das alles aber komme hier nicht in Betracht, weil Adam seine Sünde an alle in gleicher Weise weitergab, weil bei Berücksichtigung von Sünden der eigenen Eltern die späteren Menschen für eine allzu große Sündenlast bestraft würden, und weil von eigener Schuld bei den Kleinkindern nicht die Rede sein kann[78]).

Zum Schluß seiner Ausführungen über das Los der ungetauften Kinder nimmt Klenkok noch gegen die zwei Argumente des «Arguitur quod non» Stellung, mit denen er die Rahmenfrage seiner Ausführungen, ob nämlich die Erbsünde in den Kleinkindern gerechterweise ewige Strafe empfängt, eingeleitet hatte. Als erstes Argument gegen die Gerechtigkeit einer solchen ewigen Bestrafung hatte er vorgebracht, daß das peccatum originale in den Kleinkindern nicht freiwillig und somit für sie gar kein peccatum sei. Daß zur Sünde Freiwilligkeit gehört, belegte er mit verschiedenen Stellen aus Augustinus. Ein zweites Argument berief sich für die Ungerechtigkeit einer solchen Strafe auf das Wort des Propheten Ezechiel (18, 20): «Der Sohn soll nicht die Bosheit seines Vaters tragen»[79]). Was das erste Argument betrifft, so leugnet Klenkok die Richtigkeit der Schlußfolgerung, daß nämlich wegen mangelnder Freiwilligkeit das peccatum originale für die Kleinkinder keinen Sündencharakter besitze. Das zweite Argument löst er mit Berufung auf Thomas von Aquin: Das Schriftwort habe Geltung, soweit der Sohn nicht der Schuld des Vaters teilhaftig wird. Doch diese Schuld gehe tatsächlich «per originem» vom Vater auf den Sohn über, so ähnlich wie das «peccatum actuale» «per imitationem»[80]).

[77]) TB 68, quarta concl. und TB 74.
[78]) TB 68, quinta concl. und TB 75.
[79]) TB 2-3.
[80]) TB 97-98.

5. *Die Lehre von der Empfängnis Mariens*

Oben wurde Klenkoks Conclusio erwähnt, daß sich jeder Mensch, der «ex concubitu matris» geboren wird, die Erbsünde zuzieht, und daß deshalb nur Jesus Christus, der aus der Jungfrau geboren wurde, von dieser Sünde freigeblieben ist[81]). Dieser Satz ist für Klenkok der gegebene Anlaß, sich ausführlich mit der Frage nach der Empfängnis Mariens zu beschäftigen. Gleich im einleitenden Satz klärt er seine Stellung zur Lehre von der «Immaculata Conceptio», wenn er schreibt: «Es gibt Leute (quidam), die Maria mit unnötiger Ehre ehren möchten und deshalb behaupten, die allerseligste Jungfrau und Gottesgebärerin sei ohne die Erbsünde ins Leben getreten; doch arbeiten sie dabei mehr mit «similitudines» (d.h. mit Vergleichen und Sinnbildern) als mit Vernunftgründen»[82]).

Diese ziemlich schroffe Stellungnahme richtete sich nicht nur gegen Johannes Duns Scotus und andere Verteidiger der unbefleckten Empfängnis Mariens im Franziskanerorden. Auch in Klenkoks eigenem Orden, und zwar gerade unter den deutschen Augustinern, gab es schon zwei namhafte Vertreter dieser Lehre[83]). Der eine, Thomas von Straßburg († 1357), war zu der Zeit, als Klenkok seine Quaestio ausarbeitete, schon seit langen Jahren Generalprior des Ordens, der andere, Hermann von Schildesche († 1357), gehörte zur gleichen Ordensprovinz wie Klenkok und mag ihm auch persönlich bekannt gewesen sein. Thomas hat als erster Augustiner um 1335 in seiner Pariser Sentenzenlesung gelehrt, daß Maria aufgrund eines einzigartigen Privilegs von der Erbschuld nie befleckt worden sei[84]). Von ihm ziemlich unabhängig hat 15 Jahre später, um 1350, Hermann von Schildesche in Würzburg eine umfangreiche Abhandlung «De conceptione gloriosae virginis Mariae» zur Verteidigung der Unbefleckten Empfängnis verfaßt[85]).

[81]) Siehe oben S. 320.

[82]) TB 14, gegen Anfang.

[83]) Vgl. dazu G. TUMMINELLO, *L'immacolata concezione di Maria e la scuola agostiniana del secolo XIV*, Rom 1942; A. ZUMKELLER, *Schrifttum und Lehre des Hermann von Schildesche O.E.S.A.* († *1357*), Würzburg 1959, 78-83 und 160-165; DERSELBE, *Die Augustinerschule des Mittelalters: Vertreter und philosophisch-theologische Lehre*, *Analecta Augustiniana* 27 (1964) 167-262, S. 191; DERSELBE, *Ein «Sermo magistralis» des Augustinus von Rom OESA. zur Verteidigung der Immakulata*, in: *Acta Congressus Scotistici... 1966 celebrati*, IV, Rom 1968, 117-137, vor allem S. 117ff.

[84]) THOMAS DE ARGENTINA, *Commentaria in quattuor libros Sententiarum*, libr. III dist. 3 qu. 1 art. 1: Genua 1585, fol. 8vb-1orb.

[85]) HERMANNI DE SCILDIS O.S.A., *Tractatus de conceptione gloriosae virginis Mariae*, ed. A. ZUMKELLER, Würzburg 1970 (*Cassiciacum* Supplementband IV).

Es sind die Worte der großen Theologen der Vorzeit, die Klenkok gegen die Lehre von der Immaculata Conceptio ins Feld führt. Dabei macht er darauf aufmerksam, daß diese Autoritäten auch ihrerseits Maria hoch schätzten und ehrten. Zunächst läßt er Augustinus zu Wort kommen. Er zitiert Sätze aus «De Genesi ad litteram», wo der Kirchenvater die Empfängnis Mariens im Schoß ihrer Mutter der Empfängnis Christi in ihrem eigenen Schoß gegenüberstellt, und ausdrücklich erklärt, Maria sei «aus jener Abstammung des Fleisches der Sünde empfangen worden», und: Sie habe Christus «nicht aus der Fortpflanzung der Sünde empfangen, auch wenn ihr eigenes Fleisch aus der Fortpflanzung der Sünde gekommen ist». Auch bei der Ausdeutung von Hebr 7, 4-10, die Augustinus im gleichen Werk gibt, fand Klenkok eine klare Aussage über Mariens Empfängnis. Der Kirchenvater stellt zunächst fest, daß Levi in den Lenden Abrahams «gemäß der fleischlichen Begierde» war, während Christus dort nur «gemäß der körperlichen Substanz» gewesen sei. Von Maria aber erklärt er ausdrücklich, daß auch ihr Leib auf gleiche Weise wie der des Levi empfangen und geboren wurde[86].

Vom hl. Bernhard, den Klenkok hier als einen «quasi familiaris confabulator» Mariens einführt, erwähnt er ein Wort, welches mit folgenden Antithesen arbeitet: Maria habe vom Heiligen Geist ihr Kind empfangen, sei aber selbst im Schoß ihrer Mutter nicht vom Heiligen Geist empfangen worden; sie habe als Jungfrau ihr Kind geboren, sei aber selbst nicht von einer Jungfrau geboren worden. Wenigstens indirekt sieht Klenkok in diesen Aussagen bezeugt, daß Maria vom Gesetz der Erbsünde nicht ausgenommen war[87]).

Sehr klar und eindeutig findet sich die Bestreitung der Lehre von der Unbefleckten Empfängnis in einem Anselmus-Zitat ausgesprochen, das Klenkok aus der bekannten Schrift des englischen Theologen «Cur Deus homo» anführt. Zwar handelt es sich um Worte, die Anselm in diesem Dialog seinem Gesprächspartner Boso in den Mund gelegt hat. Doch kann Klenkok mit Recht darauf hinweisen, daß diese Worte auch die Ansicht des Kirchenvaters selbst darstellen, da er sie nicht korrigiert, sondern sogar ausdrücklich bestätigt habe[88]).

Den Abschluß in der Reihe der Autoritäten Klenkoks bildet Thomas von Aquin, der in seiner «Summa Theologica» die Lehre

[86]) TB 14.
[87]) TB 16.
[88]) TB 17.

vorträgt, daß Maria im Mutterschoß von der Erbsünde gereinigt und geheiligt wurde, jedoch nicht vor der Eingießung der «anima rationalis». Als entscheidendes Argument gegen die Lehre der Unbefleckten Empfängnis übernimmt Klenkok von Thomas den Gedanken, daß Maria, wäre sie ohne Erbsünde empfangen worden, auch nicht der Erlösung und des Heils durch Jesus Christus bedurft hätte; dann wäre aber Christus auch nicht der «Heiland aller Menschen» (1 Tim 4, 10)[89]).

Klenkok kommt zu der Schlußfolgerung: «Es bedeutet für Maria keine Verunehrung, wenn sie wegen der Schuld eines anderen in der Erbsünde empfangen wurde. Denn diese Sünde ist in ihr durch Gottes Gnade, von der sie nachmals erfüllt wurde, ganz und gar beseitigt worden»[90]). Auch an anderer Stelle bekennt sich Klenkok zu der Lehre, daß Maria sehr bald nach der Vereinigung ihrer Seele mit dem Leib geheiligt und von jeder Sündenschuld gereinigt wurde[91]). Ebenso hatte schon Ägidius Romanus, das Schulhaupt der mittelalterlichen Augustinerschule, gelehrt, und viele andere Ordenstheologen hatten sich ihm darin angeschlossen, zum Beispiel in Klenkoks eigener Ordensprovinz Heinrich von Friemar der Ältere († 1340) und Jordan von Quedlinburg († 1370 oder 1380)[92]).

Seine Ablehnung der Lehre von der unbefleckten Empfängnis Mariens sucht Klenkok noch gegen Einwände zu sichern. Die Verteidiger der Unbefleckten Empfängnis beriefen sich unter anderem auf das bekannte Augustinuswort aus «De natura et gratia»: «Hinsichtlich der heiligen Jungfrau Maria möchte ich — wegen der Ehre des Herrn — überhaupt keine Frage gestellt haben, wenn von Sünden gesprochen wird»[93]). Klenkok erwidert: Augustinus denkt hier offensichtlich nur an die «peccata actualia»[94]). Tatsächlich steht an der erwähnten Augustinusstelle die Frage der Erbsünde gar nicht zur Diskussion. Die Ausführungen betreffen lediglich die Möglichkeiten eines sündenlosen Lebens auf Erden, d.h. eines Lebens frei von persönlicher Sünde. Ob Augustinus die Mutter des Herrn auch vom Gesetz der Erbschuld ausgenommen wissen wollte, ist eine bis heute umstrittene Frage. So viel wird man sagen

[89]) TB 18.
[90]) TB 19.
[91]) TB 40.
[92]) Siehe ZUMKELLER, *Die Augustinerschule* 192.
[93]) *De nat. et grat.* 36, 42: CSEL 60, 263f.
[94]) TB 27 und 38.

dürfen, daß er sich weder hier noch anderswo eindeutig für oder gegen die Freiheit Mariens von der Erbsünde ausgesprochen hat[95]).

Ein anderes Gegenargument, mit dem sich Klenkok auseinandersetzt, besagt: Wenn Maria in der Erbsünde empfangen wurde, habe der Sohn seiner Mutter nicht die gebührende Ehre erwiesen. Klenkok bestreitet die Berechtigung dieses Einwandes: Denn wie einzigartig Christus Maria geehrt hat, habe er kundgetan, als er sie zu seiner Mutter erwählte und über die Engelchöre erhob[96]). Unberechtigt sei schließlich der Einwand, das in der Kirche übliche Fest der Empfängnis Mariens sei nur statthaft, wenn sie die unbefleckt Empfangene ist. Denn dieses Fest, so erwidert Klenkok, beziehe sich nicht eigentlich auf ihre Empfängnis, sondern auf die Heiligung, die ihr alsbald nach der Empfängnis zuteil wurde[97]).

Übrigens hat Klenkok auch in seiner «Expositio litteralis» das Thema der unbefleckten Empfängnis Mariens in ganz ähnlicher Weise behandelt. Er geht dort von der Feststellung aus, daß nach dem Lombarden das Fleisch des Gottessohnes, bevor er empfangen wurde, in Maria der Sünde verpflichtet war, und sieht darin die Überzeugung des Magisters ausgesprochen, daß Maria mit der Erbsünde empfangen wurde. Er selbst bejaht diese Lehre und stützt sie mit den zum Teil schon oben erwähnten Worten aus Augustinus, Anselm und Bernhard. Auch beruft er sich dafür auf das von Augustinus in «De nuptiis et concupiscentia» überlieferte Wort aus dem Isaias-Kommentar des Ambrosius, von dem weiter oben schon die Rede war[98]). Gegenüber den Vertretern der Lehre von der «Immaculata Conceptio» stellt Klenkok sachlich fest, daß die Römische Kirche darüber noch keine Entscheidung getroffen habe und setzt sich dann mit einigen Argumenten der Gegenseite auseinander. Zu dem Wort aus Augustins «De natura et gratia» bemerkt er hier mit Bezug auf die Ausführungen des Lombarden[99]), daß Augustinus bei diesen Worten an Maria dachte, die Christus in ihrem Schoß schon empfangen hatte. Weiter beschäftigt ihn auch hier die Frage nach dem Sinn des Festes der Empfängnis Mariens. Auch wenn Maria nicht ohne Erbsünde empfangen sei, äußert er, so dürfe man doch den Tag feiern, an dem die Mutter unseres Erlösers empfangen wurde.

[95]) Vgl. dazu A. ZUMKELLER, in: ALG I, 698f und die dort angegebene Literatur.
[96]) TB 28 und 39.
[97]) TB 29 und 40.
[98]) Siehe oben S. 320 und Anm. 17.
[99]) PLomb. III, 3, 2: 559 nr. 12.

Schließlich erwähnt er noch eine angebliche Erscheinung des hl. Bernhard, die von den Verteidigern der Unbefleckten Empfängnis damals als Argument verwendet wurde[100]). Bernhard sei nach seinem Tod einem Mönch von Clairvaux in strahlendem Glanz erschienen. Nur an der Brust habe sich ein Makel gezeigt. Entsprechend der Erklärung, die der Heilige dem Mönch gab, rührte dieser Makel davon her, daß er sich gegen die unbefleckte Empfängnis Mariens ausgesprochen hatte. Klenkok bemerkt dazu, daß er diesen ganzen Bericht für «fabulosus» halte[101]).

Schluß

Klenkoks Verständnis des peccatum originale trägt deutlich augustinische Züge: Die Erbsünde ist für ihn nicht nur wie bei Ockham und

[100]) Vgl. etwa HERMANNI DE SCILDIS, *Tractatus de conceptione gloriosae virginis Mariae*, Würzburg 1970, 145, 86-92.

[101]) «Quaeritur» (PLomb. III, 3, 1: 557 nr. 10). [Magister] etiam dicit, quod caro Christi fuit in virgine concepta in originali peccato. Dicit: «iuxta sanctorum» (l.c.). Augustinus Super psalmum 34 (corr. ex: 25) super isto versu (ps. 34, 13): «Cum mihi molesti essent, induebar» etc., dicit, quod Maria fuit mortua peccato Adae (CCL 38, 314, 54f); nec potest exponi de morte, quae est poena, quia illa mors fuit communis Christo. Concordat Augustinus quinto Contra Iulianum (cf. V, 15, 52ff: PL 44, 813f), ubi ponit Mariae carnem peccati carnem, Christi carnem similitudinem peccati; dicit Christum illa morte, qua Maria fuit mortua, non fuisse mortuum. Item decimo Super Genesim (18: CSEL 28, vol. 1, 320) dicit, quod Christus fuit similitudo carnis peccati et non caro [peccati]. Et videtur concedere de virgine gloriosa. Item Anselmus secundo Cur Deus homo cap. 16 (Op. omn. II, Edinburg 1946, 116, 20ff) dicit, quod virgo, quae Christum genuit, concepta fuit in peccato. Idem dicit Bernardus Ad Eugenium (richtiger Epist. 174, 7: Op. omn. VII, Rom 1974, 391f). Idem Ambrosius, ut allegat Augustinus De nuptiis et concupiscentia (vgl. oben Anm. 17); dicit, quod qui expers est huius criminis — loquitur de peccato originali —, expers est ex mari et femina conceptionis. Ad idem sunt plura dicta Sanctorum. De ista conclusione discordaverunt aliquando doctores, quia aliqui allegant Augustinum De natura et gratia (36, 42: CSEL 60, 263f), ubi dicit, quod, cum de peccatis agitur, de gloriosa virgine non velit habere mentionem. Patet in littera (PLomb. III, 3, 2: 559 nr. 12), quod Augustinus loquitur, quod non velit habere mentionem de virgine gloriosa, postquam Christum concepit. Ecclesia Romana nullam partem determinat. Sed si quaeritur, utrum festum conceptionis beatae Mariae dominae nostrae celebrari debeat, dico quod sic. Esto enim, quod virgo gloriosa fuisset in peccato concepta, nos non celebraremus festum istud, quia ipsa fuerit in originali concepta, sed quia ipsa fuit concepta, quae fuit nostrum redemptorem paritura; sicut si nasceretur puer caecus, per quem essem liberandus, in natali suo gauderem, non quia caecus natus esset, sed quia natus esset me redempturus. De beato Bernardo cum quidam dicunt, quod post mortem apparuit cum quadam macula et dixerat, quod illam maculam gereret, quia dixerat, ut patet in libro De consideratione ad Eugenium (richtiger: Epist. 174, 7 l.c.), quod beata virgo, domina nostra, concepta fuisset in peccato, hoc fabulosum aestimo, quod fuerit beatus Bernardus et cum macula apparuerit. — In libr. III, dist. 3: K 135v-136r, S 36va-b.

seinen Schülern eine Schuld- und Strafverhaftung, die letzten Endes in Gottes Willen ihren Ursprung hat. Das Wesen dieser Sünde erblickt Klenkok vielmehr in einer «deformitas», einer Verunstaltung des Menschen, die Strafe und Schuld in sich schließt. Auch wenn er dabei die Konkupiszenz nicht als Wesenselement der Erbsünde bezeichnet, so sieht er in ihr doch ein «vitium», eine der entscheidenden Straffolgen dieser Sünde und auch die «causa» für deren Fortpflanzung.

Es wurde schon darauf hingewiesen, daß Klenkok keine systematische und erschöpfende Darstellung der Erbsündenlehre gegeben hat. Nicht zur Sprache kommen die für das Verständnis des peccatum originale so wichtigen Themen des menschlichen Urstandes, der «iustitia originalis», sowie des Sündenfalls und seiner Folgen für die menschliche Natur. Was allerdings den letzten Punkt betrifft, so konnte an anderer Stelle gezeigt werden, daß nach Klenkoks Überzeugung durch Adams Sünde das ganze Menschengeschlecht in der Natur verwundet und verderbt wurde. Ausdrücklich spricht er von der «natura vitiata», die nur durch die Gnade geheilt werden kann[102]). Die Verderbnis seiner Natur erlebt der Mensch nach unserem Theologen vor allem in der Knechtschaft der Sünde. Er beruft sich dafür auf das Wort des späten Augustinus: «Wenn der Wille nicht durch die Gnade Gottes von der Knechtschaft, durch die er zum Sklaven der Sünde wurde, befreit wird [wenn er nicht], damit er die Sünden überwindet, unterstützt wird, können diese von den Menschen nicht überwunden werden»[103]). Die sittliche Kraft des Menschen unter der Sünde wird von Klenkok deshalb gering eingeschätzt. Sein Wille sei so geschwächt, daß er zum Meiden der Sünden und zum Vollbringen auch bloß moralisch guter Werke ein «speciale Dei auxilium» nötig hat[104]). Demnach hat Klenkok, ganz im Sinn Augustins und Gregors von Rimini, von dessen Augustinismus er sich gerade hierin beeinflussen ließ, die Macht der Konkupiszenz im gefallenen Menschen als stark empfunden.

ADOLAR ZUMKELLER O.S.A.

[102]) Vgl. Zumkeller-Klenkok Anm. 27.
[103]) *Retract.* I, 8, 4: CSEL 36, 41f. — Vgl. Zumkeller-Klenkok Anm. 31.
[104]) Vgl. Zumkeller-Klenkok Anm. 30 und 48.

TEXTBEILAGE

Johannes Klenkok, Quaestiones super secundum librum Sententiarum, Quaestio: «Utrum peccatum originale in parvulis sine baptismo decedentibus iuste aeternaliter puniatur?»

(Eichstätt Ms. 471 Fol., Blatt 176va-180va, Quaestiones 18-20).

1 Quia in distinctione 30 [libri secundi Sententiarum] Magister[1] agit de peccato originali, in quo matres nostrae nos aluerunt, quod per lapsum Adae in nos omnes pervenit et ianuam regni caelestis nobis clausit, idcirco pro [fol. 176vb] praesenti quaeritur, *utrum peccatum originale in parvulis sine baptismo decedentibus iuste aeternaliter puniatur.*

2 Et *arguitur, quod non.* Nam peccatum originale non est in parvulis voluntarium. Igitur non est in eis peccatum; et per consequens non iuste aeternaliter punitur. Igitur quaestio falsa. Prima consequentia probatur per Augustinum tertio De libero arbitrio[2] et De duabus animabus[3] et De vera religione cap. 22[4] et primo Retractationum 8. cap.[5] et in multis aliis locis, ut allegatur per Magistrum infra dist. 41 cap. 4[6]. Haec consequentia scilicet: Hoc est peccatum, igitur est voluntarium, est bona consequentia, quia ibi arguitur a definitione ad definitum. Quae consequentia semper tenet per medium intrinsecum, ut patet intuenti. Igitur similiter haec consequentia est bona: Hoc non est parvulis voluntarium, igitur hoc non est parvulis peccatum; quia, si aliqua consequentia valet, eodem addito utrobique adhuc valebit, ut dicit prima Topica[7]. Si igitur haec valet: Hoc non est voluntarium, igitur non est peccatum, utrobique eodem addito haec valebit: Hoc non est parvulis voluntarium, igitur non est eis peccatum.

3 *Secundo arguitur* sic per illud Ezechielis 18 (20): «Filius non portabit iniquitatem patris» etc. Igitur quaestio falsa.

4 *In oppositum* est Apostolus Ad Romanos 5 (12) dicens: «Per unum hominem intravit mors in universum mundum». Igitur quaestio vera.

[1] PLomb. II, 30: 496sqq.
[2] *De lib. arb.* III, 17, 49: CSEL 74, 130sq.
[3] *De duab. anim.* 10, 12: CSEL 25, vol. 1, 68.
[4] *De vera rel.* 14, 27: CSEL 77, 20.
[5] *Retract.* I, 9, 4: CSEL 36, 41.
[6] PLomb. II, 41, 3-6: 546sqq.
[7] Haec sententia primo libro Topicorum Aristotelis inventa non est.

Item per illud Johannis 3 (5): «Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto». Idem patet in Canone de consecratione dist. 4 cap. [3][8]. Idem patet per Augustinum in libris suis contra Iulianum De nuptiis et concupiscentia[9], quia, ut videbitur inferius[10], ista fuit secunda haeresis Pelagii.

5 *Pro responsione huius quaestionis* sunt tria videnda: Primo videndum est, quid sit peccatum originale et quomodo debite describatur. Secundo, quomodo a parentibus in parvulos transducatur. Tertio, quali poena iusto Dei iudicio puniatur.

[Primus articulus]

6 Quantum ad primum suppono una cum Magistro in ista dist. 30 cap. 6[11], quod peccatum originale est tam poena quam culpa, ut ipse auctoritatibus beati Augustini De natura et gratia[12] et aliis similiter, scilicet sancti Gregorii Super Exodum[13], satis probat.

7 Et ex hoc dicto dico, quod peccatum originale est hominem libidinosae ardoris in concupiscentia a primis parentibus propagata esse conceptum et propter hoc, videlicet talem conceptionem a primorum parentum lapsu derivatam, esse ad aeternae mortis supplicium obligatum. Ex ista descriptione habetur, quod ipsum peccatum originale tam poenam quam et culpam includit, poenam, quia ponitur concupiscentia, culpam, quia ponitur obligatio ad aeternae mortis supplicium.

8 His itaque praemissis *pro responsione huius primi articuli* pono *aliquas conclusiones*. Quarum *prima* in ordine sit haec, quod nulla qualitas sive quaecumque res incomplexe significabilis, nisi forte denominative et improprie diceretur, debet dici peccatum originale. *Secunda conclusio* est, quod, si aliquis nasceretur, in quo nulla concupiscentia esset, non tamen propter hoc originali peccato careret. *Tertia conclusio* est, quod originale peccatum in baptismo detergitur. *Quarta conclusio* est, quod quilibet natus ex concubitu matris originale peccatum contraxit nec aliquis citra

[8] *Decreti Gratiani* pars 3 *De consecr.*, dist. 4 cap. 3: CIC I, 1362.
[9] *De nupt. et conc.*, libri duo: CSEL 42, 207-319.
[10] vide infra TB 8sqq.
[11] PLomb. II, 30, 7: 498sq.
[12] *De nat. et grat.* 4, 4: CSEL 60, 236.
[13] PATERIUS, *Liber testimon. Vet. Test. ex opusc. S. Gregorii*, in Exod. 13, 13: PL 79, 731D.

Dei Filium ex Virgine [fol. 177ra] sine virili semine natum isto peccato caruit.

9 *Prima conclusio probatur* sic: Sine quacumque tali qualitate possibile est hominem saltem per Dei potentiam de concupiscentia patris et matris concipi et nasci et ipsum, donec renascatur ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, chirographo primi parentis obligari. Igitur conclusio vera. Consequentia patet per beatum Hieronymum in quodam sermone[14]; et per beatum Augustinum primo libro Contra Iulianum[15] dicentem, quod parvuli, «qui propria debita non contraxerunt, non tamen a paterno chirographo immunes esse poterunt». Ecce igitur si praeservarentur a tali sensuali concupiscentia, tamen propter hoc non essent a primo debito ante baptismum soluti.

10 Ex hoc statim sequitur *secunda conclusio*, quia talis concupiscentiam non haberet, non tamen originali culpa vel vitio careret.

11 *Tertia conclusio probatur* auctoritate beati Ambrosii[16] per Augustinum primo libro contra Iulianum ultra allegati[17]. Qui dicunt eos, qui fuerunt baptizati in primordio naturae suae, a malitia reformari; modo certum est, quod per malitiam non intellegitur aliud quam culpa originalis.

12 Eadem consequentia patet per Augustinum in libro De nuptiis et concupiscentia[18], ubi ait, quod reatus peccati in baptismo relaxatur. Reatum autem relaxari non est aliud quam peccatum dimitti.

13 *Quarta conclusio* patet per eundem beatum Ambrosium ibidem[19] et per Augustinum allegatum[20], qui dicunt solum Dominum Jesum ex natis de femina nulla terrenae contagia corruptelae immaculati partus novitatem sensisse. Ad quod idem Ambrosius Super Isaiam[21] et allegatur per Augustinum in fine primi libri De nuptiis et concupiscentia[22], ubi loquens de nativitate Christi Ambrosius ait: «Quasi homo per universa

[14] cf. *Dialog. contra Pelagianos* III, 17-19: PL 23, 614-618.
[15] *C. Iul.* I, 6, 26: PL 44, 658.
[16] cf. AMBROSIUS, *De Isaac vel anima* 7, 60: CSEL 32, vol. 1, 685, 1-16.
[17] *C. Iul.* I, 9, 44: PL 44, 671.
[18] *De nupt. et conc.* I, 26, 29: CSEL 42, 241sq.
[19] AMBROSIUS, *Fragmenta in Esaiam* I, 7-13: CCL 14, 405.
[20] *De nupt. et conc.* I, 35, 40: CSEL 42, 251.
[21] vide supra notam 19.
[22] vide supra notam 20.

temptatus est et in similitudine hominum cuncta sustinuit, sed quia de Spiritu Sancto natus, abstinuit a peccato. Omnis enim homo mendax et nemo sine peccato nisi unus Deus. Servatum est igitur, ut ex viro et muliere id est per illorum corporum commixtionem nemo videatur expers esse delicti. Qui autem expers est delicti, expers est et huiusmodi conceptionis».

14 Sed quia quidam volentes honore non necessario honorare Virginem dicunt beatissimam Virginem, Dei genetricem, sine peccato originali esse natam, ad hoc ducentes plus similitudines quam rationes. Audiant hi beatum Augustinum, non minorem quam ipsi Virginis laudatorem, libro decimo[a] Super Genesim ad litteram cap. 30 de magnis[23], ubi ait: «Corpus Christi, quamvis de carne feminae assumptum est, quae de illa carnis peccati propagine concepta fuerat, tamen, non quia sic in ea conceptum est, quomodo fuerat illa concepta, nec ipsa erat caro peccati, sed similitudo carnis peccati». Et modicum ante in eodem capitulo[24] Augustinus ait loquendo de Christo: «Quid incoinquinatius illo utero Virginis, cuius caro, etsi de peccati propagine venit, non tamen de peccati propagine concepit?» Et infra[25] loquens de Levi ait: «Quamvis nullius hominis anima sit in lumbis patris sui, secundum carnem [fol. 177rb] tamen in lumbis Abrahae constitutum Levi decimavit, et ibi constitutum secundum carnem Christum non decimatum. Secundum rationem vero illam seminalem ibi fuit Levi, qua ratione per concubitum venturus erat in matrem, secundum quam rationem non ibi erat Christus, quamvis secundum ipsam ibi fuerit Mariae caro». Et sic concludit[26], quod Levi erat in lumbis Abrahae «secundum concupiscentiam carnalem, Christus vero tantum secundum solam substantiam corporalem». Et infra:[27] «Cum enim sit ex semine et visibilis corpulentia et invisibilis ratio, utrumque cucurrit ex Abraham vel etiam ex ipso Adam usque ad corpus Mariae, quia et ipsum eo modo conceptum et exortum est; Christus autem visibilem carnis substantiam de carne Virginis sumpsit; ratio vero conceptionis eius non a semine viri, sed longe aliter ac desuper venit. Proinde secundum hoc, quod de matre accepit, etiam in lumbis Abrahae fuit».

[a] primo *Ms.*

[23] *De Gen. ad litt.* X, 18: CSEL 28, vol. 1, 320, 11-15.
[24] l.c.: CSEL 28, vol. 1, 320, 4-6.
[25] l.c. X, 20: ibid. 323, 1-8.
[26] l.c.: ibid. 8-11.
[27] l.c.: ibid. 11-19.

15 Item idem decimo tertio De Trinitate cap. 17[28]: «Quamvis enim», inquit, «carnali concupiscentia, quae inest genitalibus membris, bene utatur castitas coniugalis, habet tamen modos non voluntarios, quibus ostendit vel nullam se in paradiso ante peccatum esse potuisse, vel non talem fuisse, si fuit, ut aliquando resisteret. Nunc autem talem illam esse sentimus, ut repugnans legi mentis, etiam si nulla est causa generandi, stimulos ingerat coeundi; ubi si ei ceditur, peccando satietur; si non ceditur, dissentiendo frenetur».

16 Ista videtur etiam esse intentio melliflui doctoris beati Bernardi, qui semper quasi familiaris confabulator Virginis gloriosae exstitit. Nam in quodam sermone de conceptione[b] beatae Mariae, qui incipit: «Ecce virgo concipiet»[29]: «Dico», inquit, «Virginem gloriosam de Spiritu Sancto concepisse, non conceptam fuisse; dico peperisse virginem, non tamen partam a virgine. Alioquin ubi erit praerogativa matris Domini, qua[c] singulariter creditur exsultare et munere prolis et integritate carnis, si tantum dederis et matri eius? Non est Virginem honorare, sed honori detrahere». «Cum ergo haec ita se habeant, quaenam erit festivitas conceptionis, quo nec pacto aut sanctus asseretur conceptus, qui de Spiritu Sancto non est, aut festus habebitur, qui minime sanctus est?»[30] Haec ille. Ista videtur etiam esse intentio illius devotissimi servitoris Virginis gloriosae, qui primus festum gloriosae conceptionis Virginis celebrare per suam provinciam, videlicet archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem, mandavit.

17 Item venerabilis Anselmus secundo Cur Deus cap. 16[31], ubi Boso quaerens ait: «Qualiter de massa peccatrice, id est de humano genere, quod totum infectum erat peccato, hominem sine peccato, quasi azimum[d] de fermentato, Deus assumpsit? Nam licet ipsa hominis eiusdem[e] conceptio munda sit [fol. 177va] et absque carnalis delectationis peccato, Virgo tamen ipsa, unde assumptus est, in iniquitatibus concepta est, et in peccatis concepit eam mater eius (cf. Ps. 50, 7), et cum originali

[b] ceptione *Ms.*
[c] quia *Ms.*
[d] azymam *Ms.*
[e] eius *Ms.*

[28] *De Trin.* XIII, 18, 23: CCL 50A, 414.
[29] recte *Epist.* 174, 7: Op. omn. VII, Rom 1974, 391, 26-392, 2.
[30] l.c. 9: ibid. 392, 15-17. — Die Verifikation dieser zwei Zitate verdanke ich Herrn A.H. Mertens von der «Kartoteek Bernard-Konkordans» in Bergeyk/Niederl.
[31] *Cur Deus homo* II, 16: Op. omn. II, Edinburg 1946, 116, 18-24.

peccato nata est, quoniam et ipsa in Adam peccavit, in quo omnes peccaverunt (cf. Rom 5, 12)». Haec verba quidem sunt Bosonis et propter hoc quidam dicunt eam non esse intentionem Anselmi; quod non falsum est, cum liber ille per modum dialogi per Anselmum compilatus sit, ut ipsemet in plurium librorum initio fatetur. Unde absque dubio verba discipuli contra intentionem magistri prolata incorrecta in tali libro non manerent. Sed haec omnino confirmantur per Anselmum et non negantur. Dicit enim[32], quia necesse fuit hominem Christum «de massa peccatrice» assumi.

18 Ista etiam videtur expresse esse intentio doctoris sancti, scilicet sancti Thomae, in tertia parte quaest. 27 art. 1 ad tertium argumentum[33], ubi sic inquit: «Beata Virgo sanctificata fuit in utero a peccato originali quantum ad maculam personalem; non tamen fuit liberata a reatu, quo tota natura tenebatur obnoxia, scilicet ut intraret paradisum nisi per Christi hostiam, sicut etiam de sanctis patribus dicitur, qui fuerunt ante Christum». Et ista determinatione sic praemissa subdit praefatus doctor infra secundo articulo in corpore quaestionis[34] dicens: «Sanctificatio beatae Virginis non potest intellegi ante eius animationem, duplici ratione: Primo quidem, quia sanctificatio, de qua loquimur, non est nisi emundatio a peccato originali; sanctitas enim est «perfecta munditia» secundum Dionysium De divinis nominibus cap. 12[35]. Culpa autem non potest emundari nisi per gratiam, cuius subiectum est sola creatura rationalis. Et ideo ante infusionem animae rationalis beata Virgo sanctificata non fuit. Secundo quia cum sola creatura rationalis sit susceptiva culpae, ante infusionem animae rationalis proles concepta non est culpae obnoxia. Et sic, quocumque modo ante animationem beata Virgo sanctificata fuisset, numquam incurrisset maculam originalis culpae; et ita non indiguisset redemptione et salute, quae est per Christum, de quo dicitur Matthaei 1 (21): «Ipse salvum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum». Hoc enim est inconveniens, quod Christus non sit «Salvator omnium hominum», ut dicitur prima [Ad] Timotheum [cap.] 4 (10)». Vide plura pulchra in eadem quaestione. De hac materia plures etiam auctoritates sunt ad istam intentionem.

19 Unde potius dicendum est de gloriosissima virgine Maria, quod ipsa ab aeterno praedestinata fuerit ad generandum Dei Filium et in eius

[32] l.c.: ibid. 117, 1sqq.
[33] Thomas Aqu., *Summa theol.* III q. 27 a. 1 ad tertium: Turin 1956, 153 col. 1.
[34] l.c. III q. 27 a. 2: ibid. 154 col. 1.
[35] Pseudo-Dionysius Areopag., *De div. nom.* 12, 2: PG 3, 969B.

dextera ad perpetue conregnandum. Sibi enim non est dedecus esse in peccato originali conceptam propter culpam alterius; quod peccatum in ea per hyperbolem per Dei gratiam, qua impleta postmodum est, penitus detersum est.

20 *Contra istas* [*conclusiones*] arguitur sic et *primo contra primam*. Et hoc sic: Concupiscentia est peccatum originale. Igitur prima conclusio falsa. Consequentia patet, quia concupiscentia est quaedam qualitas. Antecedens patet per Augustinum libro De nuptiis et concupiscentia[36], ubi ponit aperte, quod concupiscentia ante baptismum in peccatum originale et imputatur et post baptismum non imputatur. Ad idem videtur etiam esse intentio Magistri in libro secundo dist. 30[37] per plures auctoritates hoc probantes.

21 *Secundo contra secundam conclusionem* arguitur sic: Concupiscentia est originale [fol. 177vb] peccatum et omne originale peccatum est concupiscentia. Igitur si aliquis nasceretur sine concupiscentia, talis etiam nasceretur sine peccato originali, quod est contra secundam conclusionem. Antecedens patet per Augustinum et Magistrum ubi supra[38]. Consequentia patet, quia, si omne originale peccatum est concupiscentia, sequitur: Hic non habet concupiscentiam, igitur non habet originale peccatum, simili modo, ac si argueretur: Omnis homo est animal; igitur, si aliquis non est animal, non est homo.

22 [*Tertio*] *contra tertiam et quartam conclusiones* ponam argumenta Iuliani haeretici, quae ponuntur et solvuntur ab Augustino libro primo contra eundem Iulianum. Et primo arguitur sic[39]: Natura coniugii bona et voluntas bona est. Igitur peccatum originale ex eorum commixtione, quae sine peccato est, non perpetratur. Consequentia patet, quia non potest arbor bona fructus malos facere, ut patet Matthaei 7 (18). Antecedens patet de Elisabeth et Zacharia parentibus Praecursoris et in multis aliis.

23 *Quarto* arguitur[40] auctoritate Johannis Chrysostomi in homilia de baptismate[41], ubi ait: «Infantes baptizamus, cum non sint coinquinati peccato, ut eis detur sanctitas, iustitia, cooperatio fraternitatis Christi».

[36] *De nupt. et conc.* I, 22sqq, 24-28: CSEL 42, 237-241.
[37] cf. PLomb. II, 30, 10: 501, 12sqq.
[38] vide supra notas 36 et 37.
[39] cf. *C. Iul.* I, 8, 39: PL 44, 668.
[40] cf. l.c. I, 6, 21: ibid. 655.
[41] Zitiert nach AUGUSTINUS l.c.

24 *Quinto* arguitur sic: Si omnes in peccato praeter Christum conciperentur, sequitur quod omnes essent rei mortis, si sine baptismo morerentur. Falsitas illius patet. Esto enim quod aliquis praedestinatus nascatur, talis si moreretur, modo qualitercumque salvaretur. Consequentia patet de se, quia reus damnatur et per consequens esset in peccatis.

25 *Sexto* arguitur sic: Si homo, quando primo nascitur, esset in peccato, sequitur quod Deus esset huius peccati causa. Probatur consequentia, quia talis in primo instanti sui esse effectus est talis, qualem eum sua causa creat. Si igitur anima, quae est effectus Dei, in primo instanti sui esse esset mala, tunc Deus crearet eam malam.

26 *Septimo* arguitur sic: Culpa primi parentis est restaurata per mortem Christi. Igitur nullus nascitur in peccato originali. Consequentia patet, quia si adhuc propter peccata parentum essemus damnabiles, iam non essent restaurata. Antecedens patet, quia alias Christus esset gratis mortuus.

27 *Octavo* arguitur specialiter de Virgine gloriosa, quod ipsa non sit in peccato originali concepta. Et primo auctoritate Augustini in libro De natura et gratia[42], ubi dicit, quod, cum de peccatis agitur, de ipsa non velit fieri mentionem seu quaestionem.

28 *Nono* arguitur sic: Si Virgo gloriosa in peccato originali esset concepta, sequitur quod filius non fecisset matri honorem debitum, quod est contra praeceptum Exodi 20 (12), ubi dicitur: «Honora patrem et matrem».

29 *Decimo* arguitur sic: Si ipsa non esset vel fuisset expers peccati originalis, sequitur quod festum conceptionis eius celebrari non deberet, quod est contra miracula, responsa et revelationes ipsius Virginis gloriosae.

30 *Ad ista respondetur. Ad primum* dico, quod si antecedens intellegitur formaliter, tunc est negandum. Et tunc, quando Augustinus et Magister[43] dicunt concupiscentiam esse peccatum, dico quod ipsi accipiunt ibi poenam vel signum peccati pro peccato [fol. 178ra]. Et utroque modo utitur Scriptura. Exemplum primi habet Scriptura prima Petri 2 (24), ubi dicitur de Domino, quod peccata nostra ipse tulit, id est poenas

[42] *De nat. et grat.* 36, 42: CSEL 60, 263sq.
[43] vide supra notas 36 et 37.

ipsorum peccatorum. Exemplum secundi habetur quarto Metaphysicae[44]. Nam ibidem dicitur: Dicitur enim urinam esse sanam id est signum sanitatis. Non utroque modo concupiscentia potest dici peccatum originale. Est enim poenale signum. Unde si rex aliquos proscriptos signo poenali signaret iniungens suo praeposito, ut omnes taliter signatos certo tempore interficeret, si quibus tunc postea non deposito tali signo poenali obligationem ad mortem afferret, diceretur quod tales ante indulgentiam regis mortem suam portaverint. Et iste modus videtur fuisse de intentione Augustini libro praeallegato, videlicet De nuptiis et concupiscentia[45], ubi dicit, quod reatus peccati in baptismo dimittitur, concupiscentia vero manet. Nam et plures poenae peccati Adae, quas habuit, adhuc manent in nobis, ut mors temporalis et huiusmodi.

31 Quidam tamen dicunt concupiscentiam huiusmodi esse peccatum isto modo, quod non posset in homine auferri concupiscentia, nisi gratia donaretur. Quod videtur esse ad placitum dictum. Omnem enim sensualitatem Deus posset auferre, ut credo, gratiam tamen non donando.

32 *Ad secundum* patet solutio, quia fundatur super eodem fundamento cum primo, cum ibi sit una forma arguendi falsa, quae non valet. Puta haec: «Omne peccatum originale» etc. Dico quod non valet, quia unum istorum potest esse sine altero. Quare exemplum de animali et homine non est ad propositum. Et datur instantia: Si enim omnes homines essent albi nullumque aliud esset album, adhuc multa possent esse alba, quae non possent esse homines. Quare consequentia non valet.

33 *Ad tertium* conceditur antecedens et negatur consequentia. Ad probationem dicitur[46], quod mala arbor, id est voluntas primi parentis, hunc fructum plantavit et hoc sufficit ad reatum.

34 *Ad quartum* respondet Augustinus Iuliano primo libro contra eum dicens[47]: Johannem episcopum Constantinopolitanum in hac opinione non discedere a suis coepiscopis videlicet «Romano Innocentio, Carthaginiensi Cypriano, Cappadoci Basilio, Nazianzeno Gregorio, Gallo Hilario, Mediolanensi Ambrosio». Unde idem Johannes ad Olympiam scribens, ut ibi allegat Augustinus[48], ait: «Adam peccavit et

[44] cf. *Metaphys.* 4, 2 (Aristoteles 2, 1003 a 36 und Arist. lat. XXV, 2, 60, 17).
[45] *De nupt. et conc.* I, 25, 28: CSEL 42, 240sq.
[46] cf. *C. Iul.* I, 8, 40: PL 44, 669.
[47] l.c. I, 6, 22: ibid. 655.
[48] l.c. I, 6, 24: ibid. 656.

id grave peccatum omne genus hominum in communi damnavit». Ad auctoritatem Johannis dicit Augustinus[49], quod in graeco non habeatur, ut allegat Iulianus. Sed ibi habetur: «Ideo infantes baptizamus, quamvis peccata non habentes»; non ponit: non coinquinatos, sed non habere peccata; «intellege», inquit, «magis propria, et nulla contentio erit».

35 *Ad quintum* conceditur propter sententiam Domini Salvatoris Johannis 3 (5): «Nisi quis renatus fuerit» etc.; et ad probationem falsitatis, cum dicitur: «Esto, quod aliquis» etc., dico, quod est incomposibile, quod aliquis sit praedestinatus et quod non baptizetur flamine vel flumine vel [fol. 178rb] sanguine.

36 *Ad sextum* negatur consequentia, quia primus homo est causa, quare Deus tali animae non infundit gratiam. Unde Deus potest dici esse causa tantum permissive, sed non active.

37 *Ad septimum* dicitur, quod culpa est sic restaurata, quod per baptismum salvamur, non autem sine eo; et in hoc fuit nobis magna gratia facta, quod, dummodo saltem renascamur, paradisi ianuam nobis reseravit.

38 *Ad octavum* dicitur, quod Augustinus loquitur ibi de peccato actuali solum, quia alias contradiceret sibi ipsi, ut patet per illud, ut superius per ipsum allegatum est[50].

39 *Ad nonum* negatur consequentia, quia, si talis honor decuisset matrem Domini, utique filius impendisset ac fecisset sibi eum. Sed honor fuit sibi eam in matrem eligere et super choros angelorum exaltare; et hunc fecit et exhibuit sibi.

40 *Ad decimum* dico, sicut communiter et bene dicitur, quod licite eius festum celebrari potest habendo aspectum non ad eius conceptionem, sed ad eius conceptae proxime sanctificationem. Credendum enim est, quod citissime, postquam anima fuit corpori unita, ipsa fuit sanctificata et ab omni reatu peccati mundata. Quare festum de eius conceptione licite celebrari potest. Et haec sufficiant de primo articulo huius quaestionis.

[49] l.c. I, 6, 22: ibid.
[50] vide supra TB 14-15.

[Secundus articulus]

41 Secundus articulus huius quaestionis erat de hoc, quomodo peccatum a parentibus in posteros transducatur. Pro cuius quidem articuli responsione pono *aliquas conclusiones*. Quarum *prima* est ista, quod in generatione propter primi parentis delictum et per concupiscentiam proximorum parentum peccatum originale in parvulos transducitur. *Secunda conclusio* est, quod anima infantis non ex traduce gignitur, sed a Deo noviter creatur. *Tertia conclusio* est, quod ex commixtione animae cum corpore anima originali vitio maculatur.

42 *Prima conclusio* quantum ad primam eius partem, scilicet quod propter primi parentis delictum etc., satis patet ex primo articulo huius quaestionis. Et patet etiam per Apostolum Ad Romanos 5 (12) dicens, quod «per unius hominis peccatum» etc. Et ibidem dicitur etiam, quod in Adam omnes peccaverunt. Sed quoad secundam eius partem patet per Augustinum primo libro De nuptiis et concupiscentia[51] ponentem auctoritatem beati Ambrosii[52], quod qui expers est peccati originalis, talis est expers libidinosae conceptionis; et talis libidinosa conceptio est aliquo modo causa peccati originalis, ut ibidem ponitur.

43 *Secunda conclusio probatur* per Glossam psalmi 32[53], et habetur in hoc secundo [Sententiarum], dist. 31 cap. 2[54]. Et est dictum beati Hieronymi in quadam epistula ad Augustinum exponentis illud (Ps 32, 15)[55]: «Qui finxit singillatim corda eorum», ubi sic dicit: «Qui finxit» etc., «id est animas singillatim creavit». Item oppositum huius conclusionis est haereticum, ut habetur 32 quaest. 2[56], ubi reprehenditur opinio ponens animas fieri ex traduce. Ad illud videtur esse opinio Augustini in homilia una de verbis Apostoli[57] tractans illud [Ad] Romanos 7 (18): «Scio quod in carne non habitat bonum» [fol. 178va], ubi clare dicit Augustinus: Vitium concupiscentiae anima ex se non habet, sed ex carne traxit. Quare anima ex traduce facta non est. Alias enim iam a se, non a

[51] *De nupt. et conc.* I, 35, 40: CSEL 42, 251.
[52] AMBROSIUS, *Fragmenta in Esaiam* I, 10-13: CCL 14, 405.
[53] PETRUS LOMB., *Comment. in psalmos*, ps. 32, 15: PL 191, 334.
[54] recte PLomb. II, 18, 7: 421, 15-18.
[55] recte *Contra Joannem Hierosol.* 22: Pl 23, 389B.
[56] melius PLomb. II, 31, 2: 505, 20-506, 10.
[57] cf. *Serm.* 154, 10, 14: PL 38, 839.

carne concupiscentiae vitium possideret. Haec eadem conclusio habetur ab Augustino in libro De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus[58].

44 *Tertia conclusio probatur* sic: Si anima non coniungeretur corpori, non macularetur tali vitio. Igitur conclusio vera. Antecedens patet ex auctoritate Augustini iam allegata[59], quia tunc peccatum primi parentis non est invertendum ipsi animae.

45 *Contra istas conclusiones* arguitur et *primo contra primam*, et hoc sic: Aliquis sine concupiscentia parentum concipitur, et tamen talis contrahit peccatum originale. Igitur secunda pars conclusionis falsa. Antecedens probatur per casum quem ponit Commentator in suo Colliget libro secundo[60]; et allegatur a multis modernis, videlicet ubi detur, quod cum quaedam femina intraret balneum, in quod vir semen amiserat; quo semine attracto per matricem feminae conciperetur infans. Quem casum refert Commentator suis temporibus evenisse. Ibi igitur sine dubio fetus peccato originali non careret et tamen vir in tali conceptione libidinose cum femina non coiret.

46 *Secundo* arguitur ad idem sic: Nam si Deus masculum et feminam in coitu a libidine praeservaret, adhuc tamen fetus originali culpa non careret. Igitur conclusio saltem quoad secundam partem falsa. Consequentia patet, quia cum hoc adhuc staret veritas Evangelii Johannis 3 (5): «Nisi quis renatus» etc. Et confirmatur, cum huiusmodi concupiscentia non sit nisi poena peccati, ut determinat Augustinus [nono] Super Genesim ad litteram cap. [11][61]. Et si una pars poenae subtrahitur, non oportet, quod propter hoc alia consequenter subtrahatur, cum etiam subtractio gratiae sit poena peccati originalis.

47 *Tertio contra secundam conclusionem* arguitur sic; et primo auctoritatibus Augustini quinto[f] Super Genesim ad litteram in fine[62] super illo: «Requievit» etc., ubi dicit Augustinus, ut iam novam naturam ulterius nullam crearet, non ut ea, quae condiderat, continere et gubernare cessaret. Idem in Quaestionibus ad Orosium quaest. 41[63] ait sic:

[f] primo *Ms.*

[58] GENNADIUS, *De eccl. dogm.* 14: PL 42, 1216.

[59] vide supra notam 57.

[60] AVERROES, *Colliget* II, 10: Aristot. Opera cum Averr. Comment. X, Venedig 1562, fol. 22vb L.

[61] cf. *De Gen. ad litt.* IX, 11: CSEL 28, vol. 1, 281.

[62] cf. l.c. V, 23: ibid. 169, 13-16.

[63] PSEUDO-AUGUSTINUS, *Dialogus quaestionum LXV*, qu. 42: PL 40, 747.

«Deus requiescere dicitur ab operibus novis, quia post sex dies nullam naturam creavit».

48 *Quarto* arguitur ad idem ratione Augustini decimo Super Genesim ad litteram[64], ubi accipit illud Ad Romanos 5 (12): Omnes in Adam peccaverunt: Vel igitur, inquit, secundum carnem vel secundum animam; non secundum carnem, quia sola anima peccat, supple ex eo, quod ipsa sola principaliter inordinate concupiscit. Caro enim non dicitur concupiscere nisi sicut organum visus dicitur videre vel organum auditus dicitur audire, quia caro dicitur concupiscere, quando anima secundum carnem delectatur. Nec in Adam peccavimus secundum animam, si anima ex traduce propagata non est. Si autem dicitur, quod anima infusa carni contrahit peccatum, ut videtur dicere tertia conclusio, contra hoc sunt verba Augustini ibidem[65], ubi ait: «Tunc cavendum est, ne Deus videatur [fol. 178vb] esse auctor peccati, si dat animam carni, in qua eam peccare necesse est; vel ne sit aliqua alia anima praeterquam Christi, cui liberandae gratia Christi non sit necessaria, quia non peccavit in Adam». Subdit igitur Augustinus[66]: «Natura sic facta a Deo, etsi Deo dante carni data est, cur alienabitur ab aeterna vita, si baptizando infanti nemo subvenit? Respondere possunt qui secundum Scripturas, vel quod ab eis non inveniatur vel quod eis non adversetur, qui conantur animas novas non de parentibus ductas dari; nondum me uspiam legisse fateor».

49 *Quinto* arguitur ratione eiusdem Augustini posita ubi supra quarto capitulo[67] per Apostolum Ad Hebraeos (7, 9sq.): «Levi decimatus est in lumbis Abrahae, non autem Christus», de quo etiam habetur sexto Super Genesim ad litteram cap. 3[68]. Aut hoc intellegitur secundum carnem aut secundum animam; non primum, quia secundum carnem est Christus ibi decimatus, quia descendit secundum carnem de semine Abrahae, quia Matthaei 1 (1) ipse dicitur filius David et Abrahae. Igitur secundum animam. Et per consequens anima de Abraham ex traduce descendit; et per consequens anima Levi non est sic creata a Deo sicut anima Christi.

50 *Sexto* arguitur sic: Non propter hanc auctoritatem psalmi 32 negandum est animam esse ex traduce. Igitur ratio pro conclusione non

[64] cf. *De Gen. ad litt.* X, 11: CSEL 28, vol. 1, 307sq.
[65] l.c.: ibid. 308, 13-17.
[66] l.c. X, 15: ibid. 314, 17-25.
[67] l.c. X, 19: ibid. 32, 321sq.
[68] l.c. VI, 8: ibid. 179.

valet. Consequentia est nota. Et antecedens patet per Augustinum decimo Super Genesim ad litteram cap. 1 de magnis[69]; ubi ait: «Neque hoc, quod scriptum est (Ps 32, 15): Qui finxit singillatim corda eorum, repugnat cuiquam» etc. «non ambigimus. Sicut enim ex una», supple anima, «quam flavit in faciem primi hominis, ipse utique singulas finxit, sic etiam corpora». Supple: Exponit tamen Augustinus hoc de confirmatione gratiae[70]. Item super illud Isaiae (57, 16): «Omnem flatum ego feci» respondet Augustinus[71], quod ad veritatem huius sufficit, quod anima fiat ex alia anima; et hanc sententiam plenius habet tractatus ad Renatum De origine animae[72] et epistula[g] de ista eadem materia ad Hieronymum[73] hanc dubitationem secum disputantem.

51 *Septimo* arguitur sic *contra eandem conclusionem*: Si anima hominis crearetur a Deo, sequitur quod homo non ab homine, sed a Deo generaretur. Consequentia patet, quia inductio ultimae formae est generatio. Si igitur ultimam formam, puta animam solus Deus inducit, iam homo non ageret ibi aliud nisi disponendo materiam, sed Deus generabit, quia ultimam formam inducit.

52 *Octavo* arguitur sic: Si Deus crearet animam, sequitur quod Deus esset causa peccati originalis. Falsitas patet. Consequentia probatur, quia, si aliquis homo aliquam animam infunderet corpori, unde anima peccatum vitare non valens contrahit, talis peccati esset homo auctor; sed Deus sic facit, si animam creat. Igitur etc. Idem probatur aliter, quia, si Deus crearet animam, sequitur quod anima in primo instanti sui esse non haberet peccatum. Consequentia probatur per modum arguendi Magistri in hoc secundo dist. 5[74], ubi probat, quod angeli non fuerunt mali in primo instanti, quia alias Deus creasset eos malos. Idem arguitur auctoritate Scripturae Exodi 1 (5), ubi dicitur: «Omnes animae, quae egressae sunt de femore Jacob».

53 *Nono* arguitur *contra tertiam conclusionem*, et hoc sic: [fol. 179ra] Corpus non agit in animam, ut probat Augustinus Super Genesim[75],

[g] epistulae *Ms.*

[69] l.c. X, 6: ibid. 302, 17-21.

[70] cf. l.c.: ibid. 302, 23sqq.

[71] cf. l.c.: ibid. 302, 7sqq.

[72] *De natura et origine animae*, libri quattuor: CSEL 60, 301-419; cf. l.c. I, 14, 21 et II, 14, 19: ibid. 321sq et 354.

[73] *Epist.* 166: CSEL 44, 545-585; cf. l.c. 8, 24sq: ibid. 579sq.

[74] PLomb. II, 3, 4: 343, 15-346, 21.

[75] *De Gen. ad litt.* XII, 16: CSEL 28, vol. 1, 402, 5-8.

quia omne agens est praestantius suo passo. Igitur corpus animam non maculat. Cuius oppositum dicit conclusio tertia. Consequentia patet, quia inducens maculam in aliud agit in ipsum.

54 *Decimo* ad idem arguitur sic: Peccati macula non est in carne ante infusionem animae. Igitur caro non inducit in animam talem maculam. Antecedens patet, quia alias massa inanimata diceretur peccator. Consequentia patet, quia nihil inducit maculam in aliud, quae non est in se ipso vel quam non habet in se ipso saltem causaliter vel formaliter.

55 *Ad ista respondetur. Ad primum* negatur antecedens. Ad probationem dico, quod in emissione et in remissione talis seminis est tanta libido, quod sufficit in praesenti. Licet enim possibile sit, quod non tunc eadem mensura delectentur parentes, tamen utrique delectantur.

56 *Ad secundum* dicitur, quod si Deus hoc faceret, tunc ageret contra consuetum cursum naturae, et crederem, quod talis fetus bene careret libidinosa concupiscentia; sine qua etiam primi parentes non violato praecepto genuissent, ut determinat Augustinus Super Genesim[76]. Tamen non credo, quod si ille casus fieret, quod propter hoc talis puer originali culpa careret. Conclusiones autem loquuntur de facto et secundum debitum cursum naturae.

57 *Ad tertium* scilicet ad auctoritatem Augustini dico, quod in omnibus locis, ubi vidi eum tractare istam materiam, probabiliter et non assertive loquitur, ut patet cuilibet intuenti. Unde non restat nisi rationes per eum adductas solvere. Ad primum igitur, cum dicitur, quod requievit etc., dico quod requievit et creando novas rerum species, non quin esset similes producturus, et frequenter accipiendo antiqui doctores pro specie naturam accipiunt. Unde quando dicitur, quod eadem sit natura Christi et nostra, non est dubium quin significetur, quod simus idem specifice cum Christo.

58 Ad secundum, quod est *quarta ratio* in ordine, cum dicitur: «Omnes in Adam» etc. dico, quod peccavimus in Adam secundum carnem, et tunc quando dicitur ultra: «Caro non peccat», dico, quod licet caro non peccet, tamen potest sic infici, ut digna sit quod anima secum coniuncta inficiatur. Potest etiam dici, credo, quod quoad culpam omnes tam secundum naturam quam secundum carnem peccavimus, quia omnes

[76] cf. l.c. IX, 11: ibid. 280sq.

creandae animae et infundendae corporibus culpam inciderunt excepta sola anima Christi, quia eius caro per concupiscentiam non fuit concepta et per consequens nec vitiata.

59 *Ad quintum* dico, quod Augustinus per se exponit hoc, quia dicit, quod non secundum concupiscentiam natus est Christus, quemadmodum Levi; modo soli descendentes per concupiscentiam in lumbis Levi decimati sunt, quia pro illis dabantur decimae et fiebant caeremoniae pro eorum peccatis.

60 *Ad sextum* dico, quod illa solutio non est beati Augustini, sed opinionis oppositae, de qua dicit Augustinus, quod sic posset responderi[77]. Unde expositio Augustini est etiam Hieronymi et Magistri Sententiarum et postmodum communiter per catholicos doctores approbata. Quare sibi est amplius assistendum.

61 *Ad septimum* negatur consequentia. Ad hoc enim, quod homo generetur, sufficit quod corpus concipiatur et quod ei infundatur anima et quod postmodum [fol. 179rb] totum compositum ex utero gradiatur.

62 *Ad octavum*, cum dicitur: «Sequitur quod Deus esset causa» etc., negatur consequentia. Nec valet similitudo de homine, qui infunderet, et de Deo, dicente Augustino quinto Contra Iulianum[78]: «Nos certe, si eos, in quos nobis potestas est, ante oculos nostros perpetrare scelera permittamus, rei cum ipsis erimus. Quam vero innumerabilia ille permittit fieri ante oculos suos, utique si voluisset, nulla ratione permitteret, tamen iustus et bonus est». Et sic patet, quomodo a similitudine arguere non oportet nec valet in hoc casu.

63 Ad aliam probationem negatur consequentia. Ad probationem, quando dicitur, quod iste modus arguendi est Magistri etc., negatur similitudo de angelo et de homine, quia in creatione angeli sua natura non unitur alicui materiae, ratione cuius ipse contrahat maculam. Anima autem rationalis in sui creatione unitur tali materiae, ratione cuius ipsa etiam necessario contrahit maculam peccati; et ideo sic creando angelum esset causa peccati. Hoc autem non sequitur de creatione animae.

64 *Ad nonum*, cum dicitur: «Corpus non agit in animam» etc., dico quod, licet proprie loquendo caro nihil agat in spiritum, tamen ex

[77] cf. l.c. X, 6: ibid. 302, 8sqq.
[78] *C. Iul.* V, 4, 14: PL 44, 791.

consortio carnis et animae ipsa anima maculatur, ut patet per Magistrum in hoc secundo, dist. 31[79].

65 *Ad decimum* dico quod, licet peccatum non sit in carne sic, quod caro habeat peccatum, tamen sic est in carne, quod ex consortio animae ad ipsam carnem foeditas in anima contrahitur. Et haec sint dicta de secundo articulo huius quaestionis.

[Tertius articulus]

66 Expeditis igitur duobus articulis huius quaestionis nunc accedendum est ad tertium articulum, ubi videndum est, qua poena peccatum originale in parvulis iusto Dei iudicio puniatur. Pro cuius articuli responsione suppono[h] cum fide catholica et etiam cum beato Augustino[80], quod peccatum originale in parvis puniatur, ut supponit iste articulus.

67 Tunc dico, quod nomine poenae intellego omne incommodosum perceptibiliter offensivum. Et si quid tale est formaliter, illud formaliter est poena; ut hominem cremari ab igne vel laedi hoc est formaliter poena, sed ignis dicitur poena effective. Per parvulos etiam intellego homines nondum ratione utentes, qui penitus nullum actuale peccatum contraxerunt nec commiserunt in ista vita, sine baptismate decedentes.

68 His itaque praemissis pono aliquas conclusiones probabiles, quia plures in hac materia discordant. *Prima* igitur *conclusio* sit ista, quod nullum malum poenae mera carentia est; sed magis est quaedam qualitas afflictiva. *Secunda conclusio* est, quod parvuli decedentes in peccato originali perceptibiliter sustinent poenam. *Tertia conclusio* est, quod parvuli sine baptismate decedentes nullum ignem materialem sustinent. *Quarta conclusio* est, quod in genere poenarum aeternalium poena talium parvulorum est minima. *Quinta conclusio* est, quod poena aeterna pro peccato originali in uno non est maior quam in alio. [fol. 179va].

69 *Prima conclusio probatur* sic: Quamlibet qualitatem differentem totaliter ab alia Deus potest auferre ab aliquo subiecto sine alterius positione. Igitur conclusio vera. Consequentia patet, quia si aliqua poena

[h] supposito *Ms.*

[79] PLomb. II, 31, 4: 506, 27sq.
[80] vide infra TB 72 et 74.

esset mera privatio, tunc esset aliqua poena, quam Deus auferre non posset sine positione illius, quod privat. Cum autem omnis poena sit passio et qualitas de ista specie, quare Deus eam non posset auferre, nescio ubi poneret ibi aliam qualitatem.

70 Ad hoc est Anselmus De casu diaboli cap. 26[81] ponens, quod «malum quod est iniustitia nihil est, sed malum quod est incommoditas sine dubio aliquando non est nihil». Istam auctoritatem Buckingham[i 82] exponit dicens, quod Anselmus intendit, quod non est nihil, id est non habet solam causam deficientem, quod habet malum culpae secundum Augustinum quinto De civitate Dei cap. 7[83]; sed malum poenae habet causam efficientem. Sed huic glossae apertissime contradicit ipsemet Anselmus[84] dicens, quod «malum quod est incommoditas, aliquando nihil est ut caecitas, aliquando est aliquid ut dolor. Et hanc incommoditatem, quae aliquid est, semper odio habemus. Cum igitur audimus malum, non malum, quod nihil est, timemus, sed malum, quod aliquid est», odio habemus.

71 Secundo arguitur sic: Si omne malum poenae esset pura privatio, sequitur quod aliquis posset pati poenam ignis sine igne. Consequentia probatur, quia si poena ignis non est nisi carentia, cum cuiuslibet rei Deus possit ponere carentiam, nullam rem aliam ponendo in aliquo subiecto, sequitur etiam quod Deus posset facere, quod Sortes pateretur ab igne nullo igne exsistente.

72 *Secunda conclusio probatur* sic: Parvuli puniuntur a Deo. Igitur percipiunt poenam. Consequentia est vera. Antecedens patet per Gregorium nono[k] Moralium cap. 22[85], ubi dicit, quod «perpetua tormenta percipiunt, qui nihil propria voluntate fecerunt». Huic concordat Augustinus quinto Contra Iulianum[86] dicens «tanta poena esse parvulos plectendos, ut eis non nasci potius expediret».

73 *Tertia conclusio*, videlicet quod parvuli decedentes sine baptismate nullum ignem materialem sustinent, sed carebunt visione divina, quan-

[i] Bukincam *Ms.*
[k] quinto *Ms.*

[81] cf. *Dialogus de casu diab.* 26: Op. omn. I, Edinburg 1946, 274, 8-9.
[82] THOMAS DE BUCKINGHAM (mort. post annum 1358).
[83] cf. *De civ. Dei* V, 9: CCL 47, 138-140.
[84] l.c. 26: ibid. 274, 9-12.
[85] *Mor.* IX, 21, 32: PL 75, 877.
[86] *C. Iul.* V, 11, 44: PL 44, 809. — Sed hanc opinionem Augustinus expresse reicit.

tum ad primam partem probatur per Decretalem Extra, De baptismate et eius effectu, cap. «Maiores»[87]. Quae dicit, quod «poena originalis peccati est carentia visionis divinae». Idem habetur aperte in hoc secundo, dist. 33 cap. 5[88], ubi dicitur, quod «pro originali, quod a parentibus trahitur, parvuli damnabuntur; et pro eo nullam aliam ignis materialis vel conscientiae vermis poenam sensuri sunt, nisi quod Dei visione carebunt in perpetuum». Secunda vero pars huius conclusionis, scilicet quod carebunt etc., probatur sic: Nam talis visio, cum sit omnino supernaturalis, non potest ab aliquo adipisci nisi mediante gratia Dei, propter quod dicit Apostolus [Ad] Romanos 6 (23): «Gratia Dei vita aeterna». Sed omnis existens in peccato originali caret gratia Dei. Igitur non potest habere visionem Dei, quae est vita aeterna.

74 *Quarta conclusio* [fol. 179vb] *probatur* sic: Nam ipsa expresse ponitur ab Augustino in Enchiridion cap. 13[89] et habetur in hoc secundo, dist. 33 cap. 5[90] et habetur etiam De consecratione dist. 4[91] et Extra De baptismo et eius effectu, «Maiores»[92]. Nam dicit Augustinus: «Mitissima[1] erit eorum poena, qui praeter peccatum originale nullum aliud addiderunt. Tanto enim quisque habebit tolerabiliorem damnationem quanto minorem iniquitatem». Modo certum est, quod nulli alii possunt habere minorem iniquitatem, quia tales non habent aliquod actuale peccatum. Et etiam non est dubium, quod Augustinus non loquitur de minima poena simpliciter, sed de minima in genere.

75 *Quinta conclusio probatur* sic: Si enim poena pro peccato originali esset in uno maior quam in alio, vel hoc esset ratione primorum parentum vel ratione proximorum parentum vel ratione propriae culpae. Non primum, quia primus parens transmisit peccatum in omnes aequaliter, nec etiam ratione proximorum parentum, quia tunc, ut deducit Augustinus in Enchiridion 45[93], qui posterius nasceretur, nimis gravi sarcina peccatorum puniretur et Deus ultra extenderet iram suam, nec etiam ratione propriae culpae, ut de se clarum est, quia nullam habent.

[1] minutissima *Ms.*

[87] *Decretal. Greg.* IX, lib. III tit. 42 cap. 3: CIC II, 646.
[88] PLomb. II, 33, 2: 520, 13-16.
[89] *Ench.* 23, 93: CCL 46, 99.
[90] PLomb. II, 33, 2: 520, 4-7.
[91] cf. *Decreti Gratiani* pars 3 *De consecr.* dist. 4 cap. 3: CIC I, 1362.
[92] *Decretal. Greg.* IX, lib. III tit. 42 cap. 3: CIC II, 646.
[93] *Ench.* 13, 47: CCL 46, 75.

76 Aliter arguit Magister pro ista conclusione in littera[94] ex dictis Augustini et hoc sic: Pro quolibet originali debetur poena minima. Igitur non maior debetur pro uno quam pro alio. Haec ratio modicum concludit, quia non simpliciter minima poena debetur pro originali, cum talis non sit dabilis; quare, si Deus vellet, poenam parvulorum remittere posset; sed est minima in genere, ut dicit conclusio quarta.

77 *Contra istas conclusiones* arguitur et *primo contra primam* et hoc sic: Omne malum est mera boni carentia. Igitur conclusio falsa. Consequentia patet, quia omnis poena est mala, alias non esset poena. Antecedens patet per auctoritates sanctorum per Buckingham[m] adductas, quae concludunt communiter tam de malo culpae quam de malo poenae. Et primo per Augustinum Enchiridion [cap.] 34[95] et habetur in hoc secundo, dist. 34[96]; ubi quaerit Augustinus dicens: Quid est malum? Et dicit: Privatio boni. Et probat de malo poenae dicens, quod morbi et vulnera sunt privationes huius boni, quod est sanitas; ita est de vitiis animorum. Et postea concludit, quod malum non est nisi privatio boni. Idem De natura boni[97] concludit, quod malum «nihil est nisi corruptio rei vel ordinis naturalis». Idem De vera religione cap. 20[98] ponit, quod dolor non est aliud nisi «corruptio salutis». Idem duodecimo De civitate Dei cap. 6[99] probando quod nullum malum fuit ab aeterno, quia malum est in re bona; et per consequens id fuisset aliquando bonum. Ex hoc evidenter patet, quod vult, quod omne malum sit privatio.

78 *Secundo contra secundam conclusionem* arguitur sic: Parvuli solum habent carentiam visionis divinae. Igitur conclusio falsa. Antecedens patet per Magistrum in littera dist. 33 cap. 5[100]. Consequentia patet, quia nulla poena est sola carentia, ut dicit conclusio prima.

79 *Tertio* contra eandem arguitur sic per Glossam Decreti, [De] consecratione dist. 4[101], «Nulla[n]», ubi dicitur, quod tales parvuli

[m] Buchinam *Ms.*
[n] dist. 4 Nulla] dist. 8 Nullus *Ms.*

[94] cf. PLomb. II, 33, 2: 520, 7sqq.
[95] *Ench.* 3, 11: CCL 46, 53sq.
[96] PLomb. II, 34, 4: 527, 1-6.
[97] *De nat. boni* 4: PL 42, 553.
[98] *De vera rel.* 12, 23: CCL 32, 202.
[99] cf. *De civ. Dei* XII, 6: CCL 48, 360.
[100] PLomb. II, 33, 2: 520, 14-16.
[101] *Decreti Gratiani* pars 3 *De consecr.* dist. 4 cap. 142: CIC I, 1408.

«manent in tenebris»; Glossa: [fol. 180ra][102] id est: tantum habebunt carentiam divinae visionis.

80 *Quarto contra tertiam conclusionem* arguitur sic, et hoc per dictum Augustini De fide ad Petrum cap. 23[103] et habetur in quarto huius, dist. [4] cap. 13[104], et habetur etiam De consecratione dist. 4 «Firmissime»[105]. Ubi dicit Augustinus: «Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites parvulos, qui in matris uteris vivere incipiunt et ibi moriuntur vel de mulieribus nati sine sacramento baptismatis transierunt, aeterni ignis supplicio puniendos».

81 *Quinto* contra idem arguitur sic per Glossam Extra, De baptismo et eius effectu, «Maiores»[106] dicentem, quod poena parvulorum est mitissima, tamen sempiterno igne cruciantur.

82 *Sexto* arguitur sic: In die iudicii erit solum via bipertita, ut patet Matthaei 25 (34 et 41) videlicet vel in ignem aeternum vel in regnum. Sed secundam viam non habebunt parvuli; igitur primam. Et per consequens cruciabuntur igne.

83 *Septimo contra quartam conclusionem* arguitur sic: Maiori culpae debetur maior poena et minori minor. Sed in genere culparum culpa originalis non est minima. Igitur nec poena minima in genere poenarum erit sibi debita. Maior patet Deuteronomii 25° (2): «Iuxta mensuram culpae erit plagarum modus». Et minor patet etiam, quia culpa peccati actualis in infinitum est remissibilis. Igitur tantum potest remitti, quod ipsa adaequatur originali.

84 *Octavo* arguitur *contra quintam conclusionem* et hoc sic: Poena pro originali peccato fuit minor ante passionem Christi quam nunc. Igitur conclusio falsa. Consequentia patet. Antecedens probatur, quia nunc privantur maiori gratia quam tunc. Nunc enim habemus gratiam per baptismum, per quod solvimur a culpa et habiles reddimur subito ad intrandum regnum, tunc autem solum aliqui, qui habebant remissionem

° Exodi 23 *Ms.*

[102] cf. *Corpus Iuris Canonici... Glossis diversorum illustratum* pars I: Lyon 1671, 2030 u.

[103] FULGENTIUS RUSP., *De fid. ad Petr.* 27, 70, 1247sqq: CCL 91A, 753.

[104] PLomb. IV, 4, 4: 769 nr. 47.

[105] *Decreti Gratiani* pars 3 *De consecr.* dist. 4 cap. 3: CIC I, 1362.

[106] cf. *Corpus Iuris Canonici... cum Glossis ordinariis* pars II: Lyon 1671, 1385sq h.

culpae. Hoc patet Extra, De baptismo etc., «Maiores»[107]. Sed maior est poena privari maiori bono quam minori; et si sic, nunc[p] iam erit maior poena pro originali quam tunc.

85 *Nono* arguitur sic: Per exorcismum culpa originalis minuitur. Igitur conclusio falsa. Consequentia patet per casum. Esto, quod aliquis exorcizatus decedat nondum baptizatus ab hac vita. Antecedens patet, ut habetur De consecratione dist. 4, «Sicut nostis»[108], et ponitur in quarto huius, dist. 36 cap. 17[109], ubi dicitur: «Parvuli sufflantur et exorcizantur, ut ab eis pellatur diabolus». Sed diabolus non est in eis nisi per culpam originalem. Si igitur diabolus expellitur, tunc vel culpa originalis expellitur in parte vel in toto. Sed non in toto, quia hoc non fit sine baptismo; igitur in parte, et sic talis poena minuitur.

86 *Decimo* arguitur sic: Mors temporalis et concupiscentia carnis sunt poena originalis culpae; sed haec sunt in aliquo intensius, in aliquo vero remissius. Nam aliqui cito moriuntur, aliqui vero non, et aliqui etiam intensius concupiscunt aliis. Quare etiam poena erit in uno intensior quam in alio.

87 *Ad ista respondetur*: *Ad primum* negatur antecedens. Ad auctoritates dicitur, quod omnes non intendunt plus, nisi quod ad omne malum sequitur privatio alicuius [fol. 180rb] boni; ita quod, cum dicitur: Omne malum est privatio boni, quod sit ibi praedicatio causalis vel illativa, quia infertur privatio boni ex malo.

88 *Ad secundum* dicitur, quod parvuli non solum habent carentiam visionis divinae. Carentia enim non est aliqua poena, nisi quia ex ea poena sequitur quam habent. Et sic exponitur Magister.

89 *Ad tertium* dicitur similiter, quia si non haberent nisi carentiam et inde non dolerent, iam carere nulla poena esset eis. Si quis enim faceret mihi regnum Franciae debitum inesse, me nesciente faceret, quod essem privatus regno Franciae; et tamen nullum malum faceret mihi hoc agendo. Unde non est universaliter verum, quod tam malum sit alicui carere aliquo sibi debito, quam bonum est habere illud.

[p] tunc *Ms.*

[107] *Decretal. Greg.* IX, l.c.: CIC II, 645.
[108] *Decreti Gratiani* pars III *De consecr.* dist. 4 cap. 62: CIC I, 1383.
[109] PLomb. IV, 4, 7: 784 nr. 72.

90 *Ad quartum* scilicet ad Augustinum dico, quod propter istam auctoritatem aliqui[110] tenent conclusionem oppositam. Dico tamen quod per ignem intellegitur poena, quam patiuntur etc., non ignis materialis. Sed contra tunc eodem modo posset glossari illud Matthaei 25 (41): «Ite maledicti in ignem» etc. et illud Symboli[111]: «Qui vero male egerunt, in ignem aeternum». Hic respondetur dicendo, quod non potest, quia illud dictum Christi et Symboli etiam per sanctos doctores glossatum est. In proposito autem doctores discordare videntur. Unde sanius est parti saniori Ecclesiae consentire, scilicet quod non patiuntur ignem materialem.

91 Per hoc patet etiam responsio *ad quintum*. Nam contra idem versatur.

92 *Ad sextum* dicitur, quod Dominus loquitur ibi illis, qui commiserunt peccata actualia, videlicet qui neglexerunt opera misericordiae. Sed per hoc non excludit, quin parvuli patiantur aliam poenam ab illis.

93 *Ad septimum* conceditur maior ad bonum sensum et negatur minor. Et ad probationem dicitur, quod manens in specie sua numquam est tantum remissibilis, ut originali culpae adaequetur, quia specie differunt; duae autem species aequales esse non possunt. Sed si intellegitur de remissione simpliciter in genere, tunc forte remitteretur, ut fieret venialis, quae fuit mortalis; quod non est dicendum.

94 *Ad octavum* dicitur, quod conclusio loquitur hic de poena, quam patiuntur in inferno, et ista est aequalis, quia illos impedivit culpa, ne essent participes futurae redemptionis, sicut istos impedit, ne sint participes redemptionis praeteritae.

95 *Ad nonum* dicitur, quod per exorcismum non minuitur culpa originalis, sed tantum expellitur diabolus, ne tantum possit impedire temptando et instigando ad malum, sicut alias faceret.

96 *Ad decimum* dico, quod conclusio intendit de poenis aeternis, ratio autem concludit de poenis temporalibus; quare ipsa non valet.

[110] cf. GREGORIUS DE ARIMINO, *In secundo Sententiarum* dist. 30 qu. 3: Venedig 1503, fol. 105ra.

[111] *Symbolum «Quicumque» Pseudo-Athanasianum* 41: *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, ed. H. DENZINGER-A. SCHÖNMETZER, Freiburg 1963[32], 40/76.

97 *Ad rationem principalem*, cum dicitur: Peccatum originale etc., negatur consequentia. Et quando arguitur: Hoc est peccatum [fol. 180va] etc., conceditur consequentia ad bonum intellectum. Et quando tunc ultra arguitur: Igitur si hoc non est illi etc., negatur consequentia...

98 Ad secundam dicitur, «quod filius dicitur non portare peccatum patris, quia non punitur [pro] peccato patris, nisi fit particeps culpae. Et sic est in proposito. Nam culpa derivatur per originem a patre in filium, sicut peccatum actuale per imitationem». Haec Thomas Prima Secundae qu. 81 art. 1 ad primum[112].

[112] THOMAS AQU., *Summa theol.* I, II q. 81 a. 1 ad primum: Turin 1952, 372 col. 2.

Suppression et restauration de l'ordre des Augustins en Belgique, 1794-1834

Une vue d'ensemble de l'historiographie des augustins en Belgique révèle que l'histoire de la *Provincia Flandro-Belgica*, avant 1679 appelée *Provincia Coloniensis*[1]), a été suffisamment écrite jusqu'à la fin du dix-huitième siècle, plus précisément jusqu'au dernier chapitre provincial sous l'Ancien Régime en juillet 1793. La période contemporaine, allant de 1834 jusqu'à nos jours, a été traitée partiellement, mais une recherche approfondie s'impose. Reste à explorer ce qu'est devenue cette province après l'occupation des Pays-Bas Méridionaux autrichiens par les armées révolutionnaires françaises en 1794. Plus spécialement on se demandera de quelle manière la vie augustinienne a survécu au fanatisme anticlérical des autorités françaises avant 1815, et, après, à l'intransigeance méthodique de l'administration hollandaise envers la vie communautaire des ordres et congrégations. C'est seulement après la proclamation de la souveraineté belge en 1830 que les augustins, parmi tant d'autres instituts religieux, réussiront à rétablir la vie communautaire après une interruption de trente-huit ans. De tout ce qui regarde cette période, rien n'a été systématiquement exploré, à tel point que, hormis quelques noms de personnes et quelques dates mémorables, l'historiographie de ces quatre décennies est inexistante. Cependant, bien qu'il nous manque de toutes sortes de pièces indispensables pour une reconstitution exemplaire de l'époque, les archives des augustins belges conservent un nombre assez impressionant de documents qui peuvent nous instruire sur les événements déplorables survenus sous le Directoire, sur le sort de certain religieux expulsés de leur couvent et sur l'état des églises et monastères de l'ordre[2]).

[1]) Sur la province gallo-belge, érigée à Lille en 1682, voir: N. De Tombeur, Provincia Belgica Ord. FF. Eremitarum S.P.N. Augustini olim dicata Coloniensis, et Inferioris Germaniae. Lovanii, 1727, p. 94; E. Braem-N. Teeuwen, Augustiniana Belgica Illustrata. Lovanii, 1956, p. 25; B. Van Luijk, L'ordine agostiniano. Leuven-Heverlee, 1973, pp. 229-230. Cette province, ainsi que celle de Liège, mentionnée plus loin dans le texte, ne se relevèrent plus après la Révolution française.

[2]) Archief der Belgische Augustijnen (ABA), conservé au couvent des augustins à

S'il est vrai que les archives de quelques couvents ont disparu dans la tourmente révolutionnaire, on ne peut que se féliciter du fait que les religieux des autres couvents ont réussi à sauver du désastre un bon nombre de documents. Parfois l'un d'eux s'est chargé d'annoter des données biographiques dans tel livre des profès ou tel obituaire, ce qui nous permet de retracer le destin de certain d'entre eux, même plusieurs années après leur expulsion du couvent. Toutefois, nulle part on ne trouve un rapport complet des événements catastrophiques des années 1794-1800, car aucun des augustins n'a laissé un récit détaillé de la fermeture de son couvent, de sa propre expulsion du pays ou des malchances que devaient subir ses confrères expulsés. Même si on observe qu'un des derniers religieux du couvent de Louvain, pour ne citer que ce cas, s'est efforcé d'accumuler des dizaines de notices variées dans les registres qu'il détenait subrepticement, on doit se rendre à l'évidence d'une impossible vue d'ensemble sur l'extinction progressive de la communauté louvaniste dans les années 1796-1823.

Une source importante pour l'historiographie de la province flandro-belge est constituée par les Elenchi Defunctorum ou nécrologies annonçant les décès jusqu'en 1830[3]). Il nous reste aussi quelques brochures manuscrites des premières années du dix-neuvième siècle qui délivrent parfois des données confuses ou incohérentes dont la valeur ne peut être établie qu'avec beaucoup de difficultés. Le Concordat entre Bonaparte et le pape Pie VII rendant une certaine liberté aux catholiques, dès 1805 des nécrologies plus précises furent imprimées et annuellement distribuées aux augustins dispersés. Au fil des années, la simple annonce de décès s'y

Gand. Outre les documents indiqués en lieu propre, les registres de ce dépôt qui ont été consultés pour cette étude sont les suivants:

AL Annales conventus Lovaniensis Ord. FF. Eremitarum S.P. Augustini compilati per F. Nicolaum De Tombeur S.T. Licent. et ejusdem conventus filium anno 1716 (complété par H. Peeters O.S.A.) 4 vol.
LTh Liber theologorum conventus Lovaniensis 1759-1796 (complété par le même).
LO Liber obligationum conventus Gandavensis ab anno 1739.
Cat Catalogus chronologicus conventus Gandavensis ab anno 1589.
LDecr Liber decretorum (avec le nom du couvent).
LP Liber professionum (avec le nom du couvent).
CoRo Register der briefwisseling met het generalaat te Rome, 1825-1844.

[3]) En raccourci: ED, avec indication de l'année. Une série complète se trouve dans la bibliothèque du couvent de Gand (61bis A-H), une autre, incomplète celle-ci, est conservée dans la collection de documents du Augustijns Historisch Instituut à Leuven-Heverlee (AHI). Nous tenons à remercier le bibliothécaire de l'Institut M. Schrama O.S.A. pour les indications précieuses qu'il nous a fournies.

élargit souvent à un vrai curriculum vitae, et parfois l'auteur atteint le niveau d'un panégyrique. L'importance de ces Elenchi réside en premier lieu dans la possibilité qu'ils donnent de repérer et d'identifier les religieux décédés après la séparation d'avec leurs confrères. En second lieu, une liste des noms connus completée par des données biographiques suscite des interrogations tantôt sur des liens malgré tout ininterrompus entre divers groupes et diverses personnes, tantôt sur l'influence durable de quelques anciens supérieurs ou sur des responsabilités assumées de nouveau soit ouvertement soit en cachette.

En ce qui concerne la dissolution de la province flandro-belge sous le régime français, la recherche serait incomplète si on négligeait les archives municipales d'une vingtaine de villes ou sont conservées un nombre jusqu'ici incontrôlé de pièces archivales provenant des couvents supprimés, ainsi que des documents rédigés à l'occasion de la fermeture définitive de ceux-ci : inventaires, états de biens, listes de personnes, procès verbaux, rapports divers.

Un aperçu de l'époque 1814-1834, dans laquelle des tentatives de renouvellement se font voir, est inconcevable sans la correspondance des religieux en Belgique avec leurs confrères de la Mission hollandaise (*Missio Hollandica*). Une partie des lettres échangées est conservée à Gand (ABA), l'autre partie se trouve dans le dépôt des archives des augustins de la province hollandaise à Utrecht[4]). En plus, de larges extraits de la correspondance entre le commissaire général Augustin Naudts et les prieurs généraux à Rome dans les années 1815-1842 ont été publiés dans la revue Analecta Augustiniana[5]). Ensuite, un assez grand nombre de documents conservés à Utrecht sont de nature à compléter notre connaissance du destin des religieux expulsés, et plus précisément de la carrière de ceux qui, réfugiés en Hollande, se sont engagés comme desservants dans les paroisses de ce pays.

Enfin, il convient de mentionner les archives du Royaume ainsi que les archives diocésaines belges. La liste des documents utilisables à cette étude qu'on y détient est à compléter.

[4]) Provinciaal Archief OSA Nederland (ANA). Pour cette étude les conseils et suggestions de l'archiviste A. de Meijer O.S.A. ont été de grande valeur. Nous tenons à lui en exprimer ici toute notre gratitude.

[5]) Archivum Generale Augustinianorum (AGA, à Rome). Il s'agit d'extraits des Regesta Priorum Generalium, mentionnés plus loin: Dd. Voir: *Analecta Augustiniana* 3 (1909-1910) 40-47. 67-74, 88-91.

Compte tenu de l'éparpillement des données historiques et surtout de l'absence de certaines sources, des lacunes dans la connaissance des faits sont inévitables. Une reconstitution tant soi peu valable de l'époque 1794-1834 sera, il va sans dire, travail de longue haleine. De ce fait, l'exposé que voici se présente plutôt comme le préambule à une étude approfondie du sujet.

1) *La crise à la fin du Régime autrichien.*

Pour mieux comprendre les circonstances dans lesquelles l'ancienne province flandro-belge prit fin, un examen rétrospectif s'impose.

Dans les actes du chapitre intermédiaire du 12 mai 1784, le prieur provincial Baudouin Hosselaer fait inscrire que dorénavant la cotisation annuelle des couvents au profit de la caisse provinciale sera considérablement diminuée. La raison invoquée est l'inquiétante pauvreté de plusieurs couvents[6]). L'année suivante, dans une lettre circulaire du 13 août, le même supérieur fait savoir qu'il a demandé à l'administration centrale auprès du gouvernement autrichien à Bruxelles la permission de recevoir deux jeunes gens au noviciat. Les pourparlers ont été extrêmement durs, et la permission a été finalement arrachée sous la condition qu'après leurs études ces religieux seraient placés comme enseignants dans un des collèges de l'Ordre, c'est-à-dire qu'ils devront travailler «in communem utilitatem»[7]). Les deux faits méritent d'être relevés, car ils éclairent l'état d'âme des religieux qui dans les années à venir auront à porter tout le poids de la répression exercée par les révolutionnaires français. Il ne fait pas de doute que, si quelques-uns des quinze couvents de la province souffraient d'un appauvrissement réel, les prieurs des autres couvents n'aient eux aussi du mal à garder la balance en équilibre et à assurer le recrutement de novices. En effet, depuis assez longtemps une rangée d'inconvénients accablait le clergé et avant tout les ordres réguliers[8]). L'édit du 15

[6]) ABA fonds Diest, n. 66 LDecr Diesthemiensis, copie en appendice. «Facta attentione seria... tum ad magnam paupertatem et inopiam ad quas plurimi ex nostris conventibus, miseris his temporibus, redacti sunt...»

[7]) ABA fonds Dendermonde, n. 75 LDecr Teneramundanus, copie.

[8]) Ouvrages consultés sur le Siècle des Lumières en tant que mouvement culturel en action dans les Pays-Bas:

H. PIRENNE, Histoire de Belgique. Bruxelles, 1950. t. 3, pp. 157-168.

E. LOUSSE, Beschavingsgeschiedenis van de moderne tijden, 1453-1789. Leuven, 1937, pp. 235-266.

E. LOUSSE, Het Tijdvak van het Liberalisme, 1789-1870. Leuven, 1932 (pro manuscripto) pp. 15-21.

septembre 1753, émanant de l'impératrice Marie Thérèse, avait coupé court à la possession de biens de mainmorte, interdisant en même temps l'usage d'accepter des terrains, des bâtiments ou autres biens temporels en guise de paiement des messes dites ou chantées pour les defunts. A celà s'ajoutait plus tard l'édit du 14 mai 1771 par lequel il n'était plus permis d'accepter des mains d'un novice ou de sa famille une dot ou n'importe quelle autre valeur. Une autre mesure portait sur les personnes. L'édit impérial du 18 avril 1772 interdisait aux supérieurs réguliers de recevoir la profession des jeunes religieux avant leur vingt-cinquième aniversaire, fixant de cette façon leur entrée en religion à l'âge minimum de vingt-quatre ans. De telles mesures étaient conçues avec le but précis de briser le

A. VLOEMANS, Cultuurgeschiedenis van Europa. Den Haag, 1954, pp. 225-277.
P. JEANNIN, L'Europe du Nord-ouest et du Nord au XVII° et XVIII° siècles. Paris, 1969, pp. 202-226.
E.H. KOSSMANN, De Lage Landen, 1780-1940. Amsterdam-Brussel, 1976, pp. 20-33.
G. GUSDORF, Les principes de la pensée au Siècle des Lumières. Paris, 1971, pp. 293ss.
J. DE JONG, Handboek der Kerkgeschiedenis. Utrecht-Antwerpen, 1948, t. 3, pp. 414-450.
L.J. ROGIER, Geschiedenis van de Kerk. Antwerpen, 1964, t. 7, pp. 9-38, 140-164.
L.J. ROGIER, Eenheid en scheiding. Geschiedenis der Nederlanden. Utrecht-Antwerpen, 1973, pp. 218-222.
G. SCHNÜRER, De Katholieke Kerk en de beschaving in de Achttiende Eeuw. Haarlem, 1952.
G. CASTELLA, Geschiedenis van de pausen. Roermond-Maaseik, 1950, pp. 293-295.
J. DELUMEAU, Le Catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire. Paris, 1971, pp. 293-330.
E. PRÉCLIN, Les luttes politiques et doctrinales aux XVII° et XVIII° siècles, dans: Histoire de l'Église (FLICHE et MARTIN), t. 19, pp. 307-320.
L.P. GACHARD, J. DE LE COURT, P. VERHAEGEN, Ordonnances des Pays-Bas autrichiens (Receuil des anciennes ordonnances de la Belgique, 3° série) Bruxelles, 1860-1942.
G.H. DUMONT, Histoire de la Belgique. (Paris), 1977, pp. 268-317.
F. NÈVE, Deux mille ans de l'Histoire des Belges. Bruxelles, 1926, pp. 254-293.
J. LEFEVRE, Het Zuiden onder Maria Theresia en Jozef II, 1748-1789. — Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden. Utrecht-Antwerpen, 1955, t. 8, pp. 80-103.
M. DENECKERE, Het culturele leven in het Zuiden, 1748-1795. — Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden, Utrecht-Antwerpen, t. 8, pp. 433-437.
G. DE SCHEPPER, Marie Thérèse et Joseph II. Leur politique à l'égard des maisons religieuses dans les Pays-Bas. — *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 35 (1939) 509-529.
E. DE MOREAU, L'Eglise en Belgique. Paris-Bruxelles, 1944, pp. 195-205.
C. DE CLERCQ, Verdrukking door de (Oostenrijkse) staat. — Flandria Nostra. Antwerpen, 1959, t. 4, pp. 158-167.
J. LAENEN, Joseph II en zijne regeering in de Nederlanden. — *Verhandelingen van de Algemene Hogeschooluitbreiding*, n. 107. Antwerpen, 1908.
J. LAENEN, Etude sur la suppression des couvents par l'empereur Joseph II dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens et plus spécialement dans le Brabant, 1783-1794. — *Annales Académiques Belges* 67 (1905) 343-464.
A. VERHAEGEN, Le Cardinal de Franckenberg, archévêque de Malines (1726-1804). Lille, 1889, pp. 66-267.

pouvoir qu'exercait le clergé dans les affaires publiques. Le gouvernement envisageait d'anéantir l'attrait de la vie monastique, visant par cela l'amortissement progressif des biens ecclésiastiques en vue d'une reconversion de l'économie agricole. Dans cet ordre d'idées l'accusation principale des esprits éclairés était que les religieux continuaient à dépenser les revenues de leurs biens en bâtissant de nouvelles églises ou de nouveaux oratoires, en achetant des objets d'art destinés au culte et en agrandissant continuellement leur fortune.

On s'indignait surtout de ce qu'ils refusaient de mettre leurs capitaux dans des investissements plus rentables pour la société, tel l'industrie et le commerce. Ajoutons encore les reproches d'obscurantisme, de manque de savoir-vivre, voir même d'oisiveté, des reproches bien sûr qui en premier lieu furent dirigés par les associations de libres-penseurs contre les ordres contemplatifs, mais qui ne manquaient pas pour autant d'affecter douloureusement les communautés de mendiants et les autres instituts religieux. Or, il est clair que dans cet état de choses le clergé régulier est pris entre deux feux: d'une part il est en proie aux tentatives de l'absolutisme impérial viennois cherchant à subordonner l'Église entière au pouvoir laïque, d'autre part, les fervents du Siècle des Lumières se heurtent à la façon de vivre dans les monastères et à la soi-disant inutilité des religieux eux-mêmes.

Dès la mort de Marie Thérèse en 1780, la situation s'aggrava avec l'avènement de son fils Joseph II au trône impérial. On sait que l'impératrice, esprit modéré quoiqu'imbu des idées du Febronianisme, se laissait parfois fléchir par les suppliques des évêques belges ou les protestations des Etats généraux. Le fils n'eut pas plus tôt succédé à sa mère qu'il commença à précipiter les choses. Par un édit en date du 15 décembre 1781, il interdit toute communication aux instituts religieux des Pays-Bas Méridionaux avec leurs supérieurs résidant à l'étranger. Par une mesure analogue, les six couvents augustiniens dans la principauté de Liège, pays qui ne relevait pas de couronne impériale, furent contraints à s'ériger en province autonome[9]). Pendant l'année 1782, l'empereur s'affairait à supprimer les ordres contemplatifs, tout en subordonnant les autres à l'autorité des évêques, et, depuis le début de 1784, les prieurs des

[9]) Notamment les couvents de Liège, Hasselt, Maastricht, Huy, Bouillon et Bree. Voir: *Analecta Augustiniana* 13 (1929-1930) 112-113 (Dd 223, f. 108v°, 225, f. 140v°-141r°); ED 1815; Braem et Teeuwen, o.c. p. 25; J.J. GAVIGAN, The European Augustinians. — *Analecta Augustiniana* 38 (1975) 240.

couvents se virent obligés de payer une pension à chacun de leurs sujets. Deux ans plus tard, l'empereur ordonna le dénombrement des biens de toutes les communautés et corporations ecclésiastiques, y compris les paroisses et confrèries, ce qui ne tarda pas à provoquer une augmentation des taxes et impôts. Finalement, la consternation générale tourna à la revolte après la décision de supprimer les séminaires et facultés de théologie et l'installation d'un Séminaire général à Louvain avec une succursale au Luxembourg[10]). Dans les deux instituts, les cours furent donnés par des professeurs adeptes de la philosophie éclairée qui pour cette raison avaient obtenu le placet du gouvernement autrichien. L'obligation stricte, imposée à tous les étudiants en théologie, d'y assister aux cours causa le départ définitif de cinq frères clercs de la Schola Augustiniana dépendant du couvent de Louvain, tandis que deux autres se firent affilier au couvent de Hasselt, situé au delà de la frontière et faisant partie de la province de Liège récemment érigée[11]). Dans les années suivantes, les changements politiques accompagnés d'inévitables et souvent désastreuses opérations militaires dans tout le pays occasionaient tour à tour le rétablissement et le désordre, le soulagement et le désespoir. La retraite de l'armée autrichienne, mise en déroute par des patriotes armés, et son retour en force en 1790 causaient moins de dégâts et de desarroi que la première invasion française. Le pays restait occupé par les troupes de la Révolution du 6 novembre 1792 au 18 mars 1793, et ces quatre mois de barbarie suffisaient à faire changer d'avis ceux qui auparavent avaient sympathisé avec la Révolution tant qu'elle ne se faisait pas sentir en dehors de la France. Les couvents des augustins n'échappèrent pas plus que les autres au pillage et aux vexations de toutes sortes. Un seul cas de meurtre est à signaler au couvent de Louvain, où le père Georges Haens fut assomé au seuil de sa porte. La mort s'en suivit après plusieurs semaines d'agonie[12]). Cet incident jeta la panique dans la

[10]) A. Verhaegen, o.c., pp. 154ss, 184ss.

[11]) ABA fonds Leuven, n. 49 LTh f. 94v°, 101v°, 102r°-v°, 113r°-v°; P. Grootens, Het professieboek der PP. Augustijnen te Brussel. — *Augustiniana* 3 (1953) 105-106, nn. 137-138; N. Teeuwen, Obituarium van het Augustijnenklooster te Brussel. — *ibid.*, 4 (1954) 90, nn. 329-330.

[12]) ABA fonds Leuven, n. 31 AL II, f. 953; H. Peeters, Collectio spectantium ad historiam cum miraculis Sacratissimae Hostiae... Lovanium allatae ibidemque conservatae. (ms, Archief Sint-Jacobsparochie, Leuven) f. 303. Qu'il nous soit permis d'exprimer notre reconnaissance envers Mr. E. De Roeck, curé, qui nous a permis de consulter longuement cet ouvrage; J. Wils, Obituaire des Augustins de Louvain. — *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique* 30 (1903) 380. — Le fait est aussi mentionné dans: J.B. Hous, Leuvense Kronijk 1780-1829, édité par J. De Kempeneer, Heverlee, 1964 p. 4.

communauté louvaniste déjà plus tôt atteinte d'un certain désordre. Les documents qui nous restent, démontrent en effet des irrégularités dans l'organisation des études théologiques[13]). Les cours furent suspendus une première fois en 1786 et 1787. Le fait s'explique nettement par l'ouverture du Séminaire général, les querelles s'y rapportant et le sabotage publiquement approuvé. Quant au cours qui auraient dû commencer le 1 octobre 1792, rien ne démontre qu'ils aient commencé à cette date ou qu'ils soient suspendus à une date postérieure, par exemple au moment de l'agression française en novembre. Autre situation surprenante: certains frères firent leur noviciat pendant les études théologiques à Louvain, donc en opposition aves les prescriptions en vigueur, et d'autres n'entrèrent même pas à la Schola Augustiniana. On peut conjecturer que ces derniers ont suivi des cours dans leurs propre couvent ou dans un des séminaires rétablis depuis 1790. Enfin, on n'est pas peu surpris d'apprendre que le père Jean François de Carnoncle, maître des novices, fut chargé d'un cours de théologie morale à donner aux novices[14]). Or,la charge qu'on lui confiait, incombait à un des trois professeurs de la Schola à Louvain. Pourtant le noviciat se faisait en cette même année comme d'habitude au couvent de Malines. Il est presque sûr qu'il s'agit là d'une disposition provisoire ayant pour but d'accélérer la formation des frères clercs. Une mesure analogue permettrait d'expliquer le fait que certains de ces étudiants en théologie aient achevé études dans le court délai de deux ans ou même d'une seule année. Les documents relatifs à de telles situations font généralement défaut, de même que ceux qui pourraient nous donner des précisions sur les événements dans les autres couvents de la province flandro-belge pendant ces années de trouble.

Quand on embrasse d'un regard les quatorze ans qui précèdent la fin du Régime autrichien, une période qui fut entrecoupée successivement par la Révolution brabançonne (1789-1790) et la première invasion française (1792-1793), on se rend nettement compte du changement important des idées et de la tension dans les orientations politiques. Alors il est indubitable que partout en Europe l'opposition de la libre pensée et du dogme catholique se précise rapidement et au détriment de l'Église. Qu'il soit religieux ou laïque, nul n'échappe aux conséquences de cette grande confrontation. Plus d'un observe attentivement l'évolution des pensées, et,

[13]) ABA fonds Leuven, n. 31 AL II, f. 737-738; ibid. n. 49 LTh, f. 115r°-130r°, passim.

[14]) ABA fonds Leuven, n. 49 LTh, f. 110r°; ED 1817.

quand les idées se concrétisent en décisions politiques, il s'engage d'une part ou de l'autre. C'est la révolution partout, tantôt belliqueuse, tantôt tempérée, mais toujours hostile aux détenteurs du pouvoir ancestral: la noblesse, la religion et l'état bourgeois tout entier. Dans cet état de choses, le clergé des Pays-Bas Méridionaux se voit contraint d'assumer un rôle défensif, parce qu'il est menacé non seulement par l'absolutisme du gouvernement autrichien, mais aussi par les inculpations des libres-penseurs, et il va de soi que l'anticléricalisme virulent des envahisseurs français ne fait qu'empirer les situations déjà si pénibles. L'état d'âme dans les couvents des augustins en a certainement souffert, mais si leur manière de vivre a été sérieusement entamé par la perte de moyens financiers, c'est avant tout la vitalité en face de l'avenir qui est mise en cause depuis que le nombre des religieux a commencé à diminuer. Pendant la deuxième moitié du dix-huitième siècle, le mépris de la vie monastique, étalé par les milieux éclairés, avait pénétré dans les mentalités à tel point que le recrutement de novices devenait difficile. En ce qui concerne les quinze couvents augustiniens, les conséquences sont évidentes quand on regarde le nombre des novices qui ont émis leurs vœux dans les années 1786-1796, c'est-à-dire pendant les dix ans qui précédaient la suppression des couvents ordonnée par la loi française du 17 fructidor an IV (1 sept. 1796). Les chiffres suivants donnent successivement le nombre des frères clercs et lais, puis le total[15]).

Louvain	5	3	8	
Gand	5	1	6	
Bruges	1	0	1	
Malines	0	0	0	
Tournai	—	—	—	(inconnu)
Bruxelles	5	3	8	
Anvers	5	2	7	
Ypres	2	0	2	
Enghien	3	0	3	
Bouvigne	—	—	—	(inconnu)
Diest	4	0	4	
Herentals	2	0	2	
Tirlemont	1	1	2	
Termonde	2	0	2	
Roulers	2	0	2	
au total:	37	10	47	

[15]) Les livres des profès de quelques couvents ont disparu. Cependant ont peut trouver la plupart des noms des frères manquants avec les données biographiques dans les obituaires et autres sources.

A Malines, l'entrée de jeunes gens avait déjà pris fin dans les années antérieures à 1786[16]). A Herentals, le dernier frère lai émit ses vœux en 1780, tandis que le même fait est à signaler à Diest en 1771, donc vingt-cinq ans avant la suppression du couvent[17]). De ces observations il résulte que seuls quatre grand monastères, situés dans des villes importantes du pays, ont conservé un certain attrait[18]). On comprendre donc aisément les soucis des dirigeants de la province[19]) auxquels incombait le devoir de nommer préfets et professeurs dans les treize collèges qu'ils dirigeaient et de placer des desservants dans les cinq paroisses de la Mission hollandaise[20]). Toutefois une analyse plus des données comprises dans les divers livres des profès montre une légère remontée des vocations religieuses pendant les dernières années de l'Ancien Régime, plus précisément après l'abrogation, au moins partielle, des lois autrichiennes en 1790. Une tendance semblable a été signalé en France dans les ouvrages de J. Delumeau et de B. Plongeron. Il convient pourtant de préciser que le mobile principal y est d'un autre ordre[21]). Dans tout cela il faut remarquer que la baisse globale du nombre des vocations ne correspond pas pour autant à un fléchissement de la spiritualité dans les communautés[22]). S'il y a lieu de parler d'un état de crise, la décadence dans le plein sens du terme ne se constate pas chez les augustins. Des signes de relâchement des mœurs n'apparaissent pas. Le respect temoigné par les religieux à l'égard des supérieurs et l'attitude soucieuse de ceux-ci pour leurs sujets, de même que la solidarité de beaucoup d'entre eux dans les années malheureuses après 1796, ne peuvent pas être le fruit d'une vie monastique sans nerfs avant cette date. Jusqu'au dernier moment avant la suppression, les religieux ont accompli avec confiance en eux-mêmes leur

[16]) Stadsarchief Mechelen, LP Mechliniensis. La profession de Jean Huysmans le 11 mars 1782 fut la dernière.

[17]) Rijksarchief Antwerpen, LP Herendalensis, Philippus Verbuken; ABA fonds Diest, n. 69 LP Diesthemensis, Paulus Basteyns.

[18]) A savoir Louvain, Gand, Bruxelles et Anvers.

[19]) 267 membres en janvier 1794, dont 57 frères lais.

[20]) Sur l'enseignement des augustins dans les Pays-Bas Méridionaux, voir: De Tombeur, PB p. 91-92; N. Teeuwen, A. Meijer, M. Schrama, Bibliographie historique de l'ordre de Saint Augustin, 1945-1975, dans: *Augustiniana* 26 (1976) pp. 37-340, nn. 389, 411, 428, 2361; sur la Mission hollandaise: ibid., nn. 796, 801-803.

[21]) J. Delumeau, o.c., pp. 307-308; B. Plongeron, Les réguliers de Paris devant le serment constitutionnel. Paris, 1964, pp. 205-207.

[22]) Même remarque pour le clergé de France. J. Delumeau, o.c., l.c.; X. Lavagne d'Ortigue, Les derniers abbés prémontrés de Lorraine au XVIII° siècle. — *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 53 (1977) 67-68.

devoir en tant que prédicateurs, confesseurs et animateurs de la vie spirituelle, tandis que la renommée des colléges est restée intacte par la qualité de l'enseignement. L'attachement des anciens élèves à leurs maîtres en fait preuve[23]). Si on aperçoit peut-être un certain adoucissement dans les observances en comparaison avec le mode de vie au début du dix-huitième siècle, cela n'empêche pas que jusqu'ici nous n'avons pas réussi à déceler le cas d'un seul augustin qui dans les années de trouble serait retourné dans le siècle par manque de foi, ou pire encore, qui se serait associé aux adversaires de son ordre et de la religion.

L'ensemble de ces constatations nous permet de dresser un premier bilan de l'état de choses dans la province flandro-belge à la veille de la deuxième invasion française.

La réalité d'un appauvrissement, assez fort dans certains couvents, moins inquiétant dans les autres, est incontestable. Après la saignée financière sous les autrichiens, les dégâts causés plus tard par les opérations militaires n'ont pas manqué d'épuiser les économies de la province. Les documents à l'appui méritent d'être publiés. Quant à leur dynamisme, on peut conjecturer que la plupart des communautés augustiniennes ont passablement bien résisté aux rudes épreuves. Le départ des armées françaises en mars 1793 et la menace exercée contre celles-ci par les forces de la Coalition causèrent la détente, qui fut encore intensifiée par l'entière liberté du culte et la remontée des vocations déjà signalée. Néanmoins, il semble que l'optimisme des augustins était aussi mitigé que celui des autres réguliers et du peuple en général, car malgré tout, l'avenir proche s'avérait imprévisible en raison même des circonstances politiques. S'il est vrai que les signes annonçant une nouvelle éruption de la furie révolutionnaire ne se laissaient pas cacher, on est en droit de se demander quelles précautions ou quelles dispositions pour l'avenir le clergé aurait pu prendre afin de se protéger contre la tourmente. A cet égard il est permis de penser que l'opinion publique se préparait bien sûr à subir une nouvelle invasion accompagnée de toutes les horreurs de la guerre, mais qu'elle ne prévoyait pas l'annexation définitive du territoire à la République française, et, par conséquent, l'application des lois françaises. Disons pour conclure que la volonté de résister aux épreuves éventuelles ne manquait pas chez les augustins, mais que ceux-ci

[23]) E.a. à Anvers. J.F. VAN DER STRAELEN, De kronijk van Antwerpen. éd. J. Rylant, 1935, t. 6; F. PRIMS, Prêtres insoumis. Antwerpen, 1935, p. 192.

n'envisageaient pas ou ne pouvaient pas envisager l'étendue des changements futurs dans les Pays-Bas Méridionaux. C'est dans cet état d'esprit que les conseillers de la province décidèrent de tenir le chapitre provincial pendant l'été de 1793. Personne parmi eux ne pouvait soupçonner que ce serait le dernier chapitre de la province flandro-belge.

2) *La suppression des couvents sous le Directoire.*

Le chapitre provincial de la province flandro-belge qui s'ouvrit à Gand le dimanche 7 juillet 1793 réunit trente-neuf religieux, notamment le prieur provincial sortant Fernand Achte avec ses quatre conseillers et les prieurs de tous les couvents, accompagnés chacun d'un délégué élu par sa communauté. Le rapport officiel (*acta capituli*) nous apprend que l'élection des nouveaux responsables se fit sans difficulté: au premier scrutin du lundi matin, le père Jean Pierre Van de Winckel, professeur de théologie à l'université de Louvain (*doctor regens*) et directeur (*regens studiorum*) de la Schola Augustiniana dans la même ville, fut élu provincial avec 35 voix. Même les six conseillers (*definitores*) furent désignés avant le soir. Pendant les deux jours suivants, le nouveau supérieur et son conseil «s'occupaient des affaires de la province, comme prévu par les Constitutions de notre Ordre», mais puisque le rapport ne donne aucune précision sur les matières traitées dans cette réunion, le lecteur interessé reste sur sa faim quant à savoir quels points de discussion étaient à l'ordre du jour[24]).

Certes, on nommait les prieurs des couvents et leurs adjoints, besogne qui s'impose à tout chapitre provincial. Du reste, on se désole de ne pas connaître les considérations sur l'état matériel et financier des communautés en Belgique, ni les dispositions prises en face des évolutions politiques à craindre, ou l'impact de l'opinion publique sur l'état d'esprit des religieux. Quoique rien de tout cela ne soit dans le texte, de notre avis, il serait téméraire de supposer que dans les circonstances données certaines mesures d'urgence n'auraient pas préoccupé les dirigeants fraîchement élus, tous des hommes d'âge mûr et même plutôt d'âge avancé, tous aussi rompus au travail d'organisation. Au moins l'augmentation du nombre des conseillers de 4 à 6 semble indiquer qu'on jugeait plus que jamais nécessaire de renforcer le cercle d'intimes à qui incombait la charge de soutenir le prieur provincial dans l'exercice de ses fonctions. Il est à noter

[24]) ABA, fonds Provincialia, n. 9 LDecr Teneramundamus, une copie des actes du chapitre s'y trouve en appendice.

qu'à ce moment le nombre des religieux ayant émis leurs vœux doit être estimé à 275, dont 7 administraient des paroisses en Hollande. Au douze colléges, installés dans les divers couvents, il faut ajouter le collége de Binche, dépendant de la municipalité de cette ville mais dirigé par des augustins envoyés à ce besoin. A la Schola Augustiniana du couvent de Louvain 13 frères théologiens étaient inscrits pour le cours qui s'ouvrit traditionellement le 1 octobre[25]).

La deuxième invasion française commença par la défaite de l'armée autrichienne à Fleurus le 26 juin 1794[26]). De ce fait les armées de la Révolution purent se frayer un passage vers le Nord-Ouest de l'Europe, et dans les six mois ils s'emparèrent d'Amsterdam. Puisque la République Batave, récemment érigée, se montra suffisamment imprégnée des idées révolutionnaires, les nouveaux maîtres se contentèrent d'exiger une convention, laissant au peuple hollandais sa propre identité avec une assez grande autonomie politique et culturelle, y compris la liberté du culte[27]). Tel ne fut pas le sort des Pays-Bas autrichiens. Les convictions antirévolutionnaires, antigallicanes et foncièrement ultramontaines du peuple, soutenu par un clergé nombreux, ne furent pas les seules causes de la brutalité des conquérants. D'une part le gouvernement français désirait la consolidation des frontières naturelles avec l'Allemagne[28]), d'autre part l'assaut prévu de l'Angleterre ne serait réalisable qu'à partir des Pays-Bas Méridionaux, tête de pont idéal à ce besoin. Ces deux raisons inspirérent la volonté de conquête et l'annexionisme de la France. En même temps, l'abondance des produits agricoles ainsi que la richesse des instituts ecclésiastiques suscitaient la convoitise de la République, et cela d'autant plus parce qu'en cette même

[25]) ABA, fonds Leuven, n. 49, LTh fol. 122r°-128r°.

[26]) Pour l'étude de la domination française en Belgique, consultez les auteurs mentionnés dans la note 8. En plus: P. VERHAEGEN, La Belgique sous la domination française (1792-1814) Bruxelles, 1922-1929; L. LANZAC DE LABORIE, La domination française en Belgique (1795-1814) Paris, 1895; L. DELPLACE, La Belgique et la Révolution française. Louvain, 1895-1896. — L'évolution sociale du mouvement révolutionnaire dans le contexte politique a été minutieusement analysé par A. SOBOUL, dans: Précis d'Histoire de la Révolution française. Paris, 1975, Èditions sociales.

[27]) L'interdiction de vivre en commun fut pourtant maintenue et même prolongée jusqu'à la fin du régime de Guillaume I (1814-1840). Voir aussi: E.H. KOSSMANN, o.c., p. 35-64, Een vergelijking van Noord en Zuid in de Franse tijd.

[28]) C.-à-d. le Rhin avec son estuaire. Ce désir inspirait déjà la politique extérieure du roi Louis XIV.

année celle-ci traversait une crise économique d'allure énorme[29]). La coïncidence de tous ces faits et desseins ne pouvait qu'entraîner la soumission des Pays-Bas Méridionaux par l'armée française avec les conséquences que l'on sait: abolition des libertés, pillage organisé, rançonnement, prise d'otages, partout la violence au premier signe d'opposition, voir même la mise à mort. A l'arbitraire des troupes fut mis un terme par le décret du 9 vendémiaire an IV (1 oct. 1795), qui fit ressortir sous le gouvernement français tout le territoire des Pays-Bas autrichiens, la principauté de Liège et le duché de Bouillon, appelés désormais les Neuf Départements Réunis (à la France). Succédant au régime militaire, un gouvernement civil installé à Bruxelles avait pour tâche de faire appliquer progressivement les lois françaises dans le pays conquis. C'était surtout contre les anciens fonctionnaires au service de l'administration autrichienne et contre le clergé que fut dirigé la répression, parce que ceux-ci symbolisaient la persistance du féodalisme caractéristique de l'Ancien Régime. Le 3 brumaire an IV (25 oct. 1795), un décret mit fin au système scolaire existant, et par cette mesure le réseau des collèges augustiniens reçut un coup qui, malgré les multiples efforts de relèvement faits par directeurs, enseignants et amis, s'avéra être le coup de grâce. L'administration visant ensuite le clergé régulier, l'année suivante le 15 fructidor an IV (1 sept. 1796) furent appliquées plusieurs lois déjà en vigueur en France, qui ordonnaient la suppression des communautés religieuses, la confiscation de tous leurs biens et le port obligatoire du costume civil. Dans les six mois qui suivaient, les quinze couvents de la province des augustins furent supprimés et évacués. Le dernier, en date du 20 pluviose an IV (9 fevr. 1797), était celui d'Ypres[30]).

En ce qui concerne la procédure suivie par les commissaires de la République, il convient de préciser que la suppression d'une maison religieuse se faisait toujours en trois étappes[31]).

1. D'abord on dressait la liste des personnes et les inventaires de la propriété fonçière, des revenus, des objets d'art et du mobilier. On

[29]) A. SOBOUL, o.c., p. 361-366.

[30]) Voir la note 32.

[31]) Cette procédure était prescrite par la loi précitée. Voir en plus: M. COLSON, De Kruisheren van Venlo tijdens de Franse Revolutie., dans: *Clairlieu*, 14 (1956) 28, se référant à: A. VERHAEGEN, Le cardinal de Franckenberg, archévêque de Malines (1726-1804). Lille, 1889, p. 336-337.

opposait aussi les scellés aux livres de comptabilité pour lesquels le supérieur devait se porter garant.

2. En guise de remboursement on offrait ensuite aux religieux des bons qui étaient censés représenter la valeur des biens confisqués, mais en réalité ce dédommagement des biens perdus restait en général insuffisant. On peut expliquer cette démarche comme la fin officielle de la communauté, car en effet, l'acceptation des bons équivalait à la remise des biens entre les mains de l'état, et, par conséquent, la cession du droit de propriété. Dès lors les religieux n'avaient plus le droit de rester dans les bâtiments. Toutefois, le plus souvent les commissaires en charge concédaient un délai de quelques semaines.

3. L'expulsion définitive à main armée était la dernière étappe, qui clôturait l'intervention des autorités civiles.

Quoiqu'il soit très probable qu'aucune des communautés augustiniennes n'ait quitté son domicile de son propre gré et avant la date ultime, nous n'avons que trois documents qui témoignent de la résistance des expulsés au moment de leur départ[32]). Chaque fois il s'agit d'un acte rédigé par le prieur local et soussigné par tous ses religieux. Par cet acte, lu vis-à-vis du commissaire et de ses hommes, ils exprimaient leur indignation et leur ferme décision de résister aux lois de la République française. S'il est vrai que ces protestations des religieux ne furent accueillies par les autorités qu'avec le plus grand mépris, il est aussi vrai qu'elles ne causèrent pas leur incarcération.

Il est difficile de découvrir les circonstances dans lesquelles les augustins, pères, frères clercs et lais, ont vécu durant les trois années de terreur qui précédaient le coup d'état de Bonaparte en novembre 1799. Le genre de vie qu'ils menaient ne différait certainement pas beaucoup de celui des autres ecclésiastiques. Menacé par une législation hostile à tout sentiment religieux, chacun se tenait caché chez des parents ou des amis, et, privé de ressources, il devait se fier à leur générosité dans un temps où les moyens de vivre commençaient à faire défaut dans beaucoup de ménages. Des indices sur le sort des augustins dispersés se trouvent entre

[32]) ABA, fonds Ieper, n. 93 Protestation des RR. PP. Augustins d'Ypres, supprimés le 9 Fevrier 1797 (voir le texte en Appendice I); ibid., fonds Gent, n. 116 Protest tegen de uitdrijving, 2 november 1796 (publié par A. KEELHOFF dans: Geschiedenis van het klooster der Augustijnen te Gent. Gent, 1864, p. 214-215); ibid., fonds Brugge, Protestation (publié par le même auteur, dans: Histoire de l'ancien couvent des Augustins à Bruges. Bruges, 1869, p. 89-91).

autres dans les annonces de décès rédigées vers 1805 et dans certains registres d'abord clandestinement conservés[33]). D'une part ces sources révèlent la grande pauvreté des religieux, surtout dans les premières années après leur retour forcé dans le siècle[34]). D'autre part un bon nombre de notes marginales contiennent des données biographiques qui laissent entrevoir la situation pénible de beaucoup d'entre eux, traqués par la police pour avoir refusé le serment de haine à la Royauté[35]). Ces mêmes sources nous permettent de dresser un bilan des cas de décès survenus entre la suppression des couvents et le 1 janvier 1805[36]). Le nombre des augustins expulsés de leur couvent est de 252, soit 196 pères et frères clercs ainsi que 56 frères lais. Dans la période indiquée 79 d'entre eux sont décédés. La date precise de leur mort ou au moins l'année a été constatée dans 59 cas, le lieu de décès de 6 autres est également connu. Il en résulte que nous n'avons pas de renseignements sur le sort de 14 religieux. On peut conjecturer qu'ils sont retournés dans leur lieu de naissance et rentrés dans leur famille, une décision d'ailleurs qui a été prise par plusieurs autres augustins, surtout des frères lais, dont nous avons des données biographiques précises. Déjà dès le début de l'occupation du pays, le fanatisme des conquérants se heurta au manque de coopération des habitants, ce qui ne tarda pas à entraîner des sévices. En octobre 1794, trois pères furent arrêtés à Anvers et emmenés à Paris avec d'autres otages, dans le but de faire accélérer le paiement des énormes contributions de guerre imposées à la ville. Ils furent relâchés à la fin de l'année après quelques mois d'emprisonnement[37]). En cette même année se place la fin tragique des

[33]) Voir la note 3.

[34]) Voir p.e. la citation dans la note 64.

[35]) Par ce serment, décreté le 19 fructidor an V (5 sept. 1797), on était censé rompre avec l'Ancien Régime en son entièreté: l'ordre politique, culturel, social et économique. Selon les données disponibles en ce moment le nombre des augustins assermentés nous semble plutôt restreint.

[36]) Pour ce calcul nous avons choisi comme terminus a quo de chaque couvent le jour de sa fermeture officielle, c.-à-d. la date à laquelle les religieux y furent expulsés. Le début de l'année 1805 s'impose comme terminus ad quem, parce que dès lors furent distribuées aux augustins dispersés des listes de leurs confrères récemment défunts. La première liste contient les noms de ceux dont on avait appris le décès dans les huit années précédentes.

[37]) A savoir: Fernand Hellaert, Jean-Baptiste Wachters et Jean-Baptiste In 't Groenewout, ED 1821; F. Prims, Geschiedenis van Antwerpen, t. 25, Antwerpen, 1948, p. 133; J.-B. Van Bavegem, Het martelaarsboek der Belgische Geestelijkheid, Gent, 1875, p. 296 (Cet auteur, qui traite le cas d'une trentaine d'Augustins, n'a pourtant pas pu consulter tous les documents disponibles en ce moment, d'où certaines manques et erreurs); J. Lanteri, Postrema Saecula sex, t. III, Romae, 1860, p. 346 (Hellaert).

pères Gaspar Gobiert en Athanase Lemercier. Arrêtés dans leur couvent de Tournai et accusés de malveillance envers le mouvement révolutionnaire, on les expédia devant le tribunal de guerre de Bruxelles. Le 9 novembre ils y furent condamnés, puis fusillés sans délai sur les enceintes de la ville près de la porte de Hal[38]).

Plus tard sous le Second Directoire, c'est-à-dire de 1797 à 1799, la répression fut spécialement dirigée contre les prêtres et fonctionnaires qui refusaient le serment de haine à la Royauté. Deux listes de personnes condamnées furent publiées le 18 brumaire an VI (8 nov. 1797) et 14 brumaire an VII (4 nov. 1798). Entre les victimes emprisonnées se trouvent vingt prêtres de la province flandro-belge, dont trois succombèrent à la suite du mauvais traitement au cachot: les pères Adrien De Wilde et Pierre Joseph Neyrinckx à Gand et le prieur Guillaume Festraets à Tirlemont[39]). Dix autres restèrent incarcérés à Ypres, Bruges, Roulers, Bruxelles et Diest, tandis que sept religieux, déportés aux îles de Ré et Oléron, furent obligés de vivre dans une misère qui échappe à l'imagination[40]). Néanmoins, les dix-sept survivants en Belgique et en France furent mis en liberté après l'édit du 8 frimaire an VIII (29 nov. 1800) sur les religions, par lequel les deux consuls donnaient aux ministres du culte la possibilité de se réhabiliter auprès des autorités civiles, ce qui impliquait le rappel des exilés. Enfin, il y a lieu de penser que la captivité de quelques autres augustins n'a pas été portée à la connaissance des chroniqueurs. Sur ce point comme sur tant d'autres des recherches restent à faire.

En ce qui regarde ceux qui dans ces temps mouvementés ont cherché asile dans d'autres pays, nos sources ne nous permettent pas de préciser leur nombre, ni de suivre leurs multiples péripéties. Le moins qu'on puisse dire est que les supérieurs ne mettaient pas obstacle au départ de nombreux pères et frères qui s'en allaient de leur propre initiative, et qu'il arrivât même qu'une communauté entière, ou presque, quittait son couvent. Les augustins de Louvain, voyageant ensemble à travers

[38]) ABA, fonds Leuven, n. 49 LTh fol. 43r°; VAN BAVEGEM, o.c., p. 283; TH. LOPEZ-BARDON, dans Monasticon Augustinianum vol. III (Valladolid, 1916) donne le texte intégral de la sentence de mort (traduit en espagnol — pour quelle raison?). A préciser que la date doit être lu: 9 novembre 1794. Voir aussi: *Cor Unum* 20 (1962) 23, Chronik von A. Schnorrenberg, sub anno 1794; J.-B. HOUS, o.c., p. 19.

[39]) ABA, fonds Gent, n. 7 LP Gandavensis, p. 82 (De Wilde) et J. MEERBERGEN, Priesternamen uit de Geuzentijd, de Beloken Tijd en de Boerenkrijg. Tongerlo, 1951, p. 131; ibid., fonds Leuven, n. 49 LTh fol. 87v° (Neyrinckx) et fol. 109v° (Festraets). Pour ce dernier voir aussi: VAN BAVEGEM, o.c., p. 274 et N. TEEUWEN, De Augustijnen te Tienen. dans: *Thiunas*, 1939, p. 45 et 49.

l'Allemagne, y rencontrèrent ceux du couvent de Hasselt[41]). Le père Jean Pelgrims, de Malines, également réfugié dans ce même pays, ne retourna plus dans sa patrie, et l'annonce de sa mort n'arriva à Malines que quinze ans plus tard[42]). La route de la fuite du prieur provincial Jean Pierre Van de Winckel et de son secrétaire Jean-Baptiste Wittemans vers la Hollande les mena par un détour au couvent de Cologne, où ils furent cordialement reçus, comme il est arrivé aussi à plusieurs autres confrères exilés[43]). Les pères Fernand Achte et Augustin Naudts ont rapporté plus tard le bon accueil que leur réservait l'augustin François de Deurwaerder, curé à Nieuwendam en Hollande[44]). Au total, trois religieux de la province flandro-belge et deux de la province de Liège, partis précipitamment vers le Nord et sur le point de tomber sans moyens de vivre, y obtinrent une fonction dans les paroisses de l'ordre augustinien[45]). Ce qui n'allait pourtant pas de soi, faute de postes vacants. Jean-Baptiste Wachters, parti d'Anvers en 1796 ou 1797, n'est signalé comme vicaire à Groningen que vers 1800[46]). Gérard de Gooijer a dû attendre la même année pour être nommé à Nieuwendam[47]), et Augustin Naudts affirme que seulement trois ans après son arrivée il a eu la chance de succéder au vicaire Jean-Baptiste de Waele dans la paroisse De Star à Amsterdam. Ces deux derniers réfugiés avaient quitté le pays flamand pour échapper aux razzias policières de novembre 1797[48]). Enfin, un des deux augustins

[40]) VAN BAVEGEM, o.c., p. 477-488.

[41]) H. PEETERS, Collectio p. 306 «eramus nos sedecim Lovanienses... ac quinque patres conventus nostri Hasselensis».

[42]) ABA, fonds Mechelen, n. 10 LP Mechliniensis, anno 1765; ibid., fonds Leuven, n. 49 LTh fol. 41r°.

[43]) H. PEETERS, o.c., l.c.; ABA, fonds Provincialia, n. 7 lettre du provincial aux religieux, 29 juin 1794, copie; ibid., fonds Leuven, n. 49 LTh fol. 117v°, 128v°-129r°, ibid., n. 84 Annotationes Expensarum fol. 26 et 29. — De ces sources comme dans quelques chroniques, rédigées dans ces temps angoissées ou peu après, p.e. les chroniques de Hous et Schnorrenberg, il ressort que les augustins du couvent de Cologne ont reçu d'une façon accueillante les fugitifs tant religieux que laïques venant des Pays-Bas Méridionaux et de la France du Nord. (H. Peeters, l.c.: «Benignam et fraternam hospitalitatem Coloniensium patrum erga nos insufficiens sum verbis extollere»).

[44]) ABA, fonds Ieper, n. 103 LP Iprensis fol. 110-111; ANA, fonds Medebroeders, dossier A. Naudts, Autobiografische aantekeningen, sub anno 1798.

[45]) A consulter: B. van Luijk-L. van Dijck, De Augustijnen in de Hollandse Zending. dans: *Augustiniana* 17 (1967) 247-298.

[46]) F. PRIMS, Prêtres insoumis. Anvers, 1935, p. 292, où son nom est cité abusivement François Wuchters, probablement par erreur sur la personne.

[47]) ANA, ibid., sub anno 1813[bis]; W.T. RISWICK, Personalia Augustiniana (pro manuscripto) p. 18.

[48]) ANA, ibid., sub anno 1801; ABA, fonds Gent, n. 181 Correspondance de A. Naudts, lettre au père P. Serruys, 12 nov. 1810.

liègeois a dû vivre de ses propres moyens pendant presque quatre ans avant d'être nommé vicaire à Groningen[49]).

Quand on se rend compte du démembrement de la province, on est en droit de se demander si et comment les jeunes frères ont achevé leurs études théologiques dans une époque où les horreurs de la guerre servaient de prélude aux témérités d'un anticléricalisme sans égal. Les quelques textes à ce sujet qu'on trouve dans les registres du couvent de Louvain ne laissent exister aucun doute: les treize théologiens, inscrits pour le cours qui commença le 1 octobre 1793, ont fait leurs études à la Schola Augustiniana dans les limites du possible[50]). C'est dire que tous ont suivi pendant à peu près deux ans les conférences données au couvent de Louvain[51]). Il est également sûr qu'ils ont tous été ordonnés prêtre pendant la première année académique, donc avant la Seconde Invasion française. Par contre, nous ne savons pas à quelle date précise chacun d'eux a quitté Louvain pour rentrer définitivement dans son propre couvent. La fuite générale provoquée par la bataille de Fleurus le 26 juin 1794 et les situations chaotiques y faisant suite n'ont par permis de recommencer les études avant le 1 octobre 1795, ce qui fait qu'une année entière s'est écoulée sans cours donné.

Du reste, il n'y a que deux courtes notices dans le Registre des étudiants (*Liber Theologorum*) qui nous assurent qu'il y a vraiment eu un cours dans les années 1795-1796. C'était incontestablement la toute dernière année d'existence de la Schola, car depuis le printemps de 1796, il ne faisait plus aucun doute que les lois françaises, ordonnant la suppression de tous les instituts religieux, seraient bientôt appliquées dans les Départements belges. Dans ces conditions, en effet, on ne voit pas très bien s'ouvrir une nouvelle année de cours en théologie. Une considération analogue vaut certainement pour le noviciat au couvent de Malines[52]). S'il y a eu de jeunes candidats en 1796, on leur a certaine-

[49]) Gérard Feron, ED 1807; B. Van Luijk, o.c., p. 295.

[50]) Pour ce qui suit: voir ABA, fonds Leuven, n. 31 AL II fol. 737; ibid., n. 49 LTh fol. 115r°-130r°, passim. — Le programme d'études est inconnu. Le provincial J.P. Van de Winkel, qui avait conservé son titre de *regens studiorum*, fut secondé par les professeurs Pierre Joseph Degrée et Restitut Thienpont.

[51]) Exception doit être faite pour deux théologiens, notamment Simon Vermeulen et François Wuchters. Pour des raisons inconnues mais sûrement en rapport avec les difficultés du moment, ils ont achevé leurs études dans leur propre couvent à Anvers, après avoir reçu avec les autres l'ordination sacerdotale pendant la première année d'instruction.

[52]) Les archives du couvent de Malines sont presque entièrement perdues. Les

ment déconseillé l'entrée en religion, vue l'impossibilité totale de leur donner l'instruction nécessaire et des garanties pour l'avenir. Toujours est-il que les sept derniers novices qui ont émis leurs vœux dans les années 1793-1795, n'ont pas fait leurs études à la Schola de Louvain. Au cours des années suivantes, ils ont été ordonnés au gré des circonstances, entre autres à Cologne et à Borken en Westphalie, lieu d'exil du cardinal J.H. de Franckenberg, archévêque de Malines[53]). Des lacunes dans les sources nous empêchent de découvrir davantage à leur sujet. En somme, une vue d'ensemble des faits et événements par lesquels la dissolution de la province flandre-belge s'accomplit, restera nécessairement défectueuse, d'autant plus pour les années 1797-1799, dans lesquelles tout le poids de la persécution religieuse pesait sur le pays. Quand la perquisition domicilaire et la chasse à l'homme sont à l'ordre du jour, il est vivement conseillé de faire disparaître certains documents, de ne rien mettre par écrit et de changer d'adresse à tout propos. On comprendra donc aisément la grande confusion qui régnait durant ces années, révélée parfois par de simples détails. C'est le cas autour du décès en 1799 du père Richard Tecker, assistant général pour les provinces dites germaniques. Des faire-part de la main du Vicaire général Domenico Lippici à Rome furent adressés aux prieurs provinciaux de l'Allemagne, de la Pologne et de l'Irlande, provinces qui ressortissaient du défunt. Mais on se dispensa d'envoyer la même annonce aux dirigeants de la province flandro-belge, également du ressort du père Tecker, soit qu'on ne connaissait plus leur adresse, soit parce que la correspondance avec les pays du Nord était complètement interrompue[54]). Un autre signe de dérangement est signalé par le père Henri Peeters, dernier sous-prieur du couvent de Louvain. Dans son livre manuscrit *Collectio*[55]), rédigé vers 1810, il regrette de ne pas avoir pu retrouver les registres et papiers que l'économe dudit couvent, Jacques Van der Haert, avait emmené avec lui

données concernant les derniers novices et leur maître Adrien Heylen se trouvent dispersées dans les registres des autres couvents.

[53]) A. VERHAEGEN, o.c., p. 334-363. — Franckenberg était le seul des évêques belges qui était retourné sur son siège après la Seconde Invasion française en 1794. Par ordre du gouvernement français il fut arrêté le 20 octobre 1797 et conduit à la frontière allemande. Après des années d'exil passées à Emmerich et Borken, il finit ses jours à Breda en Hollande le 11 juin 1804.

[54]) Archivum Generale Augustinianorum (AGA, Rome) series Dd, 242[bis], fol. 224. Sur R. Tecker, voir aussi: J. GAVIGAN, Richard Tecker O.S.A., Generalassistent, 1777-1799. dans: Scientia Augustiniana, Festschrift, Würzburg 1975, p. 733-750.

[55]) Sur les pages 50-51. Voir aussi la note 12.

dans les divers lieux où il se tenait caché pendant la persécution. Après sa mort, survenue le 25 novembre 1799, on devait constater qu'il avait probablement détruit tous les documents qu'il détenait.

Au sujet des déportés et réfugiés, et de ceux qui malgré tout étaient restés, précisons que l'édit du 8 frimaire an VIII (29 nov. 1800) sur le rétablissement, au moins partiel, du culte avait suscité de nouveaux espoirs. Depuis lors, les augustins expulsés se fixaient généralement à proximité de leur ancien couvent, attendant de nouvelles mesures dont on espérait qu'elles seraient plus favorables que l'avalanche de lois, décrets et réglementations qui depuis six années s'était déferlée sur leurs têtes. L'état de choses dans la province flandro-belge déchirée et en voie d'exstinction se présente un peu plus clair après le Concordat signé entre le premier consul Napoléon Bonaparte et le pape Pie VII en 1801. Les espoirs suscités par la prise de pouvoir de Bonaparte étaient fondés sur ceci que la liberté du culte fut progressivement restituée. Mais déjà de graves raisons d'inquiétude pour les réguliers s'étaient manifestées après la promulgation de la loi du 11 ventôse an VIII (2 mars 1800), qui concédait une pension alimentaire aux membres du clergé paroissial et, sur un pied d'égalité, aux religieux expulsés. Le mécontentement, né de cette assimilation, s'aggrava surtout après le décret du 15 prairial an IX (4 juin 1803) publié par le cardinal Jean-Baptiste Caprara, légat du pape en France. Par ce décret les anciens religieux furent entièrement soumis à l'autorité des évêques et mis à leur disposition pour être nommés curés et vicaires dans les paroisses. Bien qu'on leur offrit ainsi une nouvelle condition d'existence, pas mal d'entre eux refusèrent cette possibilité d'augmenter leur minimum vital constitué par la pension déjà citée. Les vrais motifs de ce refus nous échappent. Disons en général que pour les uns, vrais objecteurs de conscience, l'acceptation de toute récompense pécuniaire, donnée par un gouvernement jugé athéiste ou anticlérical, était inadmisible, tandis que les autres, après avoir accepté la pension, se cantonnaient dans la présomption que les membres de leur famille ou des amis s'occuperaient en permanence de leur situation. Du reste, on peut s'imaginer que certains parmi eux, le clergé régulier étant définitivement supprimé, ne s'engageraient plus sur une voie qui ne menait pas à la restauration de la vie monastique choisie dans leur jeunesse. Les indices sur les convictions et attitudes des augustins à cet égard n'abondent pas. Cependant, dans le milieu des religieux habitant la ville et la région d'Enghien, les divergences d'opinion ont apparemment mené à une crise de confiance qui nous laisse pantois, à en juger la notice diffamante d'un

chroniqueur anonyme à propos de la mort en 1807 du père Henri de Weert: «Hic maculatus pensione gubernii e vivis discessit»[56]). Le fait est que presque tous les augustins de cette ville adhéraient au mouvement stéveniste, groupe de prêtres et de laïques qui rejetaient la politique religieuse du gouvernement français et refusaient d'obéir aux évêques nommés de concert avec la cour impériale[57]). Trois de ces religieux restaient emprisonnés pendant des années, les autres se tenaient cachés jusqu'à la fin du régime français en 1814[58]). Les circonstances dans lesquelles ces choses se sont passées méritent d'être tirées au clair.

Si l'on veut considérer globalement la situation des augustins qui vivaient dispersés dans les Départements belges, on fera en premier lieu la distinction entre ceux qui avaient consenti à prendre la charge d'une paroisse ou d'une autre activité spirituelle, et ceux qui, vieillis ou désillusionés, ne voulaient plus assumer de nouvelles responsabilités. Calculée sur le total de 142 prêtres encore en vie le 1 janvier 1803, la proportion est de 55 pour les premiers à 87 pour les autres. Mais tandis que pour le premier groupe toutes les données nécessaires sont à notre disposition, les indices concernant les occupations des autres sont pour la majeure partie restées dans l'ombre. Toutefois, il serait imprudent de penser que ces religieux «en retraite» se seraient dispensés de toute activité. C'est ce qui ressort d'un certain nombre de notices biographiques, ou plus d'un est mentionné comme prédicateur, confesseur ou prêtre occasionellement au service d'une église. Ceci implique évidemment qu'ils n'ont pas reçu ou voulu une nomination officielle. L'approfondissement de notre connaissance à ce sujet pourrait considérablement changer le bilan établi ci-dessus.

En second lieu, il convient de dire que la situation des frères lais à cette époque est pour ainsi dire inconnue. Vraisemblablement plusieurs sont rentrés dans leur famille, mais de toute évidence ils gagnaient tous leur pain comme ouvrier. C'est par exemple le cas du frère Nicolas Van de Peer, du couvent d'Anvers, qui travaillait successivement comme cuisinier, garde-malades et lapidaire, tandis que Guillaume Schaerlaekens, du même couvent, avait trouvé un emploi comme charpen-

[56]) ABA, fonds Edingen, Historia chronologica monasterii Angiensis, pars II, fol. 20; ibid., fonds Leuven, n. 49 LTh fol. 103r°.

[57]) T.A. VAN BIERVLIET, Het Stevenisme in Vlaanderen. Davidsfonds, Leuven, s.d. — On ne manquera pas de consulter l'excellente bibliographie sur les pages 212-218.

[58]) ABA, fonds Leuven, n. 49 LTh fol. 88r°, 103v°, 120v°: ANA, oud-archief De Star, lettre de H. Peeters à H. Kleyn, 19 août 1813; VAN BIERVLIET, o.c., p. 65.

tier[59]). A Gand, le frère Augustin Criel logeait chez un marchand de vins, qui était probablement aussi son employeur[60]). Un cas exceptionel est celui du frère Pierre Weelen, du couvent de Louvain. En 1809, il se présenta chez les frères alexiens de cette ville et y prononça ses vœux à condition de pouvoir retourner chez les augustins en cas de restauration de son ordre. Jusqu'à sa mort en 1819, il se rendait utile au service des malades qui le préféraient aux autres infirmiers[61]). A notre connaissance il était le seul augustin qui, à cette époque, a eu l'idée de s'intégrer dans un institut de vie commune, un des très rares à Louvain qu'on tolérait comme institut d'utilité publique.

Ensuite, quand on aperçoit le fanatisme et l'intransigeance avec lesquels la destruction de la structure ecclésiastique fut menée à bout, on est tenté de croire que l'anéantissement des instituts de vie commune a dû être subit et total. Pour séduisante qu'elle paraisse à première vue, cette opinion ne résiste pas à l'examen des faits. Il se révèle en effet que dans quelques villes il y a eu un regroupement d'augustins expulsés. Ceux de Termonde se mirent d'accord pour racheter leur église avec les bons offerts par le gouvernement. Après le Concordat ils desservaient en commun cette église jusqu'au moment où, en 1818, l'exercise du culte leur fut interdit par l'archévêque de Malines[62]). A Louvain, les religieux n'avaient pas réussi à racheter leurs biens immeubles. Cependant, ceux qui habitaient en ville prenaient en commun des décisions concernant les reliques, les livres de la bibliothèque et les objets d'art qu'ils avaient pu soustraire à la confiscation[63]). En 1802, il y a eu un arrangement financier au profit des plus pauvres entre eux, et il paraît que les religieux qui habitaient la ville entretenaient des relations avec ceux qui étaient logés ailleurs dans le pays[64]). Les augustins d'Enghien louaient une

[59]) Rijksarchief Antwerpen. Dans les registres de décès ces deux frères ont signé la déclaration de décès de plusieurs de leurs confrères. Le déclarant devait indiquer son métier.

[60]) ABA, fonds Gent, n. 213 Documents concernant A. Criel.

[61]) ABA, fonds Leuven, n. 31 AL II, fol. 979; ED 1821; J. WILS, Obituaire des Augustins de Louvain. dans: Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique, vol. XXX (1903) p. 339-340.

[62]) ABA, fonds Dendermonde, n. 69; ibid., fonds Gent, n. 241, Correspondance 1796-1842.

[63]) ABA, fonds Leuven, Actus Translationis SS. Reliquiarum 1807; J.-B. HOUS, o.c., p. 53-54 et 94; H. PEETERS, o.c., p. 238 (vente et démolition du couvent), p. 318-353 (S. Sacr.), p. 242 et passim (livres); J. WILS, Le Sacrement de Miracle de Louvain. Louvain, 1905, p. 37-42; M. SMEYERS, Een altaarstuk van Gaspar de Crayer uit de voormalige Augustijnenkerk te Leuven. dans: *Arca Lovaniensis*, Jaarboek 1972, p. 133.

[64]) ABA, fonds Leuven, n. 35 Catalogus renovatus (1770) bibliothecae majoris

partie de leur ancien couvent. Ils recommençèrent à enseigner les humanités après le Concordat et se dévouaient à cette tâche jusqu'en 1825, année où, à cause de certaines difficultés d'ordre politique, ils devaient se retirer de l'enseignement[65]). A Anvers, vers 1805, les douze augustins qui étaient restés en ville, avaient loué séparément des chambres dans une même maison. Sans pour autant prétendre que c'était là une communauté dans le plein sens du terme[66]), il est évident que les rapports entre eux étaient très étroits. Leur correspondance dans laquelle ils continuaient à appeler le père Henri Verhelst leur prieur le prouve. En même temps les chroniqueurs font mention de ce groupe comme d'une communauté vivant à l'ancienne. A ce qu'il paraît, les trois derniers religieux se sont séparés après 1820[67]). A Gand, déjà très tôt après la confiscation de leur couvent les augustins s'étaient arrangés à mettre ensemble leurs bons, ce qui leur permit de racheter la majeure partie de leurs biens et de rouvrir leur église dans les trois mois. Bien que n'habitant pas à la même adresse, ils desservaient ensemble l'église S. Etienne dès que les libre exercice du culte fut restitué sous le Consulat[68]). Comme on verra plus loin, ils continuaient à le faire jusqu'à la restauration canonique du couvent en 1834.

Bref, l'observation de ces divers groupuscules nous apprend que dans cinq villes du pays des augustins, vivant séparément, ont entretenu avec un certain succès des relations fondées sur le même espoir d'une

conventus Lovaniensis. Ce manuscrit contient une note, écrite vers 1810 par le père Henri Peeters: «Cum autem paulatim ad pauperiem redigerentur aliqui ex nobis Augustinianis, ideo supradictos libros anno 1802, 18 septembris et 10 diebus subsequentibus non festivis seu Dominicalibus, in publica auctione apud Van Nes in pecunia cambiali Brabantica vendidimus, ... provenerunt nobis floreni 1363-17-2, qui aequaliter distributi fuerunt confratribus egentibus».

[65]) Un de leurs élèves les plus illustres fut Engelbert Sterckx, futur archévêque de Malines. Il y commença ses humanités en 1805. Voir: A. SIMON, Le Cardinal Sterckx et son temps. Wetteren, 1950, p. 11-12, se référant à: Chronique du collège S. Augustin. Archives du collège S. Augustin à Enghien. — Une mémoire, rédigée à Gand vers 1830, (ABA, fonds Gent, n. 355 Oude kloosters) précise: «Conventus Angiensis: exstat, et collegium est sub cura episcopi Tornacensis».

[66]) La vie en commun restait défendue par les lois françaises, et, plus tard, par les mesures du gouvernement hollandais.

[67]) Rijksarchief Antwerpen, Overlijdensregisters (1798-1839); ED 1821 (H. Verhelst: «obiit (1819) apud confratres nostros in communi habitantes»); ibid., (F. Hellaert: «obiit (1820) apud suos confratres»); ANA, oud-archief De Star, lettres de P.J. Degrée (9 mai 1803) et J.P. van de Winckel (21 sept. 1804) à H. Kleyn à Amsterdam; F. PRIMS, Geschiedenis van Antwerpen, t. 28, p. 12.

[68]) ABA, fonds Gent, n. 118-119; KEELHOFF, ... Gent, p. 215-218.

éventuelle restauration de leur ordre et plus précisément de leur propre maison. Dans quatre lieux ils se vouaient au service d'une église ou à l'enseignement organisé de commun accord dans les bâtiments de leur ancien couvent, loués, ou, dans le meilleur cas, rachetés soit par eux-mêmes, soit par des amis. C'est seulement à Anvers qu'on aperçoit une expérience plus poussée de vie en commun. Les groupuscules de Termonde et Enghien n'ont pas survécu à des machinations d'ordre politique dans les années 1818 à 1825. Les augustins de Louvain et d'Anvers se sont éteints vers 1820 sous l'effet du vieillissement. Il n'y a que le groupe de religieux à Gand qui a réussi à rester ensemble jusqu'à l'avènement d'une ère nouvelle et plus propice à la vie religieuse.

Finalement, pour achever cette vue d'ensemble sur la situation des augustins belges à cette époque, on devra se demander quelle était dans tout cela la part des dirigeants de la province. Pour les autorités civiles les ordres religieux cessèrent d'exister officiellement dès septembre 1796, quand l'ensemble des lois françaises contre la religion fut déclaré applicable dans les neuf Départements Réunis. Contre tout attente le Concordat ne restitua pas le statut du clergé régulier. Ne reconnaissant les prêtres que comme des salariés de l'État assimilés aux fonctionnaires que le gouvernement pouvait tenir en mains, ce même État se débarrassait pour de bon de tout institut monastique, et le précité décret du cardinal Caprara cadrait parfaitement avec cette décision, inspirée plutôt par la raison d'état que par le bien de l'Église. Or, puisque le décret soustrayait les réguliers à leurs généraux, abbés, provinciaux et prieurs, supprimant en même temps les observances et pratiques monastiques, le prieur provincial Jean Pierre Van de Winckel perdit sur-le-champ toute autorité sur les augustins dans les Départements belges, gardant toutefois son titre de *praefectus apostolicus Missionum* (*Hollandiae*). En cette qualité il se rendit parfois en Hollande pour faire la visite canonique, comme d'ailleurs il l'avait fait même pendant les années de révolution[69]).

[69]) Sur le statut du prieur provincial en tant que *praefectus apostolicus Missionum*, voir: E. Ypma, De Augustijnen in de Hollandse Missies. dans: *Augustiniana* 2 (1952) 61-70 et 3 (1953) 107-127. La nomination de J.P. van de Winckel par la Congrégation de Propaganda Fide était faite peu après son élection, à savoir le 17 août 1793, ce qu'il annonça à ses sujets dans une circulaire du 23 novembre suivant (ANA, Retroacta der provincie, 2b n. 8, intern 1). Sa présence en tant que préfet et visitateur est signalée à Nijmegen et Amsterdam en 1794, 1797, 1800 et 1804. En 1803, après la promulgation du décret de Caprara, il sollicite de ses supérieurs à Rome une confirmation de l'étrange mesure imposée aux réguliers. La réponse (voir le texte en Appendice II) ne laisse exister aucun doute quant à l'application de cette mesure.

Entretemps, il s'y acquitta de sa tâche dans les limites du possible, ne manquant pas d'intervenir dans les affaires administratives ou de chercher une solution aux problèmes personnels de ses religieux. Par son intermédiaire aussi, quelques augustins expulsés de leur couvent eurent le bonheur de s'engager comme desservants dans les paroisses de Groningen et d'Utrecht en Hollande[70]). Lui-même se vit obligé de résider en Belgique, où il n'avait que peu de moyens pour assister ses confrères sur le plan spirituel et aucune possibilité de les aider matériellement. Les sources nous apprennent qu'il logeait d'abord chez son frère marié, peut-être dans son village natal Wachtebeke en Flandre Orientale. Depuis l'automne de 1804 il louait une chambre chez le doyen De Groot, curé de Sint-Niklaas en Pays de Waas. C'est là qu'il décéda le 23 août 1811, à la suite d'une apoplexie[71]). Cinq de ses conseillers, élus en 1793, l'avaient précédé dans la mort. Le dernier survivant, le père Bernard De San, du couvent de Bruges, ne lui a pas succédé, puisque le décret du cardinal Caprara ne permettait plus d'élire ou d'assigner des supérieurs. Comme le méchanisme de l'extinction fonctionnait de cette manière à la perfection, on comprend aisément l'état d'esprit des augustins dispersés. Dans les années qui suivirent, la certitude d'une impossible restauration de la vie en commun agrandissait à mesure que la domination française se prolongeait et que les membres de la province moururent l'un après l'autre.

En guise de conclusion on peut brosser le tableau suivant.

Par la Loi française du 17 fructidor an IV (1 sept. 1796) la province flandro-belge cessait d'exister officiellement comme toute autre communauté ou corporation ecclésiastique. La suppression des quinze couvents et, plus tard, les recherches effectuées par la police causèrent la dispersion des religieux, une situation à laquelle le Concordat de 1801 ne remédiait pas, étant donné que la vie commune et le statut des réguliers ne furent pas rétablis par cette convention plutôt discutable. Par le fameux décret de Caprara, y faisant suite, le prieur provincial Jean-Pierre Van de

[70]) C'est certainement le cas pour Fernand Hellaert en 1803 (ANA, oud-archief De Star, lettre de P.J. Degrée, 9 mai 1803), pour Jean Van Zeir, de Diest, en 1807 (ibid., fonds Medebroeders, J. Van Zeir ou de Cier), et peut-être aussi pour Guillaume Stas de Louvain, en 1805.

[71]) ANA, oud-archief De Star, lettres de J.P. Van de Winckel à H. Kleyn, 28 août et 15 déc. 1804; ABA, fonds Dendermonde, n. 68, lettre de H. Peeters à C. De Beule, 11 déc. 1811, avec copie de l'annonce de décès; ED 1813.

Winckel n'avait même plus la responsabilité des augustins demeurant dans les Départements belges, tandis que les paroisses augustiniennes en Hollande pouvaient continuer à exister. Reconnus par la loi seulement comme des ministres du culte, les religieux en Hollande entretenaient des relations qui surpassaient le cadre de la collégialité, bien que la vie commune dans le sens habituel du terme y fut aussi impraticable comme ailleurs. La conscience d'appartenir au même ordre religieux sera plus tard pour eux le motif principal d'une opération de survie couronnée de succès. A partir de 1797 le père Van de Winckel se désignait simplement comme *vicarius generalis Missionum*[72]). C'est dire que depuis ce temps la vie augustinienne n'existait plus que dans les cinq paroisses hollandaises. Quant à ceux qui vivaient dans les Neuf Départements, il semble que malgré tout ils ne se sont pas totalement résignés subir la suppression effective des structures de la province, à en juger les tentatives de regroupement, l'usage fréquent des titres canoniques des supérieurs et le respect témoigné à ceux-ci à tout propos[73]). L'existence de filières qui transmettaient régulièrement les nouvelles importantes concernant les membres de la province, ainsi que le vœu parfois exprimé d'une remise en état de l'organisation ancienne[74]) montre suffisamment les efforts des uns pour redresser le moral des autres. Néanmoins, l'interdiction de la vie commune et du recrutement de novices empêchait le retablissement de la vie monastique, causant ainsi l'extinction réelle de la province à longue échéance. Rares sont entretemps ceux qui ont demandé ou obtenu une nomination dans les paroisses hollandaises, bien que les supérieurs aient fait appel à plusieurs reprises à certains jeunes dont on savait qu'ils n'avaient pas la charge d'une paroisse ou d'autres responsabilités dans

[72]) Puisque la chapitre provincial de 1797 n'avait pas eu lieu, il ne portait plus le titre de prieur provincial. «Romae, 18 Martii 1797. *Vicarium Generalem* declaravimus in Provincia nostra Flandro-Belgica... P. Fr. Joannem Petrum Van de Winckel provincialem absolutum... Nota eadem Provinciam a Gallis invasam non sine motu dubitatur supprimi posse cum jam omnes religiosi a conventibus expulsi sint» (Dd 239, fol. 75).

[73]) A ce qu'il paraît, après 1797 les responsables eux-mêmes ne se désignaient plus avec leur titre, suivant en cela peut-être l'exemple du provincial. Les sujets pourtant continuaient à employer la titulature propre de l'ordre, e.a. dans la correspondance et dans les nécrologies. L'auteur de ED 1821 n'hésite même pas à écrire que Henri Verhelst a été «per 29 annos succesivos prior (Antverpiae)», soit de 1790 à 1819. En général dans ces nécrologies les responsables, élus au chapitre provincial de 1793, sont désignés avec leur juste titre, suivi de l'adjectif «*actualis*, encore en fonction».

[74]) Par exemple: «*donec restituamur*», expression que l'on retrouve plusieurs fois dans les documents du couvent de Louvain.

les Départements belges. Puisque le problème ainsi posé n'est pas prêt à être résolu, nous en reparlerons plus tard.

(*à suivre*) F. De Ceukeleer O.S.A.

Chrétien Lupus.
Sa période ultramontaine (1660-1681)*

Le provincialat

Ce chapitre eut effectivement lieu, mais dans une atmosphère très tendue. Le Père Bassery, président, conscient de ses gaffes, ne comparut pas. En vertu des constitutions, la présidence fut confiée au P. Pierre De Vos. Les capitulaires n'étaient pas tous présents. Le prieur de Gand, Reyloff, et celui d'Anvers, Bassery, manquaient. Des neuf couvents d'Allemagne un seul (Waldefange) était normalement représenté. En revanche, ceux de la principauté de Liège et ceux du territoire annexé par les Français assistaient au complet. Les actes du chapitre portent :

> « Prima electione et scrutatione omnibus suffragiis electus fuit in provincialem Reverendus admonum et Eximius P. Magister Christianus Lupus... qui non obstante senectute aliisque impedimentis curam illam suscepit, at non nisi prius inculcata obligatione ecclesiasticae disciplinae et statutorum observantiae » [343]).

Le 3 juillet, Lupus ouvre occasionellement son cœur à Favoriti :

> « Per prioris provincialis officium coniectus sum in summas miserias. Omnia mea studia suspenduntur, imo et evanescent. Admisi onus quoniam plures censebant provinciam hanc ac regularem disciplinam aliter vix reparandas. Conabor ipsas in pristinam formam reducere et tunc dispono deponere officium ac ipsum per Domini Cardinalis manum transferre in personam idoneam, atque ita me studiis reddere » [344]).

Au chapitre, au moment même, où il accepta la charge, Lupus fit une déclaration semblable [345]). De plus il en avertit le général, imprudemment, car les réactions de celui-ci, nous allons le voir, seront imprévues.

Le 3 septembre 1676, Lupus écrit à Favoriti :

> « A Gratia Vestra unum postulo : ut me per D. Cardinalem

*) Voir *Augustiniana* 25 (1975), 293-329; 27 (1977), 238-282; 28 (1978), 373-400.

343) Le *Liber Mechliniensis*, f° 327-333, fournit les actes du chapitre.

344) FFC, doc. 106.

345) Pourtant, les actes n'en font pas mention.

[Altieri] digneris absolvere a prioris provincialis officio, quod mihi nullatenus convenit. Rationes abunde perscripsi. Provincia iam pacata est, et manebit pacatanisi denuo ex Alma Urbe turbetur » [346]).

Mais pendant que Lupus croyait au rétablissement de la paix, de nouvelles difficultés se préparaient. Il commença à les craindre quand il attendit vainement de Rome la confirmation des cates du chapitre. D'un général qui prétendait poursuivre la restauration de la discipline, il était en droit d'attendre quelque éloge pour ses efforts. Mais il restait sans réponse de Rome. Le 18 septembre, il écrit à Favoriti : « *Dignetur 'Vestra Gratia] efficere ut confirmentur acta omnia* » [347]).

Dans ses lettres suivantes, Lupus ne cesse de demander cette approbation, qui lui semblait essentielle. En effet, les adhérents du chapitre rebelle d'Anvers prétendaient toujours que le régime imposé par le bref pontifical était le seul légitime, et ils travaillaient ardemment à Rome à faire approuver leurs actes. Leurs délégués, Albert Le Roy et Henri Canisius, trouvèrent à Rome l'appui du général et de l'assistant de Germanie. C'était une lutte à mort, d'autant plus que Lupus, après son élection, mais avant l'approbation des actes de son chapitre, avait déjà pris des mésures pour réfréner les excès des « libertins » : il avait notamment suspendu les prieurs de Gand et d'Anvers, Reyloff et Le Roy, qui avaient directement été nommés par le général à l'occasion du bref [348]). Le long conclave (du 22 juillet au 21 septembre) qui se tint après la mort de Clément X empêcha toute intervention du cardinal protecteur. Lupus écrivait le 16 octobre 1676 à Favoriti :

« Haec augustiniana provincia adhuc pendet inter incudem et malleum. Pauci, qui ex alma Urbe non desinant fomenta

346) FFC, doc. 110.

347) FFC, doc. 111. Lupus ajoute : « Prior Gandensis [Rylofs] et prior Antverpiensis [Le Roy], quos capitulo merito absolvit, moliuntur restitui. Verum uterque est indignus. D. Cardinalis sibi non permittat obrepi. Et apostolica Sedes deinceps ultra montes non faciat priores per brevia ».

348) Van Hecke écrit dans la *Synopsis* (n° 23) : « Interea Lupus non exspectata confirmatione pleraque contra obedientes brevi turbulentius egit; visitavit conventus, impressit et vulgavit decreta pro tota provincia ... mutavit domicilia religiosorum et alia quae verus et indubitatus provincialis non fecisset ». Dans le registre du général Oliva (AGS, Dd 113), on trouvera des interventions directes en faveur des religieux obéissants au bref, des couvents de Gand et d'Anvers. Bassery, déposé comme sous-prieur et privé de juridiction, est confirmé dans sa fonction de supérieur et de confesseur; AGA, Dd 113, f° 327rv; Ff 16, f° 147r.

quaerere et accipere, pergunt turbare et miscere omnia. Certe ex iustiusmodi causis Roma male audit. Et quod ab ipsa prohibeamur religiose vivere, est res digna sanguineis lacrimis. Et mihi, qui provincialis officium sum violenter iniectus, est singulare ac ineffabile tormentum, et impedimentum omnis studii. Hinc flexis genibus supplico ut Gratia Vestra Eminentissimum Dominum Protectorem dignetur promovere ad confirmanda acta capitularia, aut sane ad me his malis eximendum » [349]).

Il répète cette prière le 25 octobre et le 18 décembre [350]).

Mais entre-temps arrivent à Rome des lettres pour faire savoir que Lupus est le seul religieux qui puisse sauver la province dans les circonstances données et que, pour aucune raison, il ne peut être remplacé [351]).

Avait-on pressenti aux Pays-Bas le coup qui se préparait à Rome ? Le 5 décembre 1676, le général remplace Lupus par le P. Schweitzer [352]). Cette nouvelle, qui arriva à Louvain vers la fin de l'année, fit impression. Lupus écrivit à Favoriti, le 31 décembre 1676 :

« Novus hic annus, quem Gratiae Vestrae precor felicissimum, augustinianae Belgarum provinciae dat infelicissima exordia. Frequenter scripsi, et iterum scribo, esse miserandum, scandalosum, et sanguineis lacrimis dignum, quod nos qui studemus religiose vivere, violenter et assidue turbemur ex Alma Urbe. Parit hoc foeda obloquia. Quanta scandala creavit infelix istud apostolicum breve, est notum Vestrae Gratiae. Novistis esse cassatum; et ecce iterum vivit. Prior generalis me absolvit ab officio et parat totum breve restituere, evehere personas indignas, dignas proiicere, destruere ordinem. Non solus ego, sed Illustrissimus Dominus Internuntius plurimas ad Dominum Cardinalem Protectorem scripsimus litteras, multas horas expendi in istas quisquilias. Et ecce, dum pacem expectamus, succedit nova, eaque pessima turbatio.

Illustrissime Domine, ego nihil magis ambio, quam absolvi ab ingratissimo officio. Verum absolvi volo, non conspui ut fungus, non eiici ut criminosus. Sacris pro Romana Ecclesia studiis omnem impendi vitam, multosque sustinui labores et odia; et ab ipsa nec honores expectavi nec munera. An dignum sit me ab illa male tractari, permitto iudicandum Vestrae-Gratiae.

Postulavi, ac etiamnum postulo absolvi, verum ea lege, ut ante omnia confirmentur acta capitularia, et sua pax reddatur provinciae, Neque enim mihi soli studere possum, et meos

[349]) FFC, doc. 113.

[350]) FFC, doc. 114 et 115.

[351]) Archives du Vatican, Nunz. die Fiandra, dossier 203; FFC, doc. 117.

[352]) AGA, Aa 37, f° 386rv.

optimos, omnis aetatis, fratres in miserandis fluctibus deserere. Deinde nunquam postulavi absolvi per priorem generalem; absit. Eius iuducia iam pridem abhorruimus. Nec sine fundamentis. Et omnia capituli acta per multas litteras retulimus ad tribunal Domini Cardinalis; omnis causa pendet apud ipsum. Et quod talis relatio habeat omnes appellationis effectus, est omnibus notum. Quare quidquid in nos agit Prior Generalis, est vacuum et inane attentatum. Interim nobis parit novas turbas, nova scandala... » [353]).

Le 7 janvier 1677, le Conseil de Brabant intervient une quatrième fois. Il défend le chapitre d'Enghien contre celui d'Anvers, et le provincial élu contre Schweitzer, le dernier des recteurs provinciaux imposés [354]). Le 25 février ,Lupus envoie Lambert Ledrou, un de ses définiteurs, à Rome « *ut impetret dari finem scandalosis violentiis quae Prior generalis exercet in hanc provinciam* » [355]).

Mais entre-temps Lupus se péparait également à se rendre à Rome comme député de l'Université. Il aurait donc bientôt l'occasion de plaider personnellement sa cause. Favoriti fit suspendre l'affaire jusqu'à son arrivée. Le 19 mars 1677, Lupus lui repond :

« Ex animo laetor omnia per vestram auctoritatem suspendi usque ad meum adventum. Illustrissima Vestra Pietas alte gemet dum audiet prioris generalis in hanc provinciam violentias. Plures timent ne, me itinerante, arietet viduatam gregem. Humiliter supplico ut Gratia Vestra dignetur suaviter impedire » [356]).

En attendant son départ, Lupus envoya le 9 avril, une lettre encyclique à ses couvents, nommant comme ses remplaçants temporaires le P. Jean Smits pour les couvents flamands et Du Pernes

[353]) FFC, doc. 117.

[354]) AGA, Aa 37, f° 132-135.

[355]) FFC, doc. 118. Le Drou semble avoir été accompagné de Guillaume Poelman; cf. J. Spyliaert (*Historia monasteriorum Iprensium*, f° 419) écrit : « Conventus [Iprensis] rogatus a provinciali, ... contribuit 50 fl. pro itinere... Prioris [Gandensis] Poelman et... Magistri Le Drou ad iter Romanum pro pace et manutentia provinciae ex capitulo Angiensi contra infestos Romanos et maxime ...Magistrum Van Hecke ».

[356]) FFC, doc. 119. Au sujet de ce départ pour Rome, Spyliaert (*Historia monasteriorum*, f° 420) écrit explicitement que Lupus se rendait à Rome, non seulement pour les intérêts de l'Université, mais également pour ceux de la province : « ...Et una eademque via etiam propter difficultates nostrae provinciae contra nostros praetendentes provinciam omnino dependentem subicere regimini inusitato... Generalis, quae radicitus ac primario ortum habuerunt a P. Van Hecke, Gandensi, assistente existente Romae ».

pour les couvents gallo-belges. Les couvents allemands, il ne les mentionnait pas, puisqu'ils avaient déjà leur vice-provincial [357]).

Dans cette situation confuse, Lupus sur le point de partir, craint pour ceux de ses religieux qui lui sont restés fidèles, surtout ceux du district de Liège. Arrivé à Rome, il demandera des mesures de protection [358]). Mais déjà il avait été prévenu. D'autres religieux du parti adverse s'étaient rendus à Rome [359]). Dans l'entre-temps, le 10 mai, après le départ de Lupus, le général avait imposé une fois de plus le P. Schweitzer pour recteur provincial [360]). Le Conseil de Brabant intervint une cinquième fois [361]).

Lupus défendit ardemment sa cause à Rome, par l'intermédiaire de ses amis. Mais Van Hecke fit de même [362]). Ce fut Lupus qui l'emporta.

Le 27 janvier 1678, une « congrégation spéciale » affirma la validité du chapitre d'Enghien et celle des actes posés par Lupus jusqu'à la notification de son remplacement par Schweitzer :

[357]) *Liber Mechliniensis*, f° 333-334. Dans un post-scriptum Lupus écrit : « Intelligo Patrem Magistrum Schweitser publicasse nescio quas litteras quibus per R^mum P. Priorem generalem instituitur rector huius provinciae. Sunt litterae plenae obreptionibus. Ego enim prioris provincialis officio numquam renuntiavi nisi sub ea conditione ut confirmarentur omnia acta capitularia. Deinde omnis haec causa pendat coram Eminentissimo D. Cardinali Cibo, qui modo res Ecclesiae administrat... Idem... Cardinalis mandavit circa hanc causam nihil innovari antequam me audierit... ».

[358]) FFC, doc. 120.

[359]) Lupus écrivit le 17 juin 1677 à Favoriti : « ...In hoc conventu [S. Augustini, Romae] sunt quatuor fratres Belgae, qui sine meo scitu et benedictione abierunt. Quartus heri advenit. Illum a P. Generali rogavi castigari et statui in exemplum. Quid facturus sit docebimur a tempore », FFC, doc. 123.

[360]) « Elapsi Maii Calendis P. Generalis denuo litteras novi rectoris constitutivas misit in Belgium. Et illae tantum fecere motum ut regia Concilia iterum manus apposuerint » ; l.c.

[361]) Bruxelles, Archives générales du Royaume, Conseil de Brabant, Office fiscal, petit nombre 3487.

[362]) Lupus écrit le 3 juillet 1677 à Favoriti : « Cogor denuo esse... importunus. Audio P. Heckium aliqua machinari in Palatio ; misisse die hesterna scripturam utcumque fusam ad Illustrissimum D. Spinola, et memoriale illico praelegendum Sanctissimo Domino... Quid intendat nescio ; forte confirmationem rectoris a P. Generali constituti, per S. Congregationem regularium... » ; FFC, doc. 124. Le 23 novembre, Lupus écrit à Favoriti : « Dies diem, mensis mensem trudit, et nostra miseranda provincia permanet in calamitatibus... Hinc humillime supplico ut Eminentissimum D. Albritium ad causam nostram proxime finiendam permovere dignetur » ; ibid., lettre de la date indiquée. La situation à Rome changea lorsque le général Oliva fut nommé évêque de Cortona et le procureur général Dominique Valvasori lui succéda le 26 novembre 1677 comme vicaire général.

« Congregatio nonnullorum S.R.E. Cardinalium [363]) per Sanctissimum D.N. specialiter deputata censuit breve expeditum die 28 Martii 1676 esse subreptitium, ac proinde omnia vigore illius gesta esse nulla; sed sustineri capitulum ac electiones factas in oppido Angiae; sustineri etiam gesta per P. Lupum provincialem electum usque ad notitiam ab eo habitam deputationis rectoris provincialis factae a P.M. Generali Ordinis, sed ab eo tempore usque ad praesentem diem non licuisse dicto Patri Lupo neque per se neque per alium officium provincialatus exercere ac propterea omnes actus ab eo factos esse irritandos » [364]).

Voilà, après tant de peines, un commencement de victoire. La chance commença à sourire. Le général Oliva, si lié au P. Van Hecke, venait d'être nommé évêque de Cortone, le 22 novembre 1677. Le procureur général, Dominique Valvassori, « *vir justitiae et pacis amantissimus* » [365]), depuis longtemps ami de Lupus, prit la succession sous le titre de vicaire général. C'est lui qui transmit le décret de la congrégation, ordonnant de sa propre autorité :

« Decreto obtemperetis, ideoque R. P. M. Chr. Lupum tamquam legitimum provincialem recognoscatis; ...rectoratum Schwitzeri penitus iam extinctum esse... Vos omnes et singulos paterne exhortamur et monemus ut pristinarum dissentionum obliti, quae ad pacem et fraternam caritatem spectant, toto corde prosequamini » [366]).

Bientôt après, le 12 mars 1678, le pape lui-même compléta la victoire de Lupus en déclarant valides tous ses actes, même ceux qui avaient été posés durant la période de Schweitzer [367]).

[363]) Pour vider la question des augustins, le pape avait institué une commission spéciale composée des cardinaux Cybo, Guidoni, Altieri, Carpegna, Cologna et Albrizio. D'après le parti de Van Hecke, Cibo et Carpegna leur étaient favorables, mais Altieri, le cardinal protecteur, tenait pour Lupus et gagna à sa cause les cardinaux Colonna et Albrizio. Van Hecke priera le pape de nommer d'autres cardinaux; Angelica, ms 896, f° 154rv. Le cardinal Altieri chargea son auditeur Muti de s'occuper du procès, et de fait son nom revient souvent dans les actes. Favoriti a, sans aucun doute, joué un grand rôle dans les coulisses.

[364]) *Liber Mechliniensis*, f° 339-340r.

[365]) B. Housta, *Historia chronologica monasterii Angiensis* (ms. conservé au couvent des augustins de Gand), f° 281r.

[366]) Ibid., f° 340. Le même jour, le vicaire général confirma les pouvoirs de Jean Smits durant l'absence de Lupus; ibid., f° 342-343.

[367]) « Die vero 12 Martii 1678 Sanctissimus D. N., audita relatione et non obstante suprascripto decreto supradictae congregationis particularis, ex benignitate apostolica omnia gesta post dictam notitiam deputationis rectoris provincialis a P. Generali factae, per ipsum P. Lupum vel alium a se deputatum circa gubernium praefatae provinciae convalidavit ». *Liber Mechliniensis*, f° 340.

Vainqueur, Lupus écrivit le 26 février 1678 à la province une encyclique à la fois sévère et paternelle :

« Inter multas ac varias quae homini seni in tanto itinere et peregrina demoratione non possunt non accidere molestias, nulla mihi fuit gravior quam adeo diuturna a vobis absentia; credebam vos, uti a corde, ita etiam ab oculis numquam dimittere; nullas mihi dare ferias cogitandi de vobis ac vobis famulandi. Et quam nostrae provinciae, per magnos olim et sanctos viros fundata ac stabilita in regulari vita, nuperrimos motus doluerim ex pleno corde spero vobis esse exploratum; et magis de causa dolui quam de motu. Etenim omnia quae fecit nobis Dominus, in vero iudicio fecit, quia declinavimus.

Provincia olim a gastrimagiae vitio alienissima, diligebat regulam quae nesciebat vinum monachorum; non dumtaxat diurna sed et nocturna divinae maiestatis officia frequentabantur ab omnibus. Florebant studia, erant viri excellentes in omni scientia. Mendicantium ordinum praefecturae non sunt dignitates sed mera onera et ministeria; ipsarum ambitio, pessima monasteriorum pestis, quam a nobis longinque fuerit, norunt seniores Patres qui ante quadraginta annos viderunt capitula provincialia. Hocce vitium pedetentim invalescens nobis genuit omnia alia, omnes praesentes calamitates. Quo ipsis medelam impetrarem a divina clementia per plures annos non dedi oculis meis somnum nec dormitationem meis palpebris. Licet in ordine iubilarius dedi me in molestissimum ac insigniter periculosum Romanum iter, et meam vitam exposui, paratus ipsam pro vobis profundere; certe misericordia Domini est, quia non sumus consumpti, quia non defecerunt miserationes eius. Haec usque adeo increverunt ut sperem nobis obtigisse verbum Sapientis : *cum placuerint Domino viae hominis, inimicos eius convertet ad pacem.*

Etenim provinciale Angiense capitulum ab Eminentissimis Dominis Cardinalibus ac Sua etiam Sanctitate, post maturam discussionem, est approbatum et confirmatum, ideoque aperta ac stabilita porta ad pacem nostram ac plenam nostrae professionis observantiam. Et sane plura nos ad ipsam adstringunt atque compellunt. Primo, extrema nostri Belgii calamitas, pro qua omnes nos oportet assiduis gemitibus coelum tundere ac unanimi prece divinam misericordiam implorare; deinde, prava nostra peccata, in quae Dominus Deus per hosce lamentandos motus voluit aperiri oculos nostros; tertio, nostra professio qua iubemur esse mundi sal et lumen, ac ex ecclesiae candelabro ardere et lucere omnibus virtutibus.

Proinde omnes redeamus in nosmetipsos, in nos reducamus Patrum corda; redeamus in fidum Ecclesiae ministerium, atque ita per bona opera nos reddamus certos de vita aeterna.

Confido fore ut brevi vobis adsim, omni studio conaturus vos non solo verbo sed et exemplo firmare. Quare dignemini Domino

Deo supplicare ut nos per bonum angelum in via ducat et custodiat.

Porro ad hanc pacem nostram singulari zelo cooperati sunt Eminentissimi Illustrissimi et Reverendissimi Domini Sanctae Romanae Curiae Praelati; hinc rigide mando ut in omnibus nostrae provinciae conventibus cantetur pro ipsis solemne sacrificium, ad quod totus conventus compareat.

Quales mihi contumelias atque iniurias mihi quidem intulerint, utinam nesciretis. Longe maiores intulerunt regulari disciplinae. Ex pleno corde remitto omnia, sciens fore ut mihi pro istis maledictionibus Dominus Deus reddat bonum in ista die. Verum religiosae obedientiae iura remittere non possum. Hinc mando ut omnes qui a me habent obedientiales litteras, eis mox obediant et se recipiant ad designatam sibi familiam, idque sub poenis decretis per sacras nostras constitutiones, circa quas exequendas non permittar dormitare. Caetera praesens disponam » [368]).

Les déplacements projetés par Lupus avaient sans doute pour but d'assainir les couvents de Gand et d'Anvers, dont depuis longtemps il regrettait les désordres.

Voulant rétablir la discipline, Lupus prit des mesures sérieuses contre les agissements de Van Hecke, l'assistant de Germanie, et contre les faiblesses de futurs généraux aussi débiles que le P. Oliva. Vers le mois de juin 1677, il soumit [369]) à l'approbation de la curie romaine quatorze articles de réforme :

1. Imposterum omnino observetur constitutio Ordinis parte III, cap. 4, tit. 3, ubi sancitur quod si contigerit ut aliquando in litteris Reverendissimi Patris aliquid contineatur circa quod si melius fuisset informatus aliter forsitan sensisset ac scripsisset, permittimus ne huiusmodi litterae executioni mandentur, quin prius super ea re R^mus Pater a Provinciale per litteras consulatur ac plene informetur. Si vero post praedictam informationem Prior Generalis in sua perstiterit sententia, volumus quod omnino ei obediatur, etiamsi in litteris fuerit adiecta clausula *sublata omni facultate rescribendi*, dummodo non sit adiecta *cum speciali approbatione, Eminentissimi Protectoris pro tempore*;
2. Similiter observetur quod in mandatis transmittendis ad huiusmodi provinciam non adiciatur poena excommunicationis, nisi in casibus et negotiis gravissimis;
3. Nec non etiam observetur constitutio Ordinis parte III, cap. 4, tit. 21 ubi disponitur quod P. Generali nullus querelam facere audeat nisi propter defectum prioris provincialis, alias

368) Ibid., f° 344-346.

369) Voici la demande : « ...Orator humiliter supplicat ut Eminentissimus Ordinis Protector una cum apostolico Ordinis Vicario possit condere quaedam reformatoria praefatae provinciae decreta »; *Liber Mechliniensis*, f° 346.

non solum non audiantur sed etiam corripiantur huiusmodi querelas facientes; et ideo Prior Generalis non poterit se interponere nisi in casibus in quibus constiterit de negligentia prioris provincialis;

4. Prior generalis neminem possit a prioris provincialis auctoritate eximere, nec figere in certo conventu, nec etiam eximere a divinis officiis, nisi in casu infirmae valetudinis, senectutis vel quatenus aggrediatur magnum aliquod opus in religionis decus [370]), et nisi prius coeperit informationem super praedictis tribus motivis a patre provinciale pro tempore;

5. Fratres quos provinciale vel intermedium capitulum vel etiam prior provincialis ad alium conventum transtulerit, prior generalis non possit ad priorem conventum remittere, nisi post legitimam audientiam, et audito provinciale, constiterit et indicaverit male transtulisse;

6. Prior generalis non possit alicui fratri dare privilegium speciale egrediendi conventum, aut socium determinatum vel sibi bene visum assumendi independenter a prioris localis assensu, nisi patribus emeritis, quorum tamen merita fuerint approbata in pleno capitulo provinciali;

7. Prior generalis nemini possit dare licentiam retinendi vel administrandi suum depositum;

8. Similiter nullus possit, neque prior generalis ulli, contra prioris provincialis, diffinitorii aut Patrum Deputatorum iudicium, dare facultatem destruendi et aedificandi; longe minus licentiam aperiendi ac invadendi depositum seu aerarium conventus;

9. Si contra haec praemissa reperiantur iam datae et concessae exemptiones, licentiae obedientiales aut privilegia, Pater Provincialis praefigat terminum unicuique conventui ad exhibendas omnes praedictas exemptiones, cum comminatione quod si intra terminum praefixum non fuerint exhibitae, nullius sint roboris aut momenti; quo vero ad exhibendas, relato negotio in plena S. Congregationi praeposita super negotiis episcoporum et regularium, firmae non remaneant nisi quae fuerint in dicta congregatione confirmatae et approbatae;

10. Nemo possit accipere privilegia magisterii nisi sacram theologiam diligenter et fructuose docuerit per annos duodecim, nemo theologicae licentiae nisi per annos sex, nemo theologici baccalaureatus nisi per annos quatuor id praestiterit;

11. In quovis conventu habeatur tertio per septimanam lectio casuum conscientiae; qui ipsam habere recusaverit, non gaudeat tunc privilegio sui gradus;

12. Nullus prior possit fratribus suis vinum vendere; qui vendiderit aut alias compotationes permiserit, ipso facto sit per medium annum suspensus ab officio; et prior provincialis teneatur statim

[370]) Lupus avait reçu un tel privilège en 1660; cf. CEYSSENS, *Chrétien Lupus*, dans *Augustiniana*, 16 (1966) 309.

declarare sententiam suspensionis, alioquin a diffinitorio puniatur;
13. Si iuvenis petat habitum, sit eximii ingenii aut magnae exspectivae, reici non possit ab ordinis ingressu propter inopiam conferendae dotis;
14. Omnibus cuiuscumque conditionis aut proeminentiae Patribus ac Fratribus, in salutaris obedientiae meritum praeceptum sit ne quis extra conventum in civitate vel oppido aut suburbiis intra eiusdem civitatis aut oppidi muros comprehensis audeat comedere vel bibere sine expressa et in scriptis habita licentia patris provincialis » [371]).

Consultée, la congrégation des religieux laissa, le 17 juin 1678, le soin de la confirmation au cardinal protecteur. Celui-ci se décida le 20 août 1678 :

« ...Super quibus [articulis et capitibus] captis debitis informationibus pluries atque pluries illa ad trutinam revocavimus et comperimus esse apprime necessaria pro monastica disciplina dictae provinciae; ideoque in vim facultatis nobis concessae infrascripta decreta imposterum omnino in dicta provincia Belgica observari mandamus, illaque approbamus et confirmamus, praecipientes in virtute sanctae obedientiae omnibus ad quos spectat ut huiusmodi decretis indispensabiliter omnino pareant, et omnes superiores ...illa servari in dicta provincia omnino curent et mandent sub poenis privationis vocis activae et passivae et aliarum... » [372]).

Pour plus de sûreté, Lupus fait confirmer ses décrets par une bulle [373]). On le voit, Lupus veut surtout préserver sa province des ingérences des généraux — et de l'assistant général —, dont lui-même et son prédécesseur avaient eu tant à souffrir. Tenant à l'exacte observation des ordonnances, il envoie le 20 août 1678 cette lettre encyclique à sa province;

« Nihil mihi durius est quam tanto tempore a vobis abesse ac impediri quominus vobis prodeam verbo et exemplo, atque ita simul ambulemus dulces vias religiosae iustitiae. Interim nullas mihi permitto de vestro profectu cogitandi inducias; omnibus modis incumbo vobis planare iter ad vitam aeternam; et si sempiternae salutis spem diligam, oportet me circa haec non dormitare. Etenim quod monasteriorum praefecti etiam leves disciplinae naevos sanare obligentur sub aeternae damna-

371) *Liber Mechliniensis*, f° 348-350.

372) Ibid., f° 347.

373) Cette bulle, *Militantis Ecclesiae regimini*, fut donnée le 15 octobre 1678. On en trouve le texte dans le *Liber Mechliniensis*, f° 353-355. Il y eut une édition contemporaine (in-8°, 4 p.).

tionis reatu, est constantissima doctrina Patrum. Ad regularem disciplinam reditus est divinae maiestati adeo gratus ut in redeuntibus monasteriis sanctorum reliquiae in suis aliquando thecis exultaverint et dederint laetitiae signa. Ita testantur authentica testimonia atque exempla.

Porro in nostram augustinianam provinciam irripserant etiam gravia regularis vitae vulnera quae nostro apud catholicam Ecclesiam ministerio ponebant altos obices et poterant a nobis divertere divinam benedictionem. Optimam medicinam ipsis apposuit Eminentissimus ac Reverendissimus D. Cardinalis, ordinis totius apud Sanctam Sedem protector, quam spero ab omnibus diligendam ac amplectendam atque ita animabus nostris fore efficacem.

Palmare vitae regularis fundamentum est obedientia; haec apud nos fuit gravissime laesa per varias exemptiones extortas a R^mis Prioribus Generalibus. Quare omnibus et singulis qui ullas tales litteras habent, et ipsis uti volunt, in salutaris obedientiae meritum mando ut eas intra tres ab huius mandati publicatione dies transmittant aut consignent meis in provincia vicariis, ab ipsis mox ad me destinandas et a me tradendas Eminentissimo D. Cardinali Protectori, facturo de ipsis iuxta suam reverendissimam sapientiam atque iustitiam.

Aliud regularis imo christianae vitae fundamentum est sobrietas. Etenim Unigenitus Dei Filius scandalum Crucis sustinuit ut nos sobrie vivamus in hoc saeculo. Et Ioannes Cassianus verissime docet eos qui adhuc gastrimargia laborant, necdum esse ingressos viam religiosae perfectionis. Necdum sunt novitii.

Ex isto scabioso fonte cuncta fere nostra mala et peccata ducunt originem. Quare omnibus Patribus Prioribus ex pectore mando ut praesentia omnia Eminentissimi Principis decreta servent integre atque ex animo. Alioquin iustitia non dormitabit in manibus meis.

Inter alia graviora provinciae nostrae vulnera est item otium et inde nata plurium ignorantia. Hinc lectio casuum ubique fiat tertio per hebdomadam. In conventibus ubi professor defuerit, R. P. Vicarius mox substituat alium. In parvis conventibus, Prior capiat probatum casuistam, illum suis subditis praelegat, discurrat cum ipsis atque ita sese mutuo perficiant. Professor graduatus, si docere detrectet, statim suspendatur a sui gradus privilegio.

Provinciale capitulum iuxta S. Constitutiones instituit taxam seu collectam, ipsamque assignavit conventui Lovaniensi, Huensi ac Valencenensi. Ex fratrum profitentium dotibus assignavit quinque in centum. Cum magno dolore audio non praestari huic decreto obedientiam; quare omnibus rigide mando Prioribus ut mox defungantur hoc suo debito. Quod modo dabunt istis

afflictis conventibus, suo tempore sint per suas vices ab aliis recepturi.

Porro ut haec reformatoria Eminentissimi Principis decreta apud nos maneant in firma memoria et inconcussa observantia, Patres Priores singulis quindenis ipsa suis subditis praelegent aut praelegi facient in consuetis capitulis de culpis per proximos duos a die publicationis harum menses » [374]).

Mais dans ses efforts de réforme, Lupus ne remporta pas un succès immédiat et complet. On ne prit pas entièrement au sérieux les mesures très graves qu'il prescrivit contre des défauts assez humains. Il y eut des critiques et des résistances. C'est pourquoi Lupus écrivit le 22 avril 1679 une nouvelle lettre circulaire :

Ad Nicetam Aquileae episcopum verissime scripsit Magnus Leo : inferiorum culpae ad nullos magis conferendae sunt quam ad desides negligentesque rectores qui multum saepe nutriunt pestilentias dum austeriorem dissimulant adhibere disciplinam. Quod ob istam in filios dissimulationem summus haebreorum pontifex Heli in sempiternis flammis puniatur, doctrina Patrum est. Hinc S. Abbas et martyr Maximus disciplinae neglectum qui in subdito est venalis, affirmat in praefecto esse crimen lethale. Haec meam atrociter momorderunt animam et non desinunt mordere. Etenim inimicus noster, dum homines dormirent, per nostrae provinciae agrum non inutile dumtaxat foenum, sed etiam prava seminavit zizania quae nisi omnibus nervis eradicare studeam, non possum non respirare inter gravia salutis pericula.

Ministerium propter quod Deus nos posuit in Ecclesia est lucere et ardere, esse mundi salem et lumen. Lucere obligamur per divinarum ac humanarum rerum scientiam et per plenam Dei et proximi ardere charitatem. Et hac spe electam suam iuventutem nobis credit Ecclesiae imbuendam illis intellectualium et moralium virtutum principiis, ex quibus crescant in solida Ecclesiae ac reipublicae ossa et firmamenta.

At ecce irrepserunt vitia quae ad ista nos tendant reddere inidoneos quae impetunt ipsa religionis prima rudimenta, atque ita nostrum quosdam cogunt iterum parturiri et reduci ad sermonem inchoationis. Loqui possem de variis, modo tamen loqui velim de solo vitio gastrimargiae. Quod religiosa vita ab indicto in ipsum bello sit inchoanda, et quod ante ipsum expugnatum, necdum simus ingressi perfectionis viam, demonstrat in singulari contra ipsum libro Joannes Cassianus. Quicumque ipso laborant, nec Deo placere possunt, nec hominibus. In Anglorum historia

[374]) *Liber Mechliniensis*, f° 351-352.

venerabilis Beda amplissimum isthic monasterium quum ab isto expurgare se vitio neglexit, affirmat fuisse absumptum igne coelesti, et nunquam resurrexisse. Et certe monasteria sunt a sanctissimis viris extructa ut isthic orationibus, meditationibus, sacrarum litterarum studiis, genuflexionibus aliisque christianae humilitatis et poenitentiae functionibus divinam clementiam nobis et civitati cuius eleemosynis sustentamur exoremus et conemur reddere propitiam. Quantum ergo sit crimen sacrosancta loca per gastrimargias profanare, ipsa res altissime clamat. Utinam vobis adessem et planioribus verbis possem vitii enormitatem vobis ponere ante oculos. Quod quia non datur, ad meas preces Eminentissimus D. Cardinalis Protector et Sanctissimus D. noster Innocentius saluberrima et ad nos augustinianae perfectioni ex integro reddendos pernecessaria decreta transmiserunt, et domi et foris mandant nos esse integros; et vestros priores qui profana vini venditione vobis praebent fomenta, non suspendendos iusserunt, sed ipso facto ab officio suspenderunt. Proinde si qui eorum adhuc praevaricantur, videant qua conscientia accedant altare Domini, et in proximo provinciali capitulo talium nullus possit ad officium eligi, nisi velimus matris Ecclesiae et quidem ipsa Apostolica Sede inflictas censuras contemnere, atque ita divinam iram in capita nostra devocare.

Praelati mandatum quod fit in meritum salutaris obeidientiae, S. Petrus Damiani recte affirmat esse omni excommunicatione terribilius, praesertim dum fit per Sedem apostolicam. Haec suprema totius christianitatis auctoritas aufert omnem quem a nescio quibus audio obtrudi praetextum de levitate materiae. S. Anselmus pluribus epistolis affirmat monasteria illa ubi praelatorum mandata discutiuntur et ventilantur, a subditis deformari, impleri discordiis ac perire. Quod de ista discussione sentiat S. Bernardus, docet eius liber *De praecepto et dispensatione.* Et boni et mali operis materia non ex propria dumtaxat natura, sed insuper ex circumstantibus et consequentibus aliisque annexis est mensuranda. Et leges et canones subministrant plura istiusmodi exempla. Et tale quid omnino est viris regularibus libertas edendi et bibendi extra monasterium : est obnoxia periculis magnorum malorum imo et magis malis. Loquor rem notissimam. Longe maioribus periculis et malis subiacet domestica vini venditio. Certe Sanctissimus Dominus Noster dum ipsi abusum exposui, fuit graviter offensus et scandalizatus. Quocirca quicumque circa horum decretorum iustitiam caespitant, gravi laborant ignorantia.

Dilectissimi Fratres, alloquor vos verbis apostolicis. Obedite praepositis vestris et subiacete eis. Ipsi enim pervigilant quasi rationem pro animabus vestris reddituri ut cum gaudio hoc faciant, et non gementes. Hoc enim expedit vobis. Quales

vigilias, labores, atque aerumnas pro vobis sustinuerim, non possit esse ignotum; et sane si fructum in vobis videro, non gemens sustinuerim, sed cum pleno gaudio. Nec enim possit esse gaudium maius quam dum pater audit et videt filios suos in veritate ambulare. Ista veritas liberabit vos a multis malis, et crescere faciet in plurimis bonis, spiritualibus et temporalibus. Quod enim Ecclesia non solius futurae, sed etiam praesentis vitae promissiones acceperit a Christo Domino, et apostolica nos docent scripta et evangelica. Ducemus vitam sanctam, dilectam et honoratam ab omnibus, apud Dominum Deum et homines gloriosam. Haec a vobis postulo, ex pleno pectore; quod si impetrare non merear, altissime clamabo cum Nehemia propheta : *Memento mei, Deus Meus, in bonum, secundum omnia quae feci populo huic.* Divina clementia vos dirigat et in omnibus custodiat » [375]).

Entre-temps, les couvents flamands soumis au régime français (Ypres, Roeselare et Hazebroek) reçurent une autre lettre qui, sans aucun doute, avait été inspirée par les adversaires de Lupus [376]). Denis Le Boistel, intendant des places de Flandre, leur écrivit d'Ypres le 4 décembre 1678 :

« Sur ce qui a été représenté au Roi [Louis XIV] par le R. P. Général des augustins qu'encore que Sa Majesté ait interdit le P. Lupus, ci-devant provincial de son ordre en Flandre, des fonctions de sa charge à cause de sa mauvaise conduite et qu'il ne laisse pas néanmoins d'envoyer des religieux de sa cabale dans les couvents qui sont dans les places et dépendances de l'obéissance de Sa Majesté en Flandre, Artois, Hainaut en qualité de vicaires provinciaux pour y faire des visites.

Et Sa Majesté désirant appuyer le général dudit ordre dans ses fonctions, y étant d'autant plus portée qu'elle est bien informée que ledit P. Lupus est très mal intentionné contre son service, que ceux par ce moyen qu'il commettrait, pourraient inspirer les mauvais sentiments aux autres religieux des couvents où ils iraient, nous avons eu ordre de Sa Majesté pour cette raison de faire savoir ses intentions sur cela; ainsi... nous faisons par ces présentes au P. Supérieur du couvent du même ordre situé à Ypres et à tous ses religieux qu'en cas qu'il s'en présente de la part dudit P. Lupus, ou lui-même, pour faire de visites dans ledit couvent d'Ypres, d'obliger les uns et les autres à se retirer, et par conséquent de ne les point recevoir afin qu'aucun n'y puisse faire cette fonction, mais bien ceux qui seront délégués et envoyés expressément de la part du roi.

375) Ibid., f° 364-367.

376) Cf. infra la lettre de Lupus à Altieri, en date du 17 novembre 1679.

Nous enjoignons très expressément de la part du roi au P. Supérieur dudit couvent d'Ypres de suivre et d'exécuter sans nulle difficulté et très exactement tout ce que dessus, à peine d'en répondre, lequel sera tenu de nous avertir de tout ce qui pourrait arriver à sa connaissance contre le service et intention du roi à cet égard, afin que nous puissions ensuite en informer Sa Majestè comme il nous est ordonné » [377]).

Tout d'abord, Lupus ne tira aucune conclusion de cet incident, dont il ne prévoyait pas encore les conséquences. Au printemps de 1679, comme provincial, il assista au chapitre général, où le vicaire général, Dominique Valvasori fut confirmé. Trouvant en lui un appui sincère, il en profita pour proposer la division de la province. Chose curieuse, il n'envisagea qu'un simple partage qui rendrait aux couvents allemands leur autonomie. N'y eut-il pas aussi un mouvement de séparation des couvents de la principauté de Liège, tel qu'il s'en manifesta à cette époque dans les autres ordres religieux ? Lupus ne prenait-il pas au sérieux les efforts faits pour rendre indépendants les couvents soumis au régime français ?

En tout cas, en été 1679, il offre au pape une supplique où il n'est question que d'un simple partage en deux : une province belge, et une province allemande :

« Exponit provinciam istam belgicam esse nimis vastam ac ex variis penitus necessariis causis debere dividi in duas, aliter regularis observantia in ipsa non potest custodiri; est enim extensa in 40 fere milliaria; ex tanta locorum distancia nascuntur et alia grandia incommoda et propter regionis et linguarum diversitatem fraternae charitatis commercium aliqualiter interrumpitur. Porro ut divisio commodius fiat, ad belgicam provinciam spectabunt conventum quorum syllabum annexa nota exhibet, quae pariter adiungit portionem provinciae Coloniensis; et ut divisae provinciae liberentur a laboribus ac impensis, oratores supplicant ut in generalibus capitulis etiam dividantur suffragia, ut una duos, alia provincia unicum vocalem alternatim mittat ad ista capitula. Ad proximum capitulum Belgica priorem provincialem cum discreto, Coloniensis mittet solum definitorem, et semper fiet ista alternatio ... » [378]).

Le pape remit la requête au cardinal protecteur Altieri, qui, après consulation du général et de certains de ses conseillers, décréta le 22 juillet 1670 :

[377]) Spyliaert, *Historia monasteriorum*, f° 453.

[378]) *Liber Mechliniensis*, f° 368-369.

« Ultimas igitur manus designatae divisioni faciendae imponere volentes, instituta singulari congregatione in palatio nostrae solitae residentiae advocavimus dilectos in Christo Patres Priorem Generalem, procuratorem generalem Ordinis, assistentem Italiae, ex-assistentem Germaniae et actualem provincialem Belgii, quibus totam negotii seriem modo, forma ac conditionibus suprarecensitis indicavimus, eorum votum ac animi sententiam exquaerentes. Cum autem unanimis fuerit consensus tam circa divisionem ac numerum conventuum ac circa omnes et singulas praelibatas conditiones, facta denuo Sanctissimo Domino relatione... praesenti litterarum tenore sic deinceps divisas statuimus et declaramus... » [379]).

Le 5 août 1679, le général confirma ce décret du protecteur [380]). Le même jour, Lupus écrivit une lettre circulaire. Il n'y annonçait pas la division de la province, mais le chapitre provincial à tenir à Louvain, le 12 octobre. Lupus, en effet, croyait pouvoir quitter Rome sans délai ultérieur. Il profita de l'occasion pour recommander les vertus essentielles de la vie religieuse :

« ...Quare ad capitula venire et suas istic vires ad sanctioris vitae profectum toto conatu non extendere, est manifeste Dei gratiam recipere in vacuum, imo repudiare. Quod praesertim verum est de proximo nostrae provinciae capitulo. Ego namque ex causis quas novistis vobis adesse non potui iuxta officii debitum praelucens verbo et exemplo, atque ita nec me totum impendere ad quibusdam malis impetrandam a divina clementia medicinam. Quare vestrum erit meum licet non neglectum, tamen defectum supplere...

Porro augustinianae regulae primum ac summum fundamentum est plena paupertas ét omnium plena communitas. Hinc Sanctus Pater Augustinus in suo etiam episcopali monasterio maluit apertos apostatas quam clandestinos proprietarios. Quod ipse Ioannes Cassianus docuit et aliique religiosae vitae doctores atque Patres. Quinnimmo Sacri Canones alta voce clamant non minus hanc paupertatem quam plenam castitatem sectare ad istius vitae essentiam. Et dum ipsam ex integro fuerimus amplexi, non dumtaxat Beatissimo Patri nostro Innocentio et omnibus hominibus, sed etiam Domino Deo erimus gratissimi, accepturi ab eo quod Venerabilis Tobias promisit suo filio :

[379]) Ibid., f° 368-375. La division était soumise à six modalités : préséance de la province belge; attribution des couvents; représentation au chapitre général; contributions à payer à la curie généralice.

[380]) Lettre circulaire très courte; ibid., f°374.

pauperem vitam gerimus, sed multa bona habebimus, si timuerimus Deum et recessimus ab omni peccato et fecerimus bene [*Tob.* 4, 23]. Proinde omnes priores hanc rem serio pertractent cum suo conventu, cum suis praesertim Patribus deputatis quo circa faciliorem executionem valeant futurum definitorium instruere. Spero enim fieri ut divina gratia omnibus nobis infundat efficacem voluntatem tam boni ac necessarii operis sine quo, praesertim superiores sperare non possint vitam aeternam.

Sancto Ioanni Apostolo tertiam Ecclesiae calamitatem Spiritus in Apocalypsi demonstravit per equum pallidum; esse docuit hypocrisim et ambitum. Et sane quod ecclesias non solummodo afflixerit sed et penitus destruxerit istud vitium, est omnibus exploratum. Haec est enim avaritia omnium malorum radix, qua hominem non multis dumtaxat inseri doloribus, sed insuper a christiana fide labi affirmat Apostolus, Sancti Pachomii sanctissimum ordinem ab isto hoste evertendum olim praedixit Angelus et nos iam videmus impletum. Nullum vitium reddit hominem magis indignum ut sit verus pastor animarum. De istiusmodi praepositis scribit Ozeas propheta: *regnaverunt et non ex me*; *principes exstiterunt et non cognovi* [*Os.* 8, 4]. Hinc divina iusticia ipsorum vias sepit tribulis et spinis et permittit circumduci per devia et cum ipsis et iam miseros greges. Hinc Magnus Gregorius frequenter inculcat ecclesiastici regiminis iugum negandum desiderantibus, et fugientibus imponendum.

Apostolus in quovis crimine damnat non solos facientes, sed et eos qui facientibus consentiunt. Quod praesertim obtinet in ambitu. Est enim pudendum facinus, ideoque nihil potest sine mediatoribus. Hinc eum Ioannes et Iacobus Apostoli dum adhuc carnales ambiebant regnaturi Domini dexteram et sinistram, ipsum traxerunt ad latus et per femineam matris audaciam sua sensa aperierunt.

Istiusmodi pessimos alienae ambitionis ministros quam dure adversentur et puniant sacrae nostrae constitutiones, omnes novistis. Ipsi enim Spiritum Sanctum a nobis abigunt, et quem spiritum tunc nobis faciunt praesidere? Hi divinam benedictionem proscripserunt a provincia, et ipsam involuerunt calamitosis vulneribus. Deo laus, iam sanitatem adepta est; ideoque obediat divino mandato. Ecce iam sanus factus es, iam amplius noli peccare, ne quid tibi deterius contingat. Reverendi Patres ac Fratres dilectissimi adversemini istiusmodi homines ut pote perniciosam scabiem nostrae professionis. Proinde etiam in discretos eligite non desiderantes sed fugientes; per hos enim Spiritus Sanctus dabit vobis similem priorem provincialem, similes definitores, similes priores aliosque cunctos officiales. Et ad haec omnia feliciter peragenda indicimus provinciale capitulum in convento nostro Lovaniensi celebrandum, inchoan-

dum feria quinta post dominicam secundam mensis Octobris quae est die 12... » [381]).

Lupus avait effectivement l'intention de partir aussitôt afin d'avoir, après son arrivée, le temps de préparer l'importante réunion. Il voulait notamment prendre contact avec ses religieux avant d'en venir aux décisions capitulaires. Mais sur le désir du pape, il dut rester à Rome jusqu'après la fête de saint Augustin (28 août). De ce fait, il se vit obligé de retarder le chapitre jusqu'au 16 novembre [382]).

Mais de retour à Louvain, Lupus apprit que les prieurs et les délégués des couvents passés sous le régime français n'avaient pas la permission d'accéder au chapitre. Il était convaincu que la mesure avait été inspirée par des religieux séparatistes. Il se rendit donc à Bruxelles chez l'internonce pour obtenir la remise du chapitre, de manière à pouvoir consulter Rome sur la décision à prendre. Le 10 novembre 1679, Tanara retarda en effet le chapitre, et le 13 Lupus s'adressa à la province :

« Cum gravibus de causis differendum esse censeamus capitulum ...huius Provinciae Belgicae, pro die 16 Novembris Lovanii intimatum, donec explorata super difficultatibus subortis mente Sanctissimi Domini Nostri iterum statuatur opportunum tempus eiusdem convocationis, nos... suspendimus... » [383]).

Le 13 novembre, Lupus fit suivre cet avis d'une lettre circulaire très grave :

« Spero vobis omnibus esse exploratum quod Almam Urbem ac

[381]) *Liber Mechliniensis*, f° 375-379.

[382]) Voici la lettre circulaire que Lupus écrivit de Rome : « Speraveram ab aliquot dies exuisse ex alma Urbe, ideoque provinciale capitulum indixi in die 12 proximi futuri Octobris. Verum Sua Sanctitas ex rationibus voluit ut Sancti Patris Augustini festum hic celebrem, ideoque ad statutum diem vix possum occurrere. Et sane omnino expedit ac opportet ut Provinciae, de qua cogor in tremendo Dei iudicio rationem reddere, faciem et statum saltem obiter introspiciam, alioquin providere non potero eius necessitatibus. Hinc est ut praefatum diem prorogem. Proinde capitulum indico in diem 16 novembris et me peregrinantem commendo vestris sanctis precibus et sacrificiis, et certe indigeo; etenim quinquagesimus primus meae religiosae professionis annus iam tendit in finem. Omnes hos in tam gravi aetate labores et aerumnas libens pro vobis suscepi cum plena fiducia, sperans fore ut non sine fructu elaboraverim. Altera post S. Augustini festum die, Deo dante, me committam itineri, per vestras orationes sperans ducatum et custodiam alicuius boni Angeli. Divina clementia omnibus vobis donet septiformem Spiritus Sancti gratiam »; ibid., f° 380.

[383]) Ibid., f° 382.

Beatissimi Patris Nostri Innocentii XI totiusque Romanae Ecclesiae nimiam in me indignum beneficentiam non alio fine reliquerim, quam ut me in paupere cella clauderem, totius vitae meae peccata istic deploraturus, et me praeparaturus ad felicem mortis exitum, ad securam in tremendo Dei iudicio comparitionem. Etenim ad istud sum brevi evocandus. Hinc mihi nihil magis ambienti quam prioris provincialis officium deponere, praesens nostri provincialis capituli prorogatio est acerbissima.

Et prorogationis causa est longe acerbior. Est enim paucorum ambitio, qui per violentiam machinantur hanc pacis ac disciplinae amantem provinciam ad novam divisionem compellere atque ita in abscissae partis dominatum, quo sunt indignissimi, seipsos intrudere. Hinc ad nostrae quietis ac sanctimoniae consulendum et ad turbida ista tentamina evertenda... Tanarius... internuntius censuit haec omnia ad Suam Sanctitatem referenda et usque ad sacrum illius rescriptum differri capitulum; et hoc suum mandatum vobis omnibus intimari.

Reverendi Patres ac Fratres dilectissimi, alloquor vobis verbis Sancti Ioannis Chrysostomi; *considera pactum, conditionem attende, militiam nosce. Pactum quod spopondisti, conditionem quam accepisti, militiam cui nomen dedisti.* Hoc pactum, haec conditio, haec militia non est aliud quam profundissima humilitas qua omnes non ministrari venimus, sed ministrare. Ipsam dumtaxat religiosae sed et christianae vitae esse primam, secundam, tertiam et omnem penitus partem, insigniter demonstrat in litteris ad Dioscorum Sanctus Pater Augustinus. Quisquis huic non studuerit ex viribus, frustra sperat partem in regno Christi et Dei. Quod enim monasticae praefecturae ambitus sit, licet palliata, tamen vera apostasia, constanter docet Sanctus Petrus Damiani.

Quod paucorum ambitio non solummodo monasteria aut provincias, sed et totos religiosos ordines destruxerit atque deleverit, novimus ex variis exemplis. Etiam pleraeque haereses ex episcopatus aut alterius praefecturae ambitu duxerunt originem. Porro religiosa humilitas reperitur in Sacris Litteris, in Sanctorum Patrum libris, in meditationibus, in silentio, in sobrietate, in amore claustri, aliisque id genus quae uti et plenam apostolicorum decretorum observantiam vobis ex pectore commendo. Haec si sectati fuerimus, in praesenti centum, in futuro saeculo infinita accipiemus : vitam ac gloriam sempiternam. Proinde Illustrissimi ac Reverendissimi Domini Internuntii apostolici decreto ab omnibus et per omnia obediatur. Bene valete, mei etiam memores apud divinam clementiam » [384]).

Pour le fond de la situation, Lupus se voyait placé devant une

[384]) Ibid., f° 381-384.

nouvelle division de la province. Il s'en inquiète. Il craint surtout que les trois couvents de Hazebroeck, Ypres et Roeselare, qui se trouvent en plein pays flamand, ne soient soustraits à la province belge. Mettre des religieux français dans ces couvents, ce serait supprimer l'influence de ceux-ci. Il s'en ouvre au cardinal protecteur dans une lettre du 17 novembre 1679 :

> « Christianissimi Regis ministri, a quatuor aut quinque Fratribus ambitiosis instigati, persistunt in suo proposito. Etenim audientes nos processuros ad provinciale capitulum, ediderunt novum edictum quo omnes istorum conventuum priores aliosque officiales iusserunt permanere in suis muneribus donec Romae impetrent fieri isthic singulare capitulum. Suam mentem lucide aperuerunt. Et hinc Dominus Internuntius magis voluit suspendi capitulum nostrum, omniaque referri ad iudicium Eminentiae Vestrae. Eius mandatis non potui non obedire. Adiungo suspensionis decretum. Ex hoc malo postest nasci bonum. Etenim divisio non carebit fructibus.
>
> Interim cuncta submitto Eminentiae Vestrae sapientiae, cui coecam debeo obedientiam. Si censeat cedendum fluctui et dividendam provinciam, in omni patientia obediam Domino. Unum tamen humillime deprecor, nempe ut dividantur soli quinque gallicae linguae conventus, Tornacensis, Insulensis, Duacensis, Basseanus et Valencenensis. Tria autem Flandriae linguae monasteria, Iprense, Hasebroucanum et Roelariense nobiscum permaneant. Alias peribunt, non solius nostri Ordinis damno sed totius Ecclesiae. Huic enim hactenus impenderunt utile ministerium. Ex toto corde hanc calamitatem commendo Eminentiae Vestrae » [385]).

En attendant les décisions romaines au sujet du chapitre provincial et de la nouvelle division de la province, Lupus s'occupait de la réforme de la discipline monastique. Il profita de sa circulaire de Nouvel An, datée du 14 décembre 1679, pour recommander douze points particuliers, concernant l'office divin, la méditation, la messe et ses rubriques, la lecture spirituelle, le chapitre conventuel, la frugalité, la pauvreté, la chasteté et la charité. Il recommande également le soin de la bibliothèque. Il termine par cette exhortation :

> « Dilectissimi Fratres, ex toto pectore vobis commendo plenam ac spontaneam observantiam omnium nostrarum constitutionum. Haec est unica nostra haereditas, omne nostrum patrimonium.

385) AGA, Cc, f° 79. La séparation des couvents soumis au régime français n'aura lieu officiellement qu'en 1682.

Etenim, licet tota Novi Testamenti spes dirigatur in futura ac sempiterna, recte tamen ad Timotheum scripsit Sanctus Paulus, quod Ecclesia a Christo Domino promissiones habeat non solius vitae futurae, sed et praesentis. Loquitur ex ipso Domino : Quaerite primum regnum Dei et iustitiam eius, et haec omnia adiicientur vobis [*Mat.* 6, 33]. Deus Verbum nascatur et permaneat in cordibus vestris, ipsisque infigat septemplicem sui Spiritus gratiam. Hoc vobis opto ex totis animae meae viribus » [386]).

Le 10 avril 1680 Lupus consacre encore une lettre circulaire aux péchés réservés, dont il déclare le nombre, la nature et les déterminations juridiques. Il arrive à cette conclusion pratique :

« Audio a quibusdam nostrae provinciae sacerdotibus asseri quod ab aliquo priore generali obtinuerunt litteras facientes facultatem absolvendi a quibuscumque peccatis et censuris. Est res perniciosissima, ac per semetipsam invalida. Etenim prior provincialis potest ac debet similium personarum merita discutere ac ineptos operarios secludere a suo grege. Quare omnibus et singulis tales licentias habentibus in meritum salutaris obedientiae mandamus ut intra 24 a praesentium litterarum publicatione horas suis prioribus exhibeant easdem litteras, mox ad nos transmittendas, a nobis vero dirigendas ad R^mum^ Patrem Priorem generalem, quem scio illarum esse penitus ignarum ac ab illis alienum » [387]).

[386]) *Liber Mechliniensis*, f° 385-387. Voici quelques détails :

8. Omnes clandestinae potationes severissime eliminentur; sunt enim religiosae vitae scabiosissima pernicies. Nemo comedat nisi in refectorio.

9. Ut hanc sobrietatem quae est primum monasticae fundamentum exactissime observent, etiam priores conventuum, non verbo dumtaxat et lingua, sed opere et veritate. Etiam in cubiculo hospitum.

10. Habeatur singularis cura de bibliothecis. Hic enim est nobilior noster thesaurus, et studeatur ut aliquid quot annis accedat. Bibliothecarius sit e praecipuis patribus totius conventus.

11. Paupertatis non minus quam castitatis integra custodia est de religiosi status substantia. Hinc sacri canones sanciunt nec Romanum Pontificem posse in hac aut ista dispensare. Proinde omnes vitalitii census recipiantur per procuratorem et per priorem dispensentur. Et ipsis habentibus inde providentur de necessariis, nisi tamen fuerint penitus modici.

12. Ut omnes vivamus in fraterna caritate, unanimes in Domino et omni honore praevenientes invicem. Hunc enim in finem sumus congregati in unum; nullus verbo aut opere det alteri occasionem tristitiae, sed laeti et alacres famulentur divinae clementiae. A nostra memoria numquam excidat terribilis verbum, quod de fraterna dilectione scribit dilectus Domini apostoli : Qui non diligit manet in morte [1 *Ioan.* 3, 14].

[387]) Ibid., f° 390-396. Déjà en 1666 Lupus s'opposait au laxisme en cette matière; Ceyssens, *Sources... 1661-1672*, p. 169-170.

Finalement, 28 avril, Lupus peut annoncer la date précise du chapitre provincial, qui sera tenu à Louvain le 16 mai. Heureux de pouvoir déposer sa charge, il s'adresse à ses confrères avec les paroles du Christ à la Dernière Cène :

> « Ardenti et frequenti desiderio desideravi hoc Pascha manducare vobiscum, sperans fore ut augustiniana haec provincia, quibus dudum quassata gemit calamitatibus, tandem plene resurgat a glorioso mortis triumphatore Domino Nostro Iesu Christo, recipiens beatum illum fructum de quo Apostolus *Et resurrexit propter iustificationem nostram* [*Rom.* 4, 25]. Dominus Noster Innocentius XI et Reverendissimus Pater Prior Generalis mihi fecerunt plenam potestatem indicendi ac celebrandi provincialis capituli eius tempus, locum et modum aliaque omnia permittentes meo iuxta Dominum Deum iudicio » [388]).

Le chapitre se passa paisiblement sous la présidence du Père Jean Bauselius. Le samendi 18, avant les scrutins et dans la forme coutumière, Lupus « *officium suum in manus Praesidentis humiliter resignavit* » [389]).

La liberté à laquelle il aspirait depuis longtemps, lui est rendue. L'internonce Tanara écrit le 25 mai 1680 :

> « Resta infine libero del peso del provincialato il nostro Padre Lupo, e potrà con quiete maggiore attendere in avvenire a' suoi studij in benefitio della Santa Sede » [390]).

388) *Liber Mechliniensis*, f° 397-398. L'internonce Tanara écrit le 4 mai : « Il Padre Lupi ha già inviato il capitolo per li 16 di Maggio in Lovanio, et in caso che non vi compariscano, come è probabile, li vocali de' conventi soggetti alla Francia, intende far confermare in nome del Generale li superiori delli medesimi nei proprij offitij per sino che in Roma si disponga altrimenti. Havrebbe egli desiderato che ciò si facesse con mio decreto, lusingandosi che dovesse essere rispettata l'autorità del mio ministero, ma io mi sono esimito dal compiacerlo per non esporla al pericolo di non incontrare la dovuta obedienza, tanto più che il Signor Cardinale mi ha ordinato di rimettermi totalmente in tal affare alla prudenza del Padre Lupi, e li ministri di Francia mostrano premura grande di separare i Padri loro da ogni dipendenza di chi risiede nelle provincie di Spagna »; CEYSSENS, *La seconde période*, t. II, p. 80.

389) *Liber Mechliniensis*, f° 403. Le provincialat passa au P. Jean Smits, homme capable, ami de Lupus. Le chapitre rendit quelques décrets, dont le neuvième était celui-ci : « Stricte inhibemus ne post hac licentiosae et frequenti nimium vini potitioni priores ullo modo indulgeant, tollaturque quae in quibusdam conventibus introducta est consuetuto dandi aequalem sacerdotibus et non sacerdotibus vini pitantiam tempore recreationis conventualis, iuxta decretum septimum capituli Leodiensis anno 1655 ». Ibid., f° 391.

390) CEYSSENS, *La seconde période*, t. II, p. 86.

12. *Lupus et le jansénisme.*

Il est peu probable que Lupus ait jamais éprouvé une sympathie particulière pour l'évêque de sa ville natale, Jansénius. S'il l'a connu personnellement, cela ne peut avoir été qu'incidemment dans sa jeunesse, étant étudiant en théologie à Louvain. Peut-être a-t-il vu et écouté le maître dans des soutenances publiques de thèses. Ses confrères n'eurent guère de relations avec le professeur d'écriture sainte dont ils ignoraient — comme tous les autres, à part quelques amis intimes — qu'il étudiait en secret saint Augustin.

Mais plus tard, après la publication de l'*Augustinus*, le jeune Lupus, fils de saint Augustin, aimant son fondateur, étudiant sa vie et ses écrits, conçoit une estime respectueuse pour son évêque — d'Ypres — qui a réaffirmé si hautement la doctrine de son collègue d'Hippone. Il interviendra dans la première lutte autour de l'*Augustinus* [391]), et bientôt devra en porter les conséquences. Accusé de jansénisme et persécuté, il sait se réhabiliter à Rome. Adroit, il parvient à échapper à.l'obligation où sont mis tous ceux qui veulent se défaire du soupçon de jansénisme : c'est-à-dire à l'exigence d'attaquer ouvertement la doctrine à laquelle ils renoncent. Lupus n'aurait jamais voulu renier l'augustinisme [392]). Il trouve une alternative. Il s'en prend au gallicanisme [393]). Néanmoins on le tient entre l'enclume et le marteau. Le 18 décembre 1676, il écrit :

> « Eadem est ratio [oppositionis] de articulis Michaelis Baii. Quidam videntur esse augustiniani, ideoque et ipsorum adversarii eousque procedunt ut Sancto Augustino palam detrahant, et clament quaedam eius dogmata esse in Baio damnata. Plures me frequenter rogarunt ut hanc in rem aliquid scriberem; ostenderem discrimen inter Baium et Sanctum Augustinum, atque ita Sanctae Sedis iudicium purgarem atque assererem. Verum nunquam id praesumpsero sine iussu eiusdem Sedis. Est enim scabiosum negotium » [394]).

[391]) Voir notre étude *Chrétien Lupus. Sa période janséniste.*

[392]) Le 30 avril 1679, Lupus écrira de Rome : « S. Augustinus incipit hic apud multos reviviscere. Et spero paulatim rediturum non ad plenam auctoritatem, quam nunquam amisit, sed plenam totius Ecclesiae notitiam. Et hoc numerari debet inter fructus huius deputationis »; CEYSSENS, *Sources... 1677-1679*, p. 429.

[393]) Voir le premier chapitre de cette étude.

[394]) FFC, doc. 115.

Lupus sait trop bien que Jansénius s'est brûlé les ailes en voulant expliquer la bulle de Pie V contre Baius dans un sens favorable à la doctrine d'Augustin. Il ne va pas s'y risquer. Mais à l'égal des jansénistes, il désire que le Saint-Siège lui même donne une interprétation de cette bulle trop vague [395]).

Convaincu que l'augustinisme dogmatique est devenu une matière explosive, Lupus évite de le traiter encore. Il se lance dans l'histoire. Mais au fond du cœur, il reste fidèle à cette dogmatique tout en admettant les décisions d'Innocent X et d'Alexandre VII que, par conscience, il ne veut pas critiquer ni, par prudence, expliquer. Il espère qu'un jour l'Eglise reprendra les *congregationes de auxiliis* et que l'augustinisme triomphera du molinisme [396]). Il croit qu'on peut rester augustinien sans devenir janséniste. L'ancienne Censure de Louvain contre le moliniste Lessius conserve pour lui toute sa valeur. Il en demandera à Rome l'approbation et il la recevra à sa grande joie [397]).

[395]) Lupus écrit le 25 octobre 1676 : « Palmare litis fundamentum est Pii V ac Gregorii XIII... contra Michaelis Baii articulos constitutio. Et certe articuli varii videntur augustiniani. Constant ambiguis vocibus. Hinc optandum esset ut Apostolica Sedes dignaretur facere aliquam interpretationem. Ita cessarent multae lites, multae calumniae. Erit opus solidis theologis. Quoniam in evangelico dogmate nihil est magis abstrusum quam mysterium humanae iustificationis » ; FFC, doc. 114.

[396]) Lupus écrit de Rome le 17 juin 1679 au doyen Henri Scaille à Louvain : « Haec omnia [negotia antijanseniana], licet prava sint, videntur sternere viam ad res utiles et bonas. Etenim hic sunt qui optent bullam circa divinae gratiae auxilia ac decreta a Paulo V concepta, revocari ad incudem, atque ita finem dari praesentibus quaestionibus, et tandem pacificari Ecclesiam, quae certe, pendentibus istis litibus, nunquam erit in pace. In istam rem, optatam ab omnibus veris christianis, adhibebimus omnem conatum » ; CEYSSENS, *Sources... 1677-1679*, p. 478.

[397]) Sur ces questions, voir plus haut, chap. I. On se rappellera que Lupus obtint (sur la prière de Louvain, cf. FFC, doc. 1) du pape Alexandre VII un bref en date du 7 août 1660 (CEYSSENS, *La fin*, t. II, p. 436) où, à la grande joie des jansénistes, la doctrine de saint Augustin fut nommée « *inconcussa tutissimaque* » et recommandée pour l'étude et pour l'enseignement. Le 25 mars 1679, Lupus écrivit de Rome : « Exhibuimus Suae Sanctitati Censuram antiquam Facultatis nostrae et Iustificationem illius super dicta materia ab annis 90 conscriptas, una cum ea quae iuncta et conformis fuit Censura Facultatis Duacensis; et declaravimus Facultatem nostram theologicam modernam isti doctrinae inhaerere, ut si quid illius Sanctitatem Suam offendat, corrigere parati simus.

Nunc Suae Sanctitatis iudicium desuper praepostulamur. Forsitan nihil decernendo, decernet quod in ea, quamdiu Sedi apostolicae videbitur, tuto pergere possimus, vel sub moderatione quam adiecit Sixtus V, ut neutra pars contendentium alteri censuram

C'est pourquoi il répétera qu'à Louvain, il n'y a pas de jansénisme. Il écrit, *en 1669* :

> « Quod jansenismum per clandestinos conatus hic recrudescere quidam suggesserunt Sanctissimo Domino Nostro, admiror. Nec possum admirari. Apud Gratiam Vestram sancte assevero nihil penitus subesse. Nullus apud nos est doctor aut licentiatus quin de extinctis et radicitus evulsis pessimis illis rixis dicat quotidie Deo... et Beatissimo Patri Nostro laudes amplas et gratiarum actiones... » [398]).
>
> *En 1674* : « ...Hic esse periculosae doctrinae fautores, unde hauserint ignoro. Ego sane qui theologicae Facultatis arcana utcumque novi, nullos istius modi scio. Unde supplico ut ex hoc latere Eminentia Vestra nihil admittat suspicionis aut timoris ... » [399]).
>
> *En 1676* : « Ut damnata Jansenii vel Baii dogmata hic resuscitentur, nullum est periculum Gratia Vestra sit certa et secura » [400]). Mais ici, il ajoute aussitôt : « Aliud hic non fuit quam impensum praefatis *novitatibus* patrocinium. Et clandestinum ac a paucis ».

Lupus fait donc une différence entre le vrai jansénisme, qui soutient les doctrines condamnées de Baius et de Jansénius, et les « nouveautés ». Celles-ci d'ailleurs, il ne les a distinguées que depuis peu. En 1661, il a pris fait et cause pour le contritionisme contre l'attritionisme, et c'est pour cela surtout qu'on ne cesse de le nommer janséniste et de l'accuser. Nous devrons en parler encore.

Mais à partir de 1674, Lupus va s'opposer, avec les antijansénistes, aux « nouveautés ». La cause de ce changement se trouve dans le décret de l'archevêque de Malines concernant les expositions et les processions du Saint-Sacrement. Les religieux s'opposent à ce décret et Lupus joue un grand rôle dans ce mouvement, comme nous l'avons dit.

En 1675, lorsque, pour avoir gain de cause contre l'archevêque de Malines, les religieux font affluer à Rome des témoignages innom-

haereseos inurat. Saltem definitivam sententiam, ob materiae sublimitatem et arduitatem, non expectamus, tametsi ea (ut cum maioribus nostris loquar) optatissima esset » ; ibid., t. II, p. 389.

398) FFC, doc. 42.

399) Ceyssens, *La seconde période*, t. I, p. 219.

400) FFC, doc. 115.

brables sur l'extension du jansénisme dans les Pays-Bas espagnols [401]), Lupus y prend part, mais non sans scrupules. N'osant avancer à visière levée, il n'écrit pas de sa main propre, ni ne signe, ni ne date sa longue lettre du 18 avril 1675 [402]), dont il désire la destruction après lecture. Il revient encore sur le même problème, mais plus brièvement, dans ses lettres du 26 octobre [403]) et du 18 décembre 1676 [404]).

Ces lettres ne tranchent pas sur celles des antijansénistes. On y rencontre les même détails que ceux-ci apportent comme preuve d'une recrudescence du jansénisme. Lupus cependant les traite comme des « nouveautés ». Il s'arrête sur le rigorisme, le culte des saints, l'opposition entre les deux clergés, le manque de docilité envers le Siège romain, la défiance à l'égard de l'infaillibilité. Néanmoins, il reste à remarquer que Lupus s'oppose toujours au laxisme [405]) et qu'il l'attaquera à Rome. En certaines choses, il se montre plus modéré que ne le sont en général les antijansénistes. Ainsi par exemple, il n'approuve pas entièrement le jésuite Estrix [406]), qui l'avait attaqué autrefois sur la question du contritionisme face à l'attritionisme.

Au début de sa lettre du 19 avril 1675, Lupus ne manque pas de mettre en évidence son attachement au Saint-Siège, de montrer le défaut de cet attachement dans l'entourage de l'archevêque de Malines, et de stimuler le zèle ultramontain de ses amis romains;

> « Prava exordia quae apud nos grassantur sunt sequentia : primo grassatur quaedam praevaricatio decretorum, quibus

401) Un certain nombre de ces témoignages ont été repris dans CEYSSENS, *La seconde période*, t. I, passim.

402) FFC, doc. 94; cf. doc. 91 et 101; ce dernier document date du 23 mars 1675 et non pas 1676).

403) FFC, doc. 114.

404) FFC, doc. 115. Ces deux derniers documents font également mention des difficultés dogmatiques issues du jansénisme.

405) Lupus en veut aux séculiers qui considèrent tous les religieux comme laxistes. « Omnes laxiores, quas hic aut ille regularis habet in suis libris, opiniones illi colligunt, ac inde concludunt omnes regulares esse laxones »; FFC, doc. 115. Au doc. 114 il écrira; « ...Altera ...lis est de variis moralis theologiae dogmatibus. Quidam rigidissimi sunt, aliosque dicunt laxones. Alii mitiores diligunt sententias, et alios dicunt pseudo-reformatores. Utraque pars recedit a medio, ideoque videtur in dextram aut sinistram declinare »; doc. 114. Pendant la députation à Rome, Lupus participera activement à l'attaque contre le laxisme.

406) FFC, doc. 100.

Apostolica Sedes solet libros proscribere. Etenim quidam Nicolai Aletensis episcopi *Ritualis liber*, quem optimae memoriae Clemens IX Pontifex non per decretum, sed per singulare breve damnavit ad ignes, fuit hic bis impressus ac teritur omnium manibus. Prima impressio facta est dolo ad nomen impressoris Parisiensis, secunda aperte ad nomen typographi Lovaniensis. Erat enim approbata per censorem D. Archiepiscopi et munita regio placito. Verum quis Apostolicae Sedi fidelis omnia retulit ad Sanctius regis Consilium. Hinc istius Consilii praeses me vocavit Bruxellas et voluit instrui. Instructus Lovanium misit procuratorem fiscalem [Busleyden], qui invasit typographi officinam et abstulit omnia exemplaria.

Verum prima impressio teritur plurimorum manibus. Etenim D. Archiepiscopi censor constanter affirmat librum esse iniuste damnatum et se pro eius veritate paratum sufferre quaelibet.

Deinde etiam nova *Novi Testamenti* in linguam Gallicam translatio, quam idem Pontifex Clemens damnavit ,per singulare item breve, est denuo impressa Bruxellis et palam divenditur. Etenim, a nescio quibus imploratum, Regium Mechliniense Consilium declaravit istam prohibitionem hic non esse admissam regio placito, ideoque non ligare.

Est declaratio praevaricatoria. Etenim Rex noster, piae memoriae, Philippus IV, per frequentes ad D. Archiducem Leopoldum, tunc Belgii gubernatorem, litteras [18 et 30 Jan. 1646] declaravit, dogmatica Apostolicae Sedis decreta non posse a nobis cogi ad istud placitum.

Tertio plures hic S. Theologiae studiosi sine scrupulo legunt damnatum *Augustinum Cornelii Jansenii Iprensis episcopi.* Affirmant illum non esse prohibitum, nisi ob 5 articulos damnatos ab Innocentio X, et istos articulos non reperiri in isto libro, ideoque eius prohibitionem esse caducam » [407]).

La dernière partie de cette longue lettre est explicitement dirigée contre le décret de l'archevêque, par lequel les privilèges des religieux on été heurtés. Pour y attirer l'attention des autorités romaines, Lupus se permet d'insinuer une origine gallicane :

« Porro D. Archiepiscopus aut potius regularibus adversi eius assessores per hanc rimam ,quae videtur aliquid fundamenti habere, sperant irrumpere in nostram exemptionem atque nos sibi subicere. Quod an Apostolicae Sedis et christianae unitatis rebus expediat est mature expendendum. Horum omnium fontes sunt liber Antonii Arnaldi *De frequenti communione*, Lovanii etiam recusus, *Ritualis liber Nicolaii episcopi* Aletensis, et alii

[407]) FFC, doc. 94.

plures libelli missi huc ex Gallia. Quoniam inquieta ingenia illic non audent ob metum Regis Christianissimi, sua huc mittuut. Et omne patellum hic invenit suum cooperculum » [408]).

Cette opposition à l'archevêque doublée d'un mouvement de solidarité des réguliers, va conduire Lupus à une prise de position très énergique dont nous avons déjà parlé et que nous évoquerons encore.

Lupus se rapproche donc des antijansénistes pour attaquer l'archevêque. Il lui plairait bien de le voir cité à Rome ou à Madrid et démis de son siège [409]). Il se rapproche du fameux Nicolas Du Bois pour arranger l'affaire de la suspension des privilèges de Louvain, et pour en faire profiter leurs neveux respectifs [410]). Il s'oppose à certains rigoristes, Simon De Graef [411]), Gabrielis [412]) et surtout Gommaire Huygens :

« Dominus Gommarus Huygens, doctor theologus, quem G. V. nuper Romae vidit, duos de hac materia libellos edidit. Et istam praxim constanter defendit. Et licet hinc discedens D. Internuntius [Falconieri] ipsum admonuerit, pergit intrepidus. Libellos ego non legi, at video multis graviter displicere. Isti viri quandoque rogantur, an antiquam et publicae satisfactionis disciplinam velint reducere ? An poenam quae in sola quaedam graviora peccata tunc exercebatur, velint nunc ad omnia mortalia

[408]) Ibid.

[409]) CEYSSENS, *Sources... 1677-1679*, p. 602.

[410]) Voir infra chapitre II. Dans sa lettre du 19 avril 1675, Lupus fait un éloge de Du Bois comme s'il était victime d'un saint zele : « Inter illos qui istum Gummarum [Huygens] insectantur, est etiam D. Nicolaus Du Bois. Hinc assidue in ipsum sparguntur libelli famosi, pleni criminationum et scandalorum. Quae piae animae dolent, damnant et optant corrigenda per Romanam Ecclesiam » ; FFC, doc. 94. Déjà en 1674, Lupus avait dressé avec Du Bois et d'autres Louvanistes, un jugement théologique sur l'écrit anonyme : *Aenleydinge tot den oprechten gheest van het christendom* ; CEYSSENS, *Seconde période*, t. I, p. 309.

[411]) FFC, doc. 100. Ce De Graef, étudiant à Louvain, était l'auteur du *Spieghel der eyghen kennisse*, Louvain, 1674.

[412]) FFC, doc. 94 et 100. Dans le premier document ,Lupus écrit : « Etiam... Gabrielis vulgavit libellum cui titulus *Specimina moralis christianae et diabolicae*. Et inter diabolicas doctrinas nominat plures opiniones quas Romana Ecclesia vetat improbari. Has inter est sententia affirmans quod servilis attritio cum sacramento sufficiat ad sacramentales absolutionem. Et istam sententiam nullatenus probo. Ipsam tamen Alexander VII... vetuit censurari ; ideoque nequit appellari diabolica ». Cependant on avait déjà accusé et on accuserait encore Lupus même d'avoir contrevenu à cette défense ; cf. infra.

extendere, etiam ad occulta et interna? Et diffinite non respondent. Involvunt sermones.

Et in illos qui a multis iam saeculis usitatam Ecclesiae praxim sustinent, acerbe ad populum concionantur. Apud nos nuper Amplissimum Dominum S. Petri Decanum [Horenbeke], caput Lovaniensis cleri, qui istam praxim orthodoxe exposuerat, alii duo refutarunt ex eadem cathedra et multos scandalizarunt.

Etenim nostra innoxia plebs concionatoris verbum hucusque pro authentico Dei verbo habuit et censuit concionatores a sese mutuo non posse discordare. Hinc quia hodie varii et contraria concionantur, illa offenditur, graviter turbatur et scandalizatur. Hinc expediret istos Gommari Huygens libellos, si non prohiberi, certe suspendi per Romanam Ecclesiam. Sic illa demonstraret sibi displicere haec omnia. Et interim potest has omnes certe non parvi ponderis quaestiones maturo examini subiicere » [413]).

Il s'oppose à ce que Huygens soit promu à une chaire de théologie ou élu membre de la Faculté étroite. S'appuyant sur l'avis de Lupus, Tanara va prendre des mesures qui se révéleront fatales pour l'université et auxquelles finalement Rome s'opposera. Le Saint-Office, après un avis favorable à l'ouvrage de Huygens, permet que ce dernier soit promu, et Tanara doit le faire savoir ouvertement [414]). Celui-ci cependant peut écrire le 14 septembre 1680 :

« Cio non ostante sento essere il Padre Lupi averso alla promozione di lui, et in breve dovendolo vedere ne sentirò le ragioni, ben accertandomi, che l'integrità e virtù del Padre non ammetteranno sospetti che non siano degni di qualche riflessione e che non habbino alcun'apparenza di fondamento » [415]).

Le 21 septembre l'internonce donne à connaître les raisons de Lupus :

Non ha che opporre il Padre Lupi all'integrità de' costumi del Dottore Huygens, e lo stima ancora più dotto di qualsivoglia altro che possa presentemente concorrere al luogo vacante nella Facoltà teologica di Lovanio, alla quale però non vorrebbe mai vederlo promosso. Ne proviene il motivo dal conoscerlo sommamente inclinato al formare una certa fattione d'amici per acquistar sempre maggiore autorità nell'accademia, e per tenere in dietro qualunque altro che non aderisca alle sue massime, come già si vede per esperienza, e potrà seguir meglio quando entrato

[413]) FFC, doc. 94.

[414]) Cf. Ceyssens, *Sources... 1677-1679*, passim.

[415]) Ceyssens, *La seconde période*, t. II, passim.

nella Facoltà havrà voto per eleggere, e renderà più numeroso il suo partito.

Delle intentioni e sentimenti del Dottore Huygens né meno si da per sodisfatto il Padre Lupi, si per quelle riguardino la dovuta somissione verso la Santa Sede, si per quante concernono la morale, mentre non le mancano notitie accertate e esempi, che si trapassi il tenore del libro nel pratticarsi rigori inusitati et eccessivi nell'amministrare il sacramento della penitenza.

Queste riflessioni, aggiunte al sospetto confermato dall'opinione di molti, ch'egli habbi corrispondenza con alcuni della Sorbona, indurrebbero il Padre Lupi a negare il suo voto nel giorno di San Girolamo » [416]).

En favorisant le tout jeune candidat antijanséniste Jean Lovinus [417]), Lupus diminue les chances de Huygens et dans son for intérieur, il songe déjà à augmenter l'importance des réguliers dans l'université en leur réservant des chaires et des régences dans la faculté étroite. Parmi les réguliers, il pense surtout aux augustins et effectivement, au printemps de l'année suivante, avec l'aide de l'internonce, il obtient pour lui même la chaire de théologie scolastique qu'il espère incorporer à son ordre. Il n'y réussira pas, comme nous le verrons [418]).

Tout en se rapprochant des antijansénistes et en s'opposant à certains jansénistes, Lupus oublie que ses adversaires d'autrefois ne désarment pas. Ils continuent à le tenir pour un janséniste pur sang. Ils font sa renommée dans les cours d'Europe : Estrix dans son *Memoriale seu brevis expositio calamitosi status Belgii* (traduit et publié à Madrid sous le titre *Memorial y declaración breve del calamitoso estado de la Iglesia en los Payses Baxos*, 1680) nomme Lupus : *magnus defensor dogmatum jansenisticorum* [419]). Louis XIV le considère comme « le grand ami des jansénistes » [420]).

En participant à la députation de Louvain à Rome, Lupus s'expose davantage aux flèches des antijansénistes. Le carme Jacques de la Passion écrit déjà en octobre 1677 :

416) Ibid., t. II, p. 138-139.

417) Ibid., t. II, passim.

418) Cf. infra, le chapitre *Dernières années*.

419) Voir le premier paragraphe de ces écrits. Cf. Ceyssens, *Sources... 1661-1672*, p. 531.

420) F. De Bojani, *Innocent XI. Sa correspondance avec ses nonces*, t. II, Rome, 1910, p. 18.

« Omnia hic sunt in tali perturbatione ut nesciat populus cui debeat credere. Heu ne efficiat unus Lupus quod Lutherus » [421]).

A Rome, Lupus ne manquera jamais d'adversaires acharnés — un des principaux fut son confrère belge Michel Van Hecke — qui l'accuseront de jansénisme jusqu'à la fin de sa vie, et qui réussiront à faire englober dans le décret du 24 août 1690 quelques propositions attribuées au grand Louvaniste.

(*à suivre*)

Lucien Ceyssens

421) Ceyssens, *Sources, 1677-1679*, p. 153.

Die Geschichte des Augustiner-Eremitenklosters Mariakron von der Gründung bis zu seinem Untergang

5. *Die wiederholten Versuche zur Wiedererrichtung des Klosters Mariakron.*

Der Augustinereremitenorden hatte sich zu keiner Zeit mit der gewaltsamen Unterdrückung und Aufhebung des Klosters Mariakron abgefunden, sondern, wenn immer die kirchenpolitische Lage sich zu bessern schien, versucht, die Wiedererrichtung seines ältesten mährischen Klosters zu erreichen. Schon im Jahre 1577 hatte der Administrator des Gewitscher Augustinereremitenklosters und Vikar des Brünner Prälaten, P. Ambrosius de Bruna [1]), einen solchen Versuch unternommen. In einem Schreiben an P. Augustinus Clementius, den damaligen Prior und Prälaten des Brünner St. Thomasklosters [2]), berichtet P. Ambrosius, dass ihm der Unterkämmerer des Landrechtes in Olmütz versprochen habe, die Wiederherstellung des verödeten Klosters in Mariakron beim kaiserlichen Hof in Wien zu befürworten [3]). Allein, wie die Verhältnisse damals waren, hatte dieser Plan kaum eine Aussicht, verwirklicht zu werden, da die Boskowitzer als Besitzer der Herrschaft Mähr. Trübau niemals ihre Zustimmung dazu gegeben hätten.

Auch in der Generalkurie des Augustinereremitenordens in Rom hatte man die eingegangenen mährischen Klöster noch nicht abgeschrieben. Seitdem im Jahre 1604 die mährischen Augustinerklöster als Generalvikariat unmittelbar der obersten Ordensleitung in Rom unterstellt wurden und der Prior und Prälat des St. Thomasklosters dem Ordensgeneral direkt verantwortlich war, hatte man dort ein erhöhtes Interesse an den mährischen Ordensangelegenheiten. Als daher P. Johannes Vincentius Barnabaeus am 15. Oktober 1608 zum Prior des St. Thomasklosters in Brünn gewählt worden war, wurde ihm mit der Bestätigung durch den Ordensgeneral zugleich

*) Siehe *Augustiniana* 27 (1977), 431-477; 28 (1978), 155-182, 400-424.

1) Janetschek, *Necrologia...*, S. 14. P. Ambrosius starb im Jahre 1579 in Gewitsch.

2) Janetschek, *Necrologia...*, S. 15. P. Augustinus Clementius † 11.2.1594 in Brünn.

3) CM Morav. V. Vgl. Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift...*, S. 221.

die Verpflichtung auferlegt, alles zu unternehmen, damit die im Laufe des 16. Jahrhunderts eingegangenen Klöster des Ordens in Mariakron und Mähr. Kromau wieder hergestellt würden.

Nach dem Tode des Johannes von Boskowitz († 1589), der als Bruder des bereits im Jahre 1579 verstorbenen Wenzel von Boskowitz Herr auf der Herrschaft Mähr. Trübau geworden war, folgte ihm als Erbe und Nachfolger der erst 10 jährige Schwesternsohn Ladislaus Welen von Zierotin [4]). Ladislaus Welen von Zierotin lebte zunächst in Mähr. Trübau nur seinen wissenschaftlichen Forschungen, sowie alchemistischen Träumereien und liebte, obzwar er ein gläubiges Glied der Brüderunität war, den Prunk und die aufwendige Pracht. Später wurde er sogar Rat und Kämmerer König Ferdinands II. (1619-1637). Als jedoch im Jahre 1618 von Prag aus das Signal zum dreissigjährigen Krieg gegeben wurde, stellte er sich an die Spitze der Aufständischen, ihrer Truppen und Ratsversammlungen. Es verwundert daher nicht, dass schon anfangs August 1619 Mähren zum ersten Mal Kriegsschauplatz wurde. Nach einem militärischen Erfolg der Aufständischen über die kaiserlichen Truppen unter dem Feldherrn Dampierre, erklärten die mährischen Stände auf dem mährischen « Rumpflandtag » am 7.8.1619 den Olmützer Bischof von Dietrichstein (1599-1636), der sich den Aufständischen nicht angeschlossen hatte, zum Landesverräter und beschlossen, die bischöflichen Besitzungen, sowie alle Klostergüter zu beschlagnahmen, um sie später zu verkaufen. Von diesem Beschluss wurden die im Schönhengstgau gelegenen bischöflichen Herrschaften in Zwittau und Mürau-Müglitz betroffen. Ebenso verfielen die dem Augustinereremitenkloster in Gewitsch gehörigen Klostergüter in Budigsdorf der Beschlagnahme, die dann durch den Mähr. Trübauer Hauptmann Christoph Hubrig der Trübauer Grundherrschaft einverleibt wurden. Dieser Sachverhalt geht aus einem Schreiben des Augustinereremiten-Priors von Gewitsch vom Jahre 1628 hervor, in dem er sich wegen eines Gerichtsfalles an den Rat von Trübau wendet und u. a. schreibt : « Darauf dan die Sach von vielen Jahren also beruhete und still verblieben, biss auf das Jahr der abschewlichen Rebellion und sie, die Budigsdorfer, dem Trübauer Gutt vnd Christoph Hubrig gewaltthätiger weiss vnterworfen mussten sein... » [5]). Ebenso bemächtigte

[4]) Näheres über Ladislaus Welen von Zierotin bei Korkisch, *Geschichte...* I., S. 154-160.

[5]) Korkisch, *Geschichte...* I., S. 265 mit Anm. 8.

sich Ladislaus von Schleinitz, der als « Kommissar für den Verkauf der geistlichen Güter » bestimmt worden war, des Brünner St. Thomasklosters. Der Gesamtschaden, der dadurch in kurzer Zeit dem genanten Kloster zugefügt wurde, bezifferte sich auf mehr als 36.000 fl., wobei die Beschädigungen an den Gebäuden und die vernachlässigte Feldwirtschaft nicht eingerechnet sind. Nach der Schlacht am Weissenberg und der erlittenen Niederlage der Aufständischen hatte sich Ladislaus Welen zunächst nach Mähr. Trübau zurückgezogen. Der Versuch des Ladislaus durch Vermittlung Karls von Liechtenstein, mit dem er von Jugend an befreundet war, beim Kaiser Verzeihung zu erlangen, hatte keinen Erfolg [6]). Vielmehr wurde der Befehl zu seiner Verhaftung gegeben. Als Karl von Liechtenstein ihn in Mähr. Trübau mit fünf Kompanien auszuheben beschloss, floh Ladislaus am 13.4.1621, einem Osterdienstag, aus Mähr. Trübau.

Unterdessen wurden nach einem Sieg des kaiserlichen Generals Bouquoy auch die oben genannten Beschlüsse des Rumpflandtages wieder aufgehoben und für null und nichtig erklärt. Die Klöster erhielten ihren Besitz zurück und wurden zugleich von der Oberaufsicht des mährischen Landes-Unterkämmerers befreit [7]).

König Ferdinand II. belehnte nunmehr am 5.3.1622 den Fürsten Karl von Liechtenstein mit den Herrschaften Mähr. Trübau, Hohenstadt, Eisenberg und den übrigen Zierotinischen Gütern in Südmähren [8]). Ladislaus Welen aber wurde mit 16 anderen mährischen Aufständischen vor ein kaiserliches Gericht geladen. Als er auch zum zweiten Termin nicht erschien, wurde er am 23.8.1622 der Ehre, des Kopfes und des Vermögens verlustig erklärt und verurteilt. Sein Name wurde öffentlich an einem Galgen angeschlagen.

Nach der Übernahme der Herrschaft Mähr. Trübau durch Karl von Liechtenstein wurde der katholische Glaube in der ganzen Herrschaft wieder eingeführt. Schon zu Beginn des Jahres 1623 wurden zehn evangelisch-lutherische Prediger und Schulmeister der Trübauer

6) Korkisch, *Geschichte...* I., S. 266 mit Anm. 11.

7) Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift...*, S. 218 mit Anm. 1 und S. 219.

8) Näheres darüber bei Korkisch, *Geschichte...* I., S. 269f. Vor allem Anm. 23, wo Korkisch die von F. W. Horky wiedergegebene Schenkungsurkunde Ferdinands II. abgedruckt hat. Vgl. weiter S. 270, Anm. 25. Hier wird der Auszug eines Schreibens Karls von Liechtenstein wiedergegeben, worin er d. Trübauern von der Schenkung des Kaisers Mitteilung macht und seinerseits Verfügungen gegenüber den Bürgern von Mähr. Trübau trifft.

Herrschaft vom Ausweisungsbefehl betroffen. In Mähr. Trübau selbst, wo seit dem Jahre 1550 evangelische Pastoren und Schulmeister gewirkt hatten, hielt am 7. Mai 1623 der erste katholische Pfarrer, ein Dr. Algayr, begleitet vom Müglitzer Pfarrer und zwei Reitereskadronen, seinen Einzug [9]). Da ein grosser Mangel an katholischen Geistlichen herrschte, musste Algayr die Pfarreien in Porstendorf, Kunzendorf und Reichenau mitversehen. Es ist nicht zu leugnen, dass die Auswahl an katholischen Geistlichen sehr gering war und man die nehmen musste, welche man in diesen unruhigen Zeiten bekommen konnte. Unter ihnen befanden sich nicht selten Abenteuerer, die in sittlicher Hinsicht nicht immer einwandfrei waren, sich oft gewalttätig und habsüchtig zeigten und als ehemalige Feldgeistliche den Ton und die Sitten des Feldlagers auch in ihren neuen Stellungen oft genug beibehielten. Die Berufung Dr. Algayrs zum ersten katholischen Pfarrer in Trübau war keine gute Wahl gewesen. Seine Affären, seine Gewalttätigkeit und seine Habsucht lassen auch dann keinen Zweifel zu, wenn man annimmt, dass die diesbezüglichen Berichte über ihn Übertreibungen enthalten [10]). Bereits gegen Ende des Jahres 1625 wurde Algayr aus dem Pfarramt entfernt und musste Mähr. Trübau verlassen. Eine Reihe Schönhengster Geschichtsschreiber macht aus ihrem Unmut gegenüber der neu eingeführten katholischen Kirche und dem neuen Grundherrn nach 1622 keinen Hehl. Sie erheben den Vorwurf, dass die Rückgewinnung der akatholischen Bürger und Bauern gewaltsam vor sich gegangen sei und bedauern die Zerstörung des « so gewaltlosen, friedlichen und fortschrittlichen evangelischen Bekenntnisses ». Es wäre ein zum Scheitern verurteilter Versuch, wollte man die bei der Wiedereinführung des katholischen Glaubens geschehenen Gewalttaten und die damit verbundenen tragischen Schicksale Einzelner oder auch ganzer Gruppen in Abrede stellen. Um aber ein einigermassen richtiges Bild jener geschichtlichen Vorgänge zu bekommen, dürfte man nicht übersehen, dass vor der Reformation das Schrifttum — und damit die schriftlichen Quellen über die Ereignisse bei der Einführung der Reformation — äusserst gering war und erst die Reformation den Buchdruck uneingeschränkt und einseitig in den Dienst ihrer Sache gestellt hat. Deshalb ist es wissenschaftlich nicht vertretbar, die

[9]) Korkisch, *Geschichte...* I., S. 276 mit Anm. 47. Vgl. Hübel, *Beiträge...*, S. 43.
[10]) Hübel, *Beiträge...*, S. 43ff. Korkisch, *Geschichte...* I., S. 277 mit Anm. 49.

Zeit der « Reformation » und die der « Gegenreformation » in Weiss-Schwarz zu zeichnen. Weiter müsste beherzigt werden, was Dr. Matzke in diesem Zusammenhang schreibt : « Eine Schwierigkeit bestand in der Zeit der Gegenreformation auch darin, dass die neuen katholischen Grundherren in der Regel alle Einkünfte ihrer nichtkatholischen Vorgänger beibehielten, auch das beschlagnahmte Kirchengut, und die neuen Seelsorger auf die strenge Einhebung des Zehents und der Stolgebühren bei Taufen, Trauungen und Begräbnissen verwiesen. Früher besass jede Seelsorgestelle, deren es viel mehr gab als später, einen eigenen Bauernhof, der die eigentliche Grundlage für den Lebensunterhalt des Pfarrers bildete. Bei der Rekatholisierung war der Priestermangel so gross, dass ein Geistlicher zwei oder noch mehr alte Pfarreien betreuen musste. Wenn diesem von drei oder vier eingezogenen Höfen einer herausgegeben wurde, konnte er von Glück reden. Das Haupteinkommen der Geistlichen wurde, wie erwähnt, auf diese Weise auf den Zehent und die Stolgebühren verschoben, was beim Volke selbstverständlich keine grosse Begeisterung hervorrief und die Rekatholisierung erheblich erschwerte. Dabei darf weiterhin nicht übersehen werden, dass bei den religiösen Wirren vom Hussitismus bis zum dreissigjährigen Krieg durchaus nicht die religiösen Gegensätze *allein* massgebend waren. Vielfach waren die religiösen Probleme nur das Aushängeschild, hinter dem sich soziale, machtpolitische und oft genug nur habsüchtige Absichten verbargen, Wenn wir heute die Ereignisse jener Zeit betrachten, dürfen wir nicht den Masstab unserer Zeit an sie anlegen, obwohl unsere Gegenwart jenen Zeiten an Grausamkeiten nicht nachgestanden hat oder nachsteht. Als sich die mährischen Stände der Rebellion gegen den Kaiser angeschlossen hatten, wurden die Güter des katholischen Adels und der Geistlichkeit konfisziert [11]). « Eine Massregel, die dann von der Gegenpartei aufgenommen und im grössten Masstabe durchgeführt wurde, wobei man den Betroffenen vorhielt, dass sie ja den Anfang damit gemacht hatten » [12]). Nachdem also die Herrschaft Mähr. Trübau in den Besitz des Hauses Liechtenstein gekommen war, bestand für die Augustinereremiten die berechtigte Hoffnung, das ihnen verlorengegangene Kloster Mariakron zurückgewinnen

[11]) Matzke, Josef, Die Olmützer Fürstbischöfe der Barockzeit (1579-1776). In : *Mähr. Schlesische Heimat* 18 (1973), 158-182. Hier : S. 168.

[12]) Bretholz, Berthold, *Brünn, Geschichte und Kultur*. Brünn (1938), S. 189.

zu können. Der damalige Prior und Prälat von St. Thomas in Brünn, Johannes Vincentius Barnabaeus, den wir schon kennen gelernt haben, nahm daher unverzüglich mit dem Fürsten Karl von Liechtenstein dahingehende Verhandlungen auf, welche jedoch zu keinem Abschluss kamen. Da Karl von Liechtenstein schon im Jahre 1627 gestorben war, wurden die Verhandlungen mit dessen Sohn und Nachfolger, Karl Eusebius fortgesetzt. Diese wären aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach zu einem für die Augustinereremiten günstigen Abschluss gekommen, wenn das bischöfliche Ordinariat in Olmütz dem Plan des Fürsten seine Zustimmung gegeben hätte. In der Zeit, als Fürst Karl Eusebius von Liechtenstein als Gesandter des kaiserlichen Wiener Hofes in Rom weilte, hatte nämlich der damalige Ordensgeneral des Augustinereremitenordens, Fr. Hieronymus Rigolio Cornetanus persönlich mit dem Fürsten verhandelt. Bei diesen Verhandlungen kam man überein, das verödete und verlassene Kloster Mariakron mit samt der Kirche vollständig niederzureissen, und an seiner Stelle in Mähr. Trübau ein neues Kloster zu gründen und diesem als Existenzgrundlage die umliegenden Pfarreien, die dem Patronat des Fürsten unterstanden, einzuverleiben. Dass es dem Fürsten mit der Durchführung dieses Planes ernst war, geht daraus hervor, dass er zunächst bis zur Fertigstellung des neu zu erbauenden Klosters die Pfarrei Mähr. Trübau dem Gewitscher Augustinereremitenkloster zu übergeben gedachte [13]). Dieser Plan kam tatsächlich zur Ausführung, aber erst unter seinem Nachfolger, dem Fürsten Gundakar von Liechtenstein. Dieser hatte nach dem Tod seines Vaters, des Fürsten Karl Eusebius, mit dem Brünner Prior und Prälaten P. Georg Gladich (1631-1652) [14]) die Verhandlungen wegen der Besetzung der Trübauer Pfarrei fortgesetzt. Dabei kam es zu der Vereinbarung, dass die Augustinereremiten des Gewitscher Klosters zur Übernahme der Mähr. Trübauer Pfarrei nur unter der Bedingung bereit wären, wenn ihnen dort in Bälde ein neues Kloster erbaut würde. Als erster Pfarrer aus dem Gewitscher Augustinerkloster wurde der aus Mähr. Trübau gebürtige, überaus tüchtige P. Jakob Kirschner vorgesehen. Das bisherige Wirken empfahl diesen Mann für die schwierige Pfarrei in Trübau. Schon in jungen Jahren hatte man ihn mit wichtigen und heiklen

[13]) *Brünner Wochenblatt.* S. 39. Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 7. Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift...*, S. 8.

[14]) Janetschek, *Necrologia...*, S. 18.

Aufgaben betraut. So wirkte er — wie wir wissen — seit dem Jahre 1613 als Beichtvater der Grossherzogin Eleonora, einer Schwester Ferdinands II., und der Deutschen in Florenz. Nach seiner Rückkehr aus Florenz ernannte ihn der Prälat Johannes Vincentius Barnabaeus wieder zum ersten « selbständigen » Prior in Gewitsch, welches Amt er vom Jahre 1615 bis 1650 in selbstloser und aufopfernder Weise verwaltete. In diesen Gewitscher Jahren gewann er bei seinen Mitbrüdern ein solches Ansehen, dass diese ihn nach dem Tod des Prälaten Johannes Barnabaeus zum Prior und Prälaten des Brünner St. Thomasklosters wählten. P. Kirschner nahm jedoch die Wahl nicht an, da ihm bekannt war, dass Kaiser Ferdinand II. auf Betreiben seines Obersthofmeisters Ulrich von Eggenburg, die Wahl des Augustinereremitenprovinzials von Steiermark und Kärnten, P. Georg Gladich, wünschte [15]). Nachdem nun P. Kirschner auf seine Pfarrei in Gewitsch, die er seit dem 24.1.1634 neben seinem Priorenamt versah, Verzicht geleistet hatte, wurde er am 7. Februar 1638 als Pfarrer und Dechant in der Mähr. Trübauer Pfarre investiert. Für die Auslagen des Festessens am Tage der Investitur ist uns noch eine Abschrift der Rechnung erhalten geblieben, die kulturgeschichtlich recht interessant ist [16]).

P. Kirschner und die Ordensleitung der Augustinereremiten in Brünn wurden jedoch sehr enttäuscht. Als Jahr um Jahr verstrich, ohne dass der Fürst Anstalten zum Bau des Klosters traf, resignierte P. Kirschner auf die Trübauer Pfarrei. In einem Schreiben, ausgestellt am 3.9.1645 in Brünn, begründete P. Kirschner dem Fürsten gegenüber näher diesen Schritt [17]). Zunächst erinnert P. Jakob Kirschner in diesem Schreiben den Fürsten an die Bedingung, unter welcher er die Mähr. Trübauer Pfarrei im Jahre 1638 übernommen hatte. Das Versprechen des Fürsten, ein Kloster in Trübau zu gründen und diesem als materielle Existenzgrundlage die in der Umgebung unter seinem Patronat stehenden Pfarreien zu stiften, sei nicht eingehalten worden. Dazu muss freilich bemerkt werden, dass die

[15]) Haura, *Extractus Memorabilium...*, S. 29. Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift...*, S. 222ff.

[16]) Abschrift von Moritz Grolig im Schönhengster Archiv in Göppingen unter A 86 g, *Miszellen f. Zeitschriften.* S. 10-11.

[17]) Das Schreiben findet sich abgedruckt in : Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift...*, S. 235-238. Vgl. Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 7f. Janetschek entnahm den Text des Schreibens aus Haura, *Extractus memorabilium...*, S. 150-152.

Zuweisung der Pfarreien an das zu gründende Kloster in Mähr. Trübau nicht am guten Willen des Fürsten scheiterte, sondern an der Ablehnung des Olmützer Konsistoriums. Nach dem Tode des Olmützer Bischofs Kardinal Franz von Dietrichstein († 19.9.1638 in Brünn) gelangten zwei Erzherzöge, Leopold Wilhelm (1638-1662) und Karl Josef, ein Knabe von 13 Jahren (1663-1664) auf den bischöflichen Stuhl in Olmütz. Karl Josef hatte niemals eine höhere Weihe empfangen. Aber auch sein Vorgänger Leopold Wilhelm war nur Pfründeninhaber und überliess dem Domkapitel durch volle 28 Jahre die selbständige Leitung der Diözese [18]).

Aus nicht ersichtlichen Gründen lehnte das Olmützer Domkapitel die Einverleibung der bei Trübau liegenden Liechtensteinischen Pfarreien in das neu zu gründende Augustinereremitenkloster ab, obwohl der Priestermangel noch grösser war, als zur Zeit des Kardinals Dietrichstein, der deshalb von Rom die Erlaubnis erhalten hatte, Ordenspriester für die Pfarrseelsorge einsetzen zu dürfen. Mit der Ablehnung durch das Olmützer Domkapitel sah der Fürst von Liechtenstein das Projekt der Klostergründung in Mähr. Trübau für gescheitert an. Das aber war der Hauptgrund, weshalb P. Kirschner auf die Mähr. Trübauer Pfarrei resignierte, zumal die bisherige materielle Versorgung für den Pfarrer und die beiden Hilfspriester in keiner Weise ausgereicht hatte und auch die anderen Lebensbedingungen völlig unzureichend waren. In seinem Schreiben legt P. Kirschner dem Fürsten im einzelnen dar, dass das jährliche Einkommen in Höhe von 260 fl. rheinisch, für das die Stadt Mähr. Trübau aufzukommen hat und die je 4 Muth (1 Muth = 30 Metzen) an Korn und Hafer von Porstendorf für den Unterhalt von 3 Priestern und der nötigen Dienstboten nicht ausreiche und dass er es nicht mehr verantworten könne, dass sein Kloster in Gewitsch, welches ihm bereits seit 3 1/2 Jahren immer wieder zu Hilfe gekommen sei und die Abmängel gedeckt habe, weiterhin von ihm in Anspruch genommen werde. Dann kommt P. Kirschner auf den « Pfarrhoff zu der Tribau » zu sprechen, der « an einem solchen ungesunden orth nicht weit von dem Teich und zwischen der Stadtmauern eingesperrt » sei, « wie den die Tribauer auch selbsten bekennen, das weder zu der Prädicanten Zeit keiner hatte rechte gesundtheit geniessen können ». Auf diese ungesunden Wohnverhältnisse führt P. Jakob Kirschner deshalb

[18]) Näheres darüber bei Matzke, *Die Olmützer Fürstbischöfe...*, S. 179-182.

den Tod seines Kaplans, P. Constantinus, [18a]), der « in der Kirch uff dem Creutz Berg begraben liegt », und die Krankheit eines weiteren Paters zurück, den er in ein Bad habe schicken müssen, ohne Hoffnung, dass er je wieder gesunden werde [18b]). Schliesslich erwähnt Kirschner, dass er die Oberen seines Ordens habe « molestiren müssen », damit sie ihm Patres für die Trübauer Pfarrei freigeben, diese jedoch « seyn in keine weiss gesunnen ferner in die Pfarrhöff Patres zuzueschicken... sondern wenn das Closter wird auffgebauet seyn, wollen sie Euer fürstlichen gnaden mit Priestern versehen auff so viel personen Euer fürstlichen gnaden werden fundirt haben ». « Wegen der oben berührten puncten renuncire ich », so fährt P. Kirschner fort, « hinwiederumb die Pfarr wie oben von mir geschehen ». Als seinen Nachfolger für die Mähr. Trübauer Pfarrei schlägt er dem Fürsten zur Präsentation beim Olmützer bischöflichen Ordinariat den « ehrwürdigen David Christel », einen gebürtigen Zwittauer vor, der zurzeit Pfarrer in Kornitz und Trnawka war.

P. Kirschner und die Ordensleitung in Brünn hatten die Hoffnung auf die Klostergründung in Mähr. Trübau aufgegeben, nicht aber die Hoffnung auf die Rückgewinnung des völlig verödeten und im Zerfall begriffenen Klosters Mariakron. Nachdem die Errichtung des Klosters in Mähr. Trübau gescheitert sei, so P. Kirschner in seinem Schreiben an den Fürsten, wird Gundakar von Liechtenstein gebeten, das Kloster Mariakron wieder herzustellen, wobei ihm sehr offen zu verstehen gegeben wird, dass « wann Euer fürstlichen gnaden wolten Clöster stifften, das Sie solche « de suo et non de alieno » zu stifften begehren wollen », d. h., wenn der Fürst Klöster stiften wolle, dann solle er diese nicht mit fremdem Eigentum — etwa mit seinen Patronats-Pfarreien, die die Lebensgrundlage des Klosters in Mähr. Trübau bilden sollten — sondern mit eigenen Mitteln ausstatten und fundieren. Was die Wiederherstellung des Mariakroner Klosters betrifft, so heisst es in dem Schreiben : « Bitten derohalben unterthänigst Euer fürstlichen gnaden... wollen... aus christlicher

18a) P. Constantinus starb im 27. Lebensjahr am 3. November 1644 an der Pest. Bei JANETSCHEK, *Necrologia...*, S. 17 heisst es : « Constantinus, cooperator Mor. Triboviae, ubi peste correptus... ».

18b) Bereits am 12. Juli 1641 war P. Augustinus Rechenberger, Pfarrverweser der Porstendorfer Pfarrei, im 38. Lebensjahr gestorben. Bei JANETSCHEK, *Necrologia...*, S. 17 : « Augustinus Rechenberger, vicarius ecclesiae Porstendorfensis ad Mor. Triboviam... ubi obiit 12. Julii 1641 aet. 38 ».

Catholischer Andacht und Eyffer, der Himmel Königin und dem orden des S. Augustini das Closter zue Pudigsdorff mit den wenig zue gehörenden güttern befehlen wiederumb einzuraeumen, welches der Himmel Königin und dem Closter zu jener Zeit der rebelischen triumphierenden Ketzer mit gewalt von ihnen ist abgezwungen und abgedrungen worden... ».

Am Michaelstag (29. September) des Jahres 1645 verliess P. Kirschner mit seinen Ordensbrüdern Mähr. Trübau.

Nach wie vor gehörten die ehemaligen Mariakroner Klostergüter in Budigsdorf dem Gewitscher Augustinereremitenkloster, ohne dass sich jedoch seit vielen Jahren ein Vertreter des Klosters in Budigsdorf hätte sehen lassen. Nach dem Tode des Brünner Priors und Prälaten P. Gladich wurde am 20. August 1653 P. Alphons Steinmoos zum neuen Prior und Prälaten des St. Thomasklosters in Brünn gewählt [19]). Dieser beschloss bald nach seiner Wahl, allen Besitzungen des Thomasklosters in Brünn einen Besuch abzustatten, aber auch in seiner Eigenschaft als Vicarius generalis — als Vertreter des Ordensgenerals — das Kloster der Augustinereremiten in Gewitsch zu visitieren, wo seit dem Tode des P. Kirschner, der am 30. Juni 1652 im Alter von 70 Jahren « plenus meritis » — reich an Verdiensten — verstorben war, P. Augustinus Riemer das Priorenamt inne hatte [20]).

P. Alphons Steinmoos begann seine Visitation im Laufe des Jahres 1654. Er begnügte sich aber nicht nur mit dem Besuch des Gewitscher Klosters, sondern wollte auch die Gewitscher Klostergüter in den Dörfern in Augenschein nehmen. Und so begab sich der Prälat in Begleitung seines Sekretärs, P. Hieronymus Hufnagel, auch nach Mariakron, um die Klostergüter in Budigsdorf zu besichtigen. Über den Verlauf dieses Besuches sind wir sehr gut informiert, da der den Prälaten begleitende Sekretär, P. Hufnagel, darüber einen ausführlichen Bericht verfertigte. Als die Bevölkerung von der Ankunft des Prälaten erfuhr, strömten die Leute aus der ganzen Umgebung zusammen und waren über diesen Besuch hoch erfreut, da « sich seit Menschengedenken kein Augustinereremit, geschweige denn ein Prälat in Mariakron habe sehen lassen ». Aus diesem Bericht erfahren wir auch Einzelheiten über den damaligen baulichen Zustand der Klostergebäude und der Kirche. Danach war das eigentliche

[19]) Janetschek, *Necrologia...*, S. 19.

[20]) Janetschek, *Necrologia...*, S. 18 und 19.

Klostergebäude bereits verfallen, die Kirche aber befand sich noch in einem ganz guten baulichen Zustand. In der Klosterkirche selbst standen noch die nackten Altäre und auch der Taufbrunnen war unversehrt erhalten. Aus der Tatsache, dass sich in der Klosterkirche ein Taufbrunnen befand, ergibt sich mit Sicherheit, dass das ehemalige Augustinereremitenkloster in Mariakron tatsächlich die Pfarrseelsorge ausgeübt hat und die Klosterkirche zugleich Pfarrkirche war. An den Innenwänden der Kirche waren noch die Wandbilder erhalten, die Heilige aus dem Augustinereremitenorden darstellten. Zahlreiche Grabsteine innerhalb der Kirche mit Inschriften bekundeten, dass unterhalb des Kirchenbodens Grüfte angelegt waren. Leider hat es P. Hufnagel unterlassen, die auf den Grabsteinen noch gut lesbaren Namen uns näher mitzuteilen.

Bei der Anfahrt des Prälaten und seiner Begleitung, sowie bei der Abfahrt wurden die noch ebenfalls auf dem Glockenturm vorhandenen Kirchenglocken geläutet. Es war, wie der Berichterstatter P. Hufnagel bemerkt, «ein letzter Abschiedsgruss der Glocken im Dienste des Ordens»; denn später nahmen die Pfarrer von Altstadt und Tattenitz das Verfügungsrecht über die Glocken für sich in Anspruch. Prälat Steinmoos war bei seinem Besuch in Budigsdorf erkrankt, fuhr aber, obwohl ihm geraten wurde, im Augustinerkloster in Gewitsch seine Genesung abzuwarten, sofort nach Brünn zurück [21]).

Noch einmal war man nahe daran, das Mariakroner Kloster zu besiedeln. Nach dem am 22.4.1661 erfolgten Tod des Prälaten Steinmoos, wurde sein einstiger Sekretär, P. Hieronymus Hufnagel, zum Prior und Prälaten des Brünner St. Thomasklosters gewählt [22]). Mit der Bestätigung seiner Wahl durch den Ordensgeneral, verband dieser den ausdrücklichen Wunsch, der neue Prälat möge mit allen Mitteln die Wiederherstellung des Klosters Mariakron betreiben.

Es wäre tatsächlich zu einer Neubesiedlung des Mariakroner Klosters gekommen, und zwar im Zusammenhang mit den unerfreulichen Ereignissen, unter denen das Gewitscher Kloster zu leiden hatte. Das Kloster in Gewitsch hatte einen neuen Prior in der Person des P. Heinrich Gaspari erhalten. Da erinnerte sich der dortige Grundherr Heinrich Zalkowsky von Zalkowitz, dass seiner Familie das Schutzrecht über das Kloster zustehe. Mit Berufung auf dieses Schutz-

21) Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift...*, S. 275.
22) Janetschek, *Necrologia...*, S. 21f.

recht erhob er daher den Anspruch, vor der jeweiligen Ernennung des Priors durch den Brünner Prälaten den Kandidaten zu präsentieren. Nach der Ernennung des P. Gaspari zum Gewitscher Prior richtete Zalkowsky ein Schreiben an den Brünner Prälaten und verlangte mit Berufung auf sein angemasstes Präsentationsrecht, die Ernennung des bereits ernannten Priors rückgängig zu machen. In diesem Schreiben griff er P. Heinrich Gaspari mit wüsten Beschimpfungen an. Er nannte ihn einen « dilapidator » — einen Zerstörer — und einen « vir scandalosus » — einen Skandal umwitterten Mann —. Auf diesen Brief hin schickte der Prälat, der infolge Erkrankung selbst nicht kommen konnte, den Senior des Brünner Thomasklosters, P. Augustin Menschick [23]) nach Gewitsch, damit er am Feste Maria Lichtmess 1666 im Namen des Prälaten demonstrativ die amtliche Übergabe des Priorenamtes in feierlicher Form an P. Gaspari vornehme.

Aber nicht nur der Grundherr Zalkowsky machte den Gewitscher Augustinereremiten das Leben schwer, auch die Bürger der Stadt verfolgten das Kloster wegen der Benützung des dortigen Bräuhauses durch die Augustiner derart, dass schliesslich der Brünner Prälat den Plan fasste, das Gewitscher Kloster ganz aufzuheben und es nach Mariakron zu verlegen. Hufnagel trat deshalb wieder mit dem Fürsten von Liechtenstein, Karl Eusebius, in Verhandlungen und unterbreitete ihm am 20. Februar 1666 einen Vorschlag. Dieser Vorschlag sieht die Wiederherstellung des Klosters Mariakron vor, damit die Augustiner aus Gewitsch dorthin übersiedeln könnten. Der Unterhalt für die Ordensbrüder sollte durch die dem Kloster in Gewitsch gehörenden Budigsdorfer Güter sicher gestellt werden. Im Falle, dass der Fürst diesem Vorschlag zustimme, verzichtete P. Hufnagel auf die Rückgabe der ehemaligen, dem Kloster Mariakron gehörenden Güter, die sich seit dem Jahre 1622 im Besitz des Liechtensteinischen Hausses befanden. Der Fürst stimmte diesem Vorschlag zu, wohl deshalb, um die leidige Angelegenheit der ehemaligen Mariakroner Klostergüter, die er auf keinen Fall zurückerstatten wollte, endgültig aus der Welt zu schaffen. Doch auch dieses Mal konnte der Plan nicht zur Ausführung kommen, da der Olmützer Bischof, Karl Graf von Lichtenstein-Kastelkorn (1664-1695) [24]) seine Zustimmung versagte.

[23]) Janetschek, *Necrologia...*, S. 23. P. Menschlick von der Prager Kleinseite gebürtig, starb am 16.2.1692 im Alter von 80 Jahren als Subprior und Pfarrer von Hvezda.

[24]) Matzke, *Die Olmützer Fürstbischöfe...*, S. 2-10.

Die Augustinereremiten waren daher gezwungen in ihrem Gewitscher Kloster weiterhin zu bleiben. Die Ablehnung des Olmützer Bischofs beruhte auf einer kaum erklärbaren Abneigung, ja Feinschaft gegenüber dem Brünner Prälaten Hufnagel, die diesen schliesslich veranlasste, am 17.12.1667 auf seine Prälatur zu verzichten [25]).

Noch zweimal wurde unter dem Gewitscher Prior P. Augustin Walsuba [26]) und zwar im Jahre 1684 und 1691 der Versuch unternommen, das Kloster in Gewitsch nach Mariakron zu verlegen. Jedesmal war der Fürst unter den vom Prälat Hufnagel ausgehandelten Bedingungen bereit den Plan durchzuführen, als er unerwartet vom Tode überrascht wurde (1708).

Mariakron blieb unvergessen. In einem an der Wiederherstellung des Klosters interessierten Kreis wurden ernste Überlegungen angestellt, ob man nicht auf dem Rechtsweg und durch Anstrengung eines Prozesses die Herausgabe der Klostergüter und die Freigabe der verwüsteten Gebäude und der Kirche erreichen könnte. Am 10. August 1708 fand man auf dem Altar in der marianischen Gnadenkapelle der Stiftskirche St. Thomas in Brünn einen umfangreichen, versiegelten Faszikel, den ein anonymer, höherer Beamte durch seinen Freund, einen gewissen Herrn von Leischner, dort hatte niederlegen lassen. Der unbekannte Verfasser dieses Faszikels war persönlich nach Mariakron gekommen, hatte die verlassene Klosterkirche und das bereits verfallene Klostergebäude eingehend untersucht und bei den Leuten in Triebendorf und Budigsdorf Nachforschungen über die Vernichtung des Klosters angestellt. Das Ergebnis seiner Nachforschungen, worin alle Stiftungsbriefe miteinbezogen waren, hatte er in dem erwähnten Faszikel zusammengetragen. Dabei war er zu der Ansicht gelangt, dass man im Rechtswege die Wiederherstellung des Klosters durchsetzen könne. Der Faszikel trägt folgende Überschrift : « Facti species, seu Praetensio Vicariatus Nostri Moraviae super monasterium Coronense juridice deducta ». Den Schluss dieses interessanten Schriftstückes, in dem sich eine genaue Kenntnis des Kirchenrechtes, der Bibel und des zivilrechtlichen Prozessverfahrens

25) Janetschek, *Das Augustiner Eremitenstift...*, S. 322. Prälat Hufnagel kehrte nach seiner Resignation in seine Vaterstadt Wien zurück, wo er bei einem Angriff der Türken am 29.7.1683 umkam.

26) Janetschek, *Necrologia...*, S. 24. P. Augustin Walsuba, der auch Pfarrverweser in Opatowitz war, starb im hohen Alter von 80 Jahren am 31. Oktober 1709 in Gewitsch.

nicht verkennen lässt, so dass man zweifeln muss, ob der Verfasser dieser Schrift ein gewöhnlicher Laie war, bildet nachstehender Vers : « O utinam per calamum, Coeli Regina, per istum — Redatur capiti sacra Corona Tuo. Amen ». — O, dass doch durch diese Schrift, Königin des Himmels, — Deinem Haupte die heilige Krone zurückgegeben werde. Amen —.

Der damalige Prior und Prälat von St. Thomas in Brünn, P. Nicolaus Kederitz (1707-1713) [27]), übersandte dem Fürsten Liechtenstein eine Abschrift dieses Schriftstückes, unternahm jedoch keine weiteren Schritte, da er durch einen Prozess gegen das Haus Liechtenstein das Missfallen des kaiserlichen Hofes in Wien zu erregen fürchtete und überdies einen kostspieligen Prozess mit unsicherem Ausgang scheute. Vor allem aber wollte er einem Vorwurf aus dem Wege gehen, der bei allen Bemühungen um die Wiederherstellung des Mariakroner Klosters damals immer wieder erhoben wurde, nämlich, dass in der Hussitenzeit ein Mariakroner Prior « non solum a religione, sed etiam a fide » — nicht nur vom Orden, sondern auch vom Glauben abgefallen sei [28]).

Aus dieser Bemerkung kann man ersehen, mit welchen Mitteln man der berechtigten Forderung nach Herausgabe der Mariakroner Klostergüter begegnete und wie auch die katholischen Grundherren ohne Bedenken sich der Klostergüter erfreuten, die ihre akatholischen Vorgänger konfisziert hatten.

Die hinauszögernde, liechtensteinische Taktik, wie sie sich in den wiederholten Verhandlungen gezeigt hat und die ablehnende Haltung des Olmützer Bischofs liessen kaum die Hoffnung mehr zu, das Mariakroner Kloster jemals zurückgewinnen zu können. Deshalb wollte der Brünner Prälat und Prior von St. Thomas, P. Prosper Günther (1713-1722), wenigstens die noch vorhandenen Glocken der Mariakroner Klosterkirche für den Orden retten. Er gedachte die Glocken entweder in das Brünner oder Gewitscher Kloster des Ordens überführen zu lassen. Im Jahr 1719 wandte er sich in dieser Angelegenheit an das Olmützer Konsistorium, um die dazu nötige Genehmigung einzuholen. Das Olmützer Ordinariat wandte sich seinerseits an den Trübauer Pfarrer und erbat einen Bericht über den bisherigen Gebrauch und Besitz der Glocken. Auf den Bericht des

27) Janetschek, *Necrologia...*, S. 24f.

28) Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 8.

Trübauer Pfarrers und Dechanten Anton Stehr hin, entschied das Olmützer Ordinariat, dass die Glocken an Ort und Stelle verbleiben müssten, « da die Glocken schon seit 100 Jahren vom Pfarrer in Triebendorf occupirt seien und vom Grundherrn ein hölzernes Glockenhaus aufgebaut worden sei ». In dem Bericht des Dechanten Stehr vom 16. März 1719 heisst es weiter : « Wir haben allda gefunden die verwüst und ruinirte Kirchen auch den Glockenstuhl in Augenschein genommen, welcher 2 Klafter hoch mit Brettern verschlagen, allwo 3 Glocken hangen, die erste kleinere, deren Schrift aber schwer zu lesen doch aber zu erkennen : Ave gratia plena Dominus Tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus. Die andere aber leserlichere hat eben nämliche Schrift. Die grösste aber : = Diese Glocke ist gegossen zu Ehren unserer lieben Frauen A. 1531 = » [29]). Der ablehnende Bescheid aus Olmütz an den Brünner Prälaten erging dann am 19. Juni 1719 [30]).

Noch ein allerletzter Versuch zur Rückgewinnung des Mariakroner Klosters, der im Jahre 1726 unternommen worden war, schlug ebenso fehl. Seit dem 1. Oktober 1722 bekleidete das Brünner Prälaten- und Prioramt von St. Thomas P. Andreas Zirckl, ein geborener Mährisch Trübauer. Dieser erhielt am 11. Mai 1726 vom Ordensgeneral der Augustinereremiten in Rom, P. Thomas Cervioni, den Auftrag, die Wiederherstellung des Mariakroner Klosters « mit allem Nachdruck » zu betreiben, Andreas Zirckl kam dem Auftrag nach und schrieb deshalb an den Fürsten Johann Josef von Liechtenstein, sowie an dessen Gemahlin Marianne, geb. Gräfin Oetting. Der Fürst antwortete zunächst ausweichend. Schliesslich erklärte er in einem in Feldsberg am 9. Juni 1726 ausgestellten Brief, er sei bereit, die « rudera des Klosters und der gewesenen Kirchen », also die Grundfläche, wo einst das Kloster und die Kirche stand, abzutreten und « zu dem Gebäu pro adiuto » um 2000 fl. Material « in pretio currenti contribuiren », d. h. zum Bau des Klosters Materialien im Werte von 2000 Gulden nach den ortsüblichen Preisen zu spenden, doch sollte der Prälat zunächst die kaiserliche und bischöfliche Genehmigung zur Wiederherstellung des ehemaligen Klosters einholen und sich und seine Nachfolger durch einen eigenen Revers verpflichten, unter

[29]) Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 6.

[30]) Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 8. *Brünner Wochenblatt.* S. 124 mit Anm. 24. Von diesen Akten sind noch Abschriften vorhanden, die sich einst im Archiv des St. Thomasklosters befanden, heute im Staatsarchiv in Brünn sind.

keinen wie immer gearteten Rechtstitel etwas von den ehemaligen Klostergütern zurückzufordern. Da diese Bedingung für den Prälaten unannehmbar war, mussten alle weiteren Verhandlungen abgebrochen werden. Damit war der allerletzte Versuch, Mariakron doch noch zurückzugewinnen, endgültig fehl geschlagen [31]).

Am 23. Mai 1732 wandte sich der Prälat Mathäus Pertscher von St. Thomas, der als erster der Brünner Prioren die Abtswürde bekleidete (1740-1777) [32]), wegen der Herausgabe der Mariakroner Klosterglocken nochmals an den Fürsten Johann Wenzel von Liechtenstein, jedoch ohne Erfolg. Der Fürst verwies auf die Entscheidung des Olmützer Konsistoriums vom 19. Juni 1719 und lehnte die Herausgabe ab [33]). Aber noch in der Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts trug sich der am 11. März 1824 zum Prior und Abt des Brünner St. Thomasklosters gewählte Cyrill Napp, ein gebürtiger Gewitscher, mit dem Gedanken, das seinem Geburtsort so nahe gelegene und mit den Geschicken des Gewitscher Klosters durch Jahrhunderte so eng verbundene Kloster in Mariakron als Filiale von St. Thomas in Brünn wieder herzustellen [34]).

Wie wir aus dem Bericht des P. Hufnagel wissen, war das Klostergebäude bereits im Jahre 1654 verfallen, die im gotischen Stil erbaute Kirche jedoch noch einigermassen erhalten. Erst im Jahre 1670 stand auch die Klosterkirche öde da und wurde von den Grabgeldern der Gemeinde Mariakron, die ihre Toten auf dem bei der Kirche noch bestehenden Friedhof begruben, wenigstens notdürftig unter Dach erhalten. Damals besass die Kirche noch sechs vollkommen erhaltene Altäre, sowie einige Kirchengeräte. 55 Jahre später, im Jahre 1726 standen, nach einem Brief des Prälaten Andreas Zirckl, immer noch die steinernen Altäre in der Kirche und auch die Fresco-Wandmalereien waren gut erhalten, ebenso wie der bereits erwähnte gotische Tauf-

[31]) *Brünner Wochenblatt.* S. 124 mit Anm. 23. Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 8.

[32]) Janetschek, *Necrologia...*, S. 31. Am 17.12.1752 zum ersten Abt geweiht, gestorben im Alter von 78 Jahren.

[33]) Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 10.

[34]) Janetschek, *Necrologia...*, S. 37f. Das Totenbuch gibt an, dass C. Napp Direktor d. Gymnasialstudien f. Mähren und Schlesien war, ferner emeritierter Prof. des Bibelstudiums u. d. orientalischen Sprachen, dazu teils Gründer, teils korrespondierendes Mitglied verschiedener wissenschaftlicher Gesellschaften — gestorben 22.7.1867 im Alter von 75 Jahren.

brunnen. Sogar der Kirchturm stand noch, war aber vom Einsturz derart bedroht, dass die Gemeinde Triebendorf die drei vorhandenen Glocken abnehmen und in einem vom Fürsten Liechtenstein errichteten hölzernen Glockenhaus aufhängen liess. Die Glocken wurden täglich geläutet, wozu die Gemeinde einen eigens von ihr besoldeten Glöckner, der ein Häuschen an der Kirche bewohnte, angestellt hatte.

Das Kostbarste aber, das Kloster und Kirche Mariakron besassen, war das hochverehrte, sorgsam behütete Marienbild. Wohin kam dieses Bild? Den Anspruch, das Marienbild der ehemaligen Klosterkirche zu besitzen, erhoben später die Pfarrkirche in Gewitsch, ebenso wie die von Tattenitz. Es besteht aber kein Zweifel, dass das Marienbild, welches sich in der Gewitscher Pfarrkirche befindet, nicht mit dem der Mariakroner Klosterkirche identisch sein kann. Wir besitzen nämlich eine geschichtlich gesicherte Nachricht, wonach der uns bekannte P. Jakob Kirschner, als er im Jahre 1617 vom St. Thomaskloster in Brünn zum Prior in Gewitsch bestellt wurde, eine Kopie des in der Marienkapelle der Brünner Stiftskirche verehrten Marienbildes mit nach Gewitsch gebracht hat [35]). Das Marienbild, das einst in Mariakron so hoch verehrt wurde, stand bis zum Jahre 1740 unter dem Turm der Klosterkirche, der dann im Jahre 1741 einstürzte und das Kirchengewölbe durchschlug. Ein Bauer aus Lussdorf, Bartholomäus Meixner, hatte das Bild noch rechtzeitig gerettet und entfernt, auf eigene Kosten restaurieren lassen und dann in der Kapelle in Lussdorf aufgestellt. Im Jahre 1752 wurde das Marienbild in die Pfarrkirche von Tattenitz übertragen und über einem Beichtstuhl aufgestellt, später dann auf den Altar zu Ehren des hl. Johannes von Nepomuk verbracht, wo es jedoch keine besondere Verehrung genoss [36]). Es sei mir hier eine persönliche Bemerkung erlaubt! Ist es nicht merkwürdig, dass ein Lussdorfer Schmied, Jakob Frantz, als er im Jahre 1742 — da die Mariakroner Wallfahrts- und Klosterkirche schon dem unentrinnbaren Untergang geweiht war — in dem gegen Triebendorf-Budigsdorf gelegenen Teil des Reichenauer Fürstenwaldes eine Kopie des Maria-Zeller Gnadenbildes an einem Baum anbrachte, so zum Begründer einer neuen Marienstätte in unmittelbarer Nähe der alten, eingegangenen von Mariakron wurde? Und erscheint es abwegig anzunehmen, dass das

[35]) *Brünner Wochenblatt.* S. 124 mit Anm. 25

[36]) Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 10.

« Marienbründl » im Reichenauer Wald, die uralte, von Anfang an gepflegte Marienverehrung des Mariakroner Klosters als verpflichtende Tradition des Schönhengster Landes übernommen hat und bis zum heutigen Tag pflegt ? Denn, wie Berichte aus der alten Heimat besagen, ist das « Marienbründl » noch heute das Ziel vieler auch von weiterher kommender Pilger. Die Tattenitzer Kirche jedoch soll noch heute einen aus der Mariakroner Klosterkiche kostbaren, reich gestickten Ornat besitzen.

Nach dem Einsturz des Glockenturms schritt der Verfall der Kirche in Mariakron mit Riesenschritten voran, zumal man die Steine des verfallenen Gotteshauses als Baumaterial für die Häuser der Umgebung verwendete. Im Jahre 1780 standen nur mehr die nackten Kirchenmauern mit den schmalen gotischen Fenstern, der Boden aber war mit zertrümmerten Grabsteinen bedeckt [37]).

Schliesslich ist noch zu berichten, dass auch die Siegel des Priors und des Klosterkonvents von Mariakron das Bild Mariens trugen. Der von mir bereits erwähnten Urkunde des Priors Erhard Weikher vom Jahre 1534 sind zwei Siegel angehängt. Das eine zeigt das Brustbild Unserer lieben Frau in einer gotischen Nische und unter derselben ein Wappenschild, in welchem sich, wie es scheint, ein Fisch — vielleicht ein Hinweis auf die Fischteiche des Klosters ? — befindet. Die Umschrift lautet : Sigil. Prior. coron. monas. — Siegel des Priors des Klosters Mariakron. — Das zweite Siegel enthält wiederum das Brustbild Unserer lieben Frau, das einer Krone entsteigt. Es trägt die Umschrift : S. Conventus in corona — Der ehrwürdige Konvent in Mariakron. — [38]).

Der letzte Akt in der Geschichte des Mariakroner Klosters endet mit dem sogenannten Glockenkrieg [39]). Das Triebendorfer Gotteshaus besass nur zwei kleine Glocken, während in der hölzernen Glockenstube der nahen Klosterruine Mariakron — in der Legstang — drei Glocken hingen, die zu keinem Gottesdienst mehr einluden. Der Triebendorfer Ortsgeistliche, Franz Hornischer, kam auf den Gedanken, sich von der Fürst-Liechtensteinischen Obrigkeit eine von diesen Glocken

[37]) Janetschek, *Die ehemaligen...*, S. 10.

[38]) *Brünner Wochenblatt.* S. 40.

[39]) Heisler, Wilhelm, Der Glockenkrieg im Kloster Mariakron. In : *Unsere Heimat, Blätter für die Heimatkunde der Bezirke Hohenstadt, Müglitz und Schildberg* 5 (936), 38f. Dr. Zimprich hat mir diesen Beitrag zur Verfügung gestellt, wofür ihm herzlich gedankt sei.

zu erbitten. Seine diesbezügliche Eingabe wurde günstig beschieden und der 9. Dezember 1783 zum Abholen der bewilligten Glocke festgesetzt. Als die Mariakroner davon erfuhren, beschlossen sie, dies mit allen Mitteln zu verhindern. Am 9. Dezember 1783 hatten sich zur feierlichen Übergabe der Glocke an den Triebendorfer Pfarrer der Rentmeister, ein Richter und mehrere Vertreter der Obrigkeit eingefunden. Die Triebendorfer fuhren am Morgen des 9. Dezember 1783 mit einem schweren Wagen, mit langen Leitern, Seilen, Ketten und Gabeln ausgerüstet, gegen Mariakron. Als die Mariakroner die anrückenden Triebendorfer bemerkten, begannen sie mit allen Glocken zu läuten, aber nicht zum freudigen Empfang der Triebendorfer, sondern um die benachbarten Gemeinden zu alarmieren. Es dauerte nicht lange, da kamen zahlreiche Männer aus Budigsdorf und Tattenitz, ausgerüstet mit Holzprügel, Hacken und Hauen, um den Mariakronern zu helfen. Sie nahmen auf dem Klosterplatz Aufstellung und fragten die Triebendorfer nach ihrem Begehr. « Die Glocken wollen wir holen », antworteten diese unter Vorweis des obrigkeitlichen Schreibens. Die Mariakroner aber erwiderten, dass sie die Glocken auf keinen Fall herzugeben gedächten. Nun gab ein Wort das andere und ein heftiger Streit begann. Der anwesende Rentmeister forderte seinen Knecht auf, zwischen den Streitenden zu vermitteln. Dieser aber wurde von den Streitenden zur Erde gestossen, verprügelt und flüchtete schliesslich hinter die Klosterruine. Der Haufe stürzte nach, schlug weiter auf ihn ein und drängte ihn an den Rand der Klosterwiese, wo er halbtot liegen blieb. Der Rentmeister, der Richter und die Beamten mussten flüchten, wobei einer der Beamten von einem Stein getroffen wurde. Schliesslich wurden die Triebendorfer überwältigt und mussten ebenso das Weite suchen. Die Sieger zertrümmerten den Wagen und die darauf befindlichen Geräte.

Nach diesem Zwischenfall ordnete die Obrigkeit eine strenge Untersuchung an und liess die Verdächtigen in den Arrest sperren. Doch trotz der strengen Kreuzverhöre konnten die Täter nicht ermittelt werden, so dass man die Eingesperrten schliesslich frei lassen musste.

Die Triebendorfer aber liessen sich nicht so leicht abfertigen. Sie strengten wegen der Glocken einen Prozess an, der sieben Jahre dauerte. Gutsverwaltung und Kreisamt trafen in dieser heiklen Sache nicht gern eine klare Entscheidung. Aber, schliesslich hatte man einen Kompromiss gefunden, beziehungsweise die ganze Entscheidung

auf den Tattenitzer Pfarrer abgewälzt. Es wurde beschlossen, dass den Triebendorfern die Glocke nur mit Bewilligung des Tattenitzer Pfarrers überlassen werden könne. Der Tattenitzer Pfarrer brachte tatsächlich in kurzer Zeit den Streit zu einem friedlichen Ende. Er sprach den Triebendorfern die grosse Glocke zu, die die Umschrift trug : « Di glocken ist gegossen zu d'ere vnser liben fraven anno MCCCCCXXXI ». Die zweite, die mittlere Glocke, die nach den Schriftzeichen zu schliessen im 15. Jahrhundert gegossen wurde und die Umschrift trug : « Ave maria gracia plena... » bestimmte er für die eigene Kirche in Tattenitz, während die kleinste Glocke im Holzturm der Klosterruine verblieb [40]). Vom Kloster selbst hat sich nur der ausgemauerte Trinkbrunnen erhalten, der früher von den Umwohnern noch benutzt wurde.

Die spärlichen Überreste des ehemaligen Gotteshauses, diese stummen Zeugen einer siebenhundertjährigen Geschichte, werden in nicht allzu ferner Zeit ganz verschwunden sein und an das einst hier erbaute Kloster der Augustinereremiten wird nichts mehr erinnern, nicht einmal das Dorf Mariakron, welches seinen Ursprung und seinen deutschen Namen dem Kloster verdankt. Bald werden die letzten Bewohner dieses Schönhengster Dörfchens nicht mehr sein, sie, die, seit 1946 wie die einzelnen Steine der einstigen Mariakroner Kirche und des Klosters auch in alle Winde zerstreut wurden. Ob dann die Enkel und Nachfahren der Mariakroner noch eine Erinnerung an ihren Ursprung besitzen werden ?

(*Schluß*) FRANZ RYSCHAWY

[40]) *Brünner Wochenblatt.* S. 40.

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