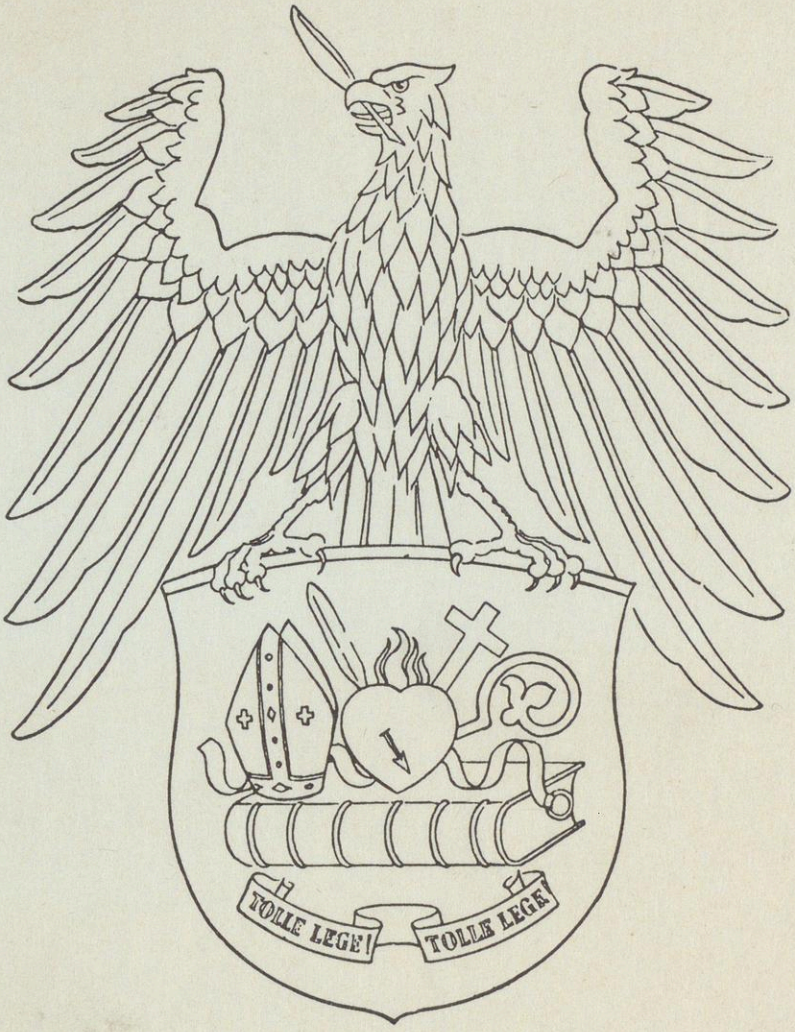
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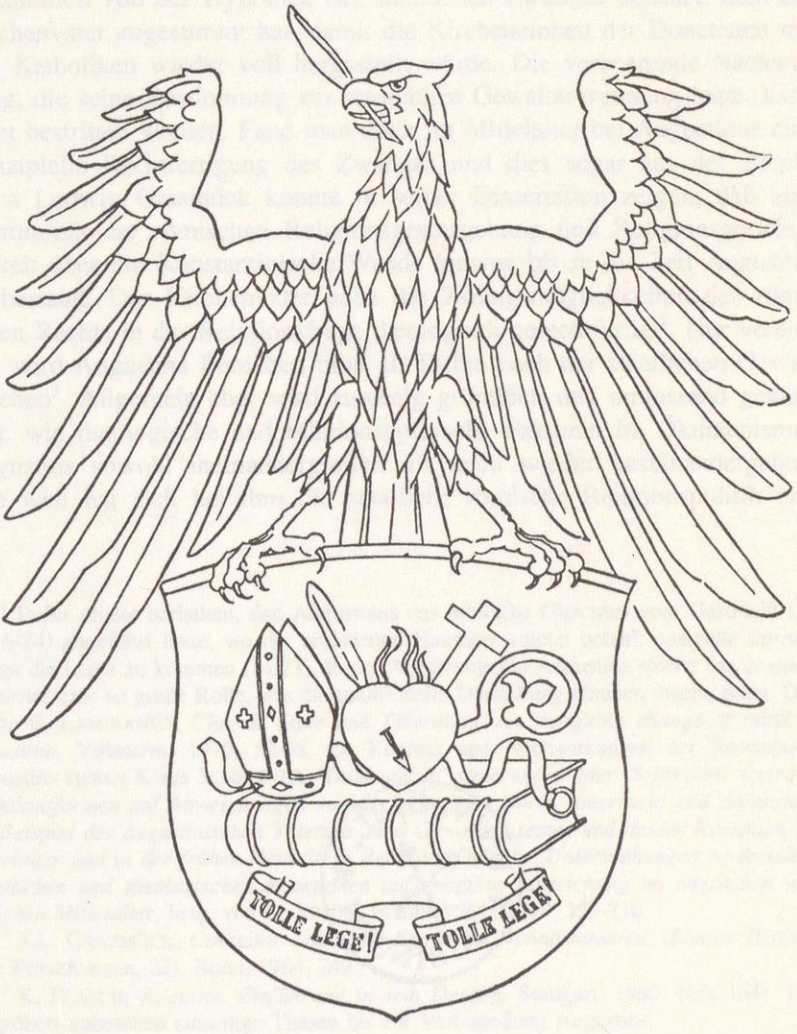
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TIJDSCHRIFT VOOR DE STUDIE VAN SINT AUGUSTINUS EN DE AUGUSTIJNENORDE

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

JAARGANG 43 ANNÉE

1993



INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM AUGUSTINIANUM LOVANII

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DER ÖKUMENISMUS AUGUSTINS ZWISCHEN ANPASSUNG UND DISTANZ ZUM STAAT

Augustins Bemühen um die Kircheneinheit, sein Ökumenismus, ist bekanntlich von der Hypothek des staatlichen Zwanges belastet, dem der Kirchenvater zugestimmt hat, damit die Kircheneinheit der Donatisten mit den Katholiken wieder voll hergestellt würde. Die verheerende Nachwirkung, die seine Zustimmung zur staatlichen Gewaltanwendung hatte, kann nicht bestritten werden. Fand man doch im Mittelalter bei Augustinus eine prinzipielle Rechtfertigung des Zwanges und dies sogar aus der Bibel[1]. Ernst Ludwig Grasmück konnte in seiner Dissertation zeigen, daß eine Kontinuität der römischen Religionsgesetzgebung und Religionsgerichtsbarkeit über die Konstantinische Wende hinweg bis in die Zeit Augustins fortbestand. Der Kirchenvater habe die Zwangsmöglichkeiten des römischen Rechts in der Religionsfrage theologisch gerechtfertigt[2]. Nur vereinzelt wird Augustins Bemühen bloß als Rufen nach der staatlichen Gewalt gesehen[3]. Allgemein aber wird zuwenig gründlich und umfassend gewürdigt, wie theologische und religionspolitische Faktoren im Ökumenismus Augustins sowohl ineinandergreifen als auch wieder auseinandergehen. Wie weit hat sich bei ihm die staatliche römische Religionspolitik und

[1] Dafür mußte herhalten, daß Augustinus das biblische Gleichnis vom Gastmahl (*Lk* 14,16-24) angeführt hatte, wo der einladende Hausherr zuletzt befahl: *compelle intrare*, nötige die Leute zu kommen (14,23). In der Argumentation Augustins spielte das *compelle intrare* eine so große Rolle, wie die traditionelle Darstellung glauben macht, nicht. Das zeigte E. LAMIRANDE, *Church, State and Toleration. An intriguing change of mind in Augustine*, Villanova, 1975, 52-58. Zu Kontext und Nachwirkungen der Konzeption Augustins zuletzt Klaus SCHREINER, *'Duldsamkeit' (tolerantia) oder 'Schrecken' (terror). Reaktionsformen auf Abweichungen von der religiösen Norm, untersucht und dargestellt am Beispiel des augustinischen Toleranz- und Gewaltkonzeptes und dessen Rezeption im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, in *Religiöse Devianz. Untersuchungen zu sozialen, rechtlichen und theologischen Reaktionen auf religiöse Abweichung im westlichen und östlichen Mittelalter*, hrsg. von D. SIMON, Frankfurt/M., 1990, 159-210.

[2] E.L. GRASMÜCK, *Coercitio. Staat und Kirche im Donatistenstreit.* (*Bonner Historische Forschungen*, 22). Bonn, 1964, 249.

[3] K. FLASCH, *Augustin. Einführung in sein Denken*, Stuttgart, 1980, 160, 164f, 178 vergröbert unbesehen einseitige Thesen bis zur Verleumdung Augustins.

staatlich-christliche Ökumenismuspolitik niedergeschlagen? Was trug Augustin zum staatlich-kirchlichen Ökumenismus bei? Gab es eine theologische Perspektive des Ökumenismus bei ihm und wie sah diese aus? Das sind die Fragen, denen in diesem Aufsatz nachgegangen wird. Er wurde Professor Dr. Hermenegild Biedermann OSA zum 80. Geburtstag dargebracht.

I. Staatliche römische Religionspolitik und staatlich-christliche Ökumenismuspolitik

Die staatliche Religionsgerichtsbarkeit, deren Entwicklung bis zur Zeit des Donatismus konsequent fortgeführt wurde, war im Prinzip zwischen den kirchlichen Parteien nicht umstritten. Ebenso bestand zwischen den Katholiken, den Donatisten und dem Staat ein grundsätzlicher Konsens über die notwendige Einheit der Kirche. So gehörte zu den gemeinsamen Koordinaten der religiösen Frage in Nordafrika zum einen eine scharfe Unterscheidung von wahrer Religion (*religio*) und Aberglaube (*superstitio*) und zum anderen die feste Überzeugung, daß die christliche Kirche natürlich eine einige und eine einzige ist.

A. Die Sorge um die religio und die Abwehr der superstitio

Die Unterscheidung von *religio* und *superstitio* lag der Entwicklung der römischen Religionsgerichtsbarkeit zugrunde. Die Bewahrung der *religio* und die Abwehr der *superstitio* sah der römische Staat im ureigensten Interesse als seine Aufgabe an. Der geschichtliche Befund bis zur Kaiserzeit ist im RE Artikel zu *superstitio* gut zusammengetragen. Für die Kaiserzeit bis Konstantin ist hinreichend geklärt, daß die damalige Antichristenpolitik von der staatlichen Verantwortung für die *religio* getragen war. Es war nicht zufällig, daß das Christentum zur Zeit des Kaisers Trajan in der römischen Publizistik bei Tacitus, Suetonius und Plinius als schädliche *superstitio* angeprangert und in einem offiziellen Brief des Trajan an Plinius das Christsein erstmals als todeswürdiges Verbrechen erklärt wurde[4]. Wenn *superstitio* auch nie die juristische Beschreibung des Christendelikts war, so wurde doch in der römischen Einschätzung übereinstimmend alle Verwerflichkeit des neuen Glaubens mit der Kennzeichnung als schädlicher Aberglaube zusammengefaßt. Für die Zeit nach der

[4] Pfaff, *superstitio*, in *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* IV A (1932) 937-939 und J. Speigl, *Der römische Staat und die Christen. Staat und Kirche von Domitian bis Commodus*, Amsterdam, 1970, 70-72.

Religionswende aber läßt sich nachweisen, daß die staatliche Beurteilung und Brandmarkung als *superstitio* schließlich auf alles überging, was zum christlichen Glauben im Gegensatz stand. Die Grundsatzentscheidung fiel schon mit Konstantin. Konstantin bekannte sich nicht nur zum Christentum, sondern nannte die Götterreligion auch einen Irrtum. Mehrfach wandte er schon den Begriff Irrtum und *superstitio* auf Einrichtungen der Götterreligion und auf diese selbst an[5]. Sein Sohn Constantius formulierte in einem Gesetz 341 sehr scharf: "Der Unsinn der alten Opfer soll abgeschafft werden. Mit dem Aberglauben soll Schluß sein". *Cesset superstitio*[6]. Die Religionspolitik der sich zum Christentum bekennenden Kaiser des 4. Jahrhunderts zeigt ein bewegtes Auf und Ab. Zu ihrem Verständnis sind mehrere Faktoren zu berücksichtigen: a) Das Religionsvergehen wurde immer auf dem Weg der Coercition behandelt, d.h. das Einschreiten wurde immer auch und zuletzt durch eine aktuelle Notwendigkeit des Gemeinwohls begründet. b) Die Kaiser hatten erstmals 311 gegenüber den Christen Toleranz erklärt und dies 313 nach allen Seiten hin bekräftigt. Dazu ist zu bedenken, der römische Staat blieb religiös gebunden. Wie er das mit einer Religionsfreiheit seiner Bürger nach allen Seiten hin vereinbaren konnte, bleibt die Frage. Ganz ohne Einfluß dürften die formellen Toleranzerklärungen zwar nicht geblieben sein. Er hat aber de facto immer in konkreten religiösen Bindungen verharrt und deswegen abweichende Religionsübung entweder nur geduldet oder auch verfolgt. Das heißt, es

[5] Als wichtigste Stellen sind zu nennen: 1) Konstantin an die Bewohner der östlichen Provinzen, in: EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini* II 48-60 (G. WINKELMANN, *Die griech. christl. Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte* [=GCS], *Eusebius Werke* I,1,68-72), wo die christenverfolgenden Kaiser ebenso wie die Nichtchristen des Irrtums geziehen werden, während zugleich den Göttergläubigen die Duldung ausgesprochen wird. 2) *Codex Theodosianus* [=CTh] IX, 16,1 vom Jahr 319 (Th. MOMMSEN 459) Verbot der privaten Opferschau, die von Konstantin als Quelle religiöser Gefährdung angesehen wurde, während die öffentliche, geringschätzig als *superstitio* bezeichnet, geduldet ist. 3) CTh XVI,2,5 vom Jahr 323 (MOMMSEN 836) Schutz der christlichen Kleriker vor dem Zwang zur Teilnahme an den alten öffentlichen Lustralopfern in Süditalien, da sie nicht *ad ritum alienae superstitionis* gezwungen werden dürften. 4) Die Inschrift von Hispellum (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum* XI,2 Nr. 5265), wo der Bau eines Ehrentempels für die Kaiserfamilie erlaubt wurde mit der Auflage, daß keine Trugwerke der Pest des Aberglaubens (*contagiosae superstitionis*) ihn befleckten. Jede Form des Götterkultes galt Konstantin als Dämonenwerk. Zur Diskussion der Heidenpolitik des Kaisers zuletzt J. GAUDEMET, *La législation anti-païenne de Constantin à Justinien*, in *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 11 (1990), 449-468, bes. 453f; früher K.-L. NOETHLICHS, *Die gesetzgeberischen Maßnahmen der christlichen Kaiser des vierten Jahrhunderts gegen Häretiker, Heiden und Juden*, Köln, 1971, 26.

[6] CTh XVI,10,2 (MOMMSEN 897). Etwas unterschiedlich interpretieren das an den stellvertretenden Prätorianerpräfekten von Italien gerichtete Gesetz NOETHLICHS, *o.c.*, 53f und GAUDEMET, *o.c.*, 455 und 458.

gab im gesamten 4. Jahrhundert praktisch neben dem, was der Staat als *religio* verehrte, auch die *religio licita*, d.h. die bloß geduldete, und die *religio illicita*, die verbotene Religion. Im gesamten 4. Jahrhundert war z.B. das Judentum eine geduldete Religion. Die alte Götterreligion dagegen kann man zeitweise als geduldete, zeitweise bzw. in mancher Hinsicht als verbotene Religion eingestuft finden. c) Für unsere Frage nach dem Ökumenismus ist aber vor allem wichtig, wie diese Grundsätze der staatlichen Religionspolitik auf innerchristliche Abweichungen, auf Häresien und Schismen angewendet wurden. Es kann leicht festgestellt werden, daß solche Abweichungen als *superstitio* galten und ihnen gegenüber die Frage der Duldung oder der Verfolgung entstand. Daß wir Häretiker und Häresien als *superstitio* bezeichnet finden, ist nicht überraschend. Wie Häresien als *religio licita* bloß geduldet wurden oder in Verfolgung gerieten, dazu ist erneut ein bewegtes Auf und Ab festzustellen. Die Grundsatzentscheidung, daß Häretiker als *religio illicita* zu betrachten seien, war wiederum schon bei Konstantin gefallen[7]. Eine große Entschlossenheit und Härte, gegen Häretiker (und Heiden) mit Verfolgung vorzugehen, finden wir bei Theodosius I., der aber gegenüber den Juden sehr tolerant war. Eine wichtige Frage für die Entwicklung zur größeren Entschlossenheit bei der Häretikerverfolgung war, ob und wann der Staat zwischen Häresie und Schisma zu unterscheiden lernte und die Häresie jedenfalls wie eine *religio illicita* verfolgte. Damit zusammen hängt natürlich auch, ob der Staat nur ein formales Kriterium für Häresie anwandte, oder diese auch inhaltlich selbst beschrieb. Hier ist zunächst zu sagen, daß eine Unterscheidung von Häresie und Schisma bis zur Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts theologisch kaum definiert war[8]. Sie kam auch danach nicht sehr schnell zu großer Bedeutung. Aber es ist doch auch festzuhalten, daß die Realität, die dieser Unterscheidung zugrunde lag und diese rechtfertigte, doch immer vorhanden war und gespürt wurde. Das hat vielleicht im Fall der Donatisten und Novatianer öfter zu einem unterschiedlich harten oder milderen Vorgehen der Kaiser gegen sie geführt. Es kam schließlich offensichtlich dazu, daß die Donatisten sich hätten Duldung (oder mehr) erhoffen können, wenn sie nur ein

[7] Das Schreiben Konstantins an Drakilian (1.9.326) eröffnet demgemäß die Sektion über die Häresien im *Codex Theodosianus* (XVI,5,1; MOMMSEN 855). "Abergläubische Tollheit" wird das Verhalten der Häretiker und Schismatiker in einem anderen (wohl echten) Brief von ihm genannt und die Versammlungen und Versammlungsstätten ihres "Aberglaubens" verboten, bzw. konfisziert: EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini* III 64f (GCS, *Eusebius Werke* I,1,118,23 und 119,2).

[8] E. LAMIRANDE, *Oeuvres de Saint Augustin*, (*Bibliothèque augustinienne* [=BA] 32). Paris, 1965, 706-709. A.SCHINDLER, *Die Unterscheidung von Schisma und Häresie in Gesetzgebung und Polemik gegen den Donatismus*, in *Pietas, Festschrift für B.Kötting*, (*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, Ergzbd. 8, 1980) 228-236.

Schisma und keine Häresie gewesen wären. An diesem Punkt war es soweit, daß Kaiser Honorius 405 feststellte, sie könnten keinesfalls mit Duldung rechnen, da sie als Häresie und nicht bloß als Schisma gelten müßten[9].

B. Die Sorge um die einige Kirche

So wurde von den christlichen Kaisern des 4. Jahrhunderts die Aufgabe der Wahrung der *religio* in der Verteidigung gegen die *superstitio* mit Eifer fortgeführt. Dies geschah aufgrund des obrigkeitlichen Befehlsrechtes (*coercitio*) und zuletzt in Anpassung an die notwendige Unterscheidung von Orthodoxie, Häresie und Schisma innerhalb der christlichen Kirche. Neben der Religionssorge gegen den Aberglauben teilte der Staat mit den kirchlichen Parteien des Donatistenstreites auch die Überzeugung, daß die christliche Kirche eine einige und einzige sei. Jeder kirchliche Ratgeber muß dieses Prinzip Konstantin als wesentlich und unerläßlich beigebracht haben. Eine einige und einzige Kirche kam auch der Erwartung entgegen, die an eine Reichsreligion von einem Alleinherrscher wie Konstantin gestellt wurde. Die Sorge um die Religion wurde im Fall des Donatistischen Schismas bald eine Sorge um die Einheit der Kirche, wie sie aus allen Maßregeln Konstantins deutlichst zu erkennen ist. Die Sorge ging soweit, daß schon Konstantin und erneut sein Sohn Constans den Donatisten einfach die Einheit der Kirche befahl[10]. Dabei ist wohl auf die Übereinstimmung des Staates und der kirchlichen Parteien hinzuweisen, die im theologischen Prinzip von der Einheit und Einzigkeit der Kirche entstand. Das Prinzip der Einheit und Einzigkeit der Kirche war in Nordafrika am eingehendsten und leidenschaftlichsten vertreten worden von Cyprian (+ 258). Die Donatisten glaubten, aus diesem Herzstück nordafrikanischer Ekklesiologie argumentieren zu können, daß ihre kirchlichen Gegner wegen einer angeblichen ungültigen Bischofsweihe keine Sakramente hätten und keine Kirche wären. Konsequenterweise forderten sie die Wiedertaufe. Diese um die Einheit und Einzigkeit der Kirche kreisenden Fragen waren selbstverständlich die Hauptstreitpunkte der ökumenischen Diskussion, wie auch die Schriften Augustins zeigen. Aber auch für den Staat war die Auffassung von der einigen und einzigen Kirche der vorgegebene Entscheidungsrahmen. Deswegen verboten die Kaiser den Dona-

[9] CTh XVI,6,4 (405 Febr. 12; MOMMSEN 881): "intercidendam specialiter eam sectam nova constitutione censuimus, quae, ne haeresis vocaretur, appellationem schismatis praeferebat. In tantum enim sceleris progressi dicuntur hi, quos Donatistas vocant, ut baptisma sacrosanctum mysteriis recalcatis temeritate noxia iterarint".

[10] P. MONCEAUX, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne* IV, Paris, 1912, 35.

tisten wiederholt die Wiedertaufe[11]. Daß dieses Vergehen im *Codex Theodosianus* ein eigenes Kapitel erhielt[12], läßt sich wohl nur aus der engsten Übereinstimmung der Interessen des Staates mit dieser Ekklesiologie erklären. Deswegen wurde auch bei gegebener Gelegenheit von Staats wegen die Donatistische Häresie wesentlich in der Wiedertaufe gefunden und gebrandmarkt[13]. Für den politischen Verstand und das politische Interesse mußte es unannehmbar erscheinen, das Prinzip der Einheit und Einzigkeit der christlichen Kirche aus der Welt in einen nordafrikanischen Winkel wegziehen zu lassen. Da die Einheit so sehr der religiösen Aufgabe des Staates entsprach, mußte sie festgehalten werden und wirkte sich das konsequenterweise gegen die aus, die sie ausschließend für sich in Anspruch genommen hatten. Die Streitfrage wurde aber dann nicht theologisch, sondern historisch mit vielen Untersuchungen vor den kaiserlichen Gerichten geführt, wer in Wahrheit die eine und einzige Kirche schismatisch verlassen hatte. Aufgrund der Übereinstimmung im Prinzip von der Einheit und Einzigkeit der Kirche war zwischen Staat und Donatisten und Katholiken die ökumenische Frage zu einer vorwiegend historischen Frage geworden. Über diese wurde vor Gericht entschieden[14]. Danach hätten alle Parteien aufgrund ihrer gemeinsamen Ekklesiologie mit einer Einfügung in die eine und einzige Kirche zufrieden sein müssen. Das staatliche Einigungsgebot, wie es denn danach ausgesprochen wurde, entsprach vollständig den ekklesiologischen Voraussetzungen, von denen die Parteien ausgegangen waren.

[11] Bezeichnenderweise ist das Edikt Kaiser Valentinians, das die Sektion zum Verbot der Wiedertaufe im *Codex Theodosianus* eröffnet (XVI,6,1:373 Febr. 20 MOMMSEN 880) an Julian, den Prokonsul von Afrika, gerichtet. Das zweite Edikt von Kaiser Valens aus dem Jahr 377 beruft sich auf die kaiserlichen Gesetze "unserer Vorfahren Konstantin und Constans" (XVI,6,2 MOMMSEN 880f). Die von Konstantin zu der Donatistenklage eingesetzten kirchlichen Gerichtsinstanzen in Rom 313 und Arles 314 (Synode) hatten den Donatisten die Wiedertaufe als Verbrechen angelastet. Vgl. H. KRAFT, *Kaiser Konstantins religiöse Entwicklung*, Tübingen, 1955, 36, und *Concilium Arelatense* 314, can. 9(8) CCL 148,10f. NOETHLICHS, *o.c.*, 83, nimmt an, daß die staatlichen Verbote durch die Praxis der Wiedertaufe bei den Donatisten veranlaßt wurden.

[12] CTh XVI,6: "Ne sanctum baptisma iteretur"; MOMMSEN 880-884.

[13] CTh XVI,6,4 (405 Febr.12; MOMMSEN 881), s. Anm. 9.

[14] Es handelte sich um eine *causa*, die aus den *gestis publicis* entschieden werden mußte, da die Donatisten ihre unwahren Behauptungen über den Hergang der Spaltung und über die Katholiken nicht aufgaben. Vgl. AUGUSTINUS, *Breviculus zur Collatio* III, VI,7; CSEL 53,57.

II. Der Beitrag Augustins zum staatlich-kirchlichen Ökumenismus im Fall des Donatismus

In der Sorge um die *religio* und die Abwehr der *superstitio* sowie in der Voraussetzung, daß die christliche Kirche einig und eine einzige sein müsse, trafen der römische Staat und die kirchlichen Parteien Nordafrikas auch zusammen, als sie in der Donatistenfrage eine Lösung suchten. Dies galt auch für Augustinus, der in den entscheidendsten Jahren des Konflikts von etwa 400-411 mit die kräftigste Rolle spielte. In seinem Religions- und Kirchenbegriff hat er aber auch neue Ansätze des Ökumenismus entwickelt, die nicht nur seine eigene Haltung verständlich machen, sondern auch von bleibendem theologischen Interesse sind. Darum sollen sie hier dargestellt werden. Sie sind auch der Nachweis, daß Augustinus sich weit von der Rolle des Staates entfernte, die dieser in der ökumenischen Frage des Donatismus spielte.

A. Augustins Unterscheidung von Religion und Aberglaube und die Auswirkungen auf die Beurteilung der Häresie

Schon am Beginn seines theologischen Arbeitens, in der Schrift mit dem bezeichnenden Titel *De vera religione*, sprach Augustinus an, daß das Christentum den Unterschied von Religion und Aberglaube definitiv gemacht habe. Wenn *religio* allgemein soviel wie religiöse Bindung hieß, dann ist es für Augustinus die christliche Religion, in der wir "im Streben zum einen Gott allein unsere Seelen zurückbinden"[15]. Religion ist von daher vor allem ein Geschehen und Ereignis, nämlich der Rückbindung an Gott. Daher gibt es in der wahren Religion keinen Streit um Gott mehr, wie bei den alten Philosophen[16]. Ihren eindeutigen Glauben und ihr übereinstimmendes Bekenntnis hat die wahre Religion aus dem Geschehen ihrer Bindung an Gott erhalten. Das ist ihr Vorzug. Das ist aber auch ihre Verpflichtung. Häretiker, die eigene Namen und eigene Konventikel beanspruchen, geraten zum Glauben und zum übereinstimmenden Bekenntnis der Gottesbindung in einen Gegensatz und damit in einen Gegensatz zur wahren Religion und müssen als Aberglaube ausscheiden[17].

In der Schrift *De vera religione* sprach Augustinus alle Abstufun-

[15] *De vera religione* 307; CSEL 77,79: "et ei uni religantes animas nostras — unde religio dicta creditur —" im Gegensatz zu dem, worauf sonst religiöse Bindung gerichtet war, vgl. *De vera religione* 293-306; CSEL 77,76-79. Kurz gefaßt heißt es ebd 310; CSEL 77,80: "religet ergo nos religio uni omnipotenti deo".

[16] Vgl. *De vera religione* 25; CSEL 77,9.

[17] Vgl. *De vera religione* 27; CSEL 17,10.

gen von der Religion bis zum Aberglauben an. Es waren dies ebensoviele Abstufungen unterschiedlicher Haltungen zu dem von Gott initiierten Geschehen der religiösen Bindung. In dieser Zeit reflektierte er seine eigene Befreiung vom Leben im Aberglauben, wie er seine Zeit vom 19. bis 28. Lebensjahr nannte[18]. Die *Confessiones* enthalten eine zusammenfassende Schilderung dieses Teiles seines Lebensweges in der *superstitio* der Manichäer[19]. Unübersehbar ist, wie sehr er seine Befreiung vom Aberglauben der inneren Führung durch Gott verdanken wollte. Solche Führung vom Aberglauben zur *religio* war nicht nur sein persönlicher Gnadenweg, sondern er sah darin auch das Grundgeschehen der Geschichte, in der Gott die Menschen zur *Civitas Dei* führt. In dem großen Werk *De Civitate Dei* beschrieb Augustinus den entscheidenden Unterschied in den Religionen. Während Chaldäer (16,12), Ägypter (8,23), Griechen (18,8), ja auch die, die um einen Unterschied von Religion und *superstitio* wußten, wie die Römer Balbus (4,30), Seneca (6,10f) und Varro (6,9), die Religion als eine Einrichtung von Menschen ansahen (6,4), war sie doch auf Gottes Geheiß eingeführt worden. Weil dies die Juden erkannten, erhielt ihre Religion eine Sonderstellung (6,11; 10,23; 16,12f). Die Vollendung aber findet die Religion in dieser Weltzeit in dem Zusammengehören mit Christus, innerlich und äußerlich in seinem Leib. Dabei muß nach Augustinus freilich bedacht werden, daß das nur äußere Essen von seinem Leib ohne innere Liebe, ohne Einheit und Frieden, doch aus Christus herausfallen läßt. Das geschieht in der Häresie und in der Abspaltung, die deswegen dem Aberglauben der Heiden gleichkommen (21,25). So konnte tatsächlich Augustin die Häresie in der Kirche und den Aberglauben der Heiden auf gleiche Stufe stellen.

B. Augustins geringes Interesse an der Unterscheidung von Häresie und Schisma

Für Augustins Unterscheidung von Häresie und Schisma ist *De vera religione* 9 von grundlegender Bedeutung. Er schließt den Paragraphen 9 mit der Bemerkung ab, daß die Religion weder in der Verwirrung der Heiden noch in den Anwürfen der Häretiker, noch in der Krankheit der Schismatiker, noch in der Blindheit der Juden zu suchen sei. Heidentum,

[18] *De utilitate credendi* 2; CSEL 25,4. Befreit von der *superstitio* hat ihn auch schon, natürlich unter der Führung der Gnade Gottes, die Philosophie, so in *Contra Academicos* I,1,3; CSEL 63,5.

[19] *Confessiones* 4,1,1. 2,3. 4,7. (CCL 27,40.41.43); 6,7,12 (CCL 27,82); 8,7,17 (CCL 27,124).

Häresie, Schisma und Judentum verfehlten auf je unterschiedliche Weise die Religion. Zum Unterschied von Häresie und Schisma gibt er folgendes zu bedenken. Von denen, die ein Schisma gemacht haben, sagt er, es könnte sie die Scheunentenne des Herrn bis zur Zeit des letzten Worfelns wie als Spreu ertragen, wenn sie sich in ihrer zu großen Leichtigkeit nicht dem Wind des Stolzes ergeben und von uns sich nicht noch weiter getrennt hätten[20]. Bei den Häretikern aber kommt dementsprechend zur Trennung in einer unterschiedlichen Auffassung noch hinzu, daß sie sich weiter entfernt haben. Das geschah dadurch, daß sie lieber ihre Fehler verteidigen wollten, statt sie zu bedenken und zu korrigieren[21]. Es darf aber nicht übersehen werden, daß auch Schismatiker durch ihre abweichende sententia bereits zu Spreu geworden sind, wenn sie auch erst durch den Wind des Stolzes in den Zustand der Häresie fortgetragen werden. Wenn es um den Unterschied zwischen Häresie und Schisma auf der einen Seite und der *religio* auf der anderen Seite geht, dann stehen Häresie und Schisma gleichermaßen der Religion als Aberglaube gegenüber. Augustinus hat kein großes Interesse gezeigt, bei der Rede von der Häresie diese inhaltlich und lehrmäßig genau abzustecken. Er tat dies weder bei der allgemeinen Beschreibung, was Häresie ist, noch bei der speziellen Beschäftigung mit der Häresie des Donatismus. Bekanntlich kam Augustinus immer mehr dazu, die Donatisten als vollendete Häretiker anzusehen[22]. Es gibt verschiedene Auffassungen, was Augustinus zu dieser zuletzt strengeren Beurteilung gebracht hat[23]. Er sah die donatistische Häresie darin, daß behauptet wurde, die Kirche Christi sei wegen der wahren oder angeblichen Verbrechen des Caecilian vom ganzen Erdkreis verschwunden und nur noch im afrikanischen Teil des Donatus übrig geblieben. Als zweite Verfehlung nennt er, daß sie die Katholiken erneut taufen. Damit hätten sie sich noch mehr als Häretiker erwiesen. Augustin äußerte sich öfter über die Fortentwicklung des Donatismus vom Schisma zur Häresie. Zusammenfassend tat er das in seinem Werk über die Häresien, wo er in Kapitel 69 von den Donatisten spricht. Sie hätten zuerst wegen der unerwünschten Wahl des Caecilianus zum Bischof von Karthago ein Schisma gemacht. Durch ein Gerichtsurteil des Trugs ihrer Sache überführt, hätten sie das Schisma

[20] Vgl. *De vera religione* 28; CSEL 77,10.

[21] Vgl. *De vera religione* 27; CSEL 77,10.

[22] Vgl. in mehreren Arbeiten Lamirande, s. Anm. 8. Im Brief an Bonifatius (417) bezeichnet Augustin die Donatisten durchwegs als Häretiker, s. *Ep.* 185,16.25f.29.41; CSEL 57,15.24f.27.36).

[23] MONCEAUX VII (1923) 220f; 225f. glaubt z.B., daß Augustinus im Gleichschritt mit der strenger werdenden staatlichen Gesetzgebung gegen die Donatisten mitging. Das ist jedoch zu vordergründig beurteilt.

durch hartnäckigen Widerspruch in eine Häresie verkehrt. Augustin hatte kein großes Interesse, den Unterschied von Häresie und Schisma zu definieren und sah einen solchen Unterschied wieder nicht zwischen einer größeren oder kleineren lehrmäßigen Verirrung, auch nicht zwischen einer lehrmäßigen Verirrung und einer organisatorischen Abspaltung, sondern im unterschiedlichen Verhalten zum Irrtum. Häresie war für Augustin nicht in erster Linie der inhaltlich beschriebene Glaubensirrtum, sondern vor allem die Verfehlung gegen die göttliche Glaubenseinrichtung. Für dieses Fehlverhalten kann man im Sinne Augustins auch das Wort Aberglaube (*superstitio*) gebrauchen. So können Christen und Heiden sich grundsätzlich gleichermaßen verfehlen. Häresie und heidnischer Aberglaube haben dieselbe moralische Wurzel. Sie stehen nicht in einem gleichen oder ähnlichen verfehlten Glaubensinhalt auf einer Linie, sind sich wohl aber gleich in ihrer schuldhaften Verfehlung der *religio* Gottes. Der Häresiebegriff Augustins und die Unterscheidung von Häresie und Schisma bei ihm muß von seiner Auffassung von Religion und Aberglaube wie von einem übergeordneten Begriff her verstanden werden.

C. Die Mitwirkung Augustins bei der staatlich angeordneten Kircheneinigung zwischen Katholiken und Donatisten im Jahre 411

Doch im Ökumenismusdrama mit den Donatisten ging es zuletzt weniger um die Klärung von Begriffen als vielmehr um Maßnahmen, die von Staats wegen mit Gewalt durchgeführt und von den Katholiken und Augustinus gutgeheißen wurden. Als Wendepunkt zur Gewalt kann das Unionsedikt des Honorius vom 12. Februar 405 angesehen werden[24]. Niemand hatte in solchem Maße und so unermüdlich die Gespräche auf allen Ebenen gesucht und betrieben wie Augustinus[25]. Ob es sich um private,

[24] CTh XVI,5,38; MOMMSEN 867.

[25] MONCEAUX VII 10f. 13. 15f. 19f, der aber in einer Augustinus fremden Weise ständig eine Kampf- und Siegesprache verwendet.Vgl. VII 3-35, wo die Rede ist von Augustins Propaganda (passim), Krieg (6), Angriffen (12), Kampf (12f; 34), Waffen (17), Sieg (5; 22; 30), Triumph (5; 29) und von der résistance der Gegenseite (32) und ihren Soldaten (33). GRASMÜCK über Augustins Aktivitäten weniger dramatisch: *o.c.*, 171.177f. 180-183.186f.195f.198. Ungerechtfertigt scheint das Urteil P. Browns, der Augustin bei seinen Gesprächen diplomatische Schachzüge unterstellt. Er sei ein kalter Krieger gewesen, der nur nicht als Aggressor erscheinen wollte s. ders., *St. Augustine's attitude to religious coercion*, in *Journal of Roman Studies* 54 (1964), 109. Die theologische Verpflichtung zur Einheit der Kirche, die Augustin empfand, wird von Brown in dem zitierten Aufsatz (S. 108-116) nicht berücksichtigt. Die Rolle Augustins bis hin zum Vorschlag eines Treffens mit den Donatisten 403 neuerlich untersucht von S. LANCEL, *Actes de la Conférence de Carthage en 411*. Tome I: Introduction generale (*Sources Chrétiennes*

lokale öffentliche oder gesamtafrikanische Gespräche handelte, sie standen bei ihm alle unter dem Gesetz der gemeinsamen Theologie von der Einheit und Einzigkeit der Kirche. Die Gespräche mußten notwendigerweise entweder bei der Erlangung der Einheit der Kirche enden oder sie entlarvten die Dissidenten als Häretiker, weil sie der Einheit sich verweigerten. Das sogenannte Unionsedikt setzte die gleiche Ekklesiologie voraus. Wegen der notwendigen Einigkeit der Kirche konnte keine Häresie, d.h. Spaltung, ertragen werden. So wurde den sich Abspaltenden die Einigung befohlen und widrigenfalls die entsprechenden Strafen angedroht. Wenn von diesem Edikt und von den Strafandrohungen auch ein Schrecken[26] (*terror*) ausging, so war das doch, wie Augustin meinte, ein heilsamer, man könnte hinzufügen, ein Schrecken, der aus der gemeinsamen Ekklesiologie kam und in deren Konsequenz zugemutet wurde.

Es scheint, daß das Unionsedikt 405 deswegen herausgegeben wurde, weil Honorius über neue Gewalttaten und die definitive Gesprächsunwilligkeit der Donatisten unterrichtet wurde[27]. Um die Durchführung der Union abzuwenden, scheinen diese sofort verschiedenes versucht zu haben. Weil der Kaiser so selbstverständlich von Häresie gesprochen hatte, scheinen sie sich erstmals an die doch mögliche Unterscheidung von Schisma und Häresie geklammert zu haben. Dies scheint jedenfalls der Grund einer postwendenden Klarstellung des Kaisers gewesen zu sein, daß eine solche Verschleierung der donatistischen Häresie nicht mehr hinzunehmen sei[28]. Wichtiger war, daß die Donatisten beim Kaiser mit der Bitte um eine Prüfung ihrer kirchlichen Rechtsansprüche vorstellig wurden[29]. In dieser *Collatio*, wie ein solcher Vorgang hieß, sollte (durch den Kaiser) gerichtlich festgestellt werden, welche rechtlichen Forderungen die beiden Prozeßparteien überhaupt erheben konnten. Unter dem unmittelbaren Druck des Unionsedikts übersahen die Donatisten wahrscheinlich, daß sie sich mit der Forderung einer *Collatio* zum Gespräch mit den Katholiken, das sie bisher abgelehnt hatten, nun selbst zwangen, und das mit der Aus-

[=SC], 194). Paris, 1972, 9-18.

[26] S. SCHREINER, *o.c.*, 170-173, der die Stellen erörtert. Bei Augustin sind diese vor allem zu finden im *Brief* 93 (CSEL 34/1,445-496). Ein wichtiges Beispiel steht im *Brief* 185,28; CSEL 57,27: "Mallet [imperator sc.] piissimis legibus illius impietatibus errorem omnino corrigere et eos, qui contra Christum Christi signa portarent, ad unitatem catholicam terrendo et cohercendo redigere quam saeviendi tantum modo auferre licentiam et errandi ac pereundi relinquere".

[27] MONCEAUX VII 20. GRASMÜCK 203.

[28] CTh XVI,5,39 (405 Dec.8; MOMMSEN 867), später noch ausdrücklicher in XVI,6,4 (405 Febr.12; MOMMSEN 881). Vgl. Anm.9.

[29] E. LAMIRANDE, in BA 32,31 und u.a. *Ep.* 88,10 (CSEL 34/2,416f). MONCEAUX VII 28. LANCEL, *o.c.* (SC 194), 19-21.

sicht auf eine definitive gerichtliche Entscheidung, die dabei für eine der beiden Parteien fallen mußte. Definitiv war ja die Entscheidung des Unionsedikts schon gewesen, aber der Kaiser ist an die Gesetze nicht gebunden und kann ein neues Gesetz geben, meinte Augustinus[30]. Beunruhigend war die Wirkungslosigkeit des Unionsedikts und die zunehmende Aggressivität der anderen Seite, die sich in vermehrten Wiedertaufen und Überfällen der donatistischen Circumcellionen äußerte[31]. Die von Aurelius von Karthago und Augustinus von Hippo geführten katholischen Konzilien konnten konsequent bei der Linie des Unionedikts bleiben, wenn auch unter größten Unsicherheiten, da anfangs des Jahres 410 vom Kaiser sogar eine Toleranzerklärung für die Sekten kam[32]. Aber da verlangten die katholischen Bischöfe des Karthagischen Konzils nicht nur dessen Rücknahme, sondern forderten vom Kaiser jetzt auch ihrerseits die *Collatio*, die Entscheidung über die Rechtsansprüche, mit den Donatisten. Honorius nahm die erschlichene, wie er sagte, Toleranzerklärung wieder zurück und ordnete die Durchführung der großen *Collatio* an, für die er den Comes Marcellinus zum Richter bestellte, einen Freund Augustins[33]. In dem Bestellungsbrief an Marcellinus für seine Aufgabe ist der rüde Ton des Honorius vermerkt worden[34]. Vielleicht ist aber eher auf eine zusätzlich verschärfte theologische Qualifikation der Angelegenheit, um die es ging, zu achten. Die auch früher schon gelegentlich zu bemerkende Identifizierung von Häresie und Aberglaube (*superstitio*) war von Honorius deutlichst wieder aufgenommen worden, indem alles außerhalb der christlichen Kirche als *superstitio* bezeichnet wurde[35]. Das Karthagische Konzil vom Jahre 407 griff diese Sprechweise auf und forderte in diesem Sinn die

[30] *Ep.* 88,10; CSEL 34/2,417. MONCEAUX IV 285.

[31] MONCEAUX VII 22-27. Über die Circumcellionen A. SCHINDLER, *Afrika* I, in *Theologische Realenzyclopädie* 1 (1977), 662-665. Zur religiösen oder (und) sozialen Interpretation des Donatismus B. KRIEGBAUM, *Kirche der Traditoren oder Kirche der Märtyrer?*, Innsbruck, 1986, 10-43.

[32] MONCEAUX IV 261 und VII 28, vgl. CTh XVI,5,51 (410 Aug. 25; MOMMSEN 872). LANCEL, *o.c.* (SC 194), 21-24.

[33] MONCEAUX VII 28. LAMIRANDE, in BA 32, 32f. J.-L. MAIER, *Le dossier du Donatisme*, t. II (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, [=TU] 135). Berlin, 1989, 170-175. LANCEL, *o.c.* (SC 194), 24-29.

[34] MONCEAUX IV 393 und 396. Zu den Texten s. MAIER, *o.c.*, 174. LANCEL, *o.c.* (SC 194), 29 und 72, spricht von "partialité".

[35] Früher CTh XVI,5,5 (379 Aug. 3; MOMMSEN 856); CTh XVI,5,10 (383 Jun.20; MOMMSEN 859). CTh XVI, 5,34 (398 Mart. 4; MOMMSEN 866); CTh XVI,5,39 (405 Dec. 8; MOMMSEN 867). CTh XVI, 5,48 (410 Febr. 21; MOMMSEN 871) vgl. CTh XVI, 6,4 (405 Febr. 12; MOMMSEN 881).

Durchführung des Unionsedikts[36]. Im Schreiben des Kaisers an Marcellinus stand schließlich unmißverständlich, daß der Donatismus gegebenenfalls, d.h. vorausgesetzt eine Niederlage bei der anstehenden *Collatio*, abgeschafft werden müßte, "damit der Aberglaube keine Chance erhält"[37]. Mit einer gleichartigen markanten Formulierung wurde dementsprechend vom Kaiser dem bevorstehenden Religionstreffen als Ziel gesetzt, daß der Nachweis geliefert werde, "der den Aberglauben entlarve"[38]. Die Qualifizierung der Häresie als *superstitio* war Augustinus aus theologischen Gründen geläufig. Aberglaube war ja für ihn der Gegensatz zur Religion, die er als Gottesstiftung und Gottesführung begriff. Häresie verstand er, wie wir ebenfalls gesehen haben, nicht so sehr als doktrinelle Verfehlung, sondern als Abspaltung und Verhärtung im Widerstand gegen die mit dem Leib Christi identische einzige Kirche als gottgewirkter Religion. Das heißt, was uns vom Kaiser äußerst aggressiv formuliert erscheint, hatte eine ganz anders geartete theologische Entsprechung bei Augustinus. Daß jetzt 'der Aberglaube' entlarvt werden müsse, war wohl allen Beteiligten klar. Daß ein gerichtlicher Nachweis den Aberglauben entlarven könne, war wohl ebenso unbestritten. Um ein höchstrichterliches kaiserliches Urteil hatten die Donatisten als letztes Mittel gegen die im Unionsedikt befohlene Kircheneinigung eingegeben. Das gleiche kaiserliche Urteil verlangten 410 die Katholiken. Ein allgemeines Konzil rein kirchlicher Art war im kirchlich gespaltenen Nordafrika seit hundert Jahren eine Illusion. Selbst die intensivst vorbereiteten Vorschläge für Bischofstreffen auf örtlicher Ebene, wie Augustinus sie konkret 403 erarbeitet hatte, sahen eine staatliche Mithilfe zur Einberufung und Geschäftsführung vor. Die jetzt vom Kaiser einberufene *Collatio* lief auf ein staatliches Urteil hinaus, für dessen Findung die Delegationen beider Seiten gleichsam wie Prozeßparteien vor dem Richter erschienen. Der Verhandlungsgegenstand war der Nachweis, wer sich von der einigen und einzigen Kirche abgespalten hatte. Die Donatisten konnten nur versuchen, den Anfang der Kirchenspaltung als die Schuld der Katholiken bzw. des angeblich ungültig geweihten Hauptbischofs Caecilian hinzustellen. Wenn ihnen das nicht gelang, fiel auf sie die Schuld des Verbrechens der Spaltung und der Häresie der Wiedertaufe, die sie eingeführt hatten. Im vollen Wissen darum, daß die oftmals geführten und abgewiesenen Anklagen gegen die angeblich ungültige Weihe und damit Spaltung des Caecilian kein neues Ergebnis erwarten ließen, verhin-

[36] *Registri Ecclesiae Carthaginensis Excerpta* 106; CCL 149,219,1270 (ed. C. MUNIER). Einführung und Text bei MAIER, *o.c.*, 149-151.

[37] In den *Gesta* I,4: "ne qua superstitionibus praestaretur occasio"; LANCEL, *Actes*, t. II (SC 195) 564, 21.

[38] Ebd.; LANCEL, *o.c.* (SC 195), 564,34: "superstitionem ratio manifesta confutet".

derten sie zwei Tage lang, daß die Verhandlungen, die am 1. Juni 411 unter Marcellinus in Karthago begannen, zu der Hauptfrage kamen. Als die Verzögerungsversuche sowohl vom Richter Marcellinus als auch von Seite der katholischen Delegation mit Geduld ausgehalten waren, kam am dritten Tag der große Zusammenbruch der donatistischen Sache. Es war der Tag des Augustinus[39]. Er hatte die so entscheidenden geschichtlichen Vorgänge seit mindestens einem Jahrzehnt genauestens studiert und zusammengetragen, in seinen Schriften mehrmals veröffentlicht und konnte sie jetzt in überzeugendster und kürzester Weise vortragen. Er hatte die Schuld der Häresie, die sich für die Donatisten aus ihrem Beginnen mit der Spaltung ergab und die in der Verweigerung gegenüber der Gemeinschaft der katholischen Kirche der ganzen Welt und in dem Verbrechen der Wiedertaufe bestand, ebenfalls unzählige Male in seinen Schriften und Briefen und Gesprächen dargelegt. Er war in der Lage, auch dies in prägnanter und überzeugender Form vorzubringen. Marcellinus entschied nach Vergleichung der Gründe zugunsten der Katholiken. Niemand konnte ein anderes Urteil erwarten. Wenn die Donatisten nach dem Urteilspruch des Marcellinus das Schisma nicht aufgaben und die Einigung nicht annahmen, qualifizierten sie ihre Position endgültig als Häresie und als Abfall von der Religion zum Aberglauben, dem die staatliche Verfolgung als *religio illicita* angedroht war.

D. Die theologisch-pastoralen Perspektiven des Ökumenismus Augustins

Die Beschreibung des letzten Aktes des donatistischen Dramas könnte den Eindruck hinterlassen, daß die Entscheidung zuletzt ausschließlich in einem staatlich geleiteten Prozeß gefallen war und daß diesem danach staatliche Gewalt zur Einigung gegen die Donatisten folgte. Aber Augustinus und seine Mitbischöfe zogen sich nicht auf einen katholischen Triumph zurück[40]. Gewiß tat Augustinus alles, um den Verlauf der *Collatio* und die dabei gefällte Entscheidung bekannt zu machen und auf deren Durchführung zu dringen. Aber andere Unternehmungen für die Gewinnung der Getrennten, wie Besuche, Briefe, Predigten und weitere Verhandlungen mit donatistischen Bischöfen, behielten weiter die Oberhand. Vorallem wurde das Volk voll einbezogen, voll informiert, um es voll zu gewinnen. Der Ökumenismus Augustins war keine Angelegenheit bloß der

[39] MONCEAUX VII 29 und 179-188. LAMIRANDE, in BA 32, 46-48. Eine ausführliche und genaue Analyse des dreitägigen Konferenzverlaufes gibt LANCEL, *o.c.* (SC 194), 65-103; die entscheidende Rolle Augustins bespricht er 253-273.

[40] MONCEAUX VII 30-35. LANCEL, *o.c.* (SC 194), 268: il agissait en pasteur.

Theologen[41]. Große theologische Werke, die weiterführende Gedanken enthalten hätten, schrieb er aber zum Ökumenismus in der Donatistenfrage nicht mehr. Die Antworten an die Donatisten, wie das umfangreiche Schreiben bald nach der *Collatio*[42] und das Schreiben an den Militärtribunen Bonifatius, d.h. der Brief 185, der auch als "Buch über die Zurechtweisung der Donatisten" betitelt wird[43], enthalten aber doch zusammenfassende theologische Beurteilungen, die nicht nur als Wiederholungen aufgefaßt werden können, sondern die theologisch-pastoralen Grundlagen des Ökumenismus Augustins noch einmal deutlich werden lassen.

Um Augustin auch in dieser Endphase zu verstehen, ist vor allem zu beachten, wie weiter von ihm und vielleicht, wenn möglich eher noch mehr, der Ökumenismus als ein Geschehen, als Folge von religiösen Entscheidungen der Beteiligten, der kirchlichen Gruppen und der staatlichen Behörden, erlebt und beschrieben wurde. Letztlich ging es, auch wenn das nicht mehr so häufig ausgesprochen wurde, um die Entscheidung zwischen Religion und Aberglaube. Lieber sprach Augustin jetzt von der Sünde gegen den Heiligen Geist, von der er ebenso wie von der Häresie sagte, daß sie zu den schwierigsten theologischen Fragen gehöre[44]. Bezeichnend ist, daß er diese Sünde öfter vom Kirchenbegriff bzw. von der Einheit des Leibes Christi her beschrieb. Dieser eine Leib braucht den belebenden Geist. Dem belebenden Geist muß sich jeder Gläubige in der Gemeinschaft des einen Leibes stellen, in erster Linie zur Vergebung seiner Sünden[45].

1. Das Festhalten an der communio sacramentorum

Die von Gott gestiftete Religion war für Augustinus die Einheit der Kirche im Leibe und Geiste Christi. Wie die Kirche der Leib Christi war, so waren für ihn die Sakramente das Eigentum Christi, weil er sie gewirkt hat. Deswegen beschrieb er die Kirche gerne als *communio sacramentorum*. Wie sie nur ein einziger Leib war und von einem Geist beseelt war, so gab es für ihn auch nur eine einzige *communio sacramentorum*, eine einzige Sakramentengemeinschaft, und nicht etwa mehrere[46]. Eine Konfessionalisierung der Kirche im Sinn von mehreren Sakramentsgemeinschaften war für Augustinus völlig undenkbar. Stattdessen sah er die gott-

[41] LAMIRANDE, in BA 32, 17-20 beschreibt den caractère populaire aller Unternehmungen Augustins.

[42] *Contra partem Donati post gesta* (CSEL 53). LAMIRANDE, in BA 32, 79-90 gibt eine Einführung in die Schrift.

[43] *Ep.* 185 oder *De correctione Donatistarum*; CSEL 57,1-44). LAMIRANDE, in BA 32,15. MONCEAUX VII 68-70 und 122-124.

[44] *Sermo* 71,8; PL 38,449. LAMIRANDE, in BA 32,748f.

[45] Die Texte in LAMIRANDE, in BA 32,748f .

[46] B. QUINOT, in BA 30,119f, Paris, 1967. Y. CONGAR, in BA 28,97-115, Paris, 1963.

gewirkten Sakramente geradezu als ein Mittel an, die Einheit der Kirche zu bewahren. Die *communio sacramentorum* galt es von allen Seiten zu berücksichtigen und zu bewahren. So gab es auch eine *communio sacramentorum* mit den Donatisten. Sie gehörten für ihn zu Christus, wie Soldaten, die das Erkennungsmal ihres Feldherrn trugen. Das Schlimme war nur, daß sie die Feldzeichen gegen den eigenen Anführer Christus erhoben[47]. Er fand aber auch, daß sie im Leibe Christi waren[48]. Konnte er gegenüber dem Ausschließlichkeitsanspruch der Donatisten erklären, daß sich von dem christusgestifteten Heil bei ihnen nur Spuren fanden, so erklärte er einem staatlichen Beamten die ökumenischen Bemühungen des Kaisers dahingehend, daß der Kaiser die zu Christus Gehörenden, weil sie dessen Charakter trugen, mit Drohungen und Zwang zu ihrer Einheit zurückführen durfte[49], sozusagen wie Deserteure.

2. Die Rolle des Staates im Ökumenismus

Das Gleichnis vom Gastmahl (*Lk* 14,16-23) bezog Augustinus nicht auf die Anfänge und die Missionsgeschichte der Kirche, sondern auf die kirchliche Gegenwart seiner Zeit[50]. Der Kaiser hätte es vor Gottes Gericht nicht verantworten können, keine Gesetze zugunsten der kirchlichen Einheit zu erlassen[51]. Bei allen, die zur Erzwingung der kirchlichen Einheit mitwirkten, bei den Kaisern, bei den Bischöfen und, zuletzt dahinterstehend, bei Gott, erkannte Augustinus ein Handeln aus Liebe. Darauf sollten die Gezwungenen achten, "durch was sie gezwungen wurden"[52]. Gewiß hätte der Kaiser einen Spielraum gehabt; er hätte sich damit begnügen können, bloß die Freiheit, die sich einzelne Donatisten mit ihrer Gewalttätigkeit herausnahmen, zu unterbinden. So hätte er sie dem Irren und Zugrundegehen überlassen können. Aber er wollte lieber ihren Irrtum ganz korrigieren und die, die gegen Christus die Feldzeichen Christi erhoben,

[47] *Ep.* 185,28; CSEL 57,27, vgl. ebd 185,46; CSEL 57,40: "tamquam civili bello nostris contra nos erectis signis armisque pugnarunt".

[48] *Ep.* 185,50; CSEL 57,43. Anders scheint er sich *Contra litteras Petiliani* II 108, 247; CSEL 52,159, zu äußern: "nec ideo putandi sunt esse in Christo Corpore, quod est ecclesia, quia sacramentorum eius corporaliter participes fiunt". Aber die notwendige Unterscheidung eines äußerlichen und innerlichen Dazugehörens ist nicht der Grund eines entsprechenden Handelns gegen die nur äußerlich Zugehörigen. Dieses Urteil steht Gott zu. LAMIRANDE zu "vestigia ecclesiae", die Augustin bei den Donatisten fand, in BA 32,408. Im *Sermo ad Caesar. Eccl. Plebem* spricht er von "bona", die sie haben, ebd 32,420-422.

[49] *Ep.* 185,23; CSEL 57,22, und die Stellen in Anm. 47.

[50] *Ep.* 185,24; CSEL 57,23. Juden und Heiden wurden "leniter primo adducti"; jetzt aber "coguntur", die "in haeresibus et schismatibus" sind.

[51] *Ep.* 185,18f; CSEL 57,17: "non bonam de hac neglegentia reddi potuisse rationem ... quia vero etiam rex est, servit [Deo sc.] leges iusta praecipentes".

[52] Bzw. "wohin sie gezwungen werden": "quo cogantur". *Ep.* 185,24; CSEL 57,23,20f.

durch Anwendung von Drohung und Gewalt wieder in die katholische Einheit integrieren[53]. Der Brief an Bonifatius gibt an dieser Stelle (Kapp. 24-28) überhaupt eine sachliche Zusammenfassung der Rolle des Staates beim Ökumenismus in der Donatistenfrage. Im Schwanken zwischen prinzipiellem Verbot und streckenweiser Duldung hatten lebensbedrohende Angriffe auf einen Bischof die Katholiken veranlaßt, den Kaiser dringend um schützende Abhilfe anzugehen. Der Kaiser hatte mehr getan, als er unbedingt mußte. Die katholischen Bischöfe und Augustin sahen das von der christlichen Verantwortung aus für angebracht an. Augustin verhehlte nie, welch gewaltige Auswirkung der Spruch des Kaisergerichts für die Union auf die Kirchenvereinigung hatte. Diese war aber noch viel mehr der pastoralen Bemühung auf allen Ebenen zu danken, die Augustinus und die katholischen Bischöfe gemeinsam ausführten. Nein, Augustin sah darin das Werk des Heiligen Geistes Christi, der in gleicher Weise Paulus zuerst zur Erde geworfen und so gezwungen, dann erst belehrt hatte[54]. Es ist noch einmal auf den Unterschied aufmerksam zu machen zwischen der Anforderung der staatlichen Hilfe gegen die zunehmenden Gewalttaten und einer Anforderung zur Durchführung der zwangsweisen staatlichen Kircheneinigung. Um Letzteres hatte Augustinus nicht gebeten. Er konnte sie aber, wie dargelegt wurde, als angemessene und logische Konsequenz ansehen, die sich aus der persönlichen religiösen Verantwortung der Kaiser und als logische Folge der von allen Seiten geteilten Theologie der Einigkeit und Einzigkeit der christlichen Kirche und seiner Auffassung von der christlichen Religion ergab. Die Nähe zum Staat wurde durch die Maßnahmen des Kaisers zur Kircheneinigung keineswegs größer. Ja, verschiedentlich wurde festgestellt, daß Augustinus seine Begeisterung für die Allianz zwischen Römischem Reich und katholischer Kirche gerade zu der Zeit verlor, als sie wirkungsvoll zementiert wurde[55].

3. Der Weg zur societas sanctorum

Augustinus hat einen anderen Weg im Auge. Fast formelhaft beschreibt er unzählige Male das Ziel der Kirche in der *societas sanctorum* und deren hervorragendste Merkmale der Einheit, des Friedens und der

[53] *Ep.* 185,28; CSEL 57,27,9-13; s. Text in Anm. 26.

[54] *Ep.* 185,22; CSEL 57,21,11: "agnoscant in eo prius cogentem Christum et postea docentem".

[55] P.BROWN, *Augustinus von Hippo*, Frankfurt a.M., 1982², 295. Vgl. auch B. LOHSE, *Augustins Wandlung in seiner Beurteilung des Staates*, in *Studia Patristica* VI (TU 81), Berlin, 1962, 447-475; hier 468-470. Auch CONGAR, in BA 28,117, erkennt eine Einstellung Augustins nach 415, wo er von der *civitas terrena* spricht, die dem Staatspessimismus der Donatisten vergleichbar sei.

Liebe (*unitas*, *pax*, *caritas*)[56]. Es ist sehr deutlich, wie die ökumenischen Aufgaben weit über das Mitwirken des Staates hinaus auf die *Civitas Dei* ausgerichtet werden, damit diese, soweit es in einem vorläufigen Stadium auf Erden möglich ist, Gestalt annehmen kann. Die Kirche bleibt aber auch der Acker, auf dem das Unkraut unter dem Weizen wächst, die Tenne, auf der die Spreu neben dem Korn liegt, die Weide, auf der die Böcke mit den Schafen zusammengehen, das Netz, in dem die unbrauchbaren neben den brauchbaren Fischen hängen. Aber, so schreibt er den Donatisten bald nach der *Collatio*: "Obwohl sie auf demselben Acker, auf derselben Tenne, auf denselben Weiden und in denselben Netzen zusammen sind, verderben doch deswegen die Schlechten die Guten nicht, da sie ja die Gemeinschaft nicht mit diesen, sondern mit dem Altar und den Sakramenten Gottes haben"[57]. Exkommunikationen und Degradationen, soweit solche vorgekommen waren, bedeuten nicht den Ausschluß aus dem Volke Gottes[58]. Die katholischen Konzilien berieten, wie die donatistischen Kleriker nach der Kircheneinigung weitgehendst in entsprechenden geistlichen Aufgaben bleiben konnten[59]. Die Donatisten wunderten sich anscheinend teilweise und fragten: Was erhalten wir denn überhaupt, wenn wir jetzt bei der Kircheneinigung nicht getauft werden?[60]. Die Kirchenbuße scheint nur gelegentlich angewendet worden zu sein, ebenso nur gelegentlich die Handauflegung in der üblichen Weise bei der Rückkehr aus schismatischen Gruppen[61]. "Ihr erhaltet", so antwortet Augustinus den Donatisten, "die Einheit des Geistes im Band des Friedens und die Liebe, die eine Menge Sünden zudeckt"[62]. Es ist aber notwendig, "den Heiligen Geist nicht anderswo zu suchen als im Leib Christi selbst"[63]. In der Kirche, die der

[56] W. SIMONIS, *Ecclesia visiblis et invisiblis. Untersuchungen zur Ekklesiologie und Sakramentenlehre in der afrikanischen Tradition von Cyprian bis Augustinus*, Frankfurt, 1970, 79-83 bietet Beispiele. Y. CONGAR, in BA 28,101-103 erläutert die Natur der *societas sanctorum* bei Augustin.

[57] *Contra partem Donati post coll.* V,8; CSEL 53,105.

[58] *Contra partem Donati post coll.* XX,28; CSEL 53,127: "neque enim a populo dei separamus, quos vel degradando vel excommunicando ad humiliorem paenitendi locum redigimus ... sed toleramus".

[59] MONCEAUX VII 33; zur Güterübertragung *Ep.* 185,35f; CSEL 57,31f.

[60] *Ep.* 185,43; CSEL 57,37: "Quare ergo me, inquit, non baptizas, ut ab-luas a peccatis?".

[61] Vgl. *Contra partem Donati post coll.* XX,28; CSEL 53,127; *Ep.* 185,43; CSEL 57,37.

[62] *Ep.* 185,43; CSEL 57,37: "sed accipitis unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis, sine qua nemo poterit videre deum, et caritatem, quae, sicut scriptum est, cooperit multitudinem peccatorum". Augustinus zitiert hier *Eph* 4,3; *Hebr* 12,14; *1 Petr* 4,8 und *1 Kor* 13,1-3.

[63] *Ep.* 185,50; CSEL 57,43: "sed non quaerant spiritum sanctum nisi in Christi corpore".

Leib Christi ist, ist Einheit, Friede und Liebe geistgewirkt und zugleich eine alle fordernde Verpflichtung, angefangen bei der Aufforderung, einander zu ertragen[64]. Die Toleranz des Ökumenismus besteht darin, einander im Leib Christi zu ertragen, wobei der Heilige Geist uns zusammengesellen muß. Der Ökumenismus ist die Achtung, die wir Gott und seinem Werk unter uns entgegenbringen. So schreibt Augustinus am Ende des für den Ökumenismus bedeutenden Briefes 185: "Der Eine Gott ist es, der uns geschaffen hat; der Eine Christus ist es, der uns erlöst hat; der Eine Heilige Geist ist es, der uns zusammengesellen muß". Und er fügt hinzu, als Appell und als Bekenntnis zugleich: "Jetzt werde dem Namen des Herrn die Ehre erwiesen"[65].

III. Augustinus und der Ökumenismus heute

Seit der Zeit Augustins hat es im Ökumenismus viele Veränderungen gegeben. Zwei ganz wichtige lassen sich sofort benennen. Der nicht mehr religiös gebundene Staat wirkt logischerweise im allgemeinen auch nicht mehr aktiv mit, um die Kircheneinheit herzustellen. Eine zweite, nicht minder große Veränderung, die aber weniger beachtet wird, ist eine Konfessionalisierung, die in die Kirchenspaltungen eine neue Dimension hineingebracht hat. Da sind zur Behauptung des eigenen Standpunktes Bekenntnisschriften verfaßt worden, die im Verlauf des Schismas Symbolumswert einer Art von zusätzlichen Glaubensbekenntnissen der eigenen Konfession erhielten. Dementsprechend wurde der Begriff der Häresie auf die doktrinelle Verfehlung im konfessionellen Sinn ausgeweitet. Inquisition und Bücherindex verschärften die konfessionelle Spaltung. Die weltlichen Herrscher spielten am Anfang des Konfessionalisierungsprozesses die gewohnte Rolle des Staates in der Religionsfrage weiter. Das verstärkte den Konfessionalisierungsvorgang noch zusätzlich und brachte auch den Ökumenismus insgesamt auf einen engeren konfessionalistischen Kurs. Der Staatsführung fiel die Entscheidung über die Konfession zu. Wir sind beim Staatskirchentum der Neuzeit angelangt, das zunächst konfessionalistisch war. Seit der Zeit der Aufklärung haben sich manche Staaten von konfessionellen Bindungen gelöst und protegierten teilweise einen überkonfessionellen Ökumenismus. Der von der französischen Revolution geprägte

[64] Lamirande, in BA 32,694-696 und Schreiner, *o.c.*, 165f geben Textbeispiele.

[65] *Contra partem Donati post coll.* XXXV,58; CSEL 53,161f: "appareat vobis nomen domini in iucunditate ... qui nos creavit unus est deus, qui nos redemit unus est Christus, qui nos consociare debet unus est spiritus. iam nomen domini honoretur et appareat vobis in iucunditate".

Staat lehnte zwar religiöse Bindungen ab, regierte aber wie in der Zeit der Staatskirche weiter fest in die Kirche hinein. Im allgemeinen ist es zu einem Ausscheiden des Staates aus der religiösen Bindung gekommen. Das ist als der Beginn einer neuen Epoche des jetzt allein kirchlichen Ökumenismus zu sehen.

Die ökumenische Hauptaufgabe liegt jetzt sicher in der Überwindung des Konfessionalismus in der Kirchenspaltung. Das II. Vatikanische Konzil hat (nach Meinung vieler Theologen längst überfällig, endlich auch) von den Kirchen in der Mehrzahl gesprochen[66]. Dieser Vorgang ist von ökumenischer Bedeutung und muß als Schritt zur Überwindung des Konfessionalismus verstanden werden. Die Rede von den Kirchen in der Mehrzahl ruft ihre gemeinsame gottgestiftete, christusgehörige und geistgewirkte religiöse Substanz in Erinnerung, die die Alte Kirche im Prinzip der Einigkeit und Einzigkeit der Kirche so stark verteidigt hat und die Augustinus im ökumenischen Prozeß mit dem Donatismus als *communio sacramentorum* beschrieben hat. Man kann nur hoffen, daß die Kirchen heute soviel ökumenischen Geist haben, um die unabdingbaren Konsequenzen gegen den Konfessionalismus endlich zu ziehen. In der Besinnung auf die ökumenischen theologischen Grundsätze wäre im Anschluß an Augustin im einzelnen zu nennen:

1. Die *communio sacramentorum* muß überall dort gewährt werden, wo die Sakramente vorhanden sind, andernfalls können die Sakramente ihre gottgestiftete einheitserhaltende Wirkung nicht erfüllen. Das ist im Verhältnis der Konfessionen zueinander wichtig.

2. In diesem Zusammenhang sollte auch ein unfruchtbares Festhalten an konfessionell verengten Verwerfungen aufgegeben werden und die positiven Seiten der Glaubensübereinstimmung aufgrund der gemeinsamen Glaubensbekenntnisse ausgenützt werden. Das Verständnis Augustins von der Häresie als Abfall von der gottgestifteten Religion könnte dabei hilfreich sein.

3. Die Toleranz (*tolerantia*) muß als gegenseitiges Sichertragen auch innerhalb der Kirche geübt werden, weil diese ein *corpus permixtum* ist. Das bedeutet u.a. ein bedingungsloses Bejahen der sogenannten Volkskirche ebenso wie der Basisgemeinden.

4. Die Auffassung von der Religion als Gottesstiftung und die Konzeption von der *Civitas Dei* Augustins könnte als ein Ausgangspunkt genommen werden für einen neu beginnenden Ökumenismus mit den nichtchristlichen Religionen.

[66] *Dekret über den Ökumenismus* 19, in *Das zweite Vatikanische Konzil* II, 108.110. (*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2. Aufl., Freiburg, 1967).

5. Die Missionierung und Evangelisierung sollte nicht mehr im Sinn des Konfessionalismus verstanden werden, sondern als Predigt zur *conversio* zu Gott und seinem Reich.

Wenn auch Bemühungen um ein "substantial agreement" im Laufe der Kirchengeschichte nur unterschiedlichen Erfolg hatten[67], so werden doch die Anregungen Augustins für den Ökumenismus neu fruchtbar sein können, weil sie so gut theologisch, von Gott her, begründet sind.

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[67] H. CHADWICK, *'Substantial Agreement': A Problem in Ecumenism*, in *Louvain Studies* 16 (1991), 207-219.

AUGUSTINE, MAXIMINUS AND IMAGINATION

In a paper presented at the 11th Oxford Patristics Conference, I pointed out that Augustine accuses all heretics of being carnal persons, that is, the sort of persons who can think of God only in bodily terms[1]. I showed that Augustine specifically accuses the Arians of thinking of God in a carnal or bodily fashion and even claims that their heresy arises from an image-controlled interpretation of *Jn* 5:19, "The Son cannot do anything of himself, except what he sees the Father doing"[2]. To illustrate his point, Augustine reconstructs the logic of the Arians in thinking about *Jn* 5:19 as follows:

> "As far as I can see, you understand that the Father makes some things, but the Son watches how the Father makes them so that he too can make what he has seen the Father making. You have set up two carpenters, as it were, thinking of the Father and the Son like a master and his apprentice, in the way that fathers who are carpenters teach their sons their craft. See, I come down to your carnal mind; I think the same way you do ..."[3].

In this paper I shall first show that Augustine explicitly accuses the Arians in general and Maximinus in particular of thinking of God in a carnal or bodily fashion. Then I will try to determine from what Maximinus

[1] *Heresy and Imagination in St. Augustine*, forthcoming in *Studia Patristica* 11. For Augustine's understanding of the Pauline terms "carnal," "animal," and "spiritual," see my *Spirituals and Spiritual Sense in St. Augustine*, in *Augustinian Studies* 15 (1984), 65-81; *'Homo spiritalis' in St. Augustine's 'De Genesi contra Manichaeos'*, in *Studia Patristica* 10, vol. 22, 351-355; *A Decisive Admonition for St. Augustine?*, in *Augustinian Studies* 19 (1988), 85-92, and *'Homo spiritalis' in St. Augustine's 'Confessions'*, in *Augustine: From Rhetor to Theologian*, ed. Joanne McWILLIAM, Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1992, 67-76.

[2] See *Tractatus in Iohannis Euangelium* 18,3; CCL 36,181: "Ariani quidem haeretici. ... capiunt ex his uerbis ansam calumniae ...". See also *Sermo* 126,8 in *Revue Bénédictine* [RB] 69 (1959), 186-187: "Non potest filius a se facere quidquam, nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem (*Io* 5,19). Hic arrianorum error exsurgit ...".

[3] *Tractatus in Iohannis Euangelium* 18,5; CCL 36,182: "sic, quantum opinor, intelligis, quoniam quaedam facit Pater, Filius autem attendit quemadmodum faciat Pater, ut possit et ipse ea facere quae uiderit Patrem facientem. Duos quasi fabros constituisti: ita Patrem et Filium, ut etiam magistrum et discipulum, quomodo solent patres fabri docere filios suos artem suam. Ecce descendo ad carnalem sensum tuum, ita interim cogito ut tu ...". Cf. also *Sermo* 126,9; RB 69 (1959), 187.

himself said in the debate with Augustine whether or not Augustine's accusations are justified[4]. In conclusion, I shall suggest some reflections on the charges that Augustine is guilty of Hellenizing the biblical doctrine of God.

I. The Accusation against the Arians

Augustine's anti-Arian writings are relatively late and few in number. In 418 Augustine received a copy of an anonymous Arian tract, *Sermo Arianorum*, in response to which he wrote his *Contra sermonem Arianorum*[5]. There are also a number of anti-Arian passages in the *Tractatus in Iohannis Euangelium*, dating from the years 413-418, and in a number of Augustine's *Sermones*[6]. Finally, there is the *Collatio cum Maximino*, a verbatim record of the debate between Augustine and Maximinus held in Hippo in 427 or 428, and the two books of the *Contra Maximinum Arianum*, which Augustine wrote after the debate, because Maximinus's filibuster had deprived him of a chance to answer on the day of the debate.

Maximinus, the Arian bishop, came to Africa in 427 or 428 with Count Sigisvult, a Goth, who was sent to suppress the rebellion of Bonifacius. The fact that he accompanied Sigisvult suggests that he was a Goth, though Meslin has argued that he was a Roman by birth[7]. In any case, Maximinus took as his rule of faith the Council of Ariminum (386) which espoused the Homoian Arianism of Ulfila, the apostle of the Goths[8].

[4] Augustine denounces the Arian use of image-thinking, but he himself frequently uses images to illustrate Trinitarian doctrine. Cf. especially *Sermo* 117,6,10-9,12; PL 38, 666-668, where he uses images of the brightness of light and of a reflection of a reed in water to illustrate how the Father is not temporally subsequent to the Son. The difference is that, while Augustine uses images to aid in understanding the rule of faith, the Arians allow images to determine what the rule of faith is.

[5] Cf. *Epistula* 33*A; CSEL 88,122, where Augustine says: "dictaui contra Arrianos ad illud quod Dionysius noster de Vico Iuliano miserat ...". For this point and for the content of the next note, cf. B. Daley, *The Giant's Twin Substances: Ambrose and the Christology of Augustine's 'Contra sermonem Arianorum'*, in *Collectanea Augustiniana* II, New York: Peter Lang, 477-495.

[6] Of the *Homilies on the Gospel of John*, the most important in terms of their anti-Arian doctrine are 18, 20, and 26, which date from 413, and 71, which is dated after 418. The principal anti-Arian *Sermones* are *Sermo* 117 [418], *Sermo* 135 [417], *Sermo* 139 [416-418], *Sermo* 140 [427 or 428], *Sermo* XLXXXIII [after 416], *Sermo* 226 [416-417], *Sermo* 341 [418], *Sermo* 330 [417], and *Sermo Guelferbytanus* 17 [421-423].

[7] Cf. M. Meslin, *Les ariens d'Occident*, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1967.

[8] Cf. R. Gryson, *Scolies ariennes sur le councile d'Aquilée*. (*Sources chrétiennes*, 167). Paris: du Cerf, 1980, 250-263, for the Creed of Ulfila and Maximinus' commentary on it. Cf. R. P. C. Hansen, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: The Arian*

Maximinus began the debate with Heraclius, the priest whom Augustine had appointed to take over the administration of his diocese, but when Heraclius found himself in trouble, Augustine was summoned to his aid[9].

This paper will focus upon the accusations of carnal thinking that Augustine raised against the Arians first in his earlier *Contra sermonem Arianorum* and then in his writings against Maximinus[10]. In the third chapter of his *Contra sermonem Arianorum*, Augustine takes issue with the Arian claim that the Son created all things at the command of the Father. He asks, "What do they mean when they say that the Son created everything at the bidding of the Father, as if the Father did not create, but commanded that everything be created by the Son?"[11]. Augustine suggests that such people "who are wise in a carnal manner should ask themselves by what other words the Father commanded the only Word"[12]. Then, he explicitly accuses them of forming a phantasm, that is, a false image, in their heart of two people, the one commanding and the other obeying.

> "They form for themselves in a phantasm of their heart two people, as it were, though next to each other, still set in their own places, the one commanding, the other obeying. Nor do they understand that the command of the Father that all things be made is none other than the Word of the Father by whom all things were made"[13].

In the *Contra sermonem Arianorum* XII, Augustine cites a text from the Arian sermon, "He heard from the Father, 'Sit at my right hand,'

Controversy 318-381, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988, 557-597, for an account of the Homoian Arianism and its principal representatives. For an excellent account of the Homoian Arian theology, cf. see R. GRYSON, *Les scolies ariennes*, 171-200.

[9] From POSSIDIUS's *Vita Augustini* VIII,vi,3; PL XXXII,543-544, we learn that it was the same Heraclius who was administering the affairs of the diocese who initially debated Maximinus.

[10] M. Simonetti has argued that the author of the anonymous *Sermo Arianorum* represents the same sort of Arianism as is found in the writings of Maximinus. Cf. his *S. Agostino e gli Ariani*, in *Revue des études augustiniennes* 13 (1967), 55-84, here 72. Hence, what is said in *Sermo Arianorum* may be counted as evidence, if not explicitly against Maximinus, at least against the Homoian Arianism that he represented.

[11] *Contra sermonem Arianorum* III,4; PL 43,685: "quid est quod dicunt, jubente Patre creasse omnia Filium, tamquam Pater non creaverit, sed a Filio creari jusserit?".

[12] *Contra sermonem Arianorum* III,4; PL 42,685: "Cogitent qui carnaliter sapiunt, quibus aliis verbis jusserit Pater unico Verbo".

[13] *Contra sermonem Arianorum* III,4; PL 42,685: "Formant enim sibi in phantasmate cordis sui quasi duos aliquos, etsi juxta invicem, in suis tamen locis constitutos, unum jubentem, alteram obtemperantem. Nec intelligunt ipsam jussionem Patris ut fierent omnia, non esse nisi Verbum Patris per quod facta sunt omnia". Here Augustine explicitly points out that the Arians think in phantasms and do not understand (*intelligunt*) the Father's command.

and thus he sat at the Father's right hand". He comments, "as if he did this at the Father's bidding, not by his own power as well"[14]. Augustine says, "Unless this is interpreted spiritually, the Father will be on the Son's left"[15]. He warns that one should not think of the hand of God "in terms of the dimensions of the body, which do not exist in God, but in terms of the power to act"[16]. Augustine at least implies that the Arians interpret Christ's being seated at the right hand of the Father in a bodily manner.

Later, Augustine deals with the text from John, "As I hear, so I judge" (*Jn* 5:30), which the Arians understood as indicating the subjection of the Son. He cites the text, "The Son cannot of himself do anything except what he has seen the Father doing" (*Jn* 5:19). After warning that *Jn* 5:30 is more difficult to understand than the Arians suppose, he cites John's words, "The Father does not judge anyone, but has given all judgment to the Son" (*Jn* 6:22). Then he asks, "How is it that 'the Son cannot of himself do anything except what he has seen the Father doing' (*Jn* 5:19), though he judges and does not see the Father judging?"[17]. While the Arians, Augustine would contend, have tried to imagine the Son observing the Father in action so that he could do what he sees the Father doing, Augustine insists that, if one takes all the texts together, one is forced to transcend the imagination. He says,

> "Let them attend to these things; let them think of them; let them ponder them, and in some way let their intention as far as possible become removed from the flesh (*excarnetur*). For by their carnal thought they strive to separate the one and identical nature of the Trinity in a distinction of substances and to arrange it in degrees of power"[18].

[14] *Contra sermonem Arianorum* XII; PL 42,692: "Audivit, inquiunt, a Patre, 'Sede ad dexteram meam', et ideo sedit ad dexteram Patris, tanquam paterna jussione, non etiam sua id fecerit potestate". See *Sermo Arianorum* 9; PL 42,680: "Is qui voluntate Patris descendit et ascendit, voluntate et praecepto Patris sedet ad dexteram ejus, audiens Patrem sibi dicentem: 'Sede ad dexteram meam, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum'" (*Ps* 109:1).

[15] *Contra sermonem Arianorum* XII; PL 42,692: "Hoc quidem nisi spiritualiter acceptum fuerit, Filio Pater ad sinistram erit".

[16] *Contra sermonem Arianorum* XII; PL 42,692: "non secundum lineamenta corporis quae in Deo non sunt, sed secundum effectivam virtutem ...".

[17] *Contra sermonem Arianorum* XIV; PL 42,693: "Quomodo igitur 'non potest Filius a se facere quidquam, nisi quod viderit Patrem facientem,' cum judicet, nec Patrem videat judicantem?"

[18] *Contra sermonem Arianorum* XIV; PL 42,693: "In ista intendant, ista cogitent, ista considerent; et eorum quodam modo, quantum fieri potest, excarnetur intentio, qui carnalibus cogitationibus moliuntur unam Trinitatis eamdemque naturam et substantiarum separare distantia, et potestatum gradibus ordinare". The verb *excarnare* is used by Augustine only one other time; in *Sermo* 140,6; PL 38,775, he says, "Exercet mentis Evangelium Ioannis, limat et excarnat, ut de Deo non carnaliter, sed spiritualiter

Still later, in dealing once again with *Jn* 5:30, which the Arians took as evidence of the subordination of the Son, Augustine says, "If they would think [of what Augustine has just said], they would not in their carnal thoughts arrange the powers or functions of the Trinity in unequal degrees, making the Father the emperor, the Son the judge, and the Holy Spirit the advocate like three men of unequal and unlike dignity"[19]. On the other hand, Augustine turns back upon them their own argument and explains that

> "even by such carnal thinking they cannot demonstrate a diversity of natures — which is the main point at issue between them and us. They compare these things to human practices and do not withdraw from things familiar to the human race which they can grasp in thinking. For the animal person does not perceive what belongs to the Spirit of God (*1 Cor* 2:14)"[20].

After all, Augustine insists that, in the Arian comparison of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit with the emperor, judge, and advocate, the latter three are all humans with the same nature, despite their different powers and functions[21].

Later Augustine again accuses the Arians of carnal thinking. He first cites the Arian text, "The Father begot the Son, willing this without change or passion; the Son made the Holy Spirit without labor or exhaustion by his own power alone"[22]. Among other things, Augustine states that the Arians should attend to their claim that the Son made the Holy Spirit by his own power, for "in that way they are forced to say that the

sapiamus".

[19] *Contra sermonem Arianorum* XVIII; PL 42,696: "Haec isti si cogitarent, non carnalibus cogitationibus sic Trinitatis potestates vel officia gradibus imparibus ordinarent, ut tamquam tres homines inaequalis ac dissimilis dignitatis facerent, tanquam imperatorem Patrem, judicem Filium, advocatum Spiritum sanctum". In *Sermo Arianorum* 9; PL 42,680, the relationship is stated less bluntly. After citing *Jn* 5:30, it says of Christ, "Unde et in judicando Patris praesentiam praeponit, dicens: 'Venite, benedicti Patris mei' (*Mt* 25:34). Ergo justus judex est Filius; judicantis vero honor et auctoritas, Patris imperiales leges; sicuti et Spiritus sancti officiosa advocatio et consolatio".

[20] *Contra sermonem Arianorum* XVIII; PL 42,696-697: "Qua sua cogitatione carnali, tamen naturae diversitatem, de qua inter nos et ipsos maxima quaestio est, in his tribus personis demonstrare non possunt. Cum enim ad humanos mores ista referunt, et ab humani generis consuetudine quam cogitando possunt capere non recedunt (animalis enim homo non percipit quae sunt Spiritus Dei (*1 Cor* 2:14) ..."

[21] *Contra sermonem Arianorum* XVIII; PL 42,697: "quid aliud nos admonent, nisi quia et imperator, et judex et advocatus, homines sunt?" Proinde judex imperatore etiamsi potestate minor est, non minus homo est".

[22] *Contra sermonem Arianorum* XXVIII,26; PL 42,702: "Pater, inquiunt, immobiliter et impassibiliter volens Filium genuit: Filius sine labore et fatigatione sola virtute sua spiritum fecit". Cf. *Sermon Arianorum* 26; PL 42,681.

Son did something that he did not see the Father doing"[23]. Augustine continues to press them, asking whether the Father also made the Holy Spirit, for, if he did, then the Son did not make him by his own power alone[24]. Worse yet, did the Father perhaps first make another Holy Spirit so that the Son could make the one he made? After all, the Son cannot do anything that he has not seen the Father doing[25]. However, the second hypothesis runs directly counter to Jesus' words, "Whatever the Father does, those same things the Son does in a like manner" (*Jn* 5:19). Hence, Augustine adds, "If they would try to think of these things, all those things which they make up for themselves in their carnal thought would assuredly be thrown into confusion"[26]. Augustine elsewhere explains that such confusion is not meant to be the goal, but should rather be the path that leads to healing. In *Sermo* 126, he points to the confusion that results from imagining that the Son watches what the Father does and then does the same thing, if one adds to such imagining of *John* 5:19 the content of *John* 1:3, namely, that all things were done through the Word. Here Augustine points out that the remedy for this carnal thinking lies in the confusion.

> "Certainly you are confused, you heretic; certainly you are confused. But like one who has taken hellebore, you are confused in order to be healed. Now you are no longer yourself; you too condemn, as far as I can see, your carnal opinion and your carnal view"[27].

That is, the image of the Father and the Son, the one unable to do anything by himself and watching the other's activity, like the apprentice observing the master carpenter, is shattered by the image of the Father doing all things by his Word so that one is forced to transcend thinking in

[23] *Contra sermonem Arianorum* XXVIII,26; PL 42,703: "Isto enim modo coguntur fateri, aliquid fecisse Filium quod non viderit Patrem facientem".

[24] *Contra sermonem Arianorum* XXVIII,26; PL 42,703: "An placet eis dicere, quod etiam Pater fecerit Spiritum sanctum? Non ergo eum sola virtute sua fecerit Filius".

[25] *Contra sermonem Arianorum* XXVIII,26; PL 42,703: "An alterum fecit prior Pater, ut posset Filius facere quem fecit, qui non potest facere nisi quod viderit Patrem facientem?".

[26] *Contra sermonem Arianorum* XXVIII,26: PL XLII,703: "Si haec cogitare conentur, procul dubio turbabuntur eis omnia quae sibi carnali cogitatione componunt".

[27] *Sermo* 126,10; RB 69 (1959), 188: "Certe turbaris, haeretice, certe turbaris; sed tamquam helleboro accepto turbaris, ut saneris. Iam te non inuenis, sententiam tuam et carnalem intuitum tuum, quantum arbitror, etiam ipse condemnas". Though hellebore (*helleborum*) was a drug used to cure mental diseases, its cognate verb (*helleboro*) means "to purge." Either sense (or both) could be applicable here.

images and arrive at understanding[28]. Hence, Augustine tells the Arians to place the eyes of the flesh behind them, raise up their heart, and gaze upon things divine[29]. If they do this, then their carnal intention is confused, hidden, destroyed[30].

In his *Contra Maximinum Arianum*, Augustine frequently accuses the Arian bishop of thinking of God in carnal or imaginative terms. In the first book, Augustine twice accuses Maximinus of such carnal thinking. First, when Maximinus appealed to the ineffable groans of the Holy Spirit to prove that the Holy Spirit adores the Father[31], Augustine interprets these groans as the prayers of the saints and says of the Arian interpretation, "No one thinks of the Holy Spirit in that way unless he thinks of him in terms of the flesh and not in terms of spirit"[32]. Later Augustine accuses Maximinus of believing that the Son is mutable.

> "Of course, you would not believe this, if as a Catholic you believed that the form of the servant was assumed by the form of God and not that the form of God was changed into the form of the servant. Then you would think — not in a carnal, but in a spiritual manner — that he remained the invisible God after having assumed the visible man ..."[33].

In the second book Augustine deals with a number of texts from the debate in which he points to carnal thinking as the source of the Arian position. At one point Maximinus stated that the Son "sees the Father, but he sees the incomprehensible. The Father, on the other hand, sees the Son as one who holds and has the Son in his embrace ..."[34]. Augustine replies

[28] In the Oxford paper I suggested that Augustine was using against the Arians the Plotinian technique of correcting one image by another or of shattering one image against another in order to move beyond imagery to understanding. Cf. Robert J. O'CONNELL, *St. Augustine's Early Theory of Man, A.D. 386-391*, Harvard: Belknap, 1986, p. 58, for a description of Plotinus's use of images to transcend the corporeal realm.

[29] Cf. *Sermo* 126,10; RB 69 (1959), 188: "Repone oculos carnis post te, erige si aliquid habes in corde, diuina intuere".

[30] Cf. *Sermo* 126,12; RB 69 (1959), 189: "Ubi est ergo intentio ista carnalis? Confundatur, abscondatur, perimatur".

[31] Cf. *Rom* 8:26.

[32] *Contra Maximinum* I,ix: PL 42,750-751: "Nemo enim sic de Spiritu sancto sapit, nisi qui secundum carnem, non secundum spiritum sapit."

[33] *Contra Maximinum* I,xix; PL 42,758: "Quod utique non crederes, si formam servi a forma Dei esse susceptam, non formam Dei in formam servi esse mutatam, tanquam catholicus crederes; et visibili homine assumpto, permansisse invisibilem Deum, non carnaliter, sed spiritualiter cogitares ...".

[34] *Collatio cum Maximino* II,9; PL 42,728: "Vidit ergo Patrem sed vidit incapabilem. Pater autem sic vidit Filium, ut tenens in sinu suo et habens ...". Maximinus had conflated *Jn* 6:46: "Not that anyone has seen the Father except he who is from God; he has seen the Father" and *Jn* 1:18: "No one has ever seen God; the only begotten God who is in the Father's embrace, he has revealed him".

that only the carnal-minded think that way and accuses him of imagining to himself "an embrace, that is, some capacity of the greater Father by which he grasps and contains the smaller Son, as a home holds a human being in a bodily fashion or as a nurse's bosom holds an infant"[35]. Augustine continues to jab away at his opponent, adding with irony that this way of thinking leads one to include among the marvelous things about Christ that "he grew in the form of the servant and became larger than he had been in the form of God so that, though he was first carried in his Father's embrace, he now sits at the Father's right hand"[36]. Hence, he cries out, "Cast such childish or old womanish phantasms from your heart ..."[37]. Later Augustine accuses Maximinus of thinking of the Son's being born from the Father in a carnal manner and of rejecting, for this reason, the Son's generation from the Father. "Filled with carnal thoughts, you think that the substance of the Father could not beget the Son out of itself without undergoing what the substance of the flesh undergoes when it begets"[38]. Shortly thereafter, he urges the Arian, "Remove the corruption; cast aside from the light of the mind any carnal passions and see the invisible reality of God that is known through what has been made"[39]. That is, as God gave to human parents the ability to generate offspring of the same substance as themselves, so the Father has from his substance begotten a Son of the same substance. One must "purify" the concept of generation of any corruption and carnal passion; once one has done so, one "will not fail to believe out of contentiousness, but see as a result of understanding"[40].

Once Augustine uses a human analogy precisely "on account of the

[35] *Contra Maximinum* II,ix,2; PL 42,764: "Sic non sapiunt, nisi qui carnaliter sapiunt. Sinum quippe tibi fingis, ut video, aliquam capacitatem majoris Patris, qua Filium minorem capiat atque contineat: sicut hominem corporaliter capit domus, aut sicut sinus nutricis capit infantem".

[36] *Contra Maximinum* II,ix,2; PL 42,764: "Ergo inter mirabilia Christi et hoc deputabitur, quia in forma servi crevit, et major est factus quam in forma Dei fuerat, ut cum prius portaretur in sinu Patris, nunc sedeat ad dextram Patris".

[37] *Contra Maximinum* II,ix,2; PL 42,764: "Abjice ista puerilia vel anicularia phantasmata de corde tuo ...".

[38] *Contra Maximinum* II,xiv,2; PL 42,771: "Carnalibus quippe cogitationibus pleni substantiam Dei de se ipsa gignere posse Filium non putatis, nisi hoc patiatur quod substantia quando gignit patitur carnis".

[39] *Contra Maximinum* II,xiv,3; PL 42,772: "Corruptionem de medio tollite, passiones carnales a lumine mentis adjicite, et invisibilia Dei, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspicite" (*Rom* 1:20).

[40] *Contra Maximinum* II,xiv,3; PL 42,772: "non contendendo diffideres, sed intellegendo conspiceres".

weakness of the carnal ones"[41]. He asks us to think of a human child who obeys his parent, asks his parent for something, thanks the parent, is sent somewhere by the parent where the child states that he has come to do the parent's will. Then he asks, "Does this show that the child is not of the same substance as the parent?"[42]. So too, Augustine accuses Maximinus of thinking in carnal terms of the Son's veneration and worship of the Father[43]. Later Augustine, arguing that the Holy Spirit is seated with the Father and the Son, warns that we should not think of their being seated in a carnal fashion. Otherwise, we would think that the Father is seated in the less honorable position at the Son's left or that the Holy Spirit is denied what Scripture promises to the saints[44]. Finally, Augustine accuses the Arians of not hearing with faith *Dt* 6:4: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord is your God, the Lord is one," and, thus, of being Israel carnally, like the Jews, and not spiritually, like Christians[45].

Hence, there is ample evidence that Augustine accused the Arians not merely of thinking of the Father and the Son in terms of images, but also of falling into their error because of such image-thinking. However, he also points out that, if they accepted as true not merely that the Son cannot do anything by himself that he does not see the Father doing, but also that the Father does everything through his Son, the Word, they would be forced to transcend their image-thinking and would come to understand what one must first accept as true in faith. There remains the more difficult question of whether the Arians did indeed allow such image-thinking to control their theology.

II. Maximinus as an Image-Thinker

In the first part of this paper, I have shown that Augustine accused the Arians in general and Maximinus in particular of being "carnal" in

[41] *Contra Maximinum* II,xiv,8; PL 42,776: "Ut enim humanum aliquid dicam propter infirmitatem carnalium ...".

[42] *Contra Maximinum* II,xiv,8; PL 42,776: "numquid hinc ostenditur non ejusdem cujus pater est esse substantiae?".

[43] *Contra Maximinum* II,xviii,3; PL 42,786: "Quodlibet de veneratione et obsequio Filii erga Patrem carnaliter sentias ...".

[44] *Contra Maximinum* II,xxi,3; PL 42,792: "Cum ipsa sessio non sit utique cogitanda carnaliter: alioquin opinaturi sumus honorabilius Filium sedere quam Patrem; honorabilius quippe sedetur ad dexteram: et videbitur esse consequens ut Pater sedeat ad sinistrum. Postremo qualis vobis persuaserit spiritus, ut sancto Spiritui denegetis quod sanctis hominibus sancta Scriptura concedit, vos videritis".

[45] *Contra Maximinum* II,xxiii,1; PL 42,796: "Quod et vos utique audiretis, si Israel esse velletis, non carnaliter ut Judaei, sed spiritualiter ut Christiani".

their thinking about God. Augustine did not, of course, think that one became a heretic simply because one thought of God as bodily or by imagining him. The little ones in the Church also think of God in terms of bodily images, but they humbly believe what they do not understand. The Arians, Augustine claims, were too proud merely to remain at the level of faith and thought they understood when they did not understand[46].

It is more difficult to show that Maximinus did in fact think of God in a carnal fashion as Augustine claims. Yet, there are, I believe, indications in the *Collatio cum Maximino* that Augustine's accusation was well grounded. There is, first of all, some indirect evidence that Maximinus thought of God as bodily and as able to be pictured in the imagination. The Homoian Arianism which Maximinus espoused shunned any philosophical learning and insisted upon a fidelity to the Scriptures and to the Scriptures alone[47]. When Maximinus stated for Augustine what he believed, he immediately added, "I state this on the basis of the Scriptures"[48]. He not merely accepted the authority of the Scriptures, but refused to accept "those words which are not found in the Scriptures"[49]. Maximinus surely intended to exclude the non-biblical language of the Council of Nicea, but his claim clearly goes beyond that. In fact, he claims that to use words not contained in the Scriptures is to fall into the wordiness condemned by the Scriptures[50]. He insists that the use of testimonies from the Scriptures is the only admissible form of proof. "The truth is not attained by argumentation, but is proved by certain testimonies"[51].

Though Maximinus appeals to the Council of Ariminum, the authority of that Council stems from the fact that the fathers gathered there declared "in accord with the divine Scriptures the faith that they learned

[46] Cf. *Enarratio in Psalmum* 130,9: CCL 40,1905: "uolunt se extendere ad id quod capere non possunt; et si aliquid utcumque ceperint, aut uisi sibi fuerunt capere quod non ceperunt, extolluntur inde. et superbiunt inde; uidentur sibi quasi sapientes".

[47] Cf. R. P. C. HANSON, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God. The Arian Controversy 318-311*, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988, 557-558.

[48] *Collatio cum Maximino* 4; PL 42,711: "Et hoc de divinis Scripturis assero".

[49] *Collatio cum Maximino* 1; PL 42,709: "eae vero voces quae extra Scripturam sunt, nullo casu a nobis suscipiuntur ...".

[50] Cf. *Prv* 10:19 and *Mt* 12:36, as well as *Collatio cum Maximino* 13; PL 42,718: "Quamvis etiam etsi per totum diem quisque de divinis Scripturis proferat testimonia, non in verbositate illi imputabitur revera: quod si aut litteraria arte usus, aut expressione spiritus sui quisquis concinnet verba quae non continent sanctae Scripturae; et otiosa sunt et superflua".

[51] *Collatio cum Maximino* 15,21; PL 42,736: "Veritas non ex argumento colligitur, sed certis testimoniis comprobatur".

from the divine Scriptures"[52]. So too, Maximinus points out that Augustine's charges arise from the art of philosophy and warns Augustine against the dangers of using the rhetorical figure of metonomy as a means of exegesis[53]. Thus, in opposition to the Nicaean interpretation of texts concerning Christ's obedience to the Father, Maximinus insists that "the divine Scripture has not come as a source of our instruction so that we might correct it"[54]. Hence, Maximinus not merely rests his theological position on the Scriptures, but also refuses to make any use of any non-biblical language or philosophical thought to interpret the Scriptures[55].

The concept of a non-bodily or spiritual reality, however, is a philosophical concept. The ability to understand that God is incorporeal involves more than being able to speak of God as invisible or simple or spiritual — all terms which Maximinus admits[56]. To understand that God is incorporeal is to grasp that he is whole everywhere, that there is not more of him in a larger place and less of him in a smaller place, but that wherever he is — and he is everywhere — he is whole and undivided[57]. The *Confessiones* reveal to us the long struggle that Augustine underwent in coming to a concept of a spiritual substance — a concept that he came to from reading the *libri Platonicorum* within the Christian Neoplatonist circle of the church of Milan. What is all too often forgotten is that the concept of a spiritual or incorporeal substance is not found in the Scriptures or in any of the Western Fathers prior to Augustine in a fully articu-

[52] *Collatio cum Maximino* 4; PL 42,711: "Non ad excusandum me Ariminensis concilii decretum interesse volui, sed ut ostendam auctoritatem Patrum, qui secundum divinas Scripturas fidem nobis tradiderunt illam quam a divinis Scripturis didicerunt".

[53] Cf. *Collatio cum Maximino* 15,5 and 13; PL 42,725 and 718.

[54] *Collatio cum Maximino* 15,20; PL 42,736: "Nec enim in nostrum magisterium devenit divina Scriptura, ut a nobis emendationem accipiat".

[55] It is, of course, very difficult to remain with the language contained in the Scriptures and to avoid all non-biblical language. Indeed, Maximinus does not succeed in doing so. Cf. *Contra Maximinum* II,ix,2; PL 42,763, where Augustine points out that Paul did not say that the Father was incomprehensible (*incapabilis*). Similarly, Augustine reminds Maximinus that the terms *ingenitus*, *innatus* and *incomparabilis* are not biblical; cf. below note 66.

[56] Though Maximinus holds that the Father is alone invisible, he admits that the Son is also invisible; cf. *Collatio cum Maximino* 9; PL 42,727-728. He speaks of both the Father and the Son as spirits; cf. *Collatio cum Maximino* 15,15; PL 42,733. In *Collatio cum Maximino* 10; PL 42,728-729, he says that the Father is simple power; cf. below note 63.

[57] Cf. *Confessiones* VII,i,2: CCL XXVII,92-93 and *Epistula* CLXVI II,4: CSEL XLIV,550-553, for Augustine's realization of the non-corporeal nature of God and his description of the soul's incorporeality.

lated form[58]. For, apart from the Neoplatonist circle in the church of Milan, the corporealism of Stoic philosophy remained the common philosophical patrimony of the West[59]. Indeed, even after the time of Augustine, there were learned bishops, such as Faustus of Riez, who, like Tertullian in an earlier century, insisted that the soul was bodily[60]. Hence, given Maximinus's rejection of all philosophy and his insistence upon the *sola Scriptura* principle, it is not surprising that he lacked a concept of incorporeal reality and could only think of God as bodily and in terms of what can be imagined.

All the passages in which Augustine accuses Maximinus of thinking of God in a carnal manner, of course, count as evidence that Maximinus conceived of God in bodily terms. But there is at least one other passage which, I believe, confirms the evidence presented so far. In Maximinus's long final discourse, he insists "that the Father alone is the one God, not one along with a second and a third, but that he alone is the one God"[61]. Maximinus goes on to argue the point. "If he alone is not the one [God], he is a part"[62]. That is, Maximinus sees no way that the Son can also be the one God without the Father being merely a part of the one God, for, if the Son is also the one God, then the Father cannot be the whole of the one God. Moreover, Maximinus gives a reason why the Father cannot be a part: "I deny. . . that the one God is composed of parts; rather, what he is is unbegotten simple power"[63]. Maximinus's argument, namely, that either the Father alone is the one God or the Father is a part of the one God, presupposes that a plurality in God can only be a plurality

[58] Cf. G. VERBEKE, *L'évolution de la doctrine du pneuma du Stoïcisme à s. Augustin*, Paris and Louvain, 1945, and F. MASAI, *Les conversions de saint Augustin et les débuts de spiritualisme en Occident*, in *Moyen Age* 67 (1961), 1-40.

[59] For the distinction between corporealism and materialism, cf. E. WEIL, *Remarques sur le 'matérialisme' des Stoïciens*, in *Mélanges Alexandre Koyré*. II. *L'aventure de l'esprit*, Paris: Herman, 1964, 556-572.

[60] For Tertullian's position, cf. *De carne Christi* XI,4; CCL II,895: "Omne, quod est, corpus est sui generis. Nihil est incorporeale nisi quod non est", and *De anima* VII,3: CCL II,790: "Nihil enim, nisi corpus". Though Tertullian admitted that God was a spirit, he nonetheless held that he was a body; cf. *Aduersus Praxean* VII,8; CCL II,1166: "Quis negabit Deum corpus esse, etsi Deus spiritus est". For the continued debate about the nature of the soul in 5th century Gaul, cf. Thomas SMITH, *Augustine in Two Gallic Controversies: Use or Abuse?*, in *Collectanea Augustiniana* II, New York: Peter Lang, 1993, 43-55.

[61] *Collatio cum Maximino* 15,10; PL 42,728: "Ego Patrem solum secundum antelata testimonia, non cum altero et tertio dico quod unus est, sed quod solus unus est Deus".

[62] *Collatio cum Maximino* 15,10; PL 42,728: "Si vero solus unus non est, pars est".

[63] *Collatio cum Maximino* 10; PL 42,728-729: "Nec enim ex partibus compositum unum dico Deum: sed ille quod est, virtus est ingenita simplex".

of parts — and of the sort of parts that compose a whole greater than any of the parts. And that, of course, is precisely what it is to be a body. What Maximinus lacks is the grasp of the spiritual or non-bodily reality of God that Augustine has and that allows him to say that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one God.

> "One is not a third of this Trinity, nor are two of them a greater part than one, and all of them are not something greater than each of them, because their greatness is spiritual, not corporeal"[64].

III. Concluding Reflections

I have shown that Augustine accuses the Homoian Arians and Maximinus of thinking of God in a carnal fashion, that is, of thinking of God in bodily terms or in terms of what can be imagined. Indeed, he claims that their heresy arises from interpreting *Jn* 5:19 in terms of imagining the Father and the Son like a master craftsman and his apprentice. There is ample evidence that Augustine made this claim against the Arians. I have also tried to argue that, given Maximinus's insistence upon a biblical theology and upon the avoidance of all non-biblical language, he could hardly be expected to have the sort of concept of incorporeal reality that Augustine acquired only after years of struggle and then only from the works of the Neoplatonists. There is, moreover, some direct evidence from Maximinus's long final discourse that indicates that he could not think of God except as bodily, though the evidence for the absence of a concept can at best be tenuous.

Contemporary theologians at times bemoan the Hellenization or the Platonization of the Christian doctrine of God and the loss of the biblical doctrine of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit[65]. Maximinus's attempt to

[64] *Contra Maximinum* II,x,2; PL 42,765: "nec hujus Trinitatis tertia pars est unus, nec major pars duo quam unus est ibi; nec majus aliquid sunt omnes quam singuli, quia spiritualis, non corporalis est magnitudo".

[65] Cf. Hans Küng, *On Being a Christian*, trans. by E. Quinn, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976, 472-477. Küng refers to the trinitarian thought of the Cappadocian fathers as "almost ... a kind of higher trinitarian mathematics" that "scarcely reached any lasting solutions" and compares "this Greek speculation, remote from its biblical roots", to the flight of Icarus (473). Augustine, of course, took over and worked out the trinitarian thought of the Cappadocians. But "[t]he real difficulties of the specifically Western doctrine of the Trinity arise from the fact that Augustine, its founder, . . . *started out, not* like the Greeks, *from the triplicity of persons, but from the unity of the divine nature*. In this respect Augustine had against him not only the Greeks and — for instance — Hilary of Poitiers in the West, but also the New Testament" (475). Cf. also M. Schmaus, *Die Spannung von Metaphysik und Heilsgeschichte in der Trinitätslehre Augustins*, in *Studia Patristica* VI. (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, 81). Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962, 503-518,

rely on the Scripture alone and to avoid all philosophical terms might be thought to aim at such a purely biblical formulation of the faith. However, as Augustine points out, Maximinus does introduce non-biblical terminology at times[66]. Furthermore, in supposing that he has avoided all philosophy in his theology, Maximinus has simply and unreflectively adopted the philosophy that was the common patrimony of his age, namely, Stoic corporealism, which was just as much a Hellenization of the biblical faith as the spiritualist metaphysics that Augustine learned from the Neoplatonists. Hence, in confronting Arianism, Augustine certainly thought out the Christian doctrine of God with the aid of a spiritualist metaphysics he learned from the Platonists. The alternatives he faced were not a Hellenized versus a non-Hellenized understanding of God, but a Stoic corporealist versus a Neoplatonic spiritualist understanding of God.

Moreover, it is arguable that Maximinus had operative in the articulation of his Trinitarian faith an unreflective philosophical principle, ultimately derived from Platonism, that subordinates whatever is derived from another to that other from which it is derived[67]. Such a philosophical principle held unreflectively, while he supposes himself innocent of all philosophy, leads Maximinus to the conclusion that the Son, though a great God, is inferior to the Father[68]. In this case, a philosophical principle, though held unwittingly, is the norm by which the content of the biblical revelation is judged. For Augustine, on the other hand, philosophy was not the norm or standard by which the word of God was judged, but a means by which it was understood. However important philosophical re-

especially 508-510. For further discussion of this question, cf. the introduction to Augustine's anti-Arian works in *Obras completas de San Augustín* XXXVIII, Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1990, 240-251.

[66] Augustine points out that both Arians and Catholics use the non-biblical terms *ingenitus* and *innatus* of the Father and that the Arians make the non-biblical claim that the Father is incomparable to the Son. "Tu ubi legisti Patrem Deum ingenitum vel innatum. Et tamen verum est. Quod vero aliquoties dixisti, etiam Filio esse imcomparabilem Patrem, nec legis, nec verum est"; *Contra Maximinum Arianum* II,iii; PL 42,760. To Maximinus's claim that the Scriptures do not say that the Holy Spirit is adored, Augustine replies, "quasi non ex iis quae legimus, aliqua etiam quae non legimus, intelligamus"; ib.

[67] Maximinus, for example, says, "Saepius aequalem Filium asseris Patri: cum ipse unigenitus Deus semper et in omnibus auctorem suum praedicet Patrem, a quo, ut paulo ante dixi, et vitam se consecutum hoc modo professus est"; *Collatio cum Maximino* 14; PL 42,731.

[68] Thus, from the statement that Christ "a genitore suo omnia haec consecutus est, et vivit propter Patrem", Maximinius draws the conclusion that "Filius Patri subjectus est, ut charissimus, ut obediens, ut bonus a bono genitus"; *Collatio cum Maximino* 10; PL 42,714.

flection was for coming to an understanding of the faith, for Augustine believing came first and faith remained the norm. Indeed, Augustine is quite insistent that one who desires to understand desires to understand precisely what he believes, not something else[69].

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[69] Cf. *Epistula* 120,I,2; CSEL XLIV,706, where Augustine explains to Consentius that one who desires to understand his faith desires to understand that which he believes or to see with the light of reason that which he holds with the firmness of faith: "ut quod credis intellegas ... ut ea quae fidei firmitate iam tenes, etiam rationis luce conspicias".

SOLILOQUES II,12,22: ÊTRE DANS UN SUJET

A. *SOLILOQUES* II,12,22.

Dans les premiers chapitres du second livre des *Soliloques*, l'analyse de la notion de *similitudo* (*Sol.* II,6,10-18) permet à Augustin de progresser dans sa quête de la vérité. À partir du chapitre 11, la Raison continuant de le guider vers le terme de sa recherche, introduit la notion de dialectique[1] qu'elle identifie au vrai. Elle apporte alors à Augustin des précisions sur l'expression: "être présent dans quelque chose" qui devraient lui permettre d'accéder à ce qu'il cherche.

> "Nous savons qu'on peut dire en deux sens différents qu'une chose est dans une autre. D'abord quand elle y est de telle sorte qu'elle pourrait en être séparée et se trouver ailleurs: exemple, ce morceau de bois est dans cet endroit-ci, le soleil est à l'orient. Ensuite, quand elle est tellement unie au sujet qu'elle ne peut en être séparée. Exemple: dans ce même morceau de bois, la forme, l'apparence que nous voyons; dans le soleil la lumière; dans le feu la chaleur; dans l'âme la science; et d'autres cas du même genre. N'es-tu pas ce cet avis?"[2]

En répondant qu'il connaît ceci depuis longtemps, Augustin fait allusion à sa lecture et à sa compréhension des *Catégories* qui le remplit à l'époque d'une légitime fierté[3]. Mais cette première remarque de la Raison introduit, en fait, une différence entre ce qui peut être séparé[4] et une forme inséparable de présence qu'elle illustre à l'aide des exemples suivants: la *forma* et la *species*, la lumière du soleil, la chaleur du feu, la science en l'âme. L'habitude avec laquelle Augustin manie une telle notion, incite la Raison à passer à l'élément suivant de sa démonstration: ce qui est inséparable du sujet ne peut subsister sans que le sujet lui-même ne subsiste. Ceci semble indubitable à Augustin qui cependant précise quel-

[1] *Sol.* II,11,19-21: "Mais si tel est son office propre, c'est par elle-même que cette science est vraie"; trad. P. DE LABRIOLLE, BA 5,122-129; CSEL 89,70-74.

[2] Trad. P. DE LABRIOLLE, BA 5,129.131. "Esse aliquid in aliquo, non nos fugit duobus modis dici. Uno quo ita est, ut etiam seiungi atque alibi esse possit, ut hoc lignum in hoc loco, ut sol in oriente : altero autem quo ita est aliquid in subiecto, ut ab eo nequeat separari, ut in hoc ligno forma et species quam uidemus, ut in sole lux, ut in igne calor, ut in animo disciplina, et si qua sunt alia similia. An tibi aliter uidetur?"; CSEL 89,75.

[3] Voir *Conf.* IV,16,28; CCL 27,54; et BA 13,87.

[4] Par exemple la présence accidentelle d'un morceau de bois en un lieu.

que peu le sens du terme *inseparabiliter*:

> "Mais à examiner la chose avec attention, on reconnaît qu'il est possible que, lors même que le sujet subsiste, telle qualité qui y est attachée ne subsiste plus. La couleur de notre corps peut s'altérer sous l'influence de la maladie ou de l'âge, sans que pour cela le corps périsse. Il n'en est pas ainsi toutefois de toutes les propriétés du sujet, mais seulement de celles qui appartiennent à ce sujet sans constituer son existence même. Ce n'est pas pour que ce mur existe, que nous le voyons de telle couleur. Qu'il vienne à blanchir ou à noircir par accident, ou qu'il prenne quelque autre couleur, il ne cessera pas pour cela d'être appelé et d'être réellement un mur. Mais si le feu est privé de chaleur, ce ne sera plus du feu, et nous ne pouvons conserver son nom à une neige qui ne serait pas blanche."[5]

Cette distinction est remarquable en ce qu'elle vient affiner la conception de l'inséparabilité. Car la couleur peut s'altérer en un sujet sans pour cela que le sujet disparaisse aussi. Dans les réalités inséparables il faut donc faire une différence entre celles *quae sunt ut sint ipsa subjecta* et celles qui sont ainsi décrites: *non ut sint ipsa subjecta quae in subjectis sunt coexistunt*. La couleur du mur est une réalité inséparable du sujet, mais qui ne s'identifie pas avec le sujet lui-même. Cependant Augustin précise que si relativement au mur la couleur est inséparable mais non identifiable avec le sujet, pour la neige la couleur blanche sera identifiable avec le sujet. Il en va de même pour la chaleur dans le feu. Cet apport d'Augustin vient donc préciser la distinction proposée par la raison et peut se résumer de la sorte:

in aliquo = *separabiliter*
= *inseparabiliter*
* *quae in subjectis non coexistunt ut sint ipsa subjecta.*
* *quae in subjectis coexistunt ut sint ipsa subjecta.*

Ces précisions sont d'autant plus intéressantes, que dans d'autres passages de ses oeuvres, Augustin fait cette remarque avec autant de finesse, montrant ainsi la familiarité qu'il en avait. Par exemple dans le *De*

[5] Trad. P. DE LABRIOLLE; BA 5,131. "nam manente subiecto, posse id quod in subiecto est non manere, quisquis diligenter res advertit, intelligit. Siquidem huius corporis color potest uel ualetudinis ratione uel aetate immutari, cum ipsum corpus necdum interierit. Et hoc non peraeque in omnibus ualet, sed in his in quibus, non ut sint ipsa subiecta, ea quae in subiectis sunt coexistunt. Non enim ut sit iste paries, paries hoc colore fit, quem in eo uidemus; cum etiam si quo casu nigrescat aut albescat, uel aliquem alium mutet colorem, nihilominus tamen maneat paries ac dicatur. At uero ignis si calore careat, ne ignis quidem erit, nec niuem uocare, nisi candidam, possumus"; CSEL 89,75-76.

immortalitate animae 5,8,[6] à propos des changements dont l'âme est susceptible, il distingue deux cas. L'un dans lequel le sujet ne change pas alors que ce qui est en lui change comme par exemple la couleur d'une cire, sa forme, sa chaleur. Tous ces phénomènes ont beau se modifier la cire reste de la cire[7]. Mais dans l'autre cas, il n'en va pas de même pour les réalités qui se trouvent dans le sujet de manière à ce que le sujet change de nom quand ces réalités changent. Augustin écrit d'ailleurs à ce propos:

> "Mais il faut prendre garde qu'ils (les changements) ne fassent échec au principe que nous avons posé: à savoir que, lorsque le sujet change, tout ce qui est dans le sujet change aussi nécessairement"[8].

Cette remarque se rapproche beaucoup d'une affirmation de Porphyre dans son *Isagoge* à propos des diverses sortes de différences:

> "Les différences appartenant par soi au sujet sont comprises dans la définition de la substance et font le sujet autre"[9].

De cette manière, la même distinction que dans le texte précédemment cité des *Soliloques* se retrouve. Il est possible de faire une différence entre, d'une part des réalités qui se trouvent dans le sujet de manière à ce que, si celles-ci disparaissent ou changent, le sujet soit appelé à disparaître; et d'autre part des réalités qui se trouvent dans le sujet qui demeure malgré le changement de celles-ci.

En *De immortalitate animae* 10,17[10], c'est le même type d'argu-

[6] Trad. P. DE LABRIOLLE; BA 5,185. "Nam si ex albo cera nigrum colorem ducat alicunde, non minus cera est; et si ex quadrata rotundam formam sumat, et ex molli durescat, frigescatque ex calida: at ista in subiecto sunt, et cera subiectum. Manet autem cera non magis minusue cera, cum illa mutentur. Potest igitur aliqua mutatio fieri eorum quae in subiecto sunt, cum ipsum tamen iuxta id quod hoc est ac dicitur, non mutetur. At si eorum quae in subiecto sunt, tanta commutatio fieret, ut ilud quod subesse dicebatur, dici iam omnino non posset; ueluti cum calore ignis cera in auras discedit, eamque mutationem patitur ut recte intelligatur mutatum esse subiectum, quod cera erat, et cera iam non est: nullo modo aliqua ratione quidquam eorum, quae in illo subiecto ideo erant quia hoc erat, remanere putaretur"; CSEL 89,108-109.

[7] Bien que Descartes ne tire pas les mêmes conclusions qu'Augustin, l'on retrouve ici une image qu'il reprendra de manière consciente ou inconsciente dans le célèbre passage du "morceau de cire" des *Méditations métaphysiques* II, dans *Oeuvres de Descartes* IX/1 publiées par CH. ADAM & P. TANNERY, Paris, 1973, 18-26

[8] *imm. an.* 5,8: "sed ne rationi nostrae adversentur, qua dictum est, mutato subiecto omne quod in subiecto est necessario mutari, uidendum est"; CSEL 89,108.

[9] *Isagoge* 9,15; trad. J. TRICOT, Paris, 1947, p. 28.

[10] Trad. P. DE LABRIOLLE; BA 5,201. "Nisi forte uitam temperationem aliquam corporis ut nonnulli opinati sunt, debemus credere. Quibus profecto nunquam hoc uisum esset, si ea quae uere sunt et incommutabilia permanent, eodem animo a corporum consuetudine alienato atque purgato uidere ualuissent. Quis enim bene se inspiciens, non exper-

ment qui permet à Augustin de démontrer que l'âme n'est pas l'harmonie du corps, car cette dernière comme la couleur et la forme[11] existe inséparablement du corps. Augustin ne fait pas ici de distinction entre les réalités qui existent inséparablement tout en pouvant être susceptibles de variations comme la couleur, et celles qui existent dans le sujet comme s'identifiant au sujet lui-même. Il n'a sans doute pas besoin de les distinguer ici, il lui suffit de montrer que l'âme est une substance ce qui n'est pas le cas de l'harmonie.

B. Qualité et différence.

Commentant ce passage dans une note de son ouvrage: *L'Intelligence de la foi en la Trinité selon saint Augustin*[12], O. Du Roy refuse d'y voir un emprunt à Porphyre. Il renvoie à un passage des *Catégories*[13] qui donne la définition de l'accident, et qui reprend l'un des exemples cités par Augustin: la présence de la science en l'âme. L'un des éléments qui vient supporter son argumentation repose sur la présence ou l'absence du mot accident chez l'un ou l'autre auteur. Il semble cependant que ce n'est pas directement la notion aristotélicienne d'accident que vise ici Augustin, mais plutôt celle de qualité et de différence. Car si la notion de séparabilité intervient dans la définition de l'accident elle intervient aussi de manière fondamentale dans celle de la différence. Ceci est sans doute dû à l'influence de la pensée stoïcienne. Car comme l'explique É. Bréhier:

> "Telles sont bien les deux groupes de catégories. Le premier comprend les sujets et les qualités (*upocheimenon, poia*) qui sont les corps; le second les modes et les modes relatifs (*pôs echonta, pros ti pôs echonta*) qui sont les incorporels. Cette distinction ne correspond plus à celle en substance et accidents, puisque parmi les accidents, les uns comme les qualités ont été placées

tus est tanto se aliquid intellexisse sincerius, quanto remouere atque subducere intentionem mentis a corporis sensibus potuit? Quod si temperatio corporis esset animus, non utique id posset accidere. Non enim ea res quae naturam propriam non haberet, neque substantia esset, sed in subiecto corpore tanquam color et forma inseparabiliter inesset, ullo modo se ab eodem corpore ad intelligentia percipienda conaretur auertere, et in quantum id posset, in tantum illa posset intueri, eaque uisione melior et praestantior fieri. Nullo quippe modo forma uel color, uel ipsa etiam corporis temperatio quae certa commixtio est earum quatuor naturarum quibus idem corpus subsistit, auertere se ab eo potest in quo subiecto est inseparabiliter"; CSEL 89,118-119.

[11] *imm. an.* 10,17: "temperatio corporis in subjecto corpore est tamquam color"; CSEL 89,119.

[12] Paris, 1966, p. 178 note 2.

[13] 2,1a 24-25; Tricot p. 3.

dans les réalités substantielles (l'avoir est également devenu une qualité), tandis que les autres sont classés parmi les incorporels"[14].

En outre Porphyre cherchant à concilier la position aristotélicienne et stoïcienne établira une distinction entre les qualités substantielles et les qualités accidentelles[15]. Il semble donc bien que ce n'est pas directement dans Aristote qu'Augustin puise les distinctions qu'il utilise ici, mais bien dans ses lectures néo-platoniciennes, et sans doute porphyriennes. Ceci peut être affirmé pour plusieurs raisons. D'une part la *forma* qui est ici considérée comme inséparable du sujet mais ne s'identifie pas avec le sujet est aussi considérée par Aristote comme une qualité[16]; et d'autre part dans le *De magistro*, Augustin discutant avec Adéodat range aussi la couleur parmi les qualités[17]. En outre l'ensemble des textes relatifs à la question de la qualité et de la différence s'oriente d'Aristote à Porphyre en passant par Plotin vers la classification que reprendra Augustin.

C. D'ARISTOTE À PORPHYRE.

Dans ses *Catégories*, au chapitre 2 (1a 20-1b 10), Aristote donne un premier classement des réalités selon qu'elles sont ou ne sont pas affirmées d'un sujet. Il distingue ainsi l'universel qui est affirmé d'un sujet tout en n'étant dans aucun sujet; de l'accident qu'il définit de la manière suivante:

"D'autres sont dans un sujet, mais ne sont affirmés d'aucun sujet (par dans un sujet, j'entends ce qui, ne se trouvant pas dans un sujet comme sa partie, ne peut être séparé de ce en quoi il est): par exemple, une certaine science grammaticale existe dans un sujet, savoir dans l'âme, mais elle n'est affirmée d'aucun sujet; et une certaine blancheur existe dans un sujet, savoir le corps (car toute couleur est dans un corps), et pourtant elle n'est affirmée d'aucun sujet"[18].

Enfin il mentionne les accidents universels qui sont à la fois dans un sujet et affirmés d'un sujet; donnant comme exemple la science. La

[14] É. BRÉHIER, *La Théorie des incorporels dans l'ancien stoïcisme*, Paris, 1962, p. 43; voir aussi le récent article de J. J. DUHOT, *Y a-t-il des catégories stoïciennes*" dans *Revue internationale de Philosophie*, 178 (1991), 220-244.

[15] Entre autres, voir P. HADOT, *Marius Victorinus, Traités théologiques sur la Trinité*, II, Paris, Cerf, 1960, (S.C. 69), p. 766-767.

[16] *Catégories* 8, 10 a 11: "Une quatrième sorte de qualité comprend la figure, ou la forme, qui appartient à tout être, et en outre, la droiture et la courbure, ainsi que toute autre propriété semblable", (Tricot, p. 48).

[17] *De mag.* 3,5: "Aug. Num colorem corpus dicimus ac non potius quamdam corporis qualitatem? Ad. Ita est."; CCL 29,162 ;BA 6,54.

[18] Voir note 9.

définition de l'accident n'a en commun avec ce qu'écrit Augustin, en *Sol.* II,12,22, que deux exemples (la science et la blancheur) qui font sans doute partie des illustrations classiques de l'école.

En *Catégories* 8, affirmant que le terme qualité se prend en plusieurs sens Aristote distingue:

1) l'état et la disposition, à propos desquels il mentionne comme exemple les sciences, et les vertus[19]. Il sépare l'état de la disposition par la stabilité et l'aptitude à durer du premier. Il prend alors comme exemple la santé et la chaleur.

2) Puis intervient la question des aptitudes ou inaptitudes naturelles, illustrées par le bon lutteur, le bon coureur, le bien portant, etc...

3) Ensuite il mentionne les qualités affectives comme la douceur, l'amertume, l'âcreté, la chaleur, la blancheur, la froidure, faisant une place spéciale à la blancheur et aux couleurs qui sont susceptibles de changements survenants en raison d'une affection[20].

4) La dernière sorte de qualité qu'il mentionne n'est autre que "la figure, la forme, qui appartiennent à tout être, et, en outre, la droiture et la courbure, ainsi que toute autre propriété semblable"[21]. Enfin après avoir mentionné que la contrariété appartient à cette catégorie, il précise que cette dernière peut recevoir le plus et le moins et que le semblable et le dissemblable appartiennent à la notion de qualité[22]. Ce résumé peut paraître un peu long mais il montre que les exemples pris par Augustin en ce qui concerne les réalités inséparables: la forme et la *species*, le feu et le chaleur, et les *disciplina* sont utilisés de manière classique à propos de l'étude de la notion de qualité. Cependant cette analyse des *Catégories* ne recoupe pas vraiment celle qu'Augustin a présentée quand il distingue ce qui est séparable et ce qui est inséparable.

C'est une définition proposée dans la *Métaphysique* (Delta 14) qui ouvrira le champ de la spéculation sur les qualités essentielles et accidentelles. Aristote y fait une différence entre la qualité première: " qui est la

[19] 8b 25-30: "Sont des états les sciences et les vertus, car la science semble bien être au nombre des choses qui demeurent stables et sont difficiles à mouvoir, même si l'on n'en possède qu'un faible acquis, à moins qu'un grand changement ne se produise en nous à la suite d'une maladie ou de quelque autre cause de ce genre"; TRICOT p. 42.

[20] Voir 9b 10-15: "Cependant la blancheur, la noirceur et autres couleurs, ce n'est pas de la même manière que précédemment qu'elles sont appelées des qualités affectives: c'est par le fait qu'elles sont elles-mêmes le résultat d'une modification. Souvent les changements de couleur surviennent en raison d'une affection. Le fait est évident: la honte fait devenir rouge, la crainte, pâle, et ainsi de suite"; TRICOT p. 45-46.

[21] Voir 10a 11.

[22] Voir 11a 16: "par contre semblable ou dissemblable se dit uniquement des qualités"; TRICOT p. 52.

différence dans la substance" (1020 b 15), et la qualité seconde qui "embrasse les déterminations des êtres mobiles en tant que mobiles, et les différences des mouvements" (1020 b 18). La jonction entre la question de la qualité et de la différence se trouve donc déjà amorcée par Aristote.

Plotin quant à lui reviendra deux fois de manière systématique sur la question de la qualité. En *Ennéade* II,6(17), il traite pour lui-même le problème de la relation qui existe entre la qualité accidentelle et la qualité substantielle. Ceci montre que la distinction stoïcienne signalée plus haut faisait partie du fond commun de la réflexion sur la notion de qualité. Après avoir mentionné que la qualité ne concernait que le monde sensible (II,6,(17),1), il entreprend une critique d'Aristote illustrée par l'exemple de la neige et de la céruse qui selon le témoignage de Simplicius font partie des exemples classiques de l'École[23]. La solution apportée à la critique d'Aristote repose sur une conception hiérarchique des êtres, marquée par une dégradation progressive des formes. La qualité est enfin définie de la manière suivante:

> "une disposition qui se trouve dans des substances déjà existantes; ou bien elle est acquise, ou bien elle appartient à la substance dès le principe; mais la substance n'aurait rien de moins, si elle ne lui appartenait pas. Les qualités changent facilement ou non; il y en a deux espèces, celles qui changent facilement et celles qui persistent"[24].

Si Plotin entérine la distinction entre qualité substantielle et qualité accidentelle, il veut surtout préserver l'intégrité du monde intelligible et situer la qualité par rapport à lui. C'est pour cette raison qu'il termine son étude en affirmant que la qualité dans le monde sensible correspond à ce qui est acte (*energeia*) dans le monde intelligible:

> "S'il en est ainsi, rien n'empêche que la chaleur, quand elle est inhérente au feu, soit une forme (*eidos*) ou un acte (*energeia*) et non une qualité du feu, et que, d'autre part, elle soit une qualité prise dans un autre sujet et isolée; elle n'est plus désormais la forme d'une substance, mais une trace, une ombre ou une image qui a abandonné sa substance; alors elle est une qualité"[25].

Ainsi de même que la forme du corps est une image de la forme intelligible, de même la qualité n'est qu'une image de l'acte de la substance intelligible, et il y a un parallélisme parfait entre la hiérarchie des êtres et la hiérarchie qui conduit de l'acte de l'être dans le monde intelligi-

[23] Voir la notice de É. BRÉHIER à l'*Ennéade* II,6, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1924, p. 83; SIMPLICIUS, *In cat.* 209, 8 éd. de Berlin.

[24] *Enn.* II,6,(17),2,30-34; éd. BRÉHIER, p. 87.

[25] *Enn.* II,6,(17),3,14-20; éd. BRÉHIER, p. 88; voir aussi P. HADOT, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, Paris, 1968, I, p. 228 note 4.

ble à sa qualité dans le monde sensible[26]. Le remarquable ici, est que la qualité soit mise en relation avec l'acte et qu'elle en soit l'image dans le monde sensible.

Plotin commentera à nouveau les *Catégories*, et fera la critique d'Aristote et des stoïciens dans ses trois premiers traités de sa sixième *Ennéade*. Il y propose surtout une nouvelle classification des qualités et reprend le fond de ce qu'il avait affirmé en II,6(17)[27].

Porphyre ainsi que nous l'avons vu, reprendra cette distinction, mais à propos de la notion de différence. Dans son *Isagoge* il distingue les différences séparables comme: être en repos, se mouvoir; de celles qui sont inséparables. Ces dernières le sont par accident comme l'aquilin ou le camus, (c'est-à-dire la forme du nez); les autres étant inséparables par soi comme le rationnel ou l'apte à recevoir la science[28]. Enfin définissant la notion d'accident il écrit:

> "L'accident est ce qui se produit et disparaît sans entraîner la destruction du sujet. Il se divise en deux espèces: l'un est séparable du sujet, l'autre inséparable. Ainsi dormir est un accident séparable; être noir, tout en étant un accident inséparable pour un corbeau et un Éthiopien, n'empêche qu'on puisse tout au moins concevoir un corbeau blanc et un Éthiopien qui perde sa couleur sans que le sujet soi détruit"[29].

Ainsi la distinction que fait Augustin, non seulement reprend celle de Porphyre à propos de la différence, mais encore suit en partie l'exemple que ce dernier donne à propos de l'accident inséparable qui peut cependant s'altérer: la couleur. C'est aussi à propos de la couleur qu'Augustin établissait une différence entre la qualité substantielle et la qualité accidentelle.

En ce qui concerne les exemples utilisés par Augustin, ils reprennent ceux d'Aristote dans son étude de la qualité, et qui sont aussi traditionnellement cités dans les manuels. Mais ces exemples se retrouvent aussi chez Porphyre ou chez des auteurs qui les ont empruntés à Porphyre. Si celui de la science se rencontre chez Aristote à propos de la qualité, il

[26] Voir *Sol.* II,18,32; CSEL 89, et la problématique mise en oeuvre à propos de la forme du corps qui, si elle était vraie, ferait du corps une âme..

[27] En ce qui concerne la qualité voir: VI,1,(42),10 et 29; éd. BRÉHIER, Paris, 1936, p. 70-72 et 94-96; VI,3(44),14-15; ib., p. 141-143; pour la relation entre l'*energeia* et la notion de *logos* voir P. HADOT, *Plotin, Traité 50*, Paris, 1990, p. 220. Ceci sera particulièrement important en ce qui concerne Porphyre, car ce qui correspond au Vivre, c'est-à-dire à l'acte de la substance qui sort d'elle-même pour y revenir correspond dans le monde sensible au domaine de la qualité. Voir en outre P. HADOT, *Porphyre et ...*, I, p. 227, 228.

[28] *Isagoge* 9,5 sq.; TRICOT p. 27.

[29] *Isagoge* 12,24-13,3; TRICOT p. 33-34.

apparaît aussi sous la plume de Claudien Mamert qui le doit à Porphyre[30]. Il en va de même pour celui de la couleur qui se trouve déjà évoqué dans l'*Isagoge* mais qui est aussi utilisé dans le même passage de Claudien Mamert. En ce qui concerne l'utilisation du soleil et de la lumière, c'est l'une des métaphores centrales du néo-platonisme. Elle se retrouve associée à celle de la chaleur, en relation avec le problème de la qualité et de l'immortalité de l'âme, dans le *Traité de l'âme* que Porphyre écrivit contre Boéthus[31].

De la sorte dans la continuité de son analyse de la *similitudo-dissimilitudo*, Augustin emprunte à Porphyre[32] et non directement à Aristote, une distinction relative aux notions de qualité et de différence, qui sont d'une importance extrême pour sa démonstration de la présence en l'âme de l'immortelle vérité. Ces notions qui ont une place particulièrement importante dans l'élaboration de la pensée porphyrienne[33] sont un maillon tout aussi essentiel dans la construction de la preuve qu'Augustin cherche avec une ardeur si pressante.

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[30] Voir J. PÉPIN, *Une nouvelle source de saint Augustin: Le zètema de Porphyre Sur l'union de l'âme et du corps*, dans *Revue des Études anciennes*, 66 (1964), 53-107, en particulier p. 67 sq., et note 3; MAMERTUS CLAUDIANUS, *De statu animae* III, 3; CSEL 11, éd. A. ENGELBRECHT, Vindobonae, 1885, p. 157 (11) - 158 (2).

[31] EUSÈBE, *Prep. Evang.* XV,11,2-3; Paris, Cerf, 1987, (S.C. 338), p. 299, trad. E. DES PLACES: "Mais comparer l'âme à la pesanteur ou à des qualités corporelles uniformes et immobiles, qui font mouvoir le sujet ou déterminent sa nature, c'est le propre d'un homme qui volontairement ou involontairement a complètement perdu la dignité de l'âme, qui ne voit aucunement que c'est la présence de l'âme qui vivifie le corps du vivant, comme celle du feu réchauffe l'eau placée près de lui, qui par elle-même est froide, comme le soleil levant illumine l'air qui reste obscur sans le rayonnement de sa clarté. Mais la chaleur de l'eau n'est pas la chaleur du feu ni le feu lui-même, la lumière qui se répand dans l'air n'est pas celle qui est congénère du soleil; de même, l'animation du corps, qui ressemble à la pesanteur et à la qualité corporelle, n'est pas l'âme qui est descendue dans le corps et qui lui a communiqué une espèce de souffle vital".

[32] Ce qui laisse penser qu'Augustin à sans doute lu les *Catégories* accompagnée d'une explication ou d'un commentaire porphyrien par son origine .

[33] Voir sur ce point P. HADOT, *Porphyre et* ..., I, entre autres p. 89 note 5; 109, 131; 229-232; et aussi H. DÖRRIE, *Porphyrios' "Summikta Zetemata"*, dans *Zetemata* 20, München, 1959, p. 74, 75.

WHY PEARS? THE ROLE OF LITTLE SINS IN AUGUSTINE'S *CONFESSIONS*

I. INTRODUCTION

Augustine's *Confessions* hardly seems to the modern reader the parade of "such great sins and such wicked deeds" that it promises to be[1]. Augustine does relate a few juicy transgressions, but he spends most of his time reflecting on and excoriating himself for what often seem to be very minor offenses, or "little sins". This shows clearly the extent of Augustine's soul-searing, and perhaps urges readers to examine their own lives with as fine a comb. Little sins also assure every reader that he will have something to relate to, no matter how "good" he may think himself.

But little sins also seem to serve a larger function. They weave their way through most of the many topics Augustine covers in the *Confessions*, particularly in the first ten books. Little sins play a role in Augustine's conceptions of original sin, bondage of the will, the nature of God and our relationship with Him, and the death of Christ. I hope, in this article, to explore the role and importance of little sins in each of these contexts, to demonstrate links of causation and dependence between little sins and each area, and finally, to explain how little sins encompass the widest possible audience. Before doing this, however, I will mention briefly a few alternative explanations for little sins, and outline in rough form several of the sins Augustine confesses, both before and after his conversion.

II. PATHS NOT TAKEN

There may be many reasons, or no reason, why Augustine focuses on little sins; my goal in this article is not to explore all of the possibilities. Nevertheless, I mention several here briefly not only, I hope, to place my argument in sharper focus, but also to demonstrate that it is not the only one that could be made.

[1] "tanta mala et nefaria opera"; AUGUSTINUS, *Confessionum Libri XIII*, II,7; CCL 27,25; ed. L. VERHEIJEN, Turnhout, Brepols, 1981. All Latin language quotations in the text are taken from this edition. AUGUSTINE, *Confessions*, II,7, transl. R.S. PINE-COFFIN, Harmondsworth, 1961. All English language quotations in the text are taken from this edition.

1. There Could Be No Particular Reason.

There could be no particular reason why Augustine focuses on little sins[2]. Either he views sins as fungible for exemplary purposes, or, like he says, "all that I am is laid before you"[3]. The latter point implies (although not in the quotation's context) that in spite of his ceaseless self-condemnations, Augustine really was fairly well-behaved[4]. Perhaps the bulk of his sins seem trivial because they are trivial. After all, as he says: "I used to pretend that I had done things I had not done at all, because I was afraid that innocence would be taken for cowardice and chastity for weakness"[5]. This possibility, however, does not explain why Augustine spends so much time describing his sins of infancy (I,6-7) and gives relatively short shrift to his illegitimate son and to living with one woman while engaged to another (IV,15). Nevertheless, Augustine simply may be describing sins without regard to their weight, an idea explored more fully in the next section.

2. Weighing Sins is Anachronistic.

Any attempts at assessing the heinousness of particular sins — and from there concluding that some are trivial and others not — may be so anachronistic as to render the exercise meaningless. As Augustine himself

[2] In *De ciuitate Dei*, Augustine suggests that sins are significant *prior* to their actualization. Discussing original sin, he implies that the actual *act* of eating the apple was only of secondary importance: "Mala uero uoluntas prima, quoniam omnia opera mala praecessit in homine, defectus potius fuit quidam ab opere Dei ad sua opera quam ullum, et ideo mala opera, quia secundum se, non secundum Deum"; XIV,11; CCL 48,431. "The first evil act of will, since it preceded all evil deeds in man, was rather a falling away from the work of God to its own works, rather than any substantive act. Any consequent deeds were evil because they followed the will's own line, and not God's"; AUGUSTINE, *City of God*, XIV,11, transl. H. BETTENSON, Harmondsworth, 1972. In this view, little sins are not qualitatively different than any other type, and so Augustine's focus on the former may reflect no specific intention. For a further discussion related to this, see note 7.

[3] "tibi ... manifestus sum, quicumque sim"; X,2; CCL 27,155.

[4] Peter Brown maintains that "far from being the libertine that some authors have imagined, converted at the age of 32 from a life of unbridled sensuality, Augustine was, in reality, a young man who had cut the ebullience of his adolescence dangerously short"; P. BROWN, *Augustine of Hippo*, London, 1967, 39. Payne, without as much conviction, suggests something similar: "It is possible that Augustine was making too much of his own sins; to have been chaste in Madaura must have been nearly an impossibility"; R. PAYNE, *The Fathers of the Western Church*, New York, 1951, 142.

[5] "Ego ... fingebam me fecisse quod non feceram, ne uiderer abiectior, quo eram innocentior, et ne uilior haberer, quo eram castior"; II,3; CCL 27,21.

puts it, "offenses against human codes of conduct vary according to differences of custom"[6]. To Augustine, or to Augustine's community, stealing pears may have been worse than cohabitation. In writings outside of the *Confessions*, Augustine suggests that the "weight" of particular sins may not be an important quality[7]. Particular sins, therefore, may be irrelevant, because *amaricantes* "the bitter sea of humanity" is full of *malas cupiditates animarum* "the wicked desires of men's souls" (XIII,17). Thus Augustine shifts our focus away from "evil fruit" (sins) to the "evil tree" (man's will) from which such fruit springs[8].

[6] "quae autem contra mores hominum sunt flagitia, pro morum diuersitate uitanda sunt"; III,8; CCL 27,35.

[7] Augustine suggests that the "weight" of particular sins is not particularly relevant in his *Homilies on the First Epistle of St. John*, V, in AUGUSTINE, *Later Works*, (*Library of Christian Classics*, VIII), transl. J. BURNABY, Philadelphia, 1955, 295-302. Here he attempts to reconcile "No one born of God commits sin" (I *John* 3:9) (all Biblical references herein are to the Revised Standard Version) with "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us" (I *John* 1:8) by focusing on the Gospel's "new commandment," that we "love one another" (*John* 13:34). This commandment alone, which he calls "charity," makes all other sins irrelevant; it is "tale peccatum est illud, ut si quisquam illud admiserit, confirmet cetera; si quis autem hoc non admiserit, solvat cetera"; AUGUSTIN, *Commentaire de la Première Épître de S. Jean*, V,2; ed. P. AGAËSSE, (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 75), Paris, 1961. "Sin of such a kind that its commission binds all other sins upon us, whereas if it be not committed the others may be absolved" (Fifth Homily, 2). In his *Tractates on the Gospel of John*, XII, (*Fathers of the Church*, 79), transl. J.W. RETTIG, Washington, 1988, 28-45, Augustine minimizes the difference between big and little sins: "In dilectione autem eius et in misericordia eius qui ambulat, etiam liberatus ab illis lethalibus et grandibus peccatis, qualia sunt facinora, homicidia, furta, adulteria, propter illa quae minuta uidentur esse peccata linguae, aut cogitationum, aut immoderationis in rebus concessis, facit ueritatem confessionis, et uenit ad lucem in operibus bonis, quoniam minuta plura peccata si negligantur, occidunt. Minutae sunt guttae quae flumina implent; minuta sunt grana arenae; sed si multa arena imponatur, premit atque opprimit. Hoc facit sentina neglecta, quod facit fluctus irruens, paulatim per sentinam intrat; sed diu intrando et non exhauriendo, mergit nauim"; XII,14; CCL 36,129. "But he who walks in his love and in his mercy, even though delivered from those deadly and immense sins, such as are crimes, homicides, thefts, adulteries, [still] on account of those [sins] which seem to be minute, sins of the tongue, or of thoughts, or of immoderation in permissible things, he does truth of confession and comes to the light in good works because many minute sins, if they should be neglected, kill. Minute are the drops which fill rivers; minute are the grains of sand, but if much sand is placed [upon something], it presses down and crushes. Bilge-water, if ignored, does exactly what a rushing wave does, but it enters little by little through the ship's bilge; but by entering for a long time and not being drawn out, it sinks the ship"; XII,14,1-2. Finally, Pine-Coffin notes in his introduction to the *Confessions*: "Of all the sins [Augustine] wishes to confess there was one which was at the root of all the others. It was not an isolated act or a repeated habit, but a *condition of mind* which was part of his life and provided him with a ready excuse for doing what his conscience told him to be wrong" (12). [emphasis added]

[8] See also *De ciu. Dei* XIV,11.

3. Little Sins Help Keep Decorum.

It may be that Augustine, by avoiding discussion of topics such as sexual conduct, desires to maintain decorum: "I must now carry my thoughts back to the abominable things I did in those days ... not because I love those sins, but so that I may love [God]"[9]. He says to God: "I write this book for the love of your love"[10]. Consequently, Augustine may feel that it ought to contain suitable material. In addition, he may not want the reader's interest in his sins to detract from the loftier goals of his *Confessions*.

4. Little Sins are Good Examples.

Finally, it could be that Augustine, a capable teacher aware of "the many who will read" his *Confessions*, chooses his examples because they are easily memorable, and therefore particularly valuable as teaching aids (X,1). While generic lust and corruption may be easy to forget, or to associate not only with Augustine, who can forget the pear tree and its robber? Augustine was clearly aware of the importance of anecdotes to students. Once while teaching, for example, Augustine observed: "It occurred to me that the passage which I happened to be reading could very well be explained by an illustration taken from the games in the arena. It would appeal to the students and make my meaning clearer"[11].

The very fact that Augustine makes so much out of apparently so little -- in terms of sinfulness -- also makes his examples memorable: "What excuse can I make for myself when often, as I sit at home, I cannot turn my eyes from the sight of a lizard catching flies or a spider entangling them as they fly into her web?"[12]. Or perhaps even better: "What sins, then, did I commit when I was a baby myself? ... It can hardly be right for a child, even at that age, to cry for everything including things which would harm him"[13]. Such things etch themselves upon one's memory.

[9] "Recordari volo transactas foeditates meas ... non quod eas amem, sed ut amem te, deus meus"; II,1; CCL 27,18.

[10] "Amore amoris tui facio istuc"; XI,1; CCL 27,194.

[11] "Et forte lectio in manibus erat. Quam dum exponerem opportune mihi adhibenda uideretur similitudo circensium, quo illud quod insinuabam ... planius fieret"; VI,7; CCL 27,81.

[12] "Quid cum me domi sedentem stelio muscas captans uel aranea retibus suis inruentes implicans saepe intentum facit?"; X,35; CCL 27,186.

[13] "Quid ergo tunc peccabam? An pro tempore etiam illa bona erant, flendo petere etiam quod noxie daretur"; I,7; CCL 27,6.

Undoubtedly there are possibilities not mentioned above. This article, however, does not focus upon them. Like Augustine, "I am in haste to pass on to other things, which I am more anxious to confess to you"[14].

III. Augustine's Sins

The entire content of the *Confessions* can hardly be fully recounted here. Nevertheless, the following is a rough schema of Augustine's sinning life, as he relates it. This schema is both necessary to and part of the broader theme of this article.

A. Sins of the Past.

As mentioned above, Augustine begins his sin list from his very beginning: "I would toss my arms and legs about and make noises ... I would get cross with my elders ... simply because they did not attend to my wishes; and I would take my revenge by bursting into tears"[15]. He allows that "if babies are innocent, it is not for lack of will to do harm, but for lack of strength"[16], and concludes "I ask you, Lord, where or when was I, your servant, ever innocent?"[17].

Next, Augustine "took a further step into the stormy life of human society"[18] and entered boyhood. Perhaps like most boys, he "sinned by reading and writing and studying less than was expected"[19] of him and by his *amore ludendi* "love of games" (I,10). Even Roman mythology was sinful: "It was wrong of me as a boy to prefer empty romances to more valuable studies"[20]. In describing his sins of boyhood, Augustine uses especially strong language of self-condemnation: "I was blind to the whirlpool of debasement in which I had been plunged away from the sight of

[14] "Propero ad ea quae me magis urguent confiteri tibi"; III,12; CCL 27,38.

[15] "Itaque iactabam membra et uoces ... cum mihi non obtemperabatur ... indignabar ... maioribus ... et me de illis flendo uindicabam"; I,6; CCL 27,4.

[16] "ita imbecillitas membrorum infantilium innocens est, non animus infantium"; I,7; CCL 27,6.

[17] "Oro te, deus meus, ubi, domine, ego, seruus tuus, ubi aut quando innocens fui?"; I,7; CCL 27,7. Augustine discusses sin in infants more fully in *On the Merits and Forgiveness of Sins, and On the Baptism of Infants*, 65-70, in Augustin, *Anti-Pelagian Writings*, (*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, V), 1887, 41-43. [hereinafter *On the Merits*]

[18] "uitae humanae procellosam societatem altius ingressus sum"; I,8; CCL 27,8.

[19] "peccabamus tamen minus scribendo aut legendo aut cogitando de litteris, quam exigebatur a nobis"; I,9; CCL 27,8.

[20] "Peccabam ergo puer, cum illa inania istis utilioribus amore praeponebam"; I,13; CCL 27,12.

[God's] eyes. For in [His] eyes nothing could be more debased than I was then"[21]. His examples that follow immediately after this statement, however, seem unconvincing to modern ears:

> "Many and many a time I lied to my tutor, my masters, and my parents, and deceived them because I wanted to play games or watch some futile show or was impatient to imitate what I saw on the stage. I even stole from my parents' larder and from their table, either from greed or to get something to give to other boys in exchange for their favourite toys, which they were willing to barter with me. And in the games I played with them I often cheated to come off the better"[22].

While Augustine may have not yet been a saint, he seems hardly "a great sinner for so small a boy"[23]. Indeed, he learned the lessons of his traditional education "gladly and took a sinful pleasure in them. And for this reason [he] was called a promising boy".

Paradoxically, it is because Augustine is so promising a student that he also is so sinful: "My sin was this, that I looked for pleasure, beauty, and truth not in [God] but in myself and his other creatures, and the search led me instead to pain, confusion and error"[24]. Augustine was "being prepared" for a world in which "men strictly obey the rules of grammar ... and yet ignore the eternal rules of everlasting salvation which they have received from [God]"[25]. His zealousness both for "worldly" teaching and for an *Aeneid* recitation contest (which apparently he won; I,17) was sinful: "For to love this world is to break troth with [God][26], yet men applaud and are ashamed to be otherwise. I did not weep over this, but instead wept for Dido"[27]. While studying law: "The more unscrupulous I was, the greater my reputation was likely to be, for men are

[21] "Non enim uidebam uoraginem turpitudinis, in quam proiectus eram ab oculis tuis. Nam in illis iam quid me foedius fuit"; I,19; CCL 27,16.

[22] "Ubi etiam talibus displicebam fallendo innumberabilibus mendaciis et paedagogum et magistros et parentes amore ludendi, studio spectandi nugatoria et imitandi ludicra inquietudine? Furta etiam faciebam de cellario parentum et de mensa uel gula impertante uel ut haberem quod darem pueris, ludum suum mihi, quo pariter utique delectabantur, tamen uendentibus. In quo etiam ludo fraudulentas uictorias ipse ... saepe aucupabar"; I,19; CCL 27,16-17.

[23] "tantillus puer et tantus peccator"; I,12; CCL 27,11.

[24] "Hoc enim peccabam quod non in ipso, sed in creaturis eius me atque ceteris uoluptates, sublimitates ueritates quaerebam, atque ita inruebam in dolores, confusiones, errores"; I,20; CCL 27,17.

[25] "diligenter obseruent filii hominum pacta litterarum et syllabarum ... et a te accepta aeterna pacta perpetuae salutis neglegant"; I,18; CCL 27,16.

[26] See *James* 4:4: "friendship with the world is enmity with God".

[27] "Amicitia enim mundi huius fornicatio est abs te et 'Euge, euge' dicitur, ut pudeat, si non ita homo sit. Et haec non flebam et flebam Didonem"; I,13; CCL 27,11-12.

so blind that they even take pride in their blindness. By now I was at the top of the school of rhetoric"[28]. In other words, things that intuitively do not seem sinful — such as the love of learning — are nevertheless so; they represent misplaced priorities.

Augustine reaches sixteen: "This was the age at which the frenzy gripped me and I surrendered myself entirely to lust. ... I was tossed and spilled, floundering in the broiling sea of my fornication"[29]. It seems that this subject, reckless fornication, may be the first of Augustine's really sinful sins, at least by today's standards. In one unclear passage, Augustine describes an aspect of his conduct that seems particularly heinous:

> "I deserted you and sank to the bottom-most depths of scepticism and the mockery of devil-worship. ... I defied you even so far as to relish the thought of lust, and gratify it too, within the walls of your church during the celebration of your mysteries"[30].

Augustine does not explain any details of the above. In fact, he explains practically nothing of his lust-related sins. He uses strong rhetoric — "the filth of lewdness", "hell's black river of lust" — but he gives few details. Indeed, while he spends several pages describing how sinful it was for him to cry as a baby (I,6-7), he devotes only a single paragraph to telling us how he got engaged to one woman while living with another, gave up the latter against his will (she then swore off all men and left Augustine with an illegitimate son), and subsequently took yet another mistress (VI,15). He mentions "Adeodatus, my natural born son of my sin" only once more in the *Confessions*[31]. Of course, such goings on may not have been as sinful in Augustine's day as they now appear, but it seems unlikely that they were considered less so than a baby crying.

Not only does Augustine give such activities short shrift, but he juxtaposes the "brambles of lust" (II,3) with his pear tree theft (II,4-10) without differentiating much between the two. That is, he seems to be no more culpable for wanton lust than for stealing a few pears with his friends as a boy of sixteen, perhaps even more so for the latter: "For no sooner had I picked them than I threw them away, and tasted nothing in

[28] "Hoc laudabilior, quo fraudulentior, tanta est caecitas hominum de caecitate etiam gloriantum. Et maior iam eram in schola rhetoris"; III,3; CCL 27,29.

[29] "Cum accepit in me sceptrum — et totas manus ei dedi — uesania libidinis ... iactabar et effundebar et diffluebam et ebulliebam per fornicationeas meas"; II,2; CCL 27,19.

[30] "In quantas iniquitates distabui, et sacrilegam curiositatem secutus sum, ut deserentem te deduceret me ad ima infida et circumuentoria obsequia daemoniorum. ... Ausus sum etiam in celebritate sollemnitatum tuarum intra parietes ecclesiae tuae concupiscere et agere negotium ..."; III,3; CCL 27,29.

[31] "Adeodatum ex me natum carnaliter de peccato meo"; IX,6; CCL 27,141.

them but my own sin"[32]. He spends nearly all of seven chapters excoriating himself for this theft (see II,4-10).

Nevertheless, Augustine takes care to mitigate many of his sins. On living with a woman out of wedlock: "But she was the only one and I was faithful to her"[33]. On stealing the pears: "I am quite sure that I would have not done it on my own"[34]. While many students were disorderly: "As a student I had refused to take part in this behaviour, but as a teacher I was obliged to endure it in others"[35]. Also: "As I schooled my pupils, I was merely abetting their futile designs and their schemes of duplicity, nevertheless I did my best to teach them honestly ... through the clouds of smoke [God] saw a spark of good faith in me"[36]. About his mistaken beliefs on evil: It "*seemed to me better* to believe that [God] had created no evil than to suppose that evil, such as I imagined it to be, had its origin in [Him]"[37]. [emphasis added].

Thus, even when Augustine reflects on his sins, he realizes that he did not always feel so culpable[38]. Indeed, as mentioned above, he sometimes even felt the need to exaggerate his actual sins in order to impress his friends (II,3). A point (discussed in further detail below) of Augustine's mitigating could be this: "My sin was all the more incurable because I did not think myself a sinner"[39], at least not all of the time[40]. The seeming smallness of the sins on which he expounds, some so small as to

[32] "Nam decerpta proieci epulatus inde solam iniquitatem"; II,6; CCL 27,23.

[33] "Sed unam tamen, ei quoque seruans tori fidem"; IV,2; CCL 27,41.

[34] "Tamen solus id non fecissem ... solus omnino id non fecissem"; II,8; CCL 27,25.

[35] "Quos mores cum studerem meos esse nolui, eos cum docerem cogebar perpeti alienos ..."; V,8; CCL 27,64.

[36] "Quam exhibebam in illo magisterio diligentibus uanitatem et quaerentibus mendacium, socius eorum ... deus, uidisti ... in multo fumo scinitillantem fidem meam"; IV,2; CCL 27,40.

[37] "Melius mihi uidebar credere nullum malum te creasse ... quam credere abs te esse qualem putabam naturam mali"; V,10; CCL 27,69.

[38] In fact, according to Stendahl, Augustine was Christianity's originator of the "introspective conscience". In Paul's writings, for example, "we look in vain for any evidence that *Paul the Christian* has suffered under the burden of conscience concerning personal shortcomings which he would label 'sins'". K. STENDAHL, *The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West*, in *Harvard Theological Review* 56 (1963), 199-215; cf. 199, 202. [emphasis in original]. The *Confessions*, in contrast, "are the first great document in the history of the introspective conscience. The Augustinian line leads into the Middle Ages and reaches its climax in the penitential struggle of an Augustinian monk, Martin Luther ..."; ib., 205.

[39] "Id erat peccatum insanabilius, quo me peccatorem non esse arbitrabar ..."; V,10; CCL 27,67.

[40] Not admitting that one is a sinner is in itself a common Biblical sin. See, e.g., *Jer.* 3:13;8:8-12; *Ezek.* 13:1-4,10; *Hos.* 4:6-7; *Amos* 4:6-11.

be unavoidable (a baby crying), coupled with his harsh reproaches of them, reenforces this idea. "This is what happens, O Fountain of life, when we abandon you, who are the one true Creator of all that ever was or is"[41]. To emphasize our unknowing, Augustine adds: "Many of things we do may therefore seem wrong to men but are approved in the light of your knowledge, and many which men applaud are condemned in your eyes"[42]. Thus, Augustine seems to be saying that without dependence on God, sin is inevitable, even if unrecognizable.

B. Sins of the Present.

Even after conversion (at which point Augustine switches from using the past to the present tense generally), Augustine both continues his unceasing search for personal sin, and realizes that the power of sin has not abated: "I no longer go to watch a dog chasing a hare at the games in the circus. But if I should happen to see the same thing in the country as I pass by, the chase might easily hold my attention and distract me from whatever serious thoughts occupied my mind"[43]. No area of Augustine's mind seems beyond scrutiny:

> "In my memory, of which I have said much, the images of things imprinted upon it by my former habits still linger on. When I am awake they obtrude themselves upon me, though with little strength. But when I dream, they not only give me pleasure but are very much like acquiescence in the act. The power which these illusory images have over my soul and my body is so great that what is no more than a vision can influence me in sleep in a way that the reality cannot do when I am awake"[44].

[41] "Ea fiunt, cum tu derelinqueris, fons uitae, qui es unus et uerus creator et rector uniuersitatis ..."; III,8; CCL 27,36.

[42] "Multa itaque facta, quae hominibus improbanda uiderentur, testimonio tuo approbata sunt et multa laudata ab hominibus te teste damnantur ..."; III,9; CCL 27,36-37.

[43] "Canem currentem post leporem iam non specto, cum in circo fit; at uero in agro, si casu transeam, auertit me fortassis et ab aliqua magna cogitatione atque ad se conuertit illa uenatio ..."; X,35; CCL 27,186.

[44] "Adhuc uiuunt in memoria mea, de qua multa locutus sum, talium rerum imagines, quas ibi consuetudo mea fixit, et occursantur mihi uigilanti quidem carentes uiribus, in somnis autem non solum usque ad delectationem sed etiam usque ad consensionem factumque simillimum. Et tantum ualet imaginis inlusio in anima mea in carne mea, ut dormienti falsa uisa persuadeant quod uiglanti uera non possunt"; X,30; CCL 27,176. Augustine seems to be saying that although the fundamental power of sin has been broken, nevertheless this does not immediately make him righteous. His conversion only begins the cure by initiating a convalescence that will be completed only in the age to come. Cf. Luther's central doctrine of *simul justus et peccator* ("righteous and a sinner at the same time"), discussed in J. PELIKAN, *The Christian Tradition: Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300-1700)*, Chicago, 1984, 154-155. This idea was suggested to me by

The culpability of one particular sin which he confesses seems almost incomprehensible. When his mother, whom he praises repeatedly (especially at IX,9) finally dies, Augustine's reaction seems particularly restrained: "I wanted to cry like a child, but a more mature voice within me, the voice of my heart, bade me keep my sobs in check, and I remained silent"[45].

> "[My friends] thought that I had no sense of grief. But in [God's] ears, where none of them could hear, I blamed myself for my tender feelings. I fought against the wave of sorrow ... It was misery to feel myself so weak a victim of these human emotions, although we cannot escape them, since they are the natural lot of mankind ... I was secretly weighed down with grief"[46].

He reproaches himself even for "natural" emotions which he, or anyone for that matter, cannot control. Eventually, he breaks down and cries, a fault for which he apologizes extensively (IX,12). Augustine spends two chapters confessing the heinous sin of grieving a little too much over the death of his beloved mother (see IX,12-13).

As with Augustine's sins of the past, none seems too small to mention. For example, he says that while fornication is an "evil which I can decide once and for all to repudiate and never to embrace again"[47], eating and drinking present a larger obstacle: "I find pleasure in this need, though I fight against it"[48]. He catalogues other senses, in terms of their potential for sin. "The eyes delight in beautiful shapes of different sorts and bright and attractive colors. I would not have these things take possession of my soul"[49]. "The sense of smell does not trouble me greatly with its attractions ... This, at least is my own opinion of myself, but I may be wrong"[50]. As to hearing: "I admit that I still find enjoyment in the music of hymns, ... when I find the singing itself more moving than

Rowan Greer. See also infra note 107.

[45] "Hoc modo etiam meum quiddam puerile, quod labebatur in fletus, iuuenali voce cordis, cohercebatur et tacebat"; IX,12; CCL 27,150.

[46] "Sine sensu doloris me esse arbitrantibus [curantibus]. At ego in auribus tuis, ubi eorum nullus audiebat, increpabam mollitiam affectus mei et constringebam fluxum maeroris ... Et quia mihi uehementer displicebat tantum in me posse haec humana, quae ordine debito et sorte conditionis nostrae accidere necesse est ... Toto die grauiter in occulto maestus eram"; IX,12; CCL 27,151.

[47] "quod semel praecidere et ulterius non attingere decernam"; X,31; CCL 27,180.

[48] "Nunc autem suauis est mihi necessitas, et aduersus istam suauitatem pugno ..."; X,31; CCL 27,177-178.

[49] "Pulchras formas et uarias, nitidos et amoenos colores amant oculi. Non teneant haec animam meam"; X,34; CCL 27,182.

[50] "De inlecebra odorum non satago nimis ... Ita mihi uideor; forsitan fallar"; X,32; CCL 27,180-181.

the truth which it conveys, I confess that this is a grievous sin"[51]. Finally, there is "a different kind of temptation, more dangerous than these, because it is more complicated. ... The mind is also subject to a certain propensity to use the sense of the body, not for self-indulgence of a physical kind, but for the satisfaction of its own inquisitiveness"[52].

In addition to fornication, Augustine overcomes a great many sins: "I have pared away many sins and thrust them from my heart ... the theatres no longer attract me; the study of astrology does not interest me; I have never dealt in necromancy; and I detest all sacrilegious rites"[53]. Yet in spite of this, Augustine is hardly without sin. To free oneself totally of sins of the senses, and of curiosity, is impossible. This seems to be the very point Augustine strives to make clear: "Day after day without ceasing these temptations put us to the test"[54].

In "our own miserable state" (XI,1), none escapes temptation or sin: everyone seems to be guilty of something (IX,13). It is not only the large heinous sins which plague man, but often the smallest. "Who can tell how many times each day our curiosity is tempted by the most trivial and insignificant matters?"[55]. Augustine probes even beyond trifles: "I have great fear of offending [God] unawares by sins to which I am blind, though to [His] eyes they are manifest"[56].

Augustine analogizes life to a journey or a pilgrimage (VI,4; X,4); he travels *per uiam saeculi latam* "along the broad way of the world" (VI,5)[57]. Thus it seems consistent that he recounts his sins from the be-

[51] "Nunc in sonis ... fateor, aliquantulum adquiesco ... cum mihi accidit, ut me amplius cantus quam res, quae canitur, moueat, poenaliter me peccare confiteor ..."; X,33; CCL 27,181.

[52] "alia forma temptationis multiplicius periculosa ... Inest animae per eosdem sensus corporis, quaedam non se oblectandi in carne, sed experiendi per carnem ..."; X,35; CCL 27,184.

[53] "Multa praeciderim et a meo corde dispulerim ... sane me iam theatra non rapiunt, nec curo nosse transitus siderum, nec anima mea umquam responsa quaesiuit umbrarum; omnia sacrilega sacramenta detestor"; X,35; CCL 27,185.

[54] "Temptamur his temptationibus cotidie ... sine cessatione temptamur"; X,37; CCL 27,187-188. On this point, see Augustine's discussion of *1 Cor.* 15:54-56, which is "Question 70" in AUGUSTINE, *Eighty-three Different Questions*, (*Fathers of the Church*, 70). transl. D. MOSHER, Washington, 1977, 178-179. See also "Question 68", ib., 161: we are all "a mass of sin"; see also J.N.D. KELLY, *Early Christian Doctrines*, New York, rev. ed. 1978, 365; see also infra note 107.

[55] "In quam multis minutissimis et contemptibilibus rebus curiositas cotidie nostra temptetur et quam saepe labamur, quis enumerat?"; X,35; CCL 27,185-186.

[56] "Multum timeo occulta mea, quae norunt oculi tui, mei autem non"; X,37; CCL 27,188.

[57] See also *De ciu. Dei*, XI,2.

ginning (infancy), and that he continues to do so as long as he is on the journey. Another favorite metaphor is a trial: "During this life, which may be called a perpetual trial, no one should be confident that although he has been able to pass from a worse state to a better, he may not also pass from a better state to a worse"[58]. This trial has constant potential for sin; none may rest. "Deep in our inner selves there is another evil ... This is self-complacency, the vanity of those who are pleased with themselves"[59].

In several ways, Augustine's account of his pre-conversion sins parallels that of his post-conversion transgressions. Both recountings are unceasingly thorough. In writing of his earlier life, Augustine spends little time discussing what seem like larger sins (infidelity, fornication), but instead focuses on smaller ones (enjoying mythology, stealing pears). While his later life may, perhaps, be lacking "larger" sins, Augustine nevertheless expounds on minute ones (enjoying the musical aspect of hymns, watching lizards catch flies). In addition, the guilt he displays over some of his reported transgressions (mourning for his dead mother, crying as an infant) seems counterintuitive. In both periods, Augustine points out that sin is not always recognizable or discoverable, and can appear as good. All of this leads to Augustine's conclusion that he, like everyone else, is unceasingly full of sin.

The thoroughness with which Augustine describes his sin, and by implication that of others, relates not only to his (and our) existential condition, but in many ways underlies and reenforces several other areas of his theology. The following sections of this article hope to explore the broader implications of little sins in Augustine's thought.

IV. Little Sins and Original Sin

Although Augustine does not deal with the topic of original sin in any great detail in the *Confessions*[60], he nevertheless does mention it at several junctures: "You know, O Lord, how you clothed men with skins when by sin they became mortal"[61]. He pleads to God: "Call us back to

[58] "Nemo securus esse debet in ista uita, quae tota temptatio nominatur, utrum qui fieri potuit ex deteriore melior, non fiat etiam ex meliore deterior"; X,32; CCL 27,181. See also X,28.

[59] "Intus etiam, intus est aliud ... malum, quo inanescunt qui placent sibi de se"; X,39; CCL 27,190.

[60] Nevertheless, Paul Rigby has recently written an entire book on the subject, P. Rigby, *Original Sin in Augustine's 'Confessions'*, Ottawa, 1987.

[61] "Domine, tu scis, quemadmodum pellibus indueris homines, cum peccato mortales fierent"; XIII,15; CCL 27,251.

yourself"[62]. Augustine's longest passage on the subject occurs in Chapter 8 of Book XIII:

> "The angels fell; man's soul fell; and their fall shows us what a deep chasm of darkness would have still engulfed the whole spiritual creation if you had not said at the beginning 'Let there be light'; and the light began[63] ... All I know is this, that unless you are with me, and not only beside me but in my very self, for me there is nothing but evil, and whatever riches I have, unless they are my God, they are only poverty"[64].

The nature of original sin relates to Augustine's little sins in several aspects. First, Augustine can be so thorough in his description of sins because he, like everyone, is inherently sinful. Original sin is an obstacle in Augustine's journey to God:

> "When I was trying to reach a decision about serving the Lord my God, as I had long intended to do, it was I who willed to take this course, and again it was I who willed not to take it ... My mind was being punished. My action did not come from me, but from the sinful principle that dwells in me[65]. It was part of the punishment of a sin freely committed by Adam, my first father"[66].

The fall leads us into both the largest and smallest of sins. When Augustine examines wandering astray by enjoying hymns, or starting life sinning as a baby who has no concept of sin, we know that our fall is complete. Little sins thus serve to emphasize man's original sin, and to show its ramifications[67].

[62] "Reuoca nos"; VIII,4; CCL 27,118.

[63] See *Gen.* 1:3: "And God said, 'Let there be light'; and there was light".

[64] "Defluxit angelus, defluxit anima hominis et indicauerunt abyssum uniuersae spiritalis creaturae in profundo tenebroso, nisi dixisses ab initio: 'Fiat lux,' et facta esset lux ... Hoc tantum scio, quia male mihi est praeter te non solum extra me sed et in me ipso, et omnis mihi copia, quae deus meus non est, egestas est"; XIII,8; CCL 27,245-246.

[65] See *Rom.* 7:17: "So it is no longer I that do it, but sin which dwells within me".

[66] "Ego cum deliberabam, ut iam seruirem domino deo meo, sicut diu disposueram, ego eram, qui uolebam, ego, qui nolebam ... poenam meae. Et ideo non iam ego operabar illam, sed quod habitabat in me peccatum de supplicio liberioris peccati, quia eram filius Adam"; VIII,10; CCL 27,127.

[67] In *De ciu. Dei*, Augustine points out the "littleness" of Adam and Eve's actual act makes their sin all the more heinous: "Hoc itaque de uno cibi genere non edendo, ubi aliorum tanta copia subiacebat, tam leue praeceptum ad obseruandum, tam beue ad memoria retinendum, ubi praesertim nondum uoluntati cupiditas resistebat ... tanto maiore iniustitia uolatum est, quanto faciliore posset obseruantia custodiri"; XIV,12; CCL 48,434. "The injunction forbidding the eating of one kind of food, where such an abundant supply of other foods was available, was so easy to observe, so brief to remember; above all, it was given at a time when desire was not yet in opposition to the will ... Therefore the unrighteousness of violating the prohibition was so much the greater, in proportion to the ease with which it could have been observed and fulfilled". Or again: "In paradiso tanto maior inoboedientia fuit, quanto id, quod praeceptum est, nullius difficultatis est"; ib.

Second, Augustine sees life as a journey towards God at least in part because man has fallen away from God through original sin. Our separation is, at least in part, the result and the cause of our sin. "Let me not be for my own life, for when I lived of myself I lived evilly: I was death to myself. But in [God] I live again"[68]. Similarly: "In my youth I wandered away, too far from your sustaining hand, and created myself a barren waste"[69]. In other words, our sin helps to place us in a position of total dependence upon God's grace, a fact which Augustine emphasizes by showing the ever-present nature of sin. This point is discussed in greater detail in Section VI below.

Finally, on a deeper level, it could be that Augustine includes the pear tree example in part to mirror the apple tree episode in the Garden of Eden. As Augustine thoroughly reproaches himself for his pointless theft, perhaps he intends the reader to reflect on man's first fall as well. If Augustine does focus on little sins to show, at least in part, the thoroughness of man's sinful nature as a result of the fall, the pear tree makes that connection more explicit.

V. Bondage of the Will

Augustine mentions repeatedly the idea that our will is "bound" to sin[70]. The example of stealing the pears illustrates this:

XIV,15; CCL 48,437. "The disobedience in paradise was all the greater inasmuch as the command was one of no difficulty at all". See also J.N.D. KELLY, *o.c.*, 363: "It was worse than any other conceivable sin in proportion as Adam was nobler than any other man and as the will which produced it was uniquely free". Although Augustine does not employ this reasoning specifically in the *Confessions*, it nevertheless could at least partially clarify the role of little sins.

[68] "Non ego uita mea sim: male uixi ex me, mors mihi fui: in te reuiuesco"; XII,10; CCL 27,221.

[69] "Erraui ... nimis deuius ab stabilitate tua in adulescentia et factus sum mihi regio egestatis"; II,10; CCL 27,26.

[70] In the *Confessions*, Augustine speaks of having actually two wills, each opposed to the other: "Duae uoluntates meae, una uetus, alia noua, illa carnalis, illa spiritalis, confligebant inter se atque discordando dissipabant animam meam"; VIII,5; CCL 27,120. "These two wills within me, one old, one new, one the servant of the flesh, the other of the spirit, were in conflict and between them they tore my soul apart". For an excellent discussion of this, see H. ARENDT, *The Life of the Mind*, New York, 1981, 93-96. In another writing, Augustine says directly: "uoluntas est causa peccati"; *De Libero Arbitrio*, III,17; CCL 29,303. "The will is the cause of sin"; *On the Free Choice of the Will*, (*The Library of Liberal Arts*, 150), transl. A.S. BENJAMIN & L.H. HACKSTAFF, Indianapolis, 1964. See also *De ciu. Dei*, XIV,24 (power of the will over the body). Kelly writes that Augustine's "normal doctrine is that, while we retain our free will intact, the sole use to which in our unregenerate state we put it is to do wrong. In this sense [Augustine] can

"It was not the pears that my unhappy soul desired. I had plenty of my own, better than those, and I only picked them so that I might steal"[71].

"Let my heart now tell [God] what prompted me to do wrong for no purpose, and why it was only my own life of mischief that made me do it. The evil in me was foul, but I loved it. I loved my own perdition and my own faults, not the things for which I committed wrong, but the wrong itself"[72].

Just as it influenced his stealing the pears, Augustine's will influences his turning to God:

"I longed [to devote myself entirely to God], but I was held fast, not in fetters clamped upon me by another, but by my own will, which had the strength of iron chains. ... My thoughts as they meditated upon [God], were like the efforts of a man who tries to wake but cannot and sinks back into the depths of slumber. ... [I] was quite sure that it was better for me to give myself up to [God's] love than to surrender to my own lust. But while I wanted to follow the first course and was convinced it was right, I was still a slave to the pleasures of the second"[73].

In spite of the fact: "All [God] asked of me was to deny my own will and accept [His]"[74], Augustine nevertheless could not easily do so.

No only Augustine, but all men are prisoners of their wills:

"It may be that all men do desire to be happy, but because the impulses of nature and the impulses of the spirit are at war with one another, so that they cannot do all that their will approves[75], they fall back upon what they are able to do and find contentment in this way. For their will to do what they cannot do is not strong enough to enable them to do it"[76].

speak of 'a cruel necessity of sinning' resting upon the human race"; *o.c.*, 365 [references omitted]

[71] "Non ipsa [poma] concupiuit anima mea miserabilis. Erat mihi enim meliorum copia, illa autem decerpsi, tantum ut furarer"; II,6; CCL 27,23.

[72] "Ecce cor meum, deus, ecce cor meum, quod miseratus es in imo abyssi. Dicat tibi nunc ecce cor meum, quid ibi quaerebat, ut essem gratis malus et malitiae meae causa nulla esset nisi malitia. Foeda erat, et amaui eam; amaui perire, amaui defectum meum, non illud, ad quod deficiebam, sed defectum meum ipsum amaui ..."; II,4; CCL 27,22.

[73] "Cui rei ego suspirabam ligatus non ferro alieno, sed mea ferrea uoluntate. ... Cogitationes, quibus meditabar in te, similes erant conatibus expergisci uolentium, qui tamen superati soporis altitudine remerguntur. ... Certum habebam esse melius tuae caritati me dedere quam meae cupiditati cedere; sed illud placebat et uincebat, hoc libebat et uinciebat"; VIII,5; CCL 27,119-120.

[74] "Hoc erat totum nolle, quod uolebam, et uelle, quod uolebas"; IX,1; CCL 27,133.

[75] See *Gal.* 5:17: "For the desires of the flesh are against the Spirit, and the desires of the Spirit are against the flesh; for those are opposed to each other, to prevent you from doing what you would".

[76] "An omnes hoc uolunt, sed quoniam caro concupiscit aduersus spiritum et spiritus aduersus carnem, ut non faciant quod uolunt, cadunt in id quod ualent eoque contenti sunt, quia illud, quod non ualent, non tantum uolunt, quantum sat est, ut ualeant"; X,23; CCL 27,172-173.

Little sins emphasize and clarify Augustine's idea of bondage of the will. Even over the smallest of things, and perhaps particularly over the smallest, he has little control. Augustine watches the lizard catching flies because he cannot help but do so (X,35). People generally share the same condition: "What pleasure can there be in the sight of mangled corpse, which can only horrify? Yet people will flock to see one lying on the ground"[77].

Bondage of the will relates as well to Augustine's notion of original sin, which, as I tried to show above, also has connections to little sins. Augustine is unable to turn easily to God, in spite of his desire to do so. "Why does this strange phenomenon occur? What causes it? ... the answer to my question lies in the secret punishment of man and in the penitence which casts a deep shadow on the sons of Adam"[78]. Augustine's inability to turn to God "only meant that my mind was being punished. My action did not come from me, but from the sinful principle that dwell in me. It was part of the punishment of a sin freely committed by Adam, my first father"[79]. The sinful principle that dwells in him, then, makes it impossible to escape completely even (and again, perhaps particularly) the smallest of sins, which Augustine demonstrates throughout the *Confessions*.

Little sins relate more explicitly to bondage of the will in Augustine's discussion of habit. "When I gave into lust habit was born, and when I did not resist the habit it became a necessity. These were the links which together formed what I have called my chain, and it held me fast in the duress of servitude"[80]. Habit becomes one of the chains on Augustine's will when he tries to reach God. "The higher part of our nature aspires after eternal bliss while our lower self is held back by the love of temporal pleasure. ... While truth teaches [the will] to prefer one course, habit prevents it from relinquishing the other"[81]. Augustine was "held back by

[77] "Quid enim uoluptatis habet uidere in laniato cadauere quod exhorreas? Et tamen sic ubi iaceat, concurrunt"; X,35; CCL 27,185.

[78] "Unde hoc monstrum? Et quare istuc? ... mihi respondere possint latebrae poenarum hominum et tenebrosissimae contritiones filiorum Adam"; VIII,9; CCL 27,126.

[79] "... poenam meae. Et ideo non iam ego operabar illam, quod habitabat in me peccatum de supplicio liberioris peccati, quia eram filius Adam"; VIII,10; CCL 27,127.

[80] "Dum seruitur libidini, facta est consuetudo, et dum consuetudini non resistitur, facta est necessitas. Quibus quasi ansulis sibimet innexis — unde catenam appellaui — tenebat me obstrictum dura seruitus"; VIII,5; CCL 27,119.

[81] "Aeternitas delectat superius et temporalis boni uoluptas retentat inferius. ... Dum illud ueritate praeponit, hoc familiaritate non ponit"; VIII,10; CCL 27,128-129.

mere trifles, the most paltry inanities, all my old attachments"[82]. Although he knew that "only a small thing"[83] held him from turning to God (Augustine suggests it is his inability to conceive of non-material beings and his love of sinful ways), he realizes too that "habit was too strong"[84]. Thus little sins play a key role at the pivotal point of the narrative, as Augustine stands "trembling at the barrier"[85] of truth.

Eventually, of course, Augustine completes his conversion, but not by his own strength or will. "Continence" beckons him to "cross over" and "hesitate no more"[86]. Augustine imagines her saying: "Why do you try to stand in your own strength and fail? Cast yourself upon God and have no fear. ... Cast yourself upon him without fear, for he will welcome you and cure you of all your ills"[87]. Thus, Augustine says to God: "You converted me to yourself"[88]. As the next section explores, one of Augustine's recurrent themes in the *Confessions* is that of his (and our) total dependence upon God. As with original sin and bondage of the will, little sins both emphasize and support this idea.

VI. All Depends on God

One day Augustine's friend Alypius met some fellow-students and boastfully tried to show his strength of will by attending the gladiatorial shows and not watching. He lasted for a while, but when the crowd gave a "great roar" he gave in and opened his eyes. "Instead of turning away, he fixed his eyes upon the scene and drank in all its frenzy, unaware of what he was doing"[89]. Why did Alypius look? "The weakness of his soul was relying upon itself instead of trusting in [God]"[90]. There was only one way Alypius eventually was saved from his sin: "You stretched out your

[82] "Retinebant nugae nugarum et uanitates uanitatium, antiquae meae ..."; VIII,11; CCL 27,129.

[83] "iam exiguo tenebar"; VIII,11; CCL 27,129.

[84] "mihi consuetudo uiolentia"; VIII,11; CCL 27,130.

[85] "quo ... trepidabam"; VIII,11; CCL 27,130.

[86] "Aperiebatur ... casta dignitas continentiae ... ut venirem neque dubitarem"; VIII,11; CCL 27,130.

[87] "Quid in te stas et non stas? Proice te in eum, noli metuere ... proice te securus, excipiet et sanabit te"; VIII,11; CCL 27,130.

[88] "Conuertisti enim me ad te"; VIII,12; CCL 27,132. See *Wisdom* 8:21a: "But I perceived that I would not possess wisdom unless God gave her to me".

[89] "Non se auertit, sed fixit aspectum et hauriebat furias et nesciebat ..."; VI,8; CCL 27,83.

[90] "Animus ... eo infirmior ... qui debuit de te"; VI,8; CCL 27,83.

almighty, ever merciful hand, O God, and rescued him from this madness. You taught him to trust in you, not in himself"[91].

Throughout the *Confessions*, Augustine states over and over that "no man can be master of himself, except of God's bounty"[92]. He explains: God "released me from the fetters of lust which held me so tightly shackled and from my slavery to the things of this world"[93]. Except in God, "there was no place where I could escape from myself"[94]. With only "the meager powers that are mine in this life"[95], Augustine (or anyone) alone cannot hope to gain any understanding of the Holy Scriptures. Augustine is converted by God, and after conversion continues to rely on God for salvation: "I shall not turn aside until you gather all that I am into that holy place of peace, rescuing me from this world where I am dismembered and deformed, and giving me new form and new strength for eternity"[96]. Not only for salvation, Augustine depends upon God[97], but for everything. "I should not even exist if it were not by [God's] gift"[98].

[91] "Manu ualidissima et misericordissima eruisti eum tu et docuisti non sui habere, sed tui fiduciam ..."; VI,8; CCL 27,83.

[92] "neminem posse esse continentem, nisi tu dederis"; VI,11; CCL 27,87. "Nemo enim potest esse continens, nisi tu des"; X,31; CCL 27,178. It is interesting to note, however, that Augustine says "Tardabam conuerti ad dominum": "I kept delaying my conversion to you," thus suggesting that Augustine's will *prevented* his conversion, even if it could not effectuate it; VI,11; CCL 27,87. [emphasis added]

[93] "de uinculo quidem desiderii concubitus, quo artissimo tenebar, et saecularium negotiorum seruitute quemadmodum me exemeris"; VIII,6; CCL 27,121.

[94] "a me fugerem non erat"; VIII,7; CCL 27,123.

[95] "in hac inopia uita meae"; XII,1; CCL 27,217.

[96] "Non auertar, donec in eius pacem ... conligas totum quod sum a dispersione et deformitate hac et conformes atque confirmes in aeternum"; XII,16; CCL 27,227.

[97] Augustine sees one value of the Law as accusing us of inadequacy so that we call upon the grace of God. Calvin has an excellent brief discussion of Augustine's position on this point in which he draws together quotations from many of Augustine's writings. See J. CALVIN, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, (*Library of Christian Classics*, XX), transl. F.L. BATTLES, Philadelphia, 1960, 357-358. In his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Augustine writes: "Ita, Domine, ita fac, misericors Domine; impera quod non possit impleri, immo impera quod nonnisi per tuam gratiam possit impleri; ut cum homines per suas uires id implere nequiuerint, omne os obstruatur, et nemo sibi magnus uideatur. Sint omnes paruuli, et reus fiat omnis mundus tibi; quia non iustificabitur ex lege omnis caro coram te; per legem enim cognitio peccati"; *En. in Ps.* 118,XXVII,3; CCL 40,1758. "Do thus, do thus, merciful Lord; command what cannot be fulfilled, yea, command what cannot, save through Thy grace be fulfilled; that when men have proved incapable of fulfilling Thy commandments through their own strength, every mouth may be stopped, and no man may seem great unto himself. Let all be little ones, and let all the world be guilty before Thee; because by the deeds of the Law there shall no flesh be justified in Thy sight; for by the Law is the knowledge of sin"; transl. H.M. WILKINS, (*Library of the Fathers*, V), Oxford-London, 1853, 434. [emphasis omitted]

[98] "Ut sim tu dedisti mihi"; I,20; CCL 27,17.

And not only Augustine, but all depends on God for everything:

> "It is from the abundance of your goodness that your creation subsists ... Could the heaven and the earth which you made in the Beginning make any claim on you by their own deserts? ... What had corporeal matter deserved of you that it should exist even as a being invisible and without form, since it would not have existed even in that state except by reason of the fact that you created it? It did not exist before you created it, and therefore it could not earn any right to exist"[99].

As Augustine says to God, "You are everywhere, and everywhere you are entire"[100], so also he exclaims, "Thanks be to you, O Lord, for all that we see!"[101].

God alone knows, and is "truth, whereas every man is a liar"[102]. Thus, there "is no place whatever where man may hide away"[103] from God; if Augustine knows or understands anything, it is by God's will (VII,9). "Man with his natural gifts is like a mere infant in Christ's nursery. He must be fed on milk until he is strong enough to eat solid food"[104]. Augustine thus pleads with God: "You know how weak I am and how inadequate is my knowledge: teach me and heal my frailty"[105]. Indeed, Augustine even declares: "I am in a sorry state, for I do not even know what I do not know!"[106].

Augustine reenforces (whether consciously or not) his (and our) total dependence on God by focusing on little sins. On our own we cannot refrain from committing even the smallest of sins[107]. The thoroughness

[99] "Ex plenitudine quippe bonitatis tuae creatura tua substitit ... Quid enim te promeruit caelum et terra, quae fecisti in principio? ... Quid te promeruit materies corporalis, ut esset saltem inuisibilis et incomposita, quia neque hoc esset, nisi quia fecisti? Ideoque te, quia non erat, promereri ut esset non poterat"; XIII,2; CCL 27,242-243.

[100] "Ubique totus es et nusquam locorum es"; VI,3; CCL 27,76.

[101] "Gratias tibi, domine! Videmus caelum et terram"; XIII,32; CCL 27,270.

[102] "ueritas, omnis autem homo mendax"; XIII,25; CCL 27,265. See *Rom.* 3:4: "Let God be true though every man be false".

[103] "non esse quo a te omni modo recedatur"; II,6; CCL 27,24.

[104] "Animalis autem homo tamquam paruulus in Christo lactisque potator, donec roboretur ad solidum cibum"; XIII,18; CCL 27,255.

[105] "Tu scis imperitiam meam et infirmitatem meam: doce me et sana me"; X,43; CCL 27,193.

[106] "Ei mihi, qui nescio saltem quid nesciam!"; XI,25; CCL 27,210.

[107] Cf. Calvin's discussion of various Augustinian writings which explain how even believers are sinners. In Calvin's words: "So long as you live, sin must needs be in your members. At least let it be deprived of mastery". J. CALVIN, *o.c.*, 605-606, note 17. See also supra notes 44 and 54. That fact that no one is without sin is, of course, a common theme for Augustine. See, e.g., *Contra duas epistolas pelagianorum*, I,14; PL 44,563: "sine peccato autem in hac vita neminem"; *Against Two Letters of the Pelagians*, I,28,

with which Augustine probes his life for sin parallels the completeness of our dependency upon God in every aspect. It is no wonder that Augustine is "terrified by my sins"[108]; they are unescapable. Thus, he calls to God: "Give me the grace to do as you command, and command me to do what you will!"[109] "You are the power of my soul, come into it and make it fit for yourself, so that you may have it and hold it without stain or wrinkle. This is my hope"[110]. He begs to God, "open your door to my knocking"[111].

Even after conversion, when Augustine has "pared away many sins and thrust them away from [his] heart"[112], he cannot avoid little sins. In fact, one of Augustine's first post-conversion acts is a sin: he continues to occupy the *cathedra mendacii* "chair of lies" for a brief time and to teach "young pupils who gave no thought to [God's] law or [God's] peace"[113]. Augustine's use of little sins, then, not only illustrates our complete dependence on God, but also emphasizes God's omnipotence.

VII. The Death of Christ

To some degree, little sins also recall and parallel the paradox of Christ's death[114]. "It was because he was the Victim that he also was the

(*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, V): "no one in this life is without sin" (p. 386). *Sermo* 151,5; PL 38,817 :"Ergo semper pugnandum est, quia ipsa concupiscentia, cum qua nati sumus, finiri non potest quamdiu vivimus; quotidie minui potest, finiri non potest"; *Sermon* 151 (on *Romans* 7), in *Sermons on Selected Lessons of the New Testament*, II,709,713 (*Library of the Fathers*, 1860): "Therefore must we always fight; because this same concupiscence, wherewith we are born, cannot be ended as we live: diminished it may be day by day, ended it cannot be". *De peccatorum meritis et remissione*, II,14; PL 44,164: "omnes magni, omnes justi, omnes veraciter laudabiles sunt, sed sine peccato aliquo non sunt"; *On the Merits*, 21 (p. 53): "all these are great, they are all righteous, and they are all really worthy of praise, — yet they are by no means without sin".

[108] "conterritus peccatis meis"; X,43; CCL 27,193.

[109] "Da quod iubes et iube quod uis"; X,29; CCL 27,176.

[110] "Virtus animae meae, intra in eam et coapta tibi, ut habeas et possideas sine macula et ruga. Haec est mea spes"; X,1; CCL 27,155. See *Ephesians* 5:27: "that he might present the church to himself in splendor, without spot or wrinkle or any such thing, that she might be holy and without blemish".

[111] "ut aperiantur pulsanti mihi interiora"; XI,2; CCL 27,196.

[112] "periculorum ecce multa praeciderim et a meo corde dispulerim"; X,35; CCL 27,185.

[113] "subtrahere ministerium linguae meae nundinis loquacitatis, ne ulterius pueri meditantes non legem tuam, non pacem tuam"; IX,2; CCL 27,133.

[114] I do not wish to push this analogy too far, but instead see it at most as a suggestion, or a loose connection, much as Aslan the Lion reminds us of Christ but without any exact correlation. See C.S. Lewis, *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*,

Victor. In your sight he was for us both Priest and Sacrifice, and it was because he was the Sacrifice that he was also the Priest"[115]. Although the earthly Jesus had amazing powers (walking on water, raising the dead), nevertheless Christians focus upon Christ's death and resurrection. Christ did not come as a powerful earthly king, or a mighty warlord, but instead as a gentle man of humble origins (at least on His mother's side of the family). Christ submitted to God's will and conquered death.

Similarly, although Augustine seems to have substantial sins in his past, he nevertheless focuses on the smallest, sometimes seemingly inconsequential sins throughout the *Confessions*. Perhaps just as we would expect the earthly Christ to be a mighty king, so perhaps would we expect someone who spends as many pages as Augustine does confessing his sins to have some big things to get off his chest. Nevertheless, Augustine focuses on little sins, on acts praised on earth that in reality are sins, and on the fear of sins he cannot recognize. Whether consciously or not, Augustine's use of little sins echoes the seeming paradox of the earthly Christ. "Let the proud deride me, O God, and all whom you have not yet laid low and humiliated for the salvation of their souls; but let me still confess my sins to you for your honour and glory"[116]. Finally, Augustine recalls Christ's sacrifice by slaying "his old life and offer[ing] it as a sacrifice"[117]; his confessions too "are a sacrifice"[118].

VIII. Little Sins and Universality

It may seem also paradoxical that little sins have the widest applicability. If we are all sinful in some way, then what Augustine does by focusing on little sins is to place his discussion on a plane of sinfulness so low that it includes everybody. Augustine recognizes that "there are some who have been called by [God] and because they have listened to [His] voice they have avoided the sins which I here record and confess for them to read"[119] (II, 7). Nevertheless, he also knows that "however praise-

(1950). For a discussion of the "smallness" of Christ, see P. Tillich, *He Who is the Christ*, in The Shaking of the Foundations, 143-152, particularly 146, 149 (1949).

[115] "Uictor, quia uictima, pro nobis tibi sacerdos et sacrificium, et ideo sacerdos, quia sacrificium"; X,43; CCL 27,193.

[116] "Inrideant me adrogantes et nondum salubriter prostrati et elisi a te, deus meus, ego tamen confitear tibi dedecora mea in laude tua"; IV,1; CCL 27,40.

[117] "sacrificaueram mactans uetustatem meam"; IX,4; CCL 27,139.

[118] "sacrificium confessionum mearum"; V,1; CCL 27,57.

[119] "Qui enim uocatus a te secutus est uocem tuam et uitauit ea, quae me de me ipso recordantem et fatentem legit"; II,7; CCL 27,25.

worthy a man's life may be, it will go hard with him if you [God] lay aside your mercy when you come to examine it"[120].

The bigger the sin Augustine focuses on, the more likely a reader could say to himself, "I am not guilty of such heinous things, therefore I do not need to confess or repent". But who is not guilty of crying as a baby? Little sins encompass everyone's transgressions. In addition, readers who *are* guilty of bigger sins become especially aware of their guilt as Augustine chides himself for such small ones. Little sins do more than emphasize and reenforce several aspects of Augustine's theology. Because they are part of everyone's life, they cannot help but draw in the reader.

IX. Conclusion

Augustine himself provides perhaps the wisest conclusion for this article; we should approach understanding the *Confessions* as Augustine does Holy Scripture.

> "The truths which those words contain appear to different inquirers in a different light, and of all the meanings that they can bear which of us can lay his finger upon one and say that is what Moses had in mind and what he meant us to understand by his words?"[121].

Nevertheless, provided that

> "... each of us tries as best he can to understand in the Holy Scriptures what the writer meant by them, what harm is there if a reader believes what [God shows] him to be the true meaning? It may not even be the meaning which the writer had in mind, and yet he too saw in them a true meaning, different though it may have been from this"[122].

Any attempt to say conclusively and exclusively what Augustine has in mind by focusing on little sins, or indeed, even that he does so consciously, seems necessarily doomed to failure. I offer no "arbitrary assurance with which [to] insist upon" the points argued in this article (XII,25).

In describing the movement of the heavens, Augustine focuses on the movement of a single potter's wheel, and concludes: "O God, grant

[120] "etiam laudabili uitae hominum, si remota misericordia discutias eam"; IX,13; CCL 27,152.

[121] "Quis nostrum sic inuenit eam inter tam multa uera, quae in illis uerbis aliter atque aliter intellectis occurrunt quaerentibus, ut tam fidenter dicat hoc sensisse Moysen atque hoc in illa narratione uoluisse intelligi, quam fidenter dicit hoc uerum esse, siue ille hoc senserit siue aliud?"; XII,24; CCL 27,233-234.

[122] "... quisque conatur id sentire in scripturis sanctis, quod in eis sensit ille qui scripsit, quid mali est, si hoc sentiat, quod tu, lux omnium ueridicarum mentium, ostendis uerum esse, etiamsi non hoc sensit ille, quem legit, cum et ille uerum nec tamen hoc senserit?"; XII,18; CCL 27,229-230.

that men should recognize in some small thing like this potter's wheel the principles which are common to all things, great and small alike"[123]. Similarly, in confessing his transgressions, Augustine focuses on little sins. Regardless of his intention, Augustine's use of little sins illustrates, emphasizes and supports his thinking on the nature of God and our relationship with Him, original sin, bondage of will, and the death of Christ. In addition, little sins encompass the widest possible audience in terms of personal relevance. Like the potter's wheel, little sins contain principles common to much larger things. Augustine bids us, look.

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[123] "Deus, dona hominibus uidere in paruo [rota figuli] communes notitias rerum paruarum atque magnarum"; XI,23; CCL 27,208.

AUGUSTINE'S SILENCE ON THE FALLENNESS OF THE SOUL

An intriguing question of Augustinian scholarship, as especially pressed by Fr. Robert O'Connell over the past thirty years or so, is whether or not St. Augustine ever believed we were fallen souls à la Plotinus[1]. The supporters of the belief that Augustine did actually hold this — for whatever length of time — base the bulk of their arguments on certain texts from the Cassiciacum period, such as the following:

> "Such are those who are well educated in the liberal arts. Doubtless in learning them they draw them out from the oblivion that has overwhelmed them, or dig them out as it were"[2].

> "For, while in your [Evodius'] view the soul has brought no art with it, on the other hand, it has brought every art; for to learn is nothing else than to recall and to remember"[3].

> "The present question concerns our life, our morals, and the soul, which — destined to return to heaven when rendered more secure, now returning, as it were, to the region of its origin — presumes that it will overcome the opposition of all deceptive appearances; that, when it will have comprehended the truth, it will subdue inordinate desires; and that, when it will have thus become wedded to temperance it will exercise sovereign power"[4].

[1] The following bibliograpy forms a good introduction to O'Connell's argument: *St. Augustine's Early Theory of Man, A.D. 386-391* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968); *The Origin of the Soul in Saint Augustine's Later Works* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1987); *Augustine's Rejection of the Fall of the Soul*, in *Augustinian Studies* 4 (1973), 1-32; *Pre-existence in Augustine's Seventh Letter*, in *Revue des études augustiniennes* 15 (1969), 67-73; *Pre-existence in the Early Augustine*, in *Revue des études augustiniennes* 26 (1980), 176-188; *St. Augustine's Criticism of Origen in "Ad Orosium"*, in *Revue des études augustiniennes* 30 (1984), 84-99.

[2] *Soliloquia*, II.20.35: "disciplinis liberalibus eruditi sine dubio in se illas oblivione obrutas eruunt discendo et quodam modo refodiunt"; CSEL 89,95.

[3] *De quantitate animae* 20.34: "...ut tibi anima nullam, mihi contra omnes artes animam secum attulisse mihi videri; nec aliud quidquam esse id quod dicitur discere, quam reminisci ac recordari"; CSEL 89,173.

[4] *Contra Academicos*, II.9.22: "De vita nostra, de moribus, de animo res agitur; qui se superaturum inimicitias omnium fallaciarum, et veritate comprehensa, quasi in regionem suae originis rediens, triumphaturum de libidinibus, atque ita temperantia velut coniuge accepta regnaturum esse praesumit, securior rediturus in coelum"; CCL 29,30.

It is not at all the goal of this paper either to develop or to evaluate the arguments for holding that Augustine maintained humans had pre-existed and fallen into bodies. Moreover, it is not the goal of this paper to set forth the chief objections to such a view. Let it suffice to say that the view that Augustine was mightily influenced by a Plotinian understanding of the origin of the soul is *prima facie* the most plausible one, on the basis of texts such as the above. On the other hand, let us also begin by confessing that this evidence falls short of being absolutely compelling.

What I would like to investigate in this paper is, however, the following point. *Given* that O'Connell's case is not preposterous, several obstacles remain in the way of its becoming a compelling argument. I would like to consider one of the major obstacles people often raise to O'Connell's thesis, and show how it can be adequately met[5]. This obstacle being overcome, needless to say, does not entail that one must straightaway adopt O'Connell's position. However, if our argument is successful, it will at least show that his position is all the more respectable.

The problem to O'Connell's thesis we will treat of has two versions, both of which concern the lack of explicit statements by Augustine himself concerning his own (putative) propensity to the fallen soul account of human origin[6]. (1) Augustine never expressly affirms his adherence to a fallen soul theory, *in* those texts we have set forth as embodying this inclination. (2) Especially in the *Retractationes*, when he was reconsidering some of the texts set forth above with respect to their relationship to the issue of the origin of the soul, he is silent about his (alleged) youthful adherence to such a view, but merely contents himself by suggesting some minor emendations in the relevant texts. These two problems reduce then to what we may call the "problem of silence": If Augustine had really believed in the literal fall of human souls, then it is reasonable to suppose that he would have explicitly said so, especially in these texts; but he never explictly says so; therefore, he probably never really believed in the literal fall of human souls, contrary to O'Connell and company.

Fr. O'Connell himself has addressed this issue of Augustine's

[5] O'Connell himself has attempted to meet this "problem of silence" (vide infra) on several occasions. However, I do not think he has ever satisfactorily brought his defense together coherently. My aim is to help him do this.

[6] I do not claim that these problems are the only ones beseiging his position. There are also, for example, questions of textual interpretation, both major and minor, that he has to meet. However, in his defense, I would have to say that his view is able to account for a large number of both major and minor textual problems.

"silence"[7], and I will make use of some of his suggestions. However, the bulk of his reply aims to demonstrate how the relevant passages in the *Retractationes* (to take only the second problem) do not fully or clearly gainsay the reputed youthful adherence to a fallen soul view[8]. My objective, on the other hand, is bolder than O'Connell's: I intend to advance arguments to show how, even if Augustine's statements in the *Retractationes* and other later works do indicate his mature repudiation of a fallen soul view, that the silence in such works does not undermine the thesis that in his youth he may well have inclined that way. O'Connell takes the silence of his maturity to betoken that even then the Bishop of Hippo had some positive inclinations toward the fallen soul position; the argument of this paper will take it to signify that Augustine maintained a fallen soul view only at the dawn of his life as a Christian.

The First Problem

At first glance it appears rather odd that Augustine never expressly admitted, in the relevant texts themselves, that he believed that humans were fallen souls. Of course, one cannot expect an author to draw explicit attention to all of the beliefs, presuppositions, etc. in his work; among other things, authors themselves probably cannot even know all such matters, much less discover the proper means of expressing them. However, a belief in fallen souls, being such a basic one to Christianity, by its very nature would seem to demand more explicit care. So let us see if there are any adequate explanations for this conspicuous silence.

First, as a type of argument *ad ignorantium*, one could equally remark that he never expressly denies that, in his earlier period[9], we were fallen souls. That is, while talking about the "fall", "ascent", "reascent", "homeland" etc. of the soul in the early works he does not ward off any potential misinterpretations of these seductive ideas. However, such

[7] See especially: *The Origin of the Soul in Saint Augustine's Later Works*, pp. 321-35; *Augustine's Rejection of the Fall of the Soul*, pp. 2-7.

[8] Cf. *Augustine's Rejection of the Fall of the Soul*, p. 3: "First on the question of whether Augustine, even in his earliest of writings, held the theory of man as "fallen soul": the burden of my entire argument will be that the evidence of the *Retractions* leaves that question open for investigation *in the early texts themselves*". Also, *The Origin of the Soul in Augustine's Later Works*, p. 334: "But *non accipiendum, cavendum fuit, dixissem securius* [phrases used in the *Retractationes*], here his language is more guarded: Augustine never comes right out to say he *did not then* intend to convey the meaning he now, years later, finds reprehensible or suspect.

[9] Since in his maturity he arguably repudiates a certain type of fallen soul view — Origen's — if not indeed all kinds. Cf. *Epistle* 166 to Jerome.

reticence could possibly be explained as a sign of his avowed openness[10] to all of the four acceptable hypotheses concerning the soul's origin[11]. Yet this will not completely do. For not only does he fail to ward off potential misinterpretations, but in light that the fallen soul interpretation is *prima facie* the most plausible in many cases, it should come as a little surprise that such a careful thinker as Augustine would not have taken at least some precautions against potential misunderstandings on this score.

Secondly, one has to avoid an anachronistic reading of Augustine. Present day Catholic doctrine adamantly denies human pre-existence. It may be difficult for us to accept, then, that one of the pillars of Catholic theology and philosophy would himself have erred on this important point. Perhaps then the "silence" concerning an explicit avowal that he was at that time advancing a fallen soul view of the origin of the soul strikes *us* peculiarly. For since we know (by Faith) that humans did not pre-exist, and we also accept the testimony of Augustine on this as well as other matters as being nigh-definitive, our original inclination is to expect him *qua* circumspect catechist to draw explicit attention to this which we find difficult in his teaching. Yet possibly this is an unreasonable expectation on our part. Catholic Doctrines and Dogmas have developed over time, in a wide variety of ways[12].

Thirdly, we may note that, since the bulk of his (alleged) theorizing on the literal fallenness of the soul is found in the Cassiciacum dialogues, we might explain away the "silence" concerning a fallen soul view in such works by noting that the assembly of friends around him would not have needed to be reminded that the views on the soul set forth there were Plotinian. None of the people there could have been aware that pre-existence views were false, since that issue was not yet officially decided. Moreover, the only major Christian philosopher/ theologian that all of them were familiar with was Ambrose, whose ties with Neoplatonism were doubtless well known. Now, as far as I know, Ambrose does not commit himself to

[10] "Nullam [harum sententiarum] temere adfirmare oportebit"; "None of them may be rashly affirmed"; *De libero arbitrio*, III.21.59; CCL 29,309.

[11] "Harum autem quatuor de anima sententiarum, utrum de propagine ueniant an in singulis quibusque nascentibus nouae fiant an in corpora nascentium iam alicubi existentes uel mittantur diuinitus uel sua sponte labantur"; "Now there are these four opinions about the origin of the soul, viz., that it comes by propagation, that it is newly created with each individual who is born, that it exists somewhere beforehand and comes into the body of the newly-born either being divinely sent or gliding in of its own accord"; *De libero arbitrio*, III.21.59; CCL 29,309.

[12] This does not entail that they have ever changed, in the sense of a "truth" being rejected and replaced by some other. Development may simply refer to the sharpening of understanding with regard to some Church teaching.

any definite position concerning the origin of the soul. Might Augustine (and the others as well) have known, through personal communication, that Ambrose secretly favored this aspect of Neoplatonic thought? It is a possibility we cannot utterly reject. But more importantly, those present at Cassiciacum certainly knew Neoplatonic ideas directly, regardless of their knowledge of Christianity's appraisal of such ideas. Thus, since Neoplatonism propounds pre-existence and the fall of the soul, and since, as we have alleged, Augustine at least inclined towards this aspect of Neoplatonism at this time, we need not be overly surprised at the lack of explicit avowals of pre-existence in such works. (Indeed, given the intellectual bent of his friends, if Augustine were not setting forth a fallen soul view in such works, we would expect him to make explicit statements to this effect; but he does not do this. In this way, the silence actually supports O'Connell's contentions).

The Second Problem

We now come to the more disturbing silence, namely that found in the *Retractationes*. This silence is more vexing because in this work of his maturity we find him critiquing many of the salient errors of his corpus, yet there is hardly an explicit word about his having adopted or even having been inclined to fallen soul theories in his youth, which we have claimed, along with O'Connell, he then did maintain or at least seriously inclined towards. Rather, we find him making only claims such as these, to the effect that certain passages in his early works should be interpreted in ways other than those supportive of fallen soul views:

> "In another place when I was treating of the soul, I said: 'It will return more safely into heaven'. But I would have been safer in saying 'will go' rather than 'will return' on account of those who opine that human souls, as a judgment for their own sins, have been cast into earthly bodies, either having fallen from heaven or having been thrown out of it"[13].
>
> "What I said in that book, that 'It seems to me that the soul has brought all the arts with it and that what is called learning is nothing more than remembering and recalling', should not be taken to mean that I agree that the soul, at some time, has lived either in another body or elsewhere in a body or outside a body, and that previously, in another life, it has learned the responses it makes when questioned, since it has not learned them here"[14].

[13] On *Contra Academicos* I.1.8: "Alio loco de anima cum agerem dixi: *Securior rediturus in caelum*'. Iturus autem quam rediturus dixissem securius propter eos, qui putant animos humanos pro meritis peccatorum suorum de caelo lapsos seu deiectos in corpora ista detrudi"; *Retractationes* I,1,3; CCL 47,9.

[14] On *De quantitate animae* I.7.2: "In quo libro illud quod dixi *omnes artes animam*

"I also said that 'without a doubt, those well trained in the liberal arts bring out, in learning, the knowledge buried in oblivion within them and, in a certain way, dig it out'. But this I also disapprove of"[15].

In such passages Augustine does not clearly say he is retracting *his* purportedly early view that we were fallen souls. Hence, in a work devoted to the correcting of his own mistakes, one's first reaction to this silence is to conclude that he had no need to retract such a view because he in fact never held it, contrary to O'Connell's thesis.

How can this seemingly devastating objection be met? We propose to meet it by showing how such silence might "cut both ways", as it were.

The case can be made that, from around 412 on, Augustine does make efforts to distance himself from fallen soul theories of the origin of the soul. The following citations are representative of this tendency:

"But that souls sin in another earlier life, and that for their sins in that state they are cast down into bodies as prisons, I neither believe nor tolerate nor assent to at all"[16].

"Then by various stages, in proportion to their [souls'] various sins, they came down to earth and incurred the penalty of imprisonment in various bodies. Hence this world came into being; and the reason for the world's creation was to restrain evil, not to establish good. Hence arises the just reproach against Origen"[17].

"[nor do I affirm] that third opinion which would have it that souls sinned in some other state previous to the flesh, and so deserved to be condemned to the flesh, for the Apostle has most distinctly stated that "the children being not yet born, had done neither good nor evil." (*Romans* 9:11) So it is evident that infants could have contracted none but original sin to require remission of sins"[18].

secum attulisse mihi videri, nec aliud quicquam esse id quod dicitur quam reminisci et recordari, non sic accipiendum est, quasi ex hoc adprobetur animam vel in alio corpore vel alibi sive in corpore sive extra corpus aliquando vixisse et ea, quae interrogata respondet, cum hic non didicerit, in alia vita ante didicisse"; *Retractationes* I,8,2; CCL 47,22.

[15] On *Soliloquia* I.4.8: "Item quodam loco dixi quod *disciplinis liberalibus eruditi sine dubio in se illas oblivione obrutas eruunt discendo et quodam modo refodiunt*. Sed hoc quoque improbo"; *Retractationes* I,4,4; CCL 47,15.

[16] *Epistle* 166.9.27: "Sed in alia superiore vita peccare animas, et inde praecipitari in carceres carneos, non credo, non acquiesco, non consentio"; CSEL 44,583.

[17] *De civitate Dei*, XI.23: "...et diversis progressibus pro diversitate peccatorum, a coelis usque ad terras, diversa corpora quasi vincula meruisse: et hunc esse mundum eamque causam mundi fuisse faciendi, non ut conderentur bona, sed ut mala cohiberentur. Hinc Origenes iure culpatur"; CCL 48,341.

[18] *De anima et eius origine*, I.12.15: "...nec illud tertium, alibi peccasse animas ante carnem, ut damnari merentur in carnem. Apostolus quippe apertissime definivit, nondum in carne natos nihil egisse boni seu mali. Unde constat, parvulos, ut remissiones indigeant peccatorum, nonnisi originale contraxisse peccatum"; CSEL 60,314.

Now, to help the reader of his *Retractationes* to avoid undue confusion, one might expect him to make it perfectly clear in this work that even in his youth he did not positively maintain a fallen soul view, especially since with respect to these very passages in the *Retractationes* he admits that they could be interpreted in that way. But he is silent about this. In the mid 410's he became increasingly aware that fallen soul theories were not entirely conformable with a Christian conception of the world. Why then does he not make it more clear in the *Retractationes* that this was not his intention in the early works, if he was not in fact so inclined? It certainly would have cost him nothing to make such a clarification. The answer may be, then, that he well knew he then had held such a view, or at least was seriously inclined that way. So the silence can cut both ways.

However, we are not out of the woods yet. For we still ought to come up with some explanation, on the hypothesis just set forth, why the mature Bishop would have remained silent about his alleged youthful inclination to fallen soul views. One certainly cannot suppose that he was overtly dishonest — both his personal sanctity and the existence of the *Retractationes* militate against that possibility. As far as I can see there are two possibilities.

The first is that Augustine even in 427 may not have been completely certain about the falsity of the fallen soul outlook; he may have been certain that an *Origenian* view of cyclic souls was false[19], but this does not mean that he regarded any pre-existence view as false. Let us keep in mind that the Pelagian dispute had been foremost in his mind ever since 412, and that at the time of the composing of the *Retractationes* he had no reason to believe the controversy would dissipate soon. Moreover, he knew he would die soon, and that other Catholics would most likely use his writings to combat them. Furthermore, since a main point of contention with them concerned the existence of original sin, the two views of the soul that best supported original sin were traducianism and some pre-existence view. Thus, since Augustine claimed himself that he

[19] Cf. O'CONNELL, *The Origin of the Soul in St. Augustine's Later Works*, p. 323: "For when Augustine first makes the acquaintance of Origenism, through Paul Orosius in 414, his instincts of repulsion bear rather on its cyclic and 'fantastic' account of creation and of God's motive for creating the visible world; Origen's account of our souls as 'fallen' does not move directly into his critical sights". Interestingly, the guarded and tentative language of the *Retractationes* ("securius dixissem," "cavendum fuit," "non accipiendum," "hoc quoque improbo") may support the hypothesis that in 427 this was still Augustine's opinion: Scripture clearly rules out that the world is a prison for fallen souls, while not conclusively forbidding any pre-existent status to human beings.

could not fathom Scripture to determine which view of the origin of the soul was correct[20], he may have wished to leave open the possibility for future Catholics to make use of the fallen soul view if that could be wielded against the pernicious Pelagians. Thus, given such circumstances, it is consistent to hold that the mature Augustine was aware he had inclined towards a fallen soul view in his youth, and yet he did not retract such passages explicitly because he did not wish to deprive future Pelagian opponents of any weapon.

Secondly, given similar premises as above, one could argue that because of the perceived danger of a resourceful opponent such as Julian contorting even a "tame" version of pre-existence into a more Origenian view, and hence seriously damaging the Catholic position, perhaps Augustine would have remained silent about his youthful propensities in this matter[21]. In this way, by not stirring up the fires of his youth, he may have hoped to deprive Julian of a weapon. Moreover, this does not mean that Augustine was then dishonest about what his earlier opinions in fact were. It may only indicate that, for certain prudent reasons, Augustine simply did not provide a complete accounting of the exact intentions of his youth.

Do these suggestions completely put to rest any doubts about O'Connell's interpretation of the Cassiciacum inclination towards pre-existence of human souls? Of course not; the issue is more subtle than that. Nevertheless, I hope that these indications have at least put to rest the suspicion that the "silence" in the *Retractationes* renders the evidence for O'Connell's view at best "circumstantial"[22]. One does wish that Augustine had been more explicit and definite in this issue. But given the present state of scholarship, I do not see overwhelming reasons why one can not fruitfully proceed on the assumption that Augustine did, for a certain time at least, honestly believe we had pre-existed and fallen into corruptible bodies as a consequence.

South Band, Ind. Jon T. BEANE

[20] Cf. *De Genesi ad litteram*, X.23.39: After pursuing this investigation as thoroughly as time has allowed, I should judge the weight of reason and of scriptural texts to be equal or nearly equal on both sides [creationism and traducianism], were it not for the fact that the practice of infant baptism gives greater weight to the opinion of those who hold that souls are generated by parents.

[21] Cf. O'CONNELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 332-335.

[22] Frederick Crosson, in personal communication, has evaluated O'Connell's thesis using such language.

AUTOUR DE LA BULLE *UNIGENITUS*
ARMAND BAZIN DE BESONS (1654-1721)
Archevêque de Bordeaux (1698-1719)

C'est à la prière d'un ami et collègue que je consacrerai quelques pages à ce prélat qui est souvent nommé dans l'histoire de l'*Unigenitus*, sans pourtant y avoir joué un rôle important[1]. Nous ne nous occuperons guère des trois, ou plutôt quatre, épiscopats qu'il occupa successivement et, paraît-il, même dignement. Nous relèverons surtout les traits de sa personnalité et ses interventions dans l'affaire de l'*Unigenitus*.

Armand naquit le 29 décembre 1654 à Paris. Son père Claude (1612-1684) fit, en dépit de son apparence quelque peu étrange[2], une belle carrière: avocat général au Grand Conseil (1639), intendant de Soissons (1640), membre de l'Académie française (1643), visiteur général en Catalogne (1650), intendant de Languedoc (1653-1673). Son épouse, Marie Targer († 1699), lui donnera quatre fils: Louis († 1700), conseiller au Parlement, puis intendant de Limoges et de Bordeaux, restera sans descendance quoiqu'il se soit marié deux fois; Jacques († 1733), dont la longue et heureuse carrière militaire sera appréciée par Louis XIV qui lui accordera, en 1707, le bâton de maréchal; Omer († 1679), chevalier de Malte, qui mourra sur son vaisseau Le Conquérant; et Armand, le fils cadet; et deux filles dont l'une, Suzanne († 1699), épousera Louis Le Blanc († 1694), maître des requêtes, et l'autre, Marie († 1729), sera supérieure perpétuelle des religieuses du Bon Secours à Paris[3].

Destiné lui aussi à une carrière ecclésiastique, Armand reçut une éducation appropriée. Il fit sans doute ses études secondaires chez les jésuites, si puissants à la Cour et ailleurs, et ses études supérieures à la

[1] Pour une orientation rapide voir *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, V, 1028-1029; *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, VII, 74-75; Michel ANTOINE, *Le gouvernement et l'administration sous Louis XV, Dictionnaire biographique*, Paris, 1978, 24.

[2] TALLEMANT DES RÉAUX, dans ses *Historiettes*, le dépeint à l'âge de 40 ans, comme "un petit bout d'homme tout rond, joufflu comme un des quatre vents et aussi bouffi d'orgueil qu'il y en eut au monde "; citation dans *Dictionnaire de biographie*, V, 1030, où on trouve aussi une notice biographique sur cet homme important. Cf. ANTOINE, *Le gouvernement*, 24.

[3] L. MORERI, *Le grand dictionnaire*, II (1759), 229.

Sorbonne où il obtint le doctorat le 17 décembre 1682.

Il fait rapidement son chemin. Le 22 septembre 1680 déjà, deux ans avant son doctorat, il devient agent général de l'Assemblée du Clergé, une charge importante et prometteuse et, de plus, bien rémunérée[4]; il est nommé aussitôt conseiller royal et, bientôt, en 1681, aussi abbé commendataire de l'abbaye prémontrée de Ressons, d'une valeur de 3776 livres[5]; en la même année il joue un rôle dans "la petite Assemblée", préliminaire de celle si importante de 1682 dont il sera secrétaire et au cours de laquelle seront proclamés les fameux articles gallicans du Clergé de France. Armand restera au bureau permanent de l'Assemblée du Clergé jusqu'en 1685 quand Louis XIV le nommera à l'évêché d'Aire-sur-l'Adour; est-ce une promotion ou un éloignement de Paris?

En tout cas ce très vieux siège de la très ancienne ville plutôt endormie, remontant à l'époque des Romains, n'est pas fort enviable: très à l'écart, avec un chapitre peu reluisant, aucune communauté religieuse sauf l'abbaye bénédictine de Saint-Sévère, une mense modeste (20.000 livres) et quelque 200 paroisses rurales à visiter[6].

L'évêque nommé est aussitôt la victime du long et violent différend survenu entre Paris et Rome. La confirmation pontificale ne sera donnée que huit ans plus tard et Armand ne sera sacré qu'après avoir abjuré la doctrine de la Déclaration de 1682[7].

Mais en attendant, il n'a pas manqué de gouverner son diocèse en vicaire capitulaire. Il a pu le faire paisiblement, les querelles théologiques étant demeurées inconnues sur les bords de l'Adour.

En 1699, la chance lui sourit de nouveau. L'archevêché, voisin, de Bordeaux est vacant. L'évêque intrigant de Meaux, Bissy[8], le refuse parce que trop éloigné de Paris et de Versailles, dont — grâce à ses bonnes relations avec Madame de Maintenon et les jésuites — il attend un grand

[4] Ch. GÉRIN, *Recherches historiques sur l'Assemblée du clergé de France de 1682*, 2e édition, Paris, 1870, 292, mentionne un traitement sur la caisse du clergé, un traitement du trésor royal, les revenus de ses bénéfices; pour le second semestre 1681, il eut encore une gratification de 8000 livres. La charge d'agent comportait non seulement une activité pendant la durée de l'Assemblée, mais également pendant le bureau permanent jusqu'à l'Assemblée suivante. De la sorte, on retrouve Armand à l'Assemblée de 1685 comme agent-secrétaire; cf. P. BLET, *Les assemblées du clergé et Louis XIV de 1670 à 1693*, Rome, 1972, passim.

[5] Norbert BACKMUND, *Monasticon praemonstratense*, II, Straubung, 1952.

[6] Sur l'évêché d'Aire, voir *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, I, 1210-1215.

[7] *Hierarchia catholica*, V, 70.

[8] L. CEYSSENS, *Autour de la bulle Unigenitus: le cardinal de Bissy (1657-1737)*, dans *Antonianum* 63 (1988) 74-115.

avenir. C'est donc par pure veine, grâce aux ambitions d'un autre, qu'Armand obtient Bordeaux le 29 mars 1698[9], et en prend possession le 15 septembre, sans doute en présence de son frère aîné Louis qui, comme intendant de la ville, y a succédé à son père et y mourra l'année suivante.

Bordeaux n'est pas Aire. Ce n'est pas une ancienne petite ville endormie à l'intérieur du pays, sur les bords d'une rivière pittoresque mais morte. Bordeaux est une ville pleine de vitalité, port de mer sur la Garonne, centre de commerce, avec ses vins renommés, son université, son évêché comptant une dizaine d'archidoyennés, 390 paroisses (à visiter), un chapitre nombreux, des collégiales, des maisons religieuses; dans la ville même il y a déjà treize communautés de religieuses. L'archevêché comprend huit sièges suffragants, dont ceux de La Rochelle et de Luçon. L'archevêque est un grand seigneur jouissant d'une bonne mense (55.000 livres) et disposant de plusieurs maisons de campagne[10].

Même au spirituel l'évêché se trouve dans un état favorable. Grâce surtout à l'action des deux archevêques de Sourdis, la réforme tridentine y prospère et, malgré la présence de nombreux ecclésiastiques, parmi lesquels oratoriens et jésuites ne manquent pas, le jansénisme et l'antijansénisme n'y sont guère connus[11].

Tout au début de son archiépiscopat, Armand doit, sur l'ordre du roi, convoquer le concile provincial pour y accepter et promulguer la condamnation pontificale des propositions quiétistes tirées des *Maximes des Saints*. Puisque tous les archevêques de France y sont obligés et s'exécutent, Fénelon n'aura pas porté rancune à son collègue de Bordeaux[12].

En 1701, Armand a le privilège exceptionnel de recevoir dans sa cathédrale Philippe V, le nouveau roi d'Espagne, avec tout le cortège des hautes personnalités qui l'accompagnent. En la même année, le samedi 23 juillet, il conduit — par quel hasard, on l'ignore — à Paris, dans Saint-Denis, les funérailles du duc d'Orléans, le frère du roi, le père du futur Régent[13]. Mais Armand a déjà commencé sa tâche épiscopale. Nous allons considérer de près quelques détails de sa carrière qui nous aideront à cer-

[9] *Hierarchia catholica*, V, 130.

[10] Sur l'archidiocèse de Bordeaux, voir *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, IX, 1182-1199.

[11] F. LOIRETTE et L. DESGRAVES, *La réforme catholique et le mouvement religieux, dans Bordeaux de 1453 à 1715*, sous la direction de Robert BOUTRUCHE, Bordeaux, 1966, 370-401.

[12] Dans sa correspondance, Fénelon ne mentionne pas Armand, mais bien son frère Jacques, le maréchal: "irrésolu et borné, mais sensé et honnête homme"; FÉNELON, *Oeuvres complètes*, VII (1850), 182.

[13] D. VAN DER CRUYSSE, *Madame Palatine, princesse européenne*, Paris, 1988, 421.

ner sa personnalité. Ses Mandements épiscopaux nous y seront d'un grand secours[14].

En 1701, ayant terminé la visite de sa métropole, Armand se propose d'en faire autant dans les autres 390 paroisses de son diocèse. Le goût des questions administratives ne lui étant pas étranger, il annonce sa visite par un Mandement, le 1er avril 1701:

> "Par la miséricorde divine et par la grâce du Saint-Siège, archevêque de Bordeaux, primat d'Aquitaine, conseiller du roi en tous ses conseils";

et il continue:

> "Un des principaux devoirs des pasteurs est la visite du troupeau ... Nous résolûmes l'année dernière d'en faire la visite afin qu'étant informé des désordres et des abus qu'il pourrait y avoir, nous fussions en état d'y apporter les remèdes les plus convenables; sa vaste étendue ne nous permet pas de la parcourir aussi promptement que nous le souhaiterions, mais laissant à Dieu la disposition des temps qui ne sont pas en notre puissance, nous tâcherons d'employer utilement celui qu'il nous donne".

Suivent 23 dispositions pratiques: les curés doivent publier le présent mandement, faire prier pour la réussite de la visite, préparer les candidats au sacrement de la confirmation, apprêter les registres paroissiaux, dresser des mémoires sur l'état de la vie familiale et de la sanctification du dimanche, arranger les documents relatifs à leur situation personnelle et à celle de leurs "régents" et sages-femmes, étaler les ustensiles des autels et de la sacristie, cataloguer leurs messes fondées, disposer les reliques, les vaisseaux des saintes huiles, les fonts baptismaux, avertir ceux de leurs paroissiens qui prétendent avoir quelque droit spécial à un banc, une chapelle, un oratoire, une sépulture, qu'ils devront montrer leurs titres; les prébendiers, les chapelains, les autres ecclésiastiques présents dans la paroisse devront se présenter; le jour de la visite l'église sera balayée et décorée; l'accueil du visiteur se déroulera rigoureusement selon les règles du cérémonial[15].

En 1702, Armand trouve de belles paroles pour annoncer le jubilé universel:

"Il n'est rien que nous devions tant désirer que de fréquents moyens d'assurer

[14] F. F. A. DONNET, *Recueil des ordonnances, mandements et lettres pastorales des archevêques de Bordeaux ... de l'an 1599 à l'an 1836*, Bordeaux, 1848.

[15] DONNET, *Recueil*, 155-159. *Le diocèse de Bordeaux*, sous la direction de B. GUILLEMAIN, (*Histoire des diocèses de France*, direction J. R. PALANQUE et R. PLONGERON, t. 2), Paris, 1974, 273-274 note les visites suivantes faites par Bazin: 1699: en Pomerol; 1700 (17 janvier-12 février): dix paroisses de la ville de Bordeaux; 1701 (22-25 mai): l'archevêque et ses vicaires généraux, 6 paroisses d'Entre-Dordogne; 26 novembre: Saint-Sulpice-de-Faleyrens; 1702 (3 mai-5 juin): 31 paroisses; 1703 (28 avril-12 mai): 42 localités; 1708 (20 avril-20 mai), l'archevêque et ses délégués: 34 localités; 1712: visite à Loupiac; 1713 (18 mai-7 juin), l'archevêque et ses délégués: 41 paroisses.

de plus en plus notre salut, et il n'est rien aussi que nous devions tant craindre que d'abuser de ces mêmes moyens; quel malheur, si les secours que Dieu nous donne pour nous sauver, devenaient la cause même de notre perte. Prévenons un si funeste abus ...".

Douze prescriptions apprennent aux fidèles comment gagner les indulgences du jubilé et un petit livre de prières qu'Armand a composé les y aidera également[16].

Par un Mandement de 1704, il impose ses *Ordonnances synodales*. Celles-ci sont le fruit de ses visites pastorales:

"... Nous avons eu la consolation de voir un grand nombre de pasteurs veiller attentivement sur leurs troupeaux, et nous souhaitons qu'il n'y en ait aucun sur qui puisse tomber cette plainte que Dieu fait par la bouche de ses prophètes: *pascebant semetipsos pastores, et greges meos non pascebant* .... Notre intention n'est pas néanmoins d'abolir les Ordonnances qui ont été faites par nos prédécesseurs ... Nous avons cherché les moyens d'en rétablir une grande partie dans leur première vigueur et d'en rendre l'exécution plus facile ... Ainsi nous n'avons pas tant suivi nos lumières que celles de nos illustres prédécesseurs ... Enseignez exactement le Catéchisme que nous avons dressé pour l'usage de notre diocèse et que nous avons proportionné à la portée du commun des fidèles ..."[17].

Armand, c'est à noter, prête une attention spéciale à la formation de ses prêtres, au séminaire[18] et aux conférences ecclésiastiques[19]. En 1705, toujours tout occupé de ses questions administratives, Armand doit publier la nouvelle bulle antijanséniste, *Vineam Domini*, donnée le 16 juil-

[16] DONNET, *Recueil*, 160-165.

[17] Ib., 166-170. Le fameux *Catéchisme* du P. EDMOND, jésuite (cf. *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, V, 378-383) avait été en usage à Bordeaux, jusqu'en 1683, lorsque le prédécesseur d'Armand l'avait remplacé par un plus simple; ce qu'Armand fit à son tour.

[18] Pour les ordinands, Armand avait prolongé la durée du séjour obligatoire au séminaire de neuf mois pour le sous-diaconat, de trois pour le diaconat, de trois autres pour la prêtrise; cf. BOUTRUCHE, 385.

[19] Armand écrit dans son Mandement: "Nous avons cru aussi ... que pour procurer le bien et l'avantage des ecclésiastiques de notre diocèse, un des moyens les plus efficaces était de leur donner des règlements pour rendre plus utiles les conférences qui avaient été si sagement établies par nos prédécesseurs; il nous a paru qu'on tirerait plus de fruit de ces conférences, si propres à inspirer aux ecclésiastiques la science et la piété convenables à leur état, si l'on en prescrivait les sujets, afin qu'on eût le temps de se préparer sur les matières proposées et qu'on fût en état de les traiter avec plus de force et d'en décider les questions avec plus de solidité. L'essai, que nous en avons fait depuis un an, a eu le succès que nous en attendions; et nous nous flattons que ceux qui étaient le plus portés à une occupation si sainte et si utile, y seront encore plus engagés par l'application avec laquelle nous lisons les procès-verbaux de chaque conférence. Nous y considérons avec plaisir le fruit de vos études; nous examinons si vos décisions sont justes. Nous avons soin de vous en faire savoir notre sentiment ...".

let par Clément XI sur la prière instante de Louis XIV, à la suite du *Cas de conscience*[20]. Armand s'exécute docilement, se conformant entièrement aux jugements du pape et du roi:

> "Nous avons vu avec une véritable douleur les efforts que des esprits inquiets ont faits depuis quelques années pour renouveler les contestations sur le jansénisme, et pour affaiblir, par des écrits [par exemple le *Cas de conscience*, 1701] remplis de fausses et dangereuses maximes, l'autorité des constitutions des pontifs [contre les jansénistes] ...".

Mais tout en suivant le modèle de l'Assemblée, Armand ajoute imprudemment en gallican irrépenti:

> "... constitutions ... qui, après l'acceptation solennelle que le corps des pasteurs [l'Assemblée] en a faite, doivent être regardées comme le jugement de la foi de l'Église ...".

Cette phrase rappelle le gallicanisme théologique de 1682 le plus pur: l'infaillibilité n'est pas assurée au pape personnellement mais au pape avec les évêques, c.-à.-d. à l'Église.

Le pape qui, pour cette prise de position, en voulut tant à l'Assemblée de 1705 et à son président Louis Antoine de Noailles[21], cardinal archevêque de Paris, devait bien regretter la faiblesse de l'archevêque de Bordeaux, mais la lui pardonner: Armand se conformait à ses collègues; les questions dogmatiques ne le préoccupaient pas beaucoup. D'ailleurs, il sait être courtois, surtout à l'égard du pape. Selon le modèle de l'Assemblée, il poursuit:

> "Pierre a donc parlé par la bouche de son digne successeur; celui qui doit affermir la foi de ses frères, a rejeté toutes les nouveautés profanes qui pouvaient altérer la vérité et troubler la paix. Le Chef des pasteurs, excité par les prières du Roi, a dissipé par sa constitution du 16 juillet dernier, tous les vains prétextes auxquels on avait recours pour se dispenser d'obéir aux décisions de l'Église ..."[22].

Les problèmes fondamentaux du jansénisme semblent lui échapper. En prélat du tiers parti, Armand reste un serviteur fidèle du pape et du roi et leur ami. En 1705, il reçoit en commende l'importante abbaye de la Grâce-Dieu[23]. En 1708, sur l'ordre d'en haut, Armand publie un mande-

[20] L. CEYSSENS, *La bulle "Vineam Domini" (1705) et le jansénisme français*, dans *Antonianum* 64 (1989) 388-430.

[21] Sur les difficultés de Noailles à la suite de la bulle *Vineam Domini*, voir L. CEYSSENS et J.A. TANS, *Autour de l'Unigenitus. Recherches sur la genèse de la Constitution*, Louvain, 1987, surtout p. 701-706.

[22] *Recueil*, 171-173.

[23] *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, V, 1020; il y eut deux abbayes cisterciennes du nom de La Grâce; cf. *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, XXI, 1008-1012.

ment pour la prospérité des armes du roi. Il ose affirmer:

> "Notre pieux monarque, lorsqu'au cours glorieux de son règne, il a eu des ennemis à combattre, s'est toujours moins reposé sur la force de ses armes que sur la protection toute-puissante de Dieu, auquel il n'a jamais manqué de reporter la gloire de ses conquêtes ... En sa faveur nous devons lever les mains au ciel ..."[24].

Certes, c'est nécessaire. Les armées de Louis XIV ne sont plus victorieuses. Son trône chancelle même. Le dauphin, le "grand", fils unique, "fils de roi, père de roi, nullement roi lui-même", meurt en 1711. Par ses vicaires généraux Armand fait publier à Bordeaux un mandement pour le repos de l'âme du Dauphin:

> "... Par la mort, Dieu consomme en nous ses miséricordes ou sa justice. Il vient d'étendre sa main toute puissante sur la personne de Mgr. le Dauphin par une mort précipitée ... ce prince qui était si cher au Roi et faisait les délices des peuples ..."[25].

Entre-temps, Armand, résidant à Paris, assiste sans doute lui-même à l'enterrement dans Saint-Denis. Désormais il est bien noté partout, dans son diocèse, son archidiocèse, tout particulièrement auprès de ses suffragants de la Rochelle et de Luçon; aussi à Paris, où il est né, où habitent ses parents, ses amis les jésuites, particulièrement le P. Le Tellier, le tout puissant confesseur; également à Versailles, auprès du roi et de la reine secrète[26]; même — et c'est étonnant — auprès du duc de Saint-Simon[27]. Trente ans plus tard, ce Mémoraliste, "cette langue mauvaise", tracera de lui un portrait flatteur qu'il faut regarder de plus près:

> "... C'était l'homme du clergé qui en savait mieux les affaires et il entendait très bien à en manier d'autres. Sous une écorce rustre, il n'en avait rien; il était doux, poli, respectueux, point enflé de sa fortune, de son esprit, de sa capacité, et il en avait beaucoup; bon, doux, obligeant, sage et gai, de fort bonne compagnie, mesuré partout, bon évêque et entendant mieux qu'aucun le gouvernement de son diocèse. Il fut toujours estimé et considéré; aussi ne voulait-il déplaire à personne, et son défaut était un peu de patelinage et grand peur de se mettre en mal avec les gens en place et de crédit ..."[28].

Vu le respect qu'il porte au lointain archevêque de Bordeaux,

[24] *Recueil*, 182-186.

[25] Ib., 185-186.

[26] En rapport avec la bulle *Unigenitus*, j'ai consacré des études à Fénelon; cf. CEYSSENS-TANS, 521-579; au P. Le Tellier, ib., 333-400; à Louis XIV, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 55-56 (1985-1986) 123-166; à Mad. de Maintenon, dans *Augustiniana* 36 (1986) 101-154.

[27] *Autour de la bulle Unigenitus : Le duc de Saint-Simon (1675-1755)*, dans *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 63 (1985) 513-533.

[28] SAINT-SIMON, *Mémoires*, t. 6 (*Bibliothèque de la Pléiade*), Paris, 1958, 765.

Saint-Simon se fait, en 1711, son propagandiste. Il le recommande auprès du Duc de Beauvillier[29], cet ami de Fénelon, autrefois avec lui gouverneur du Dauphin:

> "... Raisonnant peu de jours après avec le duc de Beauvillier ... du renvoi de cette affaire au Dauphin, nous convînmes aisément de la nécessité de lui proposer un évêque pour y travailler sous lui ... Je lui parlai de Besons, archevêque de Bordeaux, liant aussi, fort instruit, estimé, transféré d'Aire à Bordeaux par le P. de la Chaize, ami des jésuites et qui ne pouvait être suspect. Le duc ne rejeta pas la proposition, mais me parla de Bissy, évêque de Meaux. Je m'élevai contre ce choix ... Je l'ébranlai et je vis jour à joindre le Bordeaux au Meaux dans ce travail sous le Dauphin"[30].

Par l'intervention de Saint-Simon et de Beauvillier, Armand devient donc un des conseillers dont le Dauphin s'entoure pour arranger le différend qu'ont avec le cardinal de Noailles, archevêque de Paris, les deux suffragants, de l'Escure de Luçon et de Champflour de la Rochelle[31]. C'est ainsi qu'en 1711-1712, Armand passe plusieurs mois à Paris et à Versailles.

Cependant, dans ce Conseil du Dauphin, Armand, homme de paix, a peu à dire. Il y est éclipsé par Bissy[32], cet évêque de Meaux, qui lui a cédé autrefois l'archidiocèse de Bordeaux et qui continue à se mettre en avant pour devenir cardinal aussi vite que possible.

D'ailleurs, l'affaire du Dauphin n'avance pas; trop d'intérêts opposés y jouent[33].

Le 8 février 1712, de retour dans sa métropole, Armand donne, sur l'ordre du roi, un "Mandement pour le succès des conférences sur la paix". Toutes les affaires du roi vont mal, tant celles de la guerre que celles de la paix. Les alliés victorieux veulent même obliger le vaincu à déclarer la guerre à son propre petit-fils, le roi d'Espagne. Toutefois Armand parvient encore à glorifier son monarque:

> "Il y a longtemps que nous soupirons après une heureuse paix. Le Roi, toujours attentif au bonheur de ses peuples, n'a rien oublié depuis plusieurs années pour nous la procurer. tout le monde sait les avances que sa piété l'a engagé de faire, au préjudice de ses propres intérêts, pour mettre fin aux maux

[29] Paul de Saint Aignant, duc de Beauvillier, prêtre manqué, pénitent de Tronson, disciple de Mad. Guyon, beau-fils de J. B. Colbert, père de 13 enfants, ministre d'État depuis 1681. Georges LIZERAND, *Le duc de Beauvillier, 1648-1714*, Paris, 1933.

[30] SAINT-SIMON, *Mémoires*, t. 3 (*Bibliothèque de la Pléiade*), Paris, 1951, 1059.

[31] L. CEYSSENS, *Autour de la bulle Unigenitus : Jean-François de Lescure, évêque de Luçon, et Etienne de Champflour, évêque de La Rochelle*, dans *Augustiniana* 38 (1988) 148-204.

[32] Voir ci-dessus note 8.

[33] Voir L. CEYSSENS, *L'Abbé Jean-Jacques Bochart de Saron (1660-1722)*, dans *Jansenistica Lovaniensia* 5 (1989) 9-29.

dont l'Europe est affligée. Mais malgré les facilités que Sa Majesté a apportées ... nous pouvons dire avec le prophète que nous n'avons éprouvé que des agitations et des troubles ... Il semble enfin que Dieu veuille avoir pitié de son peuple et retirer le glaive dont il le frappe depuis tant d'années ... Mais quelque espérance que nous puissions avoir ... nous devons craindre ... que le Ciel, encore irrité, ne le refuse pas à la terre coupable ..."[34].

En mars 1712, il y a plus grave: la famille royale est profondément plongée dans le deuil: le Dauphin, président de la commission épiscopale, la Dauphine, leur fils aîné, meurent à l'improviste. Le différend entre les évêques est oublié, mais Armand a tant à faire à Paris, qu'il semble avoir oublié de recommander les défunts aux prières de ses ouailles lointaines. Désormais il paraît passer le plus clair de son temps à Paris et à Versailles. En tout cas, il y est, lorsque, fin septembre 1713, y arrive la bulle *Unigenitus*, tant désirée et tant attendue par le roi Louis XIV[35]. Sur invitation spéciale du P. Confesseur[36], Armand participe à l'Assemblée extraordinaire convoquée pour l'examen et la publication du nouveau document pontifical, dont personne ne peut prévoir le sort, car tous, à quelques exceptions près, en ignorent l'origine trouble.

Le 16 octobre, Armand se rend donc à l'archevêché de Paris pour l'ouverture de cette Assemblée, qui est placée sous la présidence nominale du Cardinal archevêque de Paris, de Noailles, contre lequel la bulle est dirigée. Mais, en réalité, l'Assemblée est dominée par le P. Le Tellier, qui d'après la coutume des Assemblées, confie la direction à une commission, dont le cardinal de Rohan[37] est le chef et Armand le premier des six membres. Mais Bissy, l'ambitieux évêque de Meaux, est aussi de la partie et renforce la domination du P. Le Tellier. D'ailleurs Armand, lui aussi, reçoit des mémoires de la part des jésuites et ne manque pas de les communiquer à ses collègues[38]. Mais chez Armand il y a toujours un peu de flottement. Au début, Armand est d'accord avec la plupart des évêques

[34] DONNET, *Recueil*, 187-188.

[35] À l'arrivée de la bulle, Louis XIV se réjouissait plus qu'à l'annonce d'une éclatante victoire; L. CEYSSENS, *Autour de la bulle Unigenitus : Louis XIV*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 55-56 (1985-1986) 161.

[36] Ne voulant rien laisser au hasard, Le Tellier prétendit "mander des provinces les évêques qui me conviendront, empêcher ceux que je croierai difficiles à conduire ... J'y fourrerai les évêques in partibus ...", L. CEYSSENS, *Autour de la bulle Unigenitus : Le duc de Saint-Simon*, dans *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 63 (1985) 543.

[37] L. CEYSSENS, *Autour de la bulle Unigenitus : le Cardinal Armand-Gaston de Rohan (1674-1749)*, dans *Lias* 15 (1988) 49-71.

[38] Antoine DORSANNE, *Journal ... contenant l'histoire et les anecdotes de ce qui s'est passé de plus intéressant à Rome et en France dans l'affaire de la constitution Unigenitus*, 2e édit., 1756, I, 52.

réunis pour croire que de ces 101 propositions, bon nombre, bien sonnantes, ont besoin d'explications. Trois fois de suite, il doit parcourir avec ses collègues ces nombreuses propositions pour en contrôler le contexte dans le Nouveau Testament, dans les *Réflexions* de Quesnel, et en relever les éventuelles erreurs.

Cela prend du temps. Après un mois et demi, devenu impatient, le roi annonce le 8 janvier 1714 que l'Assemblée n'a qu'à accepter purement et simplement "sans parler ni d'explications, ni de précis (d'explications)". Consulté sur le cas, Armand répond à son chef, vraisemblablement à contre-coeur mais sincèrement:

> "'Puisque vous me pressez, je vous dirai, Monsieur, que lorsque le Roi s'en explique de la sorte, nous n'avons plus à délibérer; je ne change pas néanmoins de sentiment, et je suis toujours également persuadé que le clergé ne saurait se tirer de cette affaire avec honneur que par des explications'. — Les autres commissaires appuyèrent cet avis, à la réserve de Mr. de Meaux qui entrecoupait ses paroles et les étouffait entre les dents"[39].

Armand est chargé d'aborder des intermédiaires en vue de la liberté de l'Assemblée[40]. De fait, celle-ci peut continuer ses préparatifs. Un grand rôle y joue le Rapport (un résumé, un "précis") des travaux (examens) déjà exécutés par la Commission. Rohan et Bissy (avec Le Tellier) ont beaucoup travaillé. Le cardinal Noailles a pu s'en rendre compte à la lecture de Rohan, et a pu faire ses observations. Mais de celles-ci les chefs n'ont pas tenu compte. Au contraire ils ont encore remanié le texte dans leur propre sens. Aussi, quand le 29 janvier 1714, Armand et ses collègues l'examinent en vue de l'approuver, ils trouvent le texte "si farci d'injures contre le livre [des *Réflexions*] et son auteur [Quesnel] et de louanges excessives du pape", qu'ils remettent l'approbation entre les mains des groupes d'évêques qui se rencontreront successivement aux dîners que leur offre le cardinal de Rohan avec sa magnificence habituelle[41]. Mais de cette manière le Rapport disparaît et sera remplacé par une Instruction

[39] Ib., I, 66-70.

[40] Ib., I, 75 et 78.

[41] Ib., I, 79 et passim. Notez l'ambiguïté de l'expression: "Il [Rohan] leur envoyait le Précis retouché par MM. de Bordeaux et de Blois", qui est à lire: Il leur envoyait, par MM. de Bordeaux et de Blois, le Précis qu'il venait (lui-même) de retoucher. Pour l'intelligence du contexte, voir L. CEYSSENS, *Autour de la bulle Unigenitus. Son acceptation par l'Assemblée*, dans *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 80 (1985) 369-414; 732-759. C'était sans doute alors, le 29 janvier 1714, une des nombreuses fois où les commissaires "particulièrement M. de Bordeaux", avouèrent "d'être d'un avis contraire; que M. le cardinal de Rohan et M. de Meaux le trompaient; qu'il n'y avait en eux, particulièrement dans le dernier, ni bonne foi ni pudeur, que toute la raison était du côté de M. le cardinal de Noailles"; DORSANNE, *Journal*, I, 87.

pastorale, laquelle, malheureusement, ne sera pas encore disponible au moment de la clôture, et brisera ainsi l'unanimité de l'Assemblée.

Enfin, le 5 février 1714, à la clôture des délibérations, Armand, premier des commissaires, doit en premier prendre la parole. Il propose que chacun garde son entière liberté et prenne sa responsabilité; les huit garderont leur opinion et il en sera fait mention dans le procès-verbal, et les quarante signeront[42]Ainsi fut fait: notre archevêque appose sa signature en quatrième lieu, après le cardinal de Rohan et les deux futurs cardinaux, Gesvres de Bourges et Mailly de Reims[43]. Mais quant à être enthousiaste de la bulle, Armand ne l'est certainement pas; esprit administrateur, il ne goûte nullement les finesses théologiques.

Aussi ne s'empresse-t-il pas à publier cette bulle; les Délibérations de l'Assemblée, avec un modèle de publication, avaient été expédiées le 21 mars 1714. Les publications épiscopales pleuvent pendant tout le mois d'avril; Armand tarde à s'y mettre jusqu'au 2 mai, et encore de manière plutôt courte et sombre:

> "L'Église attentive dans tous les temps à la conservation du dépôt de la foi qui lui a été confiée et assurée de l'assistance du Saint-Esprit, qui lui a été promise, s'élèvera toujours avec succès contre toutes les erreurs et fera triompher la vérité; mais les puissances de l'enfer, qui ne prévaudront jamais contre elle, ne laisseront pas de faire jusqu'à la fin leurs efforts pour exciter de nouvelles hérésies et pour renouveler celles qui ont été condamnées ... Tout considéré, le saint nom de Dieu invoqué, nous adhérons à ce que ... l'Assemblée a déjà statué et nous y conformant, nous déclarons que nous reconnaissons avec une extrême joie dans la Constitution de notre Saint-Père la doctrine de l'Église ..."[44].

Contrairement à l'attitude qu'il avait prise en 1705, lors de la publication de la *Vineam Domini*, Armand laisse maintenant à peine entrevoir son désir gallican de juger avec le pape et de réserver l'infaillibilité à la "collégialité" du pape et des évêques.

Aussi Clément XI, Louis XIV, le P. Le Tellier auront-ils été contents. Armand reste provisoirement à Paris pour y collaborer au raccommodement par lequel le roi restaurera l'unité de son clergé[45].

En mars 1714, voulant accélérer les négociations, Louis XIV le prie de ne pas se rendre dans sa métropole lointaine pour y présider aux fêtes

[42] DORSANNE, *Journal*, I, 95.

[43] *Délibérations de l'Assemblée ... tenue à Paris les années 1713 et 1714*, Paris, 1714, 71.

[44] DONNET, *Recueil*, 198-200.

[45] L. CEYSSENS, *Autour de la bulle Unigenitus : Les essais d'accommodement (1714-1715)*, dans *Antonianum* 60 (1985) 343-395.

pascales (le 21 avril)[46]. Accommodant par nature, Armand aurait pu jouer son rôle de médiateur, s'il n'y avait eu cet ambitieux et violent Bissy, qui plus que jamais aspire au cardinalat et qui effectivement l'atteint en mai de l'année suivante[47]. Aussi est-ce en vain que Noailles prépare laborieusement un mandement de publication avec les explications de la bulle, qui seront meilleures que celles de l'Assemblée, et auxquelles opposants et acceptants pourront souscrire. Son texte il le donne à lire en premier lieu à Armand qui en est content:

> "Le samedi, 16 juin, Messieurs de Bordeaux et de Soissons [Brulart de Sellery] vinrent rendre visite à ... Noailles; il lui confirmèrent tout ce qu'ils avaient dit en faveur de ses Explications; ils avouèrent que ses ennemis même étaient persuadés que sa doctrine était saine et orthodoxe et qu'il ne pouvait y avoir de difficulté que dans la relation[48]; ils convinrent qu'elle était nécessaire, et afin que les choses avançassent, ils le prièrent d'en faire le projet et de l'envoyer [pour approbation] aux évêques qui lui étaient unis. Ils l'exhortèrent fort à ne point demander des sûretés par rapport à Rome et de donner son Instruction aussitôt qu'elle serait convenue avec MM. de Rohan et de Meaux, regardant les décrets de l'inquisition comme émanés d'un tribunal fort méprisable et fort méprisé ..."[49].

Si cette dernière phrase devait être entièrement authentique, elle jetterait une lumière étrange sur l'attitude d'Armand envers Rome.

Contrairement à Armand, les autres (Bissy, Rohan, Le Tellier) ne veulent absolument pas des explications de Noailles; ils n'admettent que les leurs propres qui sont celles que l'Assemblée a données.

Armand s'en offense. Au mois d'août 1714, il entre même en conflit avec le cardinal de Rohan. Dorsanne écrit:

> "... Comme il [Rohan] n'était pas accoutumé aux remonstrances de la part de ces Messieurs [de Bordeaux et de Soissons], il répondit à ce que Messieurs de Bordeaux et de Soissons avaient dit, par des paroles dures, dont ces deux prélats se sentant piqués; la conversation tourna en vraie querelle en sorte que M. de Bordeaux, offensé de ce que M. le cardinal de Rohan lui avait dit, dit en lui répondant brusquement: 'puisque vous voulez que tout soit fait à votre fantaisie, faites donc comme vous l'entendrez', et il jeta sur la table la plume

[46] *Anecdotes ou mémoires secrets sur la constitution*, II (1754) 276.

[47] *Hierarchia catholica*, V, 29.

[48] Voir dans *Histoire du livre des Réflexions morales*, t. III (Amsterdam, 1723), 6-16, un résumé du "Projet de mandement et instruction pastorale de M. le cardinal de Noailles"; aux pages 15-16 la "relation" ou conclusion: "À ces causes, le saint nom de Dieu invoqué, etc ... nous acceptons avec le respect et la soumission due au Chef de l'Église, ladite constitution dans le sens que nous venons de vous expliquer. Nous condamnons avec Sa Sainteté ... les 101 propositions ... en tant qu'elles contiennent ou qu'elles favorisent directement ou indirectement les erreurs expliquées dans notre Instruction ..."; ces lignes restrictives, dans cette formulation, étaient effectivement inacceptables.

[49] DORSANNE, *Journal*, I, 155.

qu'il tenait en main; il dit à Mr. de Rohan qu'il lui conseillait de ne point communiquer son projet de réforme à M. le cardinal de Noailles; que ce serait déclarer qu'on voulait rompre avec lui et en quelque sorte lui insulter; que c'était là son avis et qu'il n'en pouvait changer ..."[50].

Ainsi, dans la Commission, Armand tient si bien tête aux chefs meneurs qu'au mois de septembre 1714 ses collègues veulent l'en faire nommer second président[51].

Mais ainsi les tentatives d'accommodement réitérées ne mènent à aucun résultat, et les meneurs des acceptants ne réussissent pas à livrer les opposants à l'inquisition romaine, le pape étant toujours tout aussi mécontent des acceptants, à cause de leur manière hésitante d'accepter, que des opposants[52].

Finalement, à bout de patience, excité par les chefs constitutionnaires, Louis XIV veut recourir aux grands moyens. Avec ou sans l'agrément du Pape, concile national il y aurait. Noailles y paraîtrait, serait convaincu d'hérésie, condamné et aussitôt remis entre les mains de l'inquisition romaine. La commission de l'Assemblée y veillerait. Mais c'est alors qu'Armand, seul contre tous, soulève une difficulté: cette bulle est-elle suffisamment acceptée par tous les évêques pour jouir de l'infaillibilité, acquérir valeur de dogme, établir l'hérésie d'un opposant, condamner celui-ci justement?

Les collègues n'entrevoient pas où Armand veut en venir, mais ils sont d'accord pour faire précéder le concile national d'une Déclaration royale[53]. La préparation du document en question prend du temps (fin juillet à fin août 1715), avec la conséquence que le concile n'a pas lieu. Noailles, "cette hydre" d'après l'expression du P. Le Tellier, n'est ni jugé, ni condamné, ni extradé. C'est Louis XIV lui-même qui disparaît le 1er septembre.

De Paris, Armand recommande le roi défunt aux prières de ses Bordelais:

"... La mort ... vient nous ravir un roi, un maître qui par un long et glorieux règne avait mérité notre attachement et la vénération non seulement de ses sujets, mais encore des peuples les plus éloignés ... L'on peut dire que s'il a vécu en héros, il est mort en héros, et en héros chrétien. Parfaitement résigné à la volonté de Dieu, et persuadé que la grâce de souffrir constamment les maux qui nous arrivent, est préférable à la faveur d'être toujours heureux ..."[54].

[50] Ib., I, 212-213.

[51] Ib., I, 250.

[52] CEYSSENS, *Autour ... Son acceptation, art. cit.*, 757-758.

[53] L. CEYSSENS, *Autour de la bulle Unigenitus : la Déclaration, dernière illusion et ultime désillusion de Louis XIV*, dans *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 84 (1989) 5-29.

[54] DONNET, *Recueil*, 203.

Certes, Armand ne manque pas de dons oratoires. En effet, il gagne en considération. Il est remarqué par le Régent[55] qui, tirant les conclusions des échecs de son oncle, change de direction. Le cardinal de Noailles, jusque-là persécuté, même menacé d'être extradé et livré à l'inquisition romaine pour crime d'hérésie, devient aussitôt chef du Conseil de conscience. Est-il étonnant que le Régent lui adjoint comme premier conseiller l'archevêque de Bordeaux sur lequel il semble fonder des espoirs ?

Dans Noailles, son "chef", Armand, homme modéré, rencontre un collègue qu'il respecte et qu'il peut apprécier. L'un et l'autre ne sont ni antijansénistes, ni ultramontains. Mais si à ses propres frais, Louis-Antoine est devenu anti-jésuite, Armand va protéger le P. Le Tellier, tout comme il obtient le maintien provisoire de l'Assemblée et de son agent intrigant Broglio. Quant à l'attitude d'Armand sous le Régent, lisons les *Anecdotes ou mémoires secrets sur ... l'Unigenitus* (II, 1744, 25):

> "... D'ailleurs on était surpris qu'un Abbé [Broglio] de ce caractère pût s'attirer les bons offices de l'Archevêque de Bordeaux, dont les amis vantent la droiture; mais le génie de ce prélat est de vouloir tout concilier; c'est dans cette vue qu'il empêcha si longtemps que le P. Le Tellier ne fût éloigné de Paris, et qu'en beaucoup de choses il parut peu favorable au cardinal de Noailles; il louait incessamment le Prince [le Régent] de tenir entre les deux partis la balance égale, et de sa neutralité politique lui faisait quelquefois mettre les choses dans un équilibre fort mal entendu. Selon ses idées, le Prince ne devait se déclarer pour aucun parti, ni témoigner plus d'inclination pour l'un que pour l'autre; il voulait de temps en temps l'intimider par une ligue de l'Empereur avec le Pape, et disait que le moyen de la prévenir était d'accepter la Constitution [Unigenitus]. Il parlait sur cela si vivement à M. le Duc d'Orléans, qu'il l'ébranlait. Ce ne fut pas sans peine qu'il vit terminer l'Assemblée, et les jésuites n'en furent pas moins mortifiés qui lui ...".

En effet, d'après Le Roy (p. 525), Armand est un moment :

> "en passe de devenir une puissance politique, lorsque le Régent voudra créer dans le clergé un tiers parti médiateur, qui se déclarât ni pour les appelants, ni pour les constitutionnaires, et dont M. de Bordeaux serait l'inspirateur. Le projet ne put aboutir, soit que l'idée ne valût rien, soit que le parti fût introuvable, soit que d'avance le chef [Armand] décourageât l'armée. Bezons n'avait pas plus l'étoffe d'un homme d'état que la virilité d'un homme de coeur. Versailles ou le Palais Royal bornait son horizon. Il naquit, vécut et mourut courtisan".

En réalité, le Régent veut à tout prix concilier son clergé. Opposants et acceptants se feront des concessions mutuelles. Mais aussi bien les opposants que les acceptants sont divisés entre eux. De part et d'autre, Armand sert d'intermédiaire. Il s'agit de préparer un mandement de publi-

[55] L. CEYSSENS, *Autour de la bulle Unigenitus: le Régent (1674-1723)*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 57 (1987) 11-163.

cation, avec des explications meilleures que celles de l'Assemblée, et acceptables pour tous, même pour les opposants, les ultramontains, le pape. Armand ne cesse donc de participer aux consultations[56], celles de partis à part et celles de partis réunis, que le Régent vient souvent diriger en personne. Mais rien ne bouge, parce que les Bissy, les Rohan et bientôt les Dubois, dominateurs, s'y opposent, poussés par leurs propres intérêts.

Armand pense-t-il aussi à ses propres avantages ou à ceux de ses neveux[57]? Il ne travaille certainement pas pour obtenir le chapeau rouge, ni pour devenir le successeur de Noailles à Paris. En 1718, il reçoit en commende une seconde abbaye, celle d'Évron, au diocèse du Mans, d'une valeur de 25.000 livres[58]. En mai 1719, à l'âge de 68 ans, il se fait ou se laisse transférer à Rouen[59]. Ce siège épiscopal présente-t-il de plus grands avantages que celui de Bordeaux? En tout cas, il est bien plus proche de Paris où Armand doit séjourner souvent au service et du Régent et du futur cardinal et premier ministre Dubois[60]. Pour arriver à ses fins, ce personnage ambitieux, sans moeurs, indigne de l'état ecclésiastique, a besoin

[56] Sur les dates des présences d'Armand, on peut consulter Ph. DANGEAU, *Journal*, 19 vol., Paris, 1860. Sur ses interventions inefficaces, on trouvera quelques détails dans les *Anecdotes*; par exemple, en avril 1717, il interrompit le cardinal de Bissy, qui parlait de la "constitution [bulle] qui fait loi", "demandant quelle sorte de loi la constitution pouvait être, et dit que si ce n'était qu'une loi de police, on ne lui devait qu'une soumission extérieure et de bienséance; que si on voulait la regarder comme une loi de discipline, il fallait marquer les points de discipline qu'elle réglait, et que, si c'était une loi de doctrine, il fallait marquer les points de doctrine qu'elle décidait; mais que cela n'était pas possible avec des qualifications confuses qui ne pouvaient s'appliquer à rien de précis. Cet avis parut fort sage et détermina la pluralité des assistants à ne point faire de déclaration sur cette matière"; *Anecdotes*, II, 219-220.

[57] Ces neveux, le Bazin et les deux Le Blanc, n'auront des évêchés qu'après la mort d'Armand; si, déjà auparavant, ils avaient des bénéfices, ils les obtinrent sans doute grâce à leurs propres pères, le maréchal de Bazin et Claude Le Blanc, maître des requêtes, secrétaire d'État de la guerre; cf. ANTOINE, *Le gouvernement*, 151. Notez l'existence d'un neveu homonyme d'Armand, évêque de Carcassonne (1730-1778), qui fut un prélat extraordinaire, mais nullement ami des jésuites; cf. *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, V, 1029-1030.

[58] *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, XVI, 217. Notons en passant qu'en 1719 Armand devient membre du nouveau Conseil de régence, en 1721 d'un troisième Conseil de conscience, mais sous le régime de Dubois il ne sera plus que titulaire.

[59] *Hierarchia catholica*, V, 356. *Le diocèse de Rouen-Le Havre*, sous la direction de Nadine-Josette CHALINE (*Histoire des diocèses de France*, direction PALANQUE et PLONGERON, t. V, Paris, 1976); note pp. 115-117 quelques visites faites sous l'épiscopat d'Armand, mais par des délégués.

[60] L. CEYSSENS, *Autour de la bulle Unigenitus : le cardinal Guillaume Dubois (1656-1723)*, dans *Revue des études augustiniennes* 35 (1989) 151-170.

d'Armand, tant pour faire réussir à Rome sa conciliation du clergé que pour se faire, malgré ses moeurs[61], sacrer archevêque de Cambrai. Noailles, l'archevêque de Paris refuse son concours. Avec "un peu de patelinage", Armand prête le sien. Lisons Saint-Simon:

> "... Il [Dubois] se trompa dans l'espoir d'être sacré par le cardinal archevêque [de Paris]; la chair et le sang n'eurent jamais de part à la conduite du cardinal de Noailles. Les vices d'esprit et de coeur, et les moeurs si publiques de l'abbé Dubois lui étaient connus. Il eut horreur de contribuer en rien à le faire entrer dans les ordres sacrés. Il sentit toute la pesanteur du nouveau poids dont son refus l'allait charger de la part d'un homme devenu tout puissant ... Rien ne l'arrêta; il refusa le dimissoire pour les ordres ... On peut juger des fureurs où cet affront fit entrer Dubois, qui de sa vie ne le pardonna au cardinal de Noailles, lequel en fut universellement applaudi ... Il fallait donc se tourner ailleurs. Bezons, frère du maréchal, tous deux si attachés et si bien traités et récompensés de M. le duc d'Orléans [le Régent], tous deux sous leur air rustre, lourd et grossier, si bons courtisans, avait été transféré de l'archevêché de Bordeaux à celui de Rouen, et Pontoise est de ce dernier diocèse, qui touche ainsi à celui de Paris et s'approche de cette ville à peu de lieues en deça de Pontoise même. L'abbé Dubois voulait gagner le temps et s'éviter la honte d'un voyage marquée. Les Bezons lui parurent devoir être de meilleure composition que le cardinal de Noailles; ils en furent en effet. L'archevêque de Rouen donna le dimissoire. Dubois, sous prétexte des affaires dont il était chargé, obtint un bref pour recevoir à la fois tous les ordres, et se dispensa lui-même de toute retraite pour s'y préparer ... On cria fort contre les deux prélats [consécrateurs] et l'archevêque [de Rouen] qui était estimé et considéré avec raison, y eut à perdre ..."[62].

Il ne reste plus qu'à mentionner la mort d'Armand, survenue au château du Gaillon [près de Rouen] le 8 octobre 1721, et qu'à rappeler l'In Memoriam cité plus haut, que lui consacra Saint-Simon.

Quelques pages plus loin, comme s'il ne pouvait garder le silence sur lui, le mémorialiste se répète :

> "Rouen vaquait par la mort de Besons, frère du Maréchal, qui y avait été transféré de Bordeaux, duquel j'ai eu l'occasion de parler plus d'une fois. C'était un homme sage et doux, mesuré, avec un air et une mine brutale et grossière, délié, qui savait le monde et ses devoirs; fort instruit, fort décent, et le premier homme du clergé en capacité sur les affaires temporelles; de l'esprit fait exprès pour le gouvernement des diocèses; aimé, respecté et amèrement regretté dans les trois qu'il avait eus ...".

[61] Les témoignages des sources ne manquent pas. On peut par exemple consulter la correspondance française de Madame La Palatine, la mère du Régent, que Dirk Van der Cruysse vient de publier à Paris, 1989; cf. Id., *Madame Palatine, princesse européenne*, Paris, 1988, où celle-ci écrit (p. 600): "Je puis vous assurer en vérité qu'il n'y a pas d'archifripon plus faux en toute la France que celui-là. Ce qui me désole, c'est que mon fils le connaît aussi bien que moi et cependant n'écoute et ne croit que ce petit diable".

[62] SAINT-SIMON, *Mémoires*, t. 6, 536-537; cf. LE ROY, 524-525.

À ce portrait, opposons celui qu'en a tracé Le Roy (p. 523-524) :

"Le plus machiavélique et le plus qualifié des archevêques [de l'Assemblée]. Dorsanne, qui a connu le personnage, qui l'a entendu juger à l'archevêché de Paris par ses confrères de l'épiscopat et ses collègues des conseils de la Régence, le résume en une métaphore géométrique: 'on eût dit que dans sa tête il arrondissait un cercle où il faisait entrer Rome et la France, le cardinal de Noailles et la bulle, saint Augustin et Molina'. Sans vices criants, mais aussi sans vertus d'éclat, Bazin de Besons savait tirer des hommes et des choses tout le profit que comportent une subtilité rare et une délicatesse moyenne. Ceux qui l'ont approché et coudoyé journellement, après la mort de Louis XIV, ne pouvaient ni lui retirer leur estime, ni lui accorder leur sympathie. On sentait un calcul sous chacun de ses actes, une précaution sous chacune des ses paroles ...".

Au moins "un peu de patelinage", on ne pourra le lui dénier[63].

Sint-Truiden Lucien CEYSSENS

[63] Pour terminer, je signale qu'après la composition de cette étude, plusieurs de mes écrits cités ci-dessus ont été repris dans L. CEYSSENS, *Le sort de la bulle Unigenitus. Recueil d'études offert à Lucien Ceyssens à l'occasion de son 90e anniversaire*. Présenté par M. LAMBERIGTS. Leuven, University Press, 1992, in-8°, 641p.

ANDREA BIGLIA (c. 1394-1435)
His Life and Writings

LIFE AND TIMES

Prologue

Speaking in the year 1481 in defense of the Order of St. Augustine against its detractors, Ambrogio da Cora, erstwhile prior general and first Augustinian bibliographer of Augustinian writers[1], thus succinctly limned the life and work of one of its more notable sons:

> "Twenty-eighth [among our men of talent and erudition][2] is the venerable brother, Master Andrea Biglia of Milan. This was so universal a man that he had command of the Greek, Hebrew, and Latin languages. From the first two tongues he translated many things into the last. He was, in the art of oratory, another Cicero; in philosophy, a second Aristotle; in theology, a perfect follower of his father Augustine. With propriety and clarity he composed questions on the De anima, interpretations of the gospels, histories of the Lombards and, in particular, of the Milanese, and many other things. He died as a young man; his name, had he lived long, would have been immortal"[3].

The scholarly reconstruction, however, of the life of this learned Augustinian friar was initiated only in 1906 by Remigio Sabbadini[4], developed in 1907 by Francesco Novati[5] and again in 1942 by Fedele

[1] AMBROGIO DA CORA, O.S.A., *Defensorium ordinis fratrum heremitarum s. Augustini responsivum ad maledicta canonicorum assertorum regularium congregationis Frisonariae* (Rome: G. Herot, 1481).

[2] Part of da Cora's *Defensorium* was devoted to a description of Augustinians of talent and erudition. See ib., p. 107r: "In prima igitur parte viros doctos et sapientes breviter cum eorum operibus describam".

[3] Ib., p. 111r-v: "Vigesimusoctavus fuit venerabilis frater Magister Andreas de biliis de Mediolano. Hic tam universalis homo fuit ut graecam: hebraicam latinamque linguam haberet optime. Hic e duabus primis in nostram multa traduxit. Hic in arte oratoria alter Cicero. In philosophia secundus Aristoteles. In theologia patris sui Augustini pedisecus perfectus erat: quaestiones de anima. Interpretationes evangeliorum: loginbardorum [sic] et maxime Mediolanensium historias et alia multa apte et distincte composuit: Iuvenis e vita decessit: qui si diu vixisset aeternum posteris reliquisset nomen". [translation mine]

[4] Remigio SABBADINI, *Andrea Biglia (Milanese), frate Agostiniano del sec. XV*, in *Istituto Lombardo de scienze e lettere: Rendiconti*, 2.serie 39 (1906), 1087-1102.

[5] Francesco NOVATI, *Di un codice originale del 'Liber rerum mediolanensium' di frate Andrea Billia esistente nella Nazionale di Madrid*, in *Archivo storico Lombardo*, 4.serie 34 (1907), 217-24.

Marletta[6], but given well-nigh definitive form in 1965 by Rudolph Arbesmann[7]. Sabbadini laid the foundations with a wealth of materials culled from Biglia's own works and other sources; new documents enabled Novati and Marletta to add precision to certain of Sabbadini's particulars; but is was Arbesmann who produced a masterly synthesis of all previous research and commentary. This present biographical sketch is necessarily a compendium of its predecessors, somewhat enriched with an account of the salient historical features of the times.

Early Years

Andrea Biglia was born of a noble Milanese family in the last decade of the fourteenth century, probably around or a little before 1394[8].

[6] Fedele MARLETTA, *Note all'epistolario del Panormita*, in *La Rinascita* 5 (1942), 516-26.

[7] Rudolph ARBESMANN, O.S.A., *Andrea Biglia, Augustinian Friar and Humanist (†1435)*, in *Analecta Augustiniana* 28 (1965), 154-85.

[8] NOVATI, *Codice*, passim, but particularly pp. 223-24, argues in favor of c. 1395 as the date of Biglia's birth. A summary of his argument is presented by ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia*, p. 157, note 14. The argument is based on a passage in Biglia's preface to his first Milanese history. As published in P. VANDER AA, ed., *Historia patriae*, col. 6 (separately numbered 1-122 cols.), Vol. IX of *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum*, ed. J. G. GRAEVIUS (Leiden: Petrus vander Aa, 1723), on the first of three unnumbered pages before the text proper, and in Filippo ARGELATI, ed., *Mediolanensium rerum historia*, cols. 9-10, Vol. XIX of *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, ed. Ludovico Antonio MURATORI (Milan: Societas Palatina, 1731), the text reads: "Neque quae cis triginta annos acciderunt, qua aetate partim ipse me me [sic] e medio rerum sustuli, reliquum fere dimidium puerulus ego". Emended with a reading from cod. 1066 of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, the passage reads: "Neque quae cis triginta annos acciderunt, qua aetate partim ipse me me [sic] e medio rerum sustuli, reliquum fere dimidium per vulgus egi". According to the first version, the events described in the history occur in a thirty year period between 1402 and 1431, the first half of which was equivalent to the author's boyhood, the second half being spent in the religious life. In the second version, the second half of the period was again spent in the monastery, but the first half was spent in the world. The latter version allowed Novati to push the date of Biglia's birth back beyond that postulated by Sabbadini, that is, from 1398 to 1395, the latter being consonant with Biglia's entrance into religion and other events in his early life. The identification by Anna MORISI, *Una pagina sconosciuta di Andrea Biglia sull'immortalità dell'anima*, in Raoul MANSELLI and Girolamo ARNALDI, eds., *Studi storici sul medioevo cristiano, offerti a Raffaelo Morghen per il 90° anniversario dell'Istituto* (1883-1973), *Studi storici*, fasc. 88-92 (Rome: Ist. Stor. Ital. per il Medio Evo, 1974), I,539-52, however, of *codex Florentinus Nationalis Centralis*, Nuovi Acquisti 921, as that which contains the hitherto missing opusculum, the *De non necessario mortis metu* [S 43[1]; Pam <21>], has shed new light on the problem of Andrea Biglia's birthdate. MORISI, *Pagina*, p. 540, note 4, informs us that in that work one reads that Biglia's father, Pietro, died in

From the register of the University of Florence we know that his father's name was Pietro[9]. The father died around 1402 during a pestilence, leaving his wife with two young children, Andrea, the firstborn, then around nine years old, and an infant daughter, eight years younger. He was laid to rest in San Eustorgio, the Dominican church in Milan. Some years later, around 1427-1428, the burial of the mother there at the side of her husband was opposed by a certain Fra Galvano of the Order of Preachers because of the polemic [S 7] Andrea had launched against the Dominican, Manfredo da Vercelli[10]. In one of his three extant eulogies of Gian Galeazzo, Duke of Milan [S 13], Andrea tell us that his blood relative Giovanni, then considered the head of the family, was at the time of that speech (?1425) castellan of the Castello of Pavia[11], a post which Giovanni retained as late as 1440[12]. In 1745 the tomb of the Biglia family, possibly the burial place of the descendents of Dionisio Biglia, Giovanni's brother[13], could still be seen in San Marco, the church of the Augustinian

1402, leaving his wife with two children, Andrea, the elder, and an infant daughter, eight years younger. No indication is given as to in what part of the year the father's death occurred. It is possible, therefore, to place the birth of the daughter at the latest in the latter months of 1402. Andrea's birth, eight years before, then, at the latest, would have occurred in the latter months of 1394. The earliest date for his birth, pushed back by an allowance of two years for his sister's infancy, would be sometime in late 1392 to early 1393.

[9] A. GHERARDI, *Statuti della università e studio Fiorentino dell'anno MCCCLXXXVII, seguiti da un'appendice de documenti dal MCCCXX-MCCCCLXXII* (Florence: M. Cellini, 1881), p. 402: "(September 4, 1422) Frater Andreas Petri de Mediolano". From SABBADINI, *Biglia*, p. 1088. See note 46 below.

[10] MORISI, *Pagina*. The reference [S] is to my own listing in *Prolegomena to the Edition of the Extant Works of Andrea Biglia, O.S.A. († 1435)*, *Analecta Augustiniana* 60 (1977), 141-184: Master List [=ML], 151-184. Similar indication is given for each of Biglia's writings as they are mentioned.

[11] ANDREA BIGLIA, O.S.A., *In exequiis Johannis Galeatii Vicecomitis ducis Mediolani laudatio funerea* VI,9-11: "Quid in terris aut vidimus aut accepimus simile arci quae Papiae sita est, cuius hodie custos e nostra familia est Johannes Billia?". Also MORISI, *Pagina*.

[12] MILANO, Bibl. Naz. Braidense, *codex Morbius* 65, p. 46: "Giovanni [Biglia] fu l'anno 1440 castellano di Pavia". From SABBADINI, *Biglia*, p. 1088. Giovanni Biglia was distinguished for valor in the civil war in the action fought in the territory between Lecco and Bergamo, and again later, in the war with Genoa. See MORISI, *Pagina*, especially note 5.

[13] The father of Giovanni was Antonio Biglia, who had fallen in the valley of San Martino, fighting in the entourage of Ambrogio Visconti, the son of Bernabò. His brother was named Dionisio, and it was from the latter that the successive generations of the family descended, Giovanni Biglia's line ending with the death of his only son, Leone or Leonino, and Pietro Biglia's line ending in his celibate son, Andrea. Ib.

Friars in Milan[14]. In at least one extant manuscript, that of Biglia's *Annotationes in evangelia quadragesimae* [S 40], now in the Ambrosian Library, one can clearly see the Biglia family coat of arms, which displays three bandlets with B majuscule in the sinister chief[15].

Something less than a decade before Biglia's birth, that is, in 1385, Gian Galeazzo had deposed his uncle Bernabò and reunited the Visconti state. From this beginning it was his consistent policy to create a great

[14] Filippo ARGELATI, *Bibliotheca scriptorum Mediolanensium*, 2 vols. in 4 (Milan: Societas Palatina, 1745), I,2,159: "Nobilissima Billiorum Mediolanensis Familia, cujus antiquissimum Sepulcrum usque hodie visitur in S. Guilielmi Sacello, Ecclesiae Sancti Marci hujus Urbis, & quod ante elatum denue pavimentum in area Presbyterii extabat, jure merito gloriari potest de hoc Andrea omni aevo memorando".

[15] The illuminator of this Biglia manuscript, *codex Ambrosianus* ES VII 2 (Sussidio G 156), incorporated the family crest into a larger device at the bottom of folio 1r (see plate 4*). The writer was obliged to omit color from his description of the Biglia crest, thus depicted, because he had only a black and white microfilm at his disposal. For definitions of the heraldic terms used, see Francis J. GRANT, *The Manual of Heraldry* (Edinburgh: J. Grant, 1948), pp. 61 and 65. Another Biglia manuscript, the *Interpretatio Physicorum Aristotelis*, bearing the shelf mark 4°36 in the Budapest Academy of Sciences, likewise has a heraldic device on the bottom of folio 1r, but the microfilm copy of it which the writer inspected, also black and white, afforded little clearly distinguishable of the coat of arms except the shield itself set on a circular pattern. A heraldic device very similar to that in the Ambrosian codex described above is to be found at the upper left corner a miniature portrait of the author (see plate 3*), which ARGELATI, *Bibliotheca*, I,2,160, has described thus: "in prima littera, quae est O, visitur Auctor, super eminentem Cathedram in actu legendi librum, cum Auditoribus Regularibus variorum Ordinum"; "in the first letter, which is 'O', the author is seen above an elevated chair, in the act of reading a book, with religious of various orders as auditors" [translation mine]. Another such miniature portrait is found on folio 1r of *codex Ambrosianus* N 280 sup., likewise in the upper left corner in the first letter, which, in this instance, is "E" (see plates 15 and 16*). The figure is of an Augustinian male religious facing right, with the cowl of the habit covering the back of the head, his hands raised in a preaching gesture. The physiognomy is clearly discernible. We may presume, as Argelati did in the first instance above, that it is a portrait of the author. Another similar miniature portrait is found on folio 57r of *codex Florentinus Nationalis Centralis* N.A. 921, again in the upper left corner in the first letter, which, in this third instance, is the letter "V" (see plates 19 and 20*). The figure, apparently of a woman in secular dress, faces front, the coifed head turned slightly to the right. Her identity is completely a matter of conjecture. It may be a portrait of the author's mother, whose death occasioned the composition of this, the second, consolatory epistle [S 43^2] in the codex. Instead of a miniature portrait, the illuminated capital "Q" which initiates the first work in the codex [S 43^1], occasioned by the death of young Leone, or Leonino, Biglia, is graced with a drawing of a bird, perhaps a goldfinch, a symbol of immortality, which perches beneath it. See note 13 above and note 117 below.

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* For the complete set of 24 plates see *The Preservation and Dispersion of the Biglia Manuscripts*, forthcoming in *Augustiniana* 44 (1994).

power equal to the monarchies of England and France: a kingdom of 'continental Italy'. By 1402 he was in control of Pisa, Siena, Perugia, and Bologna; and he had Florence politically and economically by the throat. His dream seemed about to be realized, when he caught a fever and died[16]. Andrea was then, as we have seen, a small boy of about nine years.

Biglia tells us, in the same eulogy of the duke [S 13], that after the death of Gian Galeazzo in 1402 there was considerable political turmoil; murder, rapine, and the destruction of property were rife[17]. The *condottieri*, Gian Galeazzo's captains of war, seized the opportunity to take their pickings; the cities of Umbria and Tuscany, under the influence of Florence, reasserted their independence. The Venetians, alarmed at the fundamental change wrought by the death of Gian Galeazzo, decided to become a land power and pushed westward into Lombardy in order to secure the Alpine passes through which their trade passed and to assure a buffer zone against a resurgent Milan. Once again the great feudal families, the Colleoni, Auguisola, Cavalcabò, and Corregio, were locked in the struggle for domination[18].

In Biglia's Milanese history [S 1[1]] we read that this struggle precipitated a movement against those most eminent for wealth and power, and the Guelf party, to which the Biglias belonged, was especially hard pressed[19]. This long-standing division of society into two camps during the struggle for domination between Church and State, the Guelfs initially favoring the papacy and the Ghibellines initially favoring the emperor, was the perennial cause of unrest and internecine hostility[20]. It is easy to un-

[16] J. H. PLUMB, *Milan, City of Strife*, in Richard M. KETCHUM, ed., *The Horizon Book of the Renaissance* (New York: American Heritage, 1961), pp. 172-73.

[17] BIGLIA, *In exequiis* XIII,5-12: "Neque ulla in re melius declaratur hominis in gubernando sapientia quam quod, illo moriente, omnes concidimus atque corruimus. Quid unquam strages hominum, quis agrorum vastitates, quis urbium ruinas, quis rerum dissipationes enumeret quae huius boni ducis mortem sunt secutae? Quando quidem, ipso vivo, nihil erat usquam in omnibus terris suis periculi, nihil metuendum, nihil inquietum; quaqua pergeres, omnia tuta et expedita erant".

[18] PLUMB, *Milan*, p. 174.

[19] BIGLIA, *Historia* 2 (col. 27A ARGELATI-MURATORI): "Tum ad alios, ut quique opibus eminebant, itum: maxime autem Guelfi premebantur, quo tempore & familiae nostrae (haec Bilia vocatur) ingens periculum fuit, tum affinitate Casatium, ac Barbavariorum, tum divitiarum fama".

[20] According to Edmund G. GARDNER, *Guelphs and Ghibellines*, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1910), VII,58, these terms had lost much of their original significance even before Biglia's time: "Before the return of the popes from Avignon [January 17, 1377], 'Guelph' and 'Ghibelline' had lost all real significance. Men called themselves Guelph or Ghibelline, and even fought furiously under those

derstand why the family Biglia could not avoid involvement because, as Andrea informs us, his relatives had a monopoly in metalworking, not only in Milan, but throughout Italy[21]. This monopoly may have been concerned with the construction of weapons, perhaps even with the casting of cannon[22]. Because of their reputation for wealth and their affinity with the families Casati and Barbavara, the Biglias were in particular danger. But among the plebs their name had not been tainted with guilt. And the head of the family at that time was Giacobbe Biglia, a leading citizen and principal of the city known for his sterling character. Through a policy of prudence and daring, Giacobbe was able to bring his kinsmen through the crisis unscathed[23]. Andrea adds that he himself, though still a boy, was personally involved in the political ferment, having to count war levies in the treasury[24].

Of all the disasters that overtook Lombardy at this time none was more terrible than the ten-year reign of Gian Galeazzo's eldest son, Giovanni Maria. His tyranny was incredibly cruel and insane[25]. And his Guelfic sympathies were well known. Consequently, as Facino Cane, the

names, simply because their forebears had adhered to one or other of the factions. In a city which had been officially Guelph in the past, any minority opposed to the government of the day, or obnoxious to the party in power, would be branded as 'Ghibelline.' Thus, in 1364, we find it enacted by the Republic of Florence that anyone who appeals to the pope or his legate or the cardinals shall be declared a Ghibelline. 'There are no more wicked nor more mad folk under the vault of heaven than the Guelphs and Ghibellines,' says St. Bernardino of Siena in 1427. He gives an appalling picture of the atrocities still perpetrated, even by women, under these names, albeit by that time the primitive signification of the terms had been lost, and declares that the mere profession to belong to either party is in itself a mortal sin. As party catchwords they survived, still attended with bloody consequences, until the coming to Italy of Charles V (1529) finally re-established the imperial power, and opened a new epoch in the relations of pope and emperor".

[21] BIGLIA, *Historia* 2 (col. 28C ARGELATI-MURATORI): "Quippe soli in ea Civitate, omnique Italia metallicum artificium componimus".

[22] Peter BURMANN, *Praefatio* (col. 6 VANDER AA-GRAEVIUS): "quod de tormentis forte capiendum puto". Since Burmann used *tormentum*, an engine for hurling missiles, in reference to *metallicum artificium*, metalworking, he may, for want of a better word, have intended it in the sense of 'cannon.'

[23] BIGLIA, *Historia* 2 (col. 27A ARGELATI-MURATORI): "Juvit tamen & innocentia nominis, quod in plebe erat, & unius familiae capitis Jacobi prudentia simul, & audacia. Quem, nisi metuerem propinquitatis arrogantiam videri, perfecto dicerem primarium fuisse hac aetate, & principem nostrae Civitatis".

[24] Ib. 2 (col. 30D ARGELATI-MURATORI): "Haec indicta gravis maximam pecuniam Othoni conflavit, quem numerum ipse tum puer in aerario versatus confeci".

[25] Dorothy MUIR, *A History of Milan under the Visconti* (London: Methuen, 1924), pp. 129-30.

greatest and most loyal of the Visconti *condottieri*, lay dying, the Ghibelline lords of Milan reached the conclusion that, with Facino gone, Giovanni Maria would be unrestrained. Accordingly, on May 16, 1412, the same day Facino died in Pavia, the Ghibellines cornered Giovanni Maria in Milan and stabbed him to death in the Church of San Gottardo[26].

Religious Vocation

It was just about the time that Facino Cane fell mortally ill that Andrea Biglia, around nineteen years of age, removed himself from this secular strife to the tranquility of the cloister[27], taking the habit of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine in the monastery of San Marco in Milan[28], which belonged to the Augustinian Province of Lombardy[29]. The year of novitiate was probably spent in this same house. His initial probation over, his superiors sent Andrea, now around twenty years old, to study philosophy in the *studium generale* at Padua and to reside in the Augustinian monastery of Santi Filippo e Giacomo — "Gli Eremitani"[30].

Biglia now, as subsequently at Florence and Bologna and Siena, had the good fortune of frequenting an important center of Italian humanism. The faculty at the University of Padua during Andrea's sojourn there from 1413 to 1418 boasted of Gasparino Barzizza in literature, Raffaele Fulgosi in jurisprudence, and in philosophy Paolo Veneto (Nicoletti), also an Augustinian, of whom Biglia was certainly a student[31]. At that time there were studying at Padua certain young men who would later make

[26] Ib., pp. 131-32.

[27] BIGLIA, *Historia* 2 (col. 35A-B ARGELATI-MURATORI): "Quo tempore [1412] ipsi tantorum malorum taedio in hanc religionem [The Order of the Augustinian Hermits] confugimus. Inter haec Facinus, dum Papiae versaretur (sive illum tutela arcis, sive amaenitas delectabat) in extremum morbum decidit, magna adolescentium expectatione, quos ille ad summam inopiam redegerat".

[28] ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 157. After Andrea's death the convent of San Marco in Milan claimed the books and other effects left by him, which according to the constitutions was their right as the convent which initially accepted him into the order. *Constitutiones O.E.S.A.* [of 1290] (Venice, 1508), p. 21v: "Et si qua bona iure hereditario post decessum suum remanserint, ad locum qui eum in Christo genuit, deductis tamen expensis infirmitatis et sepulture, devolvantur".

[29] Benigno A. L. VAN LUIJK, *Le monde augustinien du XIIIe au XIXe siècle* (Assen: van Gorcum, 1972), p. 38.

[30] Ib., p. 44.

[31] SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1100.

names for themselves: Vittorino da Feltre, Francesco Filelfo[32], Antonio Raudense, and perhaps Pier Candido Decembrio[33], and with these men, or with some of them, Andrea could have had close relationships, like the deep friendship he formed, there at Padua, with Sicco Polenton[34]. Biglia was later to reminisce with another alumnus of Padua, known to us only as Ludovico, about the disputations they had engaged in there as part of their training in dialectics[35]; and as a source of inspiration for his friend, who had recently become an Augustinian, he recalled the library of the Augustinian convent in Padua which had been decorated with the likenesses of the most distinguished members of the community[36]. And it was there in Padua that Andrea managed to take some little time from his philosophical studies to begin his no less ardent pursuit of sacred letters[37].

While Biglia was a student at Padua, Bernardino, the Franciscan missioner from Siena, came to preach on two different occasions. Neither of the two instances, which were separated by an interval of some three

[32] Filelfo, in an unedited letter to Carlo Barbavara which is dated, *X kal. octobris 1476* [September 22], and found in *codex Mediolanensis Trivulzianus* 873, book 46, wrote the following: "Agebam ego decimumoctavum aetatis annum [that is, 1416], quo quidem tempore Patavii diebus ordinariis studebam legibus et iuri civili sub excellentissimis duobus illis Raphaelibus, Fulgosio Comensique; extraordinariis vero diebus audiebam mane oratoriam docentem disertissimum rhetora Gasparinum Bergomensem. Nam post prandium operam dabam philosophiae sub eruditissimo clarissimoque philosopho Paulo Veneto ordinis eremitarum". From SABBADINI, *Biglia* note 2.

[33] Ib. In note 3 Sabbadini refers to Raudense and Decembrio as treated in L. BAROZZI and R. SABBADINI, *Studi sul Panormita e sul Valla* (Florence: Successori Le Monnier, 1891), p. 11.

[34] Ib. See notes 42 and 45 below.

[35] ANDREA BIGLIA, *Ad fratrem Ludovicum de ordinis nostri forma et propagatione*, fol. 127r (ed. ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 190): "Hinc vero exultabam, quod te memineram adolescentem, quando et ipse Pataui primis artibus inhiabam, ac nunc quoque disputationes referebam, quas plerunque inter nos egeramus; nam uterque illa etate imbuebamur dialecticis [dyalecticis *cod.*]".

[36] Ib., fol. 142v (ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 218): "Ego uero hec tibi uelut exemplaria quedam descripsi, unde si uelis, queas degende vite tue rationes accipere; iam per te uel de ordine uel de patribus maiora reperies, nec longe opus est eas qui domi ac, si recte memini, in ipsa patavina bibliot<h>eca clarissimorum eius conuentus fratrum nomina atque imagines [ymagines *cod.*] habes".

[37] *Codex Ambrosianus* ES VII 2 (Sussidio G 156), fol. 1r (*Prooemium* to the *Annotationes in evangelia quadragesimae*): "Secularium quoque litterarum non nichil fortasse proderit [to the preacher] eruditio. Quibus in rebus non sane negaverim mediocriter laborasse. Quippe etiam quum Padue adolescens phylosophie artibus essem deditus, sacras tamen litteras cum paululum vacare vellem haud minus avide persequebar".

years, had anything like the popular response that would later attend Bernardino's innovative techniques in spreading devotion to the holy name of Jesus and embroil the missioner in the conservative reaction in which Andrea was to be an antagonist[38]. Just about then Andrea had a third occasion to see Bernardino preaching, this time at Mantua, where the crowds the missioner attracted were little out of the ordinary[39].

By the summer of 1418, Andrea, a young man of around twenty-five, must have finished his studies at Padua, because in September of that same year Lector Biglia was in Florence, residing at the Augustinian monastery of Santo Spirito and teaching ethics at the university[40]. Some of the scholarly atmosphere of an earlier time, as described by Arbesmann, may have lingered about this house:

> "The Augustinian monastery of Santo Spirito in Florence [was] a meeting place of early Platonizing humanists and a kind of literary academy for the cultivation of ancient literature. The soul of the movement was Luigi Marsili, another Augustinian friend of Petrarch. This learned friar had an extraordinary influence on those Florentine humanists who, at the turn of the fourteenth century, made Florence the intellectual center of Italy"[41].

On September 29, 1418, Sicco Polenton wrote from Padua to his friend Andrea in Florence, describing how eagerly he had been looking for some word from him and congratulating him on the relations he had established with Niccolò Niccoli and was hoping to establish with Leonardo Bruni, both of whom were outstanding humanists[42]. During his

[38] ANDREA BIGLIA, *De institutis, discipulis, et doctrina fratris Bernardini ordinis Minorum* 9; ed. B. DE GAIFFIER, *Le mémoire d'André Biglia sur la prédication de saint Bernardin de Sienne*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 53 (1935), 319-20: "Atque ego te ipsum dudum memini, cum adolescens Patavi [putavi *cod.*] essem, eo praedicaturum venisse; statimque in urbem vulgatus rumor adesse quendam vocatum Bernardinum, qui se magnum praedicatorem ferat, qui scripturarum misteria promtissime loquatur, cuius omnis fere praedicatio in Apocalipsis explanatione versetur. Nec tamen, ut scis, frequentia vulgi ad te concursum est, quanquam, non ut ceteri, in ecclesiis, sed in ipso praetorio praedicationis signum proposuisti, et eo usque comtemptui res habita, ut praetorem ipsum necesse foret palatii illius procuratores tabellionesque ad te audiendum convocare. Sic paulo post, nullo excitato tumultu, urbem egressus es. Quo et post triennium regressus haud multo magis plebem permovisti".

[39] Ib. 9 (ed. DE GAIFFIER 320): "Eodem fere tempore vidi Mantuae praedicantem, ubi ferme nichil enim adhuc innovaveras, non multo frequentiores ad te quam ad ceteros conveniebant".

[40] ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 158.

[41] Id., *Outstanding Augustinian Humanists* in *Tagastan* 10 (1947) No3, 105.

[42] SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1090: "IX. A. Segarizzi, *La Catinia, le orazioni e le epistole di Sicco Pelenton* (Bergamo, 1899), p. 90: 'Sicco Polentonus Andree Billio s. p. d. Epistole tue, que multum oratoris, nichil hominis capati sapit, diebus iam plurimis respondissem ... Postea vero quam istinc [hinc] abiisti, summo cum desiderio expectavi

stay in Florence Biglia also made the acquaintance of Ambrogio Traversari, another eminent humanist and a monk[43]. And it may have been at Florence under the tutelage of Traversari or Bruni that Biglia acquired his mastery of Greek[44].

Another letter from Polenton, date July 15, 1419, some eleven months later, congratulates Andrea specifically on his appointment to teach ethics[45]. But by September 1422, three academic terms later, Biglia's teaching load had been broadened, his contract for that school year, 1422-1423, calling for him to lecture in moral philosophy, poetics, and rhetoric, at a salary of thirty-five florins[46].

The Sacred Orator

From that same letter of Polenton we also learn that Biglia had been privileged to deliver an oration before Pope Martin V and his curia,

atque sepenumero postulavi, si quis de te nuntius advenisset ... Delata tandem epistola tua est, qua, michi crede, letitiam et maximam letitiam accepi: augmentum letitie longa mora dedit ... Nec illud metuo, quod nunquam repetas hanc urbem, que et vetustate rerum et dignitate litterarum tibi cara sit. Hoc tibi animus suadebit, cum memor amicis fueris, quos neque paucos numero neque obscuros nomine pro tua humanitate et beneficiis coiunxisti. Quod autem cognitus et apud Nicolaum [Niccoli], virum optimum, iam sis et apud Leonardum [Bruni], quem eloquentie principem secula nostra vocant, te cito futurum speres, firmum michi atque pergratum est. Urbs illa Florentissima [Firenze] floret viris ... Patavii III kal. octobris MCCCCXVIII [September 29, 1418]'." See also note 45 below.

[43] Remigio SABBADINI, *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa*, (*Fonti per la storia d'Italia*) (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1931), pp. 25-26: "XVII. *L'Aurispa al Traversari*: 'Aurispa Ambrosio monacho viro sancto et eruditissimo p. s. ... Viros optimos atque humanissimos Andream mediolanensem et Thomam sarazanensem ex te salutavi ... Ex Bononia' [May 1425]". Traversari finds his place with other scholarly order-priests of the Renaissance in Paul Oskar KRISTELLER, *The Contribution of Religious Orders to Renaissance Thought and Learning*, in *The American Benedictine Review*, 21 (1970), 53.

[44] SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1102.

[45] Ib., pp. 1090-91: "X. Segarizzi, *La Catinia*, p. 97: 'Xicho Polenton Andree mediolanensi heremite s. p. d. Amantissimus tui Johannes Papiensis lector ad me detulit orantionem tuam, quam Florentie ad romanum pontificem et collegium cardinalium habuisti; postea interpositis diebus epistolam tuam ex manu eius ipsius accepi ... Ex fine orationis deprehendi quam surdis auribus auditus sis; qua de re non mirum in modem mirer, cum exoraveris apud homines, quos amplius capatum illud sermonum genus allegationibus plenum, quam Ciceronis ars oblectet. Quid dixerim? tuo tu, suo ipse [ipsi?] officio usi estis. Ceterum ethice legende locum te adeptum letor ... Preterea familiaritatem te iam inisse cum Leonardo Aretino reor ... Ex Patavio idibus iuliis MCCCCXIX' [July 15, 1419]".

[46] GHERARDI, *Statuti* 402: "[September 4, 1422] ad legendum filosofiam moralem, poesiam et rhetoricam frater Andreas Petri de Mediolano, ordinis fratrum sancti Spiritus". From SABBADINI, *Biglia* pp. 1091-92. See note 9 above.

who were returning from the Council of Constance, where the election on November 11, 1417, of Martin, the former Odo Cardinal Colonna, to the supreme pontificate had ended the Great Western Schism[47]. This disaster had begun in 1379, some fifteen years before Andrea's birth, and lasted thirty-eight years[48]. The oration, however, was not successful because, as Polenton pointed out, the pope and his retinue had no taste for the Ciceronian art espoused by Biglia[49].

Biglia's letters to Polenton and his oration before Pope Martin may have been included in the *Orationum et epistolarum libri 2* [S 37][50], which sadly are among his missing works. Also conceived, if not completed, in this period, when he was actively occupied with the theory of eloquence, may have been Biglia's rhetorical works, the *Exordia super practica rhetorices libri 3* [S 61], the *Grammatices, sive de octo partibus orationis, libri 8* [S 62][51], and the *De arte dicendi libri 3* [S 63], all likewise missing.

Pope Martin was in residence in Florence from February 1419 to September 9, 1420[52], a stay which may have afforded Andrea the opportunity of associating with the papal curia and even, possibly, of making the acquaintance of Giordano Cardinal Orsini[53] and the future cardinals, Jean Rochetaillée[54] and Niccolò Albergati[55], to whom, respectively, he

[47] See note 45 above. See also Archibald MAIN, *The Emperor Sigismund* (*The Stanhope Essay*; Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1903), p. 25-35.

[48] E. DELARVELLE, E. R. LABANDE, and P. OURLIAC, *L'Église au temps du grand schisme et de la crise conciliaire (1378-1499)*, Vol. XIV of *Histoire de l'Église*, ed. A. FLICHE and V. MARTIN (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1962), pt. 1, pp. 3-200.

[49] See note 45 above.

[50] Reference here is to my own listing, see above note 10.

[51] This work is also cited under the title *De verborum latinorum interpretatione*, as in Bartolomeo FACIO, *De viris illustribus* (Florence: J. P. Giovannelli, 1745), p. 40, and also under the title *De verborum latinorum interpretatione, sive de octo partibus orationis*, as in Girolamo MANCINI, *Vita di Lorenzo Valla* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1891), p. 32.

[52] SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1091.

[53] Giordano Orsini (Jordanus de Ursinis), archbishop of Naples, was created a cardinal by Pope Innocent VII on June 12, 1405. With Gulielmo Fillastre, Cardinal of San Marco, his fellow legate, he left Constance on April 2, 1418, to shore up the peace between the kings of England and France. He died May 29, 1438. See Conrad EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi* (2nd ed.; Münster: Libraria Regensbergiana, 1913), I,26 and 33. To him Biglia dedicated his *Ammonitio ad fratrem Manfredum Vercelensem* and his pamphlet *Pro suscipienda in Bohemos expeditione*; see notes 107 and 115 below.

[54] Jean Rochetaillée (Joannes de Ruppescissa) and Niccolò Albergati (Nicolaus de Albergatis) were created cardinals by Pope Martin V on May 24, 1426, in the first promotion held by him. To Jean Rochetaillée, archbishop of Rouen, who died in Bologna on March 24, 1437, Biglia dedicated his *De detrimento fidei orientis, sive de origine Turcharum*. See note 203 below. See also EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica*, I,34.

would dedicate three of his future works. The ex-antipope John XXIII, deposed at Constance, likewise arrived in Florence in June of 1419 and died there on December 22 of the same year[56].

Ordination to the Priesthood

We do not know at this time when Andrea was ordained to the presbyterate, but in the spring of 1420, when he was about twenty-seven years old, Biglia, at the request of superiors, was preaching the Lenten course in the Augustinian church attached to Santo Spirito[57]. Nearby, where they had received shelter, he first encountered the followers of Manfredo da Vercelli[58]. These deluded men and women of all ages and circumstances were convinced that Antichrist was already born and would soon appear in the world[59]. They had been taught by Fra Manfredo, a Dominican, that it was lawful for husbands and wives to leave one another and band together in the third order of penance of San Domenico, in order to flee the persecution of Antichrist, with the assurance that they would thus persevere in their faith[60]. Bernardino da Siena got wind of these goings-on and denounced them to the Inquisition[61]. Later that year Fra Manfredo came to preach at Florence, but he was commanded on that very occasion by Martin V either to desert his followers or lead them back to

[55] See preceding note. To Niccolò Albergati (Nicolaus de Albergatis), archbishop of Bologna, who died at Siena on May 9, 1443, Biglia dedicated two works: the *De pace et victoria Romanae ecclesiae* and the *De amore et magnitudine crucis*; both now missing. See EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica*, I,34.

[56] SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1091. Biglia may have had occasion to see the ex-antipope in Florence at this time.

[57] Ib.: "XII. Cod. Ambros. E. S. VII 2 (*Annotationes in evangelia del Biglia*), f. 1 'Maxime vero contigit ut primum cum essem Florentie in illa Ecclesia pro diebus quadragesime hanc a me operam (del predicare) postularent'." See following note *ad finem*.

[58] Ib.: "XI II. Cod. Ambros. H. 117 inf. f. 64 'Fr. Billie Andree ammonitio ad fratrem Manfredum Vercellensem ordinis fratrum predicatorum ... Equidem vidi cum primum Florentiam ingressi [i seguaci di Manfredo] tectum potius quam domum in vicinia nostra acceptissent' ...; f. 64v 'Meministi ... quantum eo tempore Martinus pontifex contendit ut aut illos desereres aut in domos suas reduceres. Idem tibi frater Leonardus [Dati] Florentinus home sane gravissimus ac tui ordinis genera lis persuasit literisve quantum poterat iniunxit' ... ; f. 65 'Equidem memini cum illis diebus Florentie predicarem.'"

[59] Costantino MARIA, *The Life of S. Bernardine of Siena* (London: R. Washbourne, 1873), p. 75.

[60] Ib., p. 76; John HOFER, *St. John Capistran Reformer*, trans. Patrick CUMMINS (St. Louis: Herder, 1943), pp. 60-61.

[61] MARIA, *Life of S. Bernardine*, pp. 76-77.

their homes[62]. Thus humiliated, Manfredo became one of the bitterest opponents of Bernardino[63].

Biglia's four academic years at the University of Florence, that is, from 1419 to 1423, and at least two academic terms at the University of Bologna, that is, 1426-1427 and 1427-1428, were devoted not only to lectures but probably also to intense literary activity in philosophy, encompassing the conception, if not the completion, of his numerous commentaries, namely, the *Expositio super Universalia Porphyrii* [S 49], the *Expositio super Perihermenias Aristotelis* [S 50], the *Commentaria super libros Aristotelis De anima, libri 3* [S 51], the *Commentaria in libris <Aristotelis> De coelo et mundo, libri 4* [S 52], the *Quaestiones in libros <Aristotelis> De Anima, libri 3* [S 53], the *Quaestiones in libros <Aristotelis> Physicorum, libri 8* [S 54[1]], and perhaps a set of *Quaestiones Metaphysicorum <Aristotelis>, libri 12* [S 55[1]][64]. Unfortunately, these too are all missing.

From an entry in the registers of Agostino Favaroni da Roma, Prior General of the Augustinian Order, dated November 29, 1423, we learn that permission was granted to Fra Andrea da Milano, *Baccalaureus*, to withdraw for certain compelling reasons from the University of Florence, where by virtue of the promotion he had received from the general he had begun to lecture on the *Liber sententiarum* of Peter Lombard. This permission had been granted so that Andrea could be incorporated into either the University of Bologna or that of Padua, and, upon this incorporation, could satisfy the remaining obligations of his lectureship and the other customary requirements. Thereafter, he could, at his convenience, take the degree of *Magister*[65].

It comes as no surprise that Biglia's choice was for a new experience at Bologna, then the center of the most spirited, varied, and prolific humanist society. For, either studying or teaching there at that time were the laymen Giovanni Lamola, Giovanni Toscabella, Leon Battista Alberti, Antonio Panormita, Giovanni Aurispa, and Francesco Filelfo, all of them

[62] See above note 58.

[63] Iris ORIGO, *The World of San Bernardino* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962), p. 122.

[64] See Master List nr. 55 in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*, 179-181 for a discussion of the various titles of Biglia's work on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and their identity.

[65] "Rome, Archiv. gen. O.S.A., Dd 4, fol. 130r: Senis Nov. 29, 1423 — 'Concessimus fratri Andree de Mediolano bachallaureo, qui quibusdam rationalibus causis cogitur recedere de Florentia, in cuius universitate per nostram promotionem legebat librum Sententiarum, ut incorporari possit aut in universitate Bonon. aut Paduana et, in qua incorporatus fuerit, complere quod restat lecture sue et ceterorum actuum solitorum, ac deinde pro libito suscipere gradum magisterii'". From ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 159.

famous, the last four very famous; nor were ecclesiastics wanting to that learned company: Alberto da Sartiano, at that time fresh from the lectures of Battista Guarino, preached at Bologna in those years, and there at Bologna was the residence of Archbishop Niccolò Albergati, whose secretary, Tommaso Parentucelli, would be the future Pope Nicholas V[66]. With Giovanni Aurispa, Andrea formed the staunchest of friendships, and we can certify at least Parentucelli as a member of the Bolognese circle in which these friends moved, for in a letter of May, 1425 from Bologna to Traversari in Florence, Aurispa linked the two, Biglia and the future pope, in relaying their regards to the erudite monk[67]. From Pavia, Panormita would be mindful of Biglia[68].

After he received the general's permission, Biglia made his move from Santo Spirito in Florence to San Giacomo Maggiore, the Augustinian monastery in Bologna. This move must have been completed at least by December 27, 1423, because Andrea's name with the title of *baccalaureus* was on that day affixed as a witness to the last will and testament of Carlo Barna, a benefactor of the Augustinian Friars in Bologna[69].

It is evident from this document, taken in conjunction with the entry in the registers of the prior general cited above[70], that Andrea's first concern and occupation at the University of Bologna as a *baccalaureus sententiarius* had to be the completion of his lectures on the *Book of Sentences* and the fulfillment of other requirements for his admission to the *magisterium*, which event, consequently, could not have taken place before 1425[71]. Andrea may have found time, however, to lay the foundations for his commentary *Super primum sententiarum* [S 48], a work extant in at least two copies[72].

[66] SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1101.

[67] See note 43 above, where Aurispa refers to Parentucelli as *Thomas sarazanensis*.

[68] See note 196 below.

[69] ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 159 and note 24: "*Chartularium Studii Bononiensis: Documenti per la storia dell'università di Bologna dalle origini fino al secolo XV*, edd. L. NORDI and E. ORIOLI (8 vols., Bologna and Imola, 1909-27) 1.312"; MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 521, note 3: "*Chartularium studii bononiensis*, I, p. 312. Il 27 dicembre Carlo Barna, benefattore del convento eremitano di San Giacomo di Bononia, fa testamento 'presentibus ... magistro Christoforo Pauli de Bononia, sacre theologie professore ... fratre Aprilo de Catelonia, fratre Andrea de Mediolano ambobus bachalariis'".

[70] See note 65 above.

[71] See MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 521. See also note 79 below.

[72] OXFORD, Bodleian Library, Canonicianus 276, fols. 1-120; and CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Bibl. Apost. Vaticana, lat. 1084, fols. 144-52. Compare Argelati's description of the San Marco manuscript ("XX. In primum librum sententiarum. MS. fol. perg. justae molis. Codex imperfectus, cui aliena manu inscriptum est ut supra[3]"; [He means: "XVIII. Primus, & secundus liber Physicorum, cum principio libri tertii. MS. in fol. max. perg.

The Political Pamphleteer

Biglia certainly took time to respond in writing to current issues. From Bohemia, far east across the Adriatic, came news of a Hussite rebellion against papal and episcopal authority that was fearfully tainted with heresy. Biglia lamented this disruption of the peace and unity of Christendom with his *Querellae pacis* [S 2] of 1424[73]. That year probably also saw the composition of Biglia's pamphlet, *Ad Alphonsum regem Aragonum de pace cum Philippo duce Mediolanensi componenda* [S 3][74], an effort toward the reconciliation of two Christian princes at war. To the south, King Alfonso V of Aragon was struggling for the throne of the Kingdom of Naples with Queen Giovanna II, for whose relief Duke Filippo Maria of Milan, at the behest of Pope Martin V and Duke Louis II of Anjou, had assembled a fleet at Genoa[75]. Both these works are extant in manuscript[76].

Andrea had occasion to hear Bernardino again in Bologna. The Franciscan ame there to preach at the beginning of 1424, went to Milan for a short while, but returned to Bologna by April[77]. It was while Bernardino was addressing the crowd at Bologna that he was first accused of heresy by an unlettered friar who began to preach against him. During Advent of that same year, Bernardino was preaching at Volterra. As a

Manu aliena antiqua sic adnotatum est in principio: Scriptum hoc super Physicis, superveniente morte incompletum, fecit Angelicus Doctor Magister Andreas de Billiis de Mediolano"]), with the descriptions of the extant manuscripts in ML 48 (c and h) in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*, 177-178.

[73] Apropos of Biglia's motive for writing this treatise, MURATORI, *Praefatio*, col. 4, observes: "Declamationis instar est, ibique de bellis eo tempore flagrantibus non pauca habet, ac praecipue de Bohemis".

[74] In regard to the *Ad Alphonsum regem Aragonum*, SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1097, says: "Si referisce alle ostilità fra il duca di Milano e Alfonso d'Aragona degli anni 1423-24", and in regard to the *Panischolaria*: "Contro l'elezione de Egidio Muñoz, ad antipapa dopo la morte dell'antipapa Benedetto XIII. Quest'ultimo morì nel novembre 1424 e il Muñoz fù eletto nel 1425 (PASTOR, *Geschichte der Päpste*, I,208). Con ciò è stabilità la data del presente opuscolo [the *Panischolaria*] e di due altri già descritti, a cui qui si allude f. 1v ... 'quum querelas illas pacis [the *Querellae pacis*] anno preterito [perciò nel 1424] explicabam' ... 'Benignitati tue de pace cum civibus nostris facienda rationes cum litteris scripsi' [perciò si conferna che la succitata lettera ad Alfonso e del 1423-24]".

[75] MUIR, *History of Milan*, p. 147.

[76] MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana N 280 sup. fols. 1r-14v (*Querellae pacis*), and fols. 14v-17v (*Ad Alphonsum regem Aragonum de pace cum Philippo duce Mediolanensi componenda*). The *Querellae pacis* is also available in codex C 69 inf. fols. 142r-159v of the same library.

[77] ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 159; DE GAIFFIER, *Le mémoire d'André Biglia*, p. 317.

means of rekindling popular fervor, at the close of each sermon he would display for the crowd's adoration a gilded tablet bearing the monogram *yhs*, a representation of the most holy name of Jesus centered in golden rays[78]. This became his regular practice. Thus, we shall see, did Bernardino afford his enemies a weapon against himself.

Advancement to the Doctorate

In the next year, that is, in 1425, the principal event in the life of Andrea Biglia was his attainment of the *magisterium*, the mediaeval equivalent of the present day doctorate, and this with outstanding success. Of the 506 *magistri* in the official list of the theological faculty of the University of Bologna only two were found worthy of epithetical praise, one of them Biglia[79]. As the 191st entry we read: "Master Andrea da Milano of the Order of Hermits", and another hand has added: "angelic doctor, a man most expert in the Greek language"[80].

In 1425 Andrea addressed another work to King Alfonso, his *Panischolaria ad Alphonsum regem Aragonum adversum schisma Benedicti* [S 4], which attempted to persuade the king to abandon his support of the antipope living in his realm at Peñiscola. The Western Schism died hard. After the convocation of the Council of Constance in November of 1414, John XXIII submitted under duress, Gregory XII finally decided to abdicate, but in distant Spain Pedro de Luna, Benedict XIII, remained obdurate until his death in 1423. Unfortunately he had a

[78] Paul THUREAU-DANGIN, *The Life of S. Bernardino of Siena*, trans. by G. VON HUGEL (London: P. L. Warner, 1911), p. 82.

[79] ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 160; id., *Outstanding Augustinian Humanists*, p. 104; MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 521; Giovanni N. P. ALODISI, *Li dottori forestieri* (Bologna: Tebaldini, 1623), p. 4: "Andrea da Milano dell'ord. eremitano 1423. Fù lettore di Rettorica, di Filosofia naturale, e morale, fin'al 1429. Et fù addottorato in Theologia dal Collegio di Bologna, & aggregato in quello. Era chiamato Dottore Angelico, fù peritissimo in lingua Greca".

[80] Francesco EHRLE, *I più antichi statuti della facoltà teologica dell'Università di Bologna*, (*Universitatis Bononiensis monumenta*, 1)(Bologna: Istituto per la Storia dell'Università di Bologna, 1932), p. 112: "191. MAGISTER ANDREAS DE MEDIOLANO ORDINIS HEREMITARUM, [doctor angelicus, in lingua greca homo peritissimus]" [translation mine]. Biglia as bearer of the honorific title *Doctor Angelicus* seems to have been ignored by scholars who have dealt with such titles — possibly because of his relatively late date. He is not taken into account by J. C. VANSTEENKISTE, *Doctor (scholastic Title)*, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, IV,935-38, who does, however, list as *Doctor Angelicus* not only St. Thomas Aquinas (†1274) but Richard Brinkel (†c. 1350) and reports a few titles borne by fifteenth- and even sixteenth- and seventeenth- century Doctors. See above note 72, Argelati's description of the San Marco manuscript.

successor as antipope — Egidio Muñoz, a canon of Barcelona, who took the name of Clement VIII[81]. Apparently, Andrea's appeal to King Alfonso had no immediate effect, for Clement's presence and posture were tolerated in Spain until his death in 1429, and only then was all of western Christianity once again united in allegiance to one spiritual head, Martin V.

Probably around the same time or shortly after the composition of his treatise on the schism[82], Biglia heard that his brothers in religion in Rheims far to the north were being harassed by the archiepiscopal curia and other magistrates and, therefore, had been unable to obtain permission to preach in the city. In two letters, now known under the general title: *Ad Reginaldum Remensem archiepiscopum de concordia et meritis ordinum, super generali indulto Alexandri Papae V* [S 5], Biglia interceded with the archbishop in behalf of the Augustinians of Rheims, who, as Andrea pointed out, belonged to an order illustrious for its service to the Church[83]. Extant in manuscript, the *Ad Reginaldum* has been published[84].

The General Chapter of 1425

Andrea's brilliance as a preacher had become apparent. Though but recently admitted to the *magisterium* and only about thirty-two years old, he was nevertheless chosen to deliver the address at the opening of the General Chapter of Bologna, May 26, 1425, at which Agostino Favaroni da Roma, to whom Biglia was indebted for his opportunity to take the

[81] Antonio CASAMASSA, *L'autore di un preteso discorso di Martino V*, in A. CASAMASSA, M. MACCARRONE, and L. OLIGER, eds., *Miscellanea Pio Paschini* II,109-25 (Rome: Facultas Theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1948), p. 113, note 15; ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 183, note 106.

[82] It would appear that there is no way to give a precise date to the composition of the *Ad Reginaldum*; it can only be noted that it is found in a manuscrit in which the other eight of Biglia's works contained therein are presented in chronological order. Since the *Panischolaria*, which precedes the *Ad Reginaldum* in manuscript, is dated 1425, and the *De disciplina ordinia ammonitio*, which follows it, is dated May 27, 1425 (see note 86 below), it would seem a like date, that is, sometime in 1425, should be assigned to the *Ad Reginaldum*. This Reginaldus was arhcbishop of Rheims from 1414 to 1444. See EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica*, I,419 and II,222, note 1.

[83] ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 183, note 107.

[84] MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana H 117 inf. fols. 1r-28r (the *Panischolaria*), and fols. 28r-42r (the *Ad Reginaldum*). A. M. VOCI published a critical text of the *Ad Reginaldum* in *La suggestione umanistica dell'Eremo in Andrea Biglia*, in *Critica Storica* 18 (1981), 665-81.

doctorate, was continued in the office of Prior General[85]. It was the feast of Pentecost[86]. On this occasion Andrea's sacred oratory was thoroughly Augustinian, emphasizing charity above all, as taught by Jesus, preached by Paul, and interpreted by Augustine. The *De disciplina ordinis ammonitio habita in capitulo Bononiensi* [S 25] is a thoroughly Christian speech with but two classical allusions, and it shows Biglia to have been a friend of reform and an advocate of regular discipline and the common life[87]. Andrea seems also to have gained a reputation at Bologna as a preacher of funeral eulogies. His panegyric on one Battista Bentivoglio [S 15], a very famous soldier of the city of Bologna, which was delivered on August 14 of the same year, is still extant, as are six other similar speeches for various notables of Bologna: one Giacobbe [S 16], another military man by the name of Giovanni Gisleri [S 17], a Lorenzo [S 18], a doctor of law also named Giacobbe [S 19], a Stefano [S 20], and Niccolò, a lawyer [S 21][88]. And it was possibly on one of the feasts of St. Augustine, August 28, celebrated during his Bologna period that Biglia delivered the first of his two extant panegyrics of St. Augustine, the [*Laudatio sancti Augustini Bononiae dicta*] [S 23][89].

[85] Luigi TORELLI, *Secoli Agostiniani* (Bologna: Per Giacomo Monti, 8 vols., 1659-86), VI,558.

[86] BIGLIA, *De disciplina ordinis* IV,3-5. TORELLI, *Secoli Agostiniani*, VI,558, gives May 20 as the date of the opening of the chapter; but, according to A. CAPPELLI, *Cronologia, cronografia e calendario perpetuo* (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1930), p. 70, Pentecost in 1425 fell on May 27.

[87] Passim, but especially chapters 26 and 27.

[88] The quoted words are from the title in the manuscript: *F. B. Andreae collaudatio funerea pro Baptista Bentivoglio clarissimo milite civitatis Bononiae*. [Translation mine] See E. STEVENSON and I. B. DE ROSSI, *Codices Palatini Latini Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Rome: Ex Typographeo Vaticano, 1886), I,212-13; A. SEGARIZZI, *Per la bibliografia di Andrea Biglia* (Venice: Prem. off. grafiche C. Ferrari, 1920), pp. 5-6; Paul O. KRISTELLER, *Iter Italicum: A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Itlian and Other Libraries* (London: The Warburg Institute; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963-1990, 5 vols.), II,396.

[89] The panegyric is third in a series of three hitherto unknown orations by Biglia discovered by G. Billanovich in MS 146B of Balliol College Library, Oxford, occupying respectively fols. 66r-68v, 68v-71v, and 71v-75r, and described by him in 1955 in his article, *Pietro Piccolo da Monteforte tra il Petrarca e il Boccaccio*, in *Medioevo e rinascimento: Studi in onore di Bruno Nardi* (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1955), I,1-76, p. 12. Latin titles for the three orations (S 23, 28, and 29), which are untitled in the manuscript, have been adapted by the writer from Billanovich's descriptions of them in Italian. To the first oration Billanovich assigns 1423 as the date of its composition in Bologna; he does not state why. R.A.B. MYNORS, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 126, accepts Billanovich's date for this oration, but goes beyond Billanovich in calling it "Andrea Biglia's inaugural lecture

Six years had elapsed between general chapters[90]. As in the Church, so in the Order of Hermits, the great schism had split the spiritual leadership. But as the Council of Constance had healed the wound of the Church by the election of Martin V in 1417, so had the General Chapter of Asti bound up the lesions of the order by the election of Agostino Favaroni da Roma in 1419[91]. Following the canon of the constitutions that a general chapter should be held every third year, the fourteenth determination of the chapter at Asti was for the celebration of the next chapter at Paris in 1422[92]. However, wars and famine had made it impossible for the chapter fathers to convene either in that year or in the two following[93]. These disasters were repercussions of the political vacuum created by the death of Duke Gian Galeazzo back in 1402. By 1425, however, Duke Filippo Maria, the second son of Gian Galeazzo and successor to his mad brother, Giovanni Maria, had restored political stability and had in large measure won back the Visconti lands lost after the death of his father[94]. For this, Fra Andrea Biglia, a staunch monarchist and an advocate of law and order, would more than once declare himself grateful, as in his eulogies of Gian Galeazzo[95].

as professor of theology at Bologna", describes the second oration as "what is apparently a sequel" to the first, and mistakenly equates the third to the "panegyric on St. Augustine delivered in Siena, 28 August, 1432" [S 24], possibly because he did not know *codex Ambrosianus* N 280 sup. at first hand, but was relying on SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1097, who does not five the incipit of the Siena [*Laudatio*] (see 'f' under ML 23 and 24 in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*). There appears to be no external evidence for the assignment of this speech [S 23] to Biglia's Bologna period (1423-1428), except its association in the codex with the two inaugural addresses [S 28 and 29]. See note 112 below.

[90] *Series capitulorum et priorum generalium ordinis*, in *Catalogus ordinis fratrum sancti Augustini* (Rome: Curia Generalis Augustiniana, 1971), p. 359.

[91] Eustasio ESTEBAN, *De capitulo generali ordinis nostri anno 1419 Astae celebrato*, in *Analecta Augustiniana* 6 (1915-16), 255.

[92] Ib., p. 258: "Quoad definitiones in eodem Capitulo editas ex actis eiusdem Prioris Generalis Augustini Romani sequentes pro historia excerpimus notitias"; p. 270: "*14. — Sequens Generale Capitulum anno 1422 Parisiis celebrandum*".

[93] ESTEBAN, *De capitulis generalibus ordinis eremitarum s. Augustini ab an. 1425 ad an 1439 celebratis*, in *Analecta Augustiniana* 6 (1915-16), 326: "Capitulum Generale, quod ultra montes Parisiis an. 1422 celebrari debuerat Parisiis propter bella celebratum non fuit, nec alibi illo anno 1422, immo nec annis 1423 et 1424, ut ex ... actis Augustini Romani patet".

[94] MUIR, *History of Milan*, pp. 145-48.

[95] ANDREA BIGLIA, *In exequiis* XIV,1-7: "Tanto igitur bono ... illius hominis morte perpetuo caruissemus, si non ... hoc quoque accessisset ... Res in manifesto est: quem hodie, duce Deo, ducem Mediolani habemus, hunc ... paternae virtuti respondere; idem, Secunda collaudatio XX,1-6: Eandem sane morem iam inde a maioribus traditum noster hic Philippus, quo duce hodie gubernamur, ita suscepit, ut in hoc magnificentiae genere

There seems to have been a period of leisure in the life of Andrea Biglia roughly equivalent to the school term of 1425-1426, after he had attained the *magisterium* and before he contracted to teach at the University of Bologna, during which he was free to travel and to accept speaking engagements. He may have gone to Milan to visit his family. On such an occasion, if not at this very time, Biglia was asked to deliver the eulogy at the annual memorial service for Duke Gian Galeazzo Visconti, which we may presume was celebrated on the anniversary of his death. Accordingly, Andrea may have given the first of his three extant funeral orations on Gian Galeazzo, the *In exequiis Johannis Galeatii Vicecomitis ducis Mediolani laudatio funerea* [S 13], on September 3, 1425[96]. In 1402, another Augustinian, Pietro da Castelletto, a professor of theology at the University of Pavia[97], had been chosen to pronounce the panegyric over the body of Gian Galeazzo because he had, as Biglia tells us, glorified the house of Visconti by tracing the ancestry of the duke back to Aeneas[98]. Similarly, the choice of Andrea to deliver the annual eulogy of the duke on at least three occasions was ideal for the propaganda purposes of the Visconti dynasty because of the Guelfic affiliation of the Biglia family, whose outlook and sympathies Andrea did in fact forcefully and frequently professed as his own. More than a score of years after the death of Gian Galeazzo, Biglia was proudly repeating the idea which the duke had planted in the minds of his subjects, that the Visconti in general, and he himself in particular, had restored in Milanese arms the ancient military prowess of Italy and caused it to triumph over barbarian invaders from the

superiore omnes transcensurus videatur, tot aedificatis moenibus, tot ductis munitionibus, tot paratis atriis, tot perfectis aut ornatis ecclesiis, ut quaqua versum per omnem provinciam eas, per civitates, villas, agros, huius hominis videas aedificia surrexisse". P.O. KRISTELLER, *Iter Italicum*, IV,92, gives *Ad invictissimi ducis Mediolani laudes Magistri Andree (Bilie) Agustinensis ordinis oratio* as the title of a third eulogy of Gian Galeazzo by Biglia.

[96] There is no external evidence to support this date. And the time span connoted by the internal evidence is very broad. The writer, therefore, suggests this date merely as a convenient possibility. See note 138 below.

[97] R. MAIOCCHI, O.S.A., and N. CASACCA, O.S.A., *Codex Diplomaticus Ord. E. S. Augustini Papiae* (Pavia: Successori C. Rossetti, 1906), II,13, note 1: "Frate Pietro da Castellato, come apparirà dai nostri documenti, appartienne alla Comunità di S. Agostino di Pavia e fù professore di Telogia nell'Università".

[98] BIGLIA, *Historia* 1 (col. 11A-B ARGELATI-MURATORI): "Defuncti [Gian Galeazzo] laudationem non minime pro illo tempore infacundam habuit Petrus Papiensis, homo nostri ordinis frater; caeteris (nam multi orationes dederant) eo maxime praelatus, quia stirpem Ducis, nominatis gradibus, in usque Aeneam produxerat".

north[99]. Andrea also adverted in this speech to the setting in which the panoply of Visconti glorification was being refurbished, the great *duomo* of Milan[100]. Begun in 1387 under the auspices of Gian Galeazzo[101], its construction was promoted by him and his successors[102] and was, Biglia asserted, a matter of great concern to the duke[103].

Meanwhile, in Bohemia, the situation had become critical. The people of Bohemia had never forgiven Sigismund, King of the Romans, for his treatment of their priest John Hus. Hus had been summoned to appear before the Council of Constance to give an account of his doctrine; and, in order to assure Hus' compliance, Sigismund had granted him "safe conduct". This was a guarantee that Hus would be allowed to return unmolested to Bohemia, but not an immunity, once home, from prosecution for heresy by his own ruler, Wenceslaus. Sigismund was persuaded, however, to renege on this "safe conduct"; and he permitted Hus to be tried and condemned for heresy at Constance, where he was burned at the stake on July 6, 1415. Thereafter, upon the death of Wenceslaus, Sigismund was rejected by the Bohemian people when he tried to assume the kingship of Bohemia as his brother's heir[104]. But the strongest opposition to Sigismund and to the Catholic cause came from the heretical Hussites who, under the brilliant leadership of John Ziska, continually routed the huge armies of crusaders launched against them by

[99] BIGLIA, *In exequiis* IV,13-16: "Hi primi, quum iam Italia velut armorum nescia languesceret, restituta veteri disciplina, docuere non esse Italis hominibus opus peregrinis neque stipendiis, neque armis, neque corporibus"; this passage and its context seems to reflect Biglia's monarchist views and his desire for the unification of Italy under a strong central government — that is, under the Visconti. But the union of the peninsula under the sway of one man was not, at that time, a political concept capable of realization. The Hapsburgs weakened Milanese control of the northern trade routes by pressure on the Alpine passes. Savoy was encroaching on the western border of the duchy. The republics of Tuscany resisted and, under the leadership of Florence, maintained their independence. Venice was master of the head of the Adriatic. The States of the Church in a strip athwart central Italy divided the progressive and developed north from the backward kingdom of Naples in the south. See Daniel Meredith Dueno DE MESQUITA, *Giangaleazzo Visconti: Duke of Milan (1351-1402)* (Cambridge: University Press, 1941), p. 307.

[100] BIGLIA, *In exequiis* VII,13-14: "Quanta illi cura huius nostri maximi templi in quo has religiones perficimus".

[101] See Antonio CERUTI, *I principi del duomo di Milano* (Milan: G. Agnelli, 1879), pp. 79-81.

[102] MUIR, *History of Milan*, pp. 235-39.

[103] BIGLIA, *In exequiis* VII,15-16: "Nihil enim fecisse putabat, quom audiret vel puncto temporis has aedificationes intermitti".

[104] MAIN, *The Emperor Sigismund*, pp. 36-40.

the implacable Martin V[105]. The legation for such an undertaking against the Bohemian heretics was entrusted to Giordano Cardinal Orsini by Pope Martin in January of 1426[106]. Such was the stimulus for the composition of Biglia's treatise, the *Pro suscipienda in Bohemos expeditione Iordano Ursino* [S 6], which Andrea directed to Cardinal Orsini. In this brief work, finished on March 15, 1426, Biglia advocated swift, strong, and decisive action against a danger that was not to be underestimated. It is available in manuscript[107].

The political calm in northern Italy was brief. Hardly secured in his restored domain, Duke Filippo Maria was to begin the second phase of his reign with a war with Venice and her allies[108]. Biglia showed his loyalty to the Visconti dynasty and gave his support during the struggle by addressing encouraging words to the faltering forces of Duke Filippo in their camp before Brescia[109]. Nonetheless, Brescia fell to the Venetians[110]. This speech, the *In castris Philippi ducis mediolani oratio militaris* [S 22], is also extant in manuscript[111].

During the school terms 1426-1427 and 1427-1428, Andrea was in Bologna at the university teaching natural and moral philosophy. It may have been at the respective beginnings of these terms that he delivered two rather recently discovered speeches that have the appearance of inaugural addresses, the first entitled: [*Oratio theologici cursus initiandi causa Bononiae habita*] [S 28]; and the second: [*Oratio in Sacrae Scripturae studium introductoria*] [S 29][112]. As part of his salary at Bologna,

[105] Ib., pp. 40-42.

[106] SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1092. See also E. KÖNIG, *Kardinal Giordano Orsini* (Freiburg im Br.: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1906), p. 48. From SABBADINI, ib.

[107] MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana N 280 sup. fols. 20v-26v.

[108] MUIR, *History of Milan*, p. 149.

[109] Biglia cites in the speech the series of reverses recently suffered by the Milanese.

[110] MUIR, *History of Milan*, p. 149.

[111] MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana N 280 sup. fols. 26v-29r.

[112] See note 89 above. The writer agrees with MYNORS, *Catalogue*, p. 126, that these speeches [S 28 and 29] are inaugural orations delivered by Biglia at Bologna; but, because of the nature of Biglias's audience whom he addresses as *patres venerantissimi* in the first and in the second as *patres sanctissimi*, he disagrees with Mynors that they are only lectures. The writers would elevate them to the status of inaugural addresses of the assembly of the University of Bologna at the opening of academic years, like the two similar speeches delivered at Siena [S 30 and 31]. The writer would then be obliged to take exception with Billanovich's (*Pietro Piccolo*, p. 12) assignment of the year 1423 to the first speech [S 28] as the date of its delivery. Having attained the *magisterium* only in 1425 (see note 71 above), Biglia would have qualified for the honor of inaugurating the scholastic year as a full professor and new lecturer first in 1426 and again in 1427, when he was under contract at the university, and before he fled the anti-papal riots in Bologna

Andrea was paid sixty florins, a substantial increase over the thirty-five florins he had received per annum in Florence[113].

Controversy with Manfredo da Vercelli

Sometime after Cardinal Orsini returned from his mission to Bohemia, Andrea thought it expedient to write a treatise in two books as a warning or exhortation to the Dominican, Manfredo da Vercelli, the *Ammonitio ad fratrem Manfredum Vercelensem ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum* [S 7^{b}], which Andrea dedicated to the aforementioned Cardinal Orsini in a prefatory letter entitled, *Ad Iordanum Ursinum nobilem Romanum et ecclesiae cardinalem epistola velut prooemium pro duobus libellis sequentibus* [S 7^{a}]. From this letter we gather that the cardinal's mission to Bohemia had been unsuccessful because the danger in the east had been underestimated, and we learn that Biglia felt that his opposition to Bernardino da Siena was justified because it sprang from no personal motive, and that Manfredo da Vercelli, whom Cardinal Orsini had also seen fit to censure, had not been keeping the solemn promises he had previously made in the presence of Bernardino[114]. This treatise, extant in manuscript, has been published[115].

At just about this time Andrea composed two more treatises, both now among his missing works, which he dedicated to Niccolò Albergati, the cardinal archbishop of Bologna[116], namely, the *De pace et victoria Romanae ecclesiae ad Nicolaum Bononiensem ex Cisterciensi ordine Romanae ecclesiae cardinalem* [S 8], and the *De amore et magnitudine crucis ad Nicolaum Bononiensem cardinalem* [S 42]. The first treatise may

in 1428. If it can be presumed that this scholastic event took place on the eighteenth of October, the feast of St. Luke, as it did in Siena, the first oration [S 28] would then have been delivered on October 18, 1426, and the second [S 29], on October 18, 1427 (see in particular notes 146-49 below).

[113] 113 MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 521; Giuseppe ZAOLI, *Di alcuni 'rotuli' dello studio ecclesiastico*, in *Studi e memorie per la storia dell'Università di Bologna* 1 (1907) (Biblioteca de l'"Arciginnasio", 1: Istituto per la storia dell'Università di Bologna, 4), p. 232: "M. Andreas de mediolano, ordinis heremitarum, philosophiae naturalis et moralis, pro parte sui salarii L. 60".

[114] See the text of this letter in Appendix I.

[115] MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana H 117 inf. fol. 57r: prefatory letter; fols. 57v-73v: treatise; published by R. RUSCONI, *Fonti e documenti su Manfredo da Vercelli* OP *ed il suo movimento penitenziale*, in *Archivum Praedicatorum*, 47 (1977), 71-97.

[116] Niccolò Albergati was made archbishop of Bologna on April 13, 1418, and was created a cardinal on may 24, 1426, by Pope Martin V. See EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica*, I,34 and 141.

have been apologetic in nature, while the second appears to have been an ascetical work. Around 1427 Biglia wrote the first of his two recently identified consolatory epistles, the *De non necessario mortis metu* [S 43[1]], directed to his relative Giovanni, the castellan of Pavia, who had recently lost his only son Leone or Leonino; and shortly thereafter, that is, around 1427-1428, he composed the second, the *De bona et pretiosa matris morte* [S 43[2]], which he sent to Benedetto, his only sister's husband, after he had received the news of his own dear mother's death[117]. It was also at this time that Biglia began work on his voluminous and still extant, but unedited, *Annotationes in evangelia quadragesimae* [S 40[1]][118].

Since 1424 the opposition to Fra Bernardino da Siena had been mounting, his chief accusers being the *fratelli* of the rival preaching orders, the Augustinians and the Dominicans. Supported by his order, the fanatical Dominican Manfredo da Vercelli had been challenging the orthodoxy of Bernardino's preaching and techniques, and had even gained the ear of Antonino, the archbishop of Florence, who was later canonized a saint! In the spring of 1426 Bernardino received a summons from Pope Martin V to come to Rome to acquit himself. The charges were both heresy and idolatry. Bernardino was forbidden to preach or to display the monogram of the name of Jesus to the crowds[119].

Conflict with Bernardino da Siena

It was soon after the pope had silenced Fra Bernardino, that is, early in 1426, that Biglia published his pamphlet inveighing against the practices of Bernardino, the *De institutis, discipulis, et doctrina fratris Bernardini ordinis Minorum* [S 9]. Eight times Andrea comes to the defense of the papal action; and this persistence suggests that the pontifical action prompted him to take up his pen. Biglia's attack was specific and incisive: while expressing his own personal admiration for the man, that is, for Bernardino's holiness and eloquence, he maintained, nevertheless, that the Franciscan's doctrines and devices were unnecessary, superstitious, and scandalous. And he insisted in five different passages that he was

[117] *Codex Florentinus Nationalis Centralis* N. A. 921. KRISTELLER, *Iter Italicum*, I,172, gives "Andreas de Mediolano O.S.A" as the author of this codex. MORISI, *Pagina*, pp. 539-40, correctly identifies this Andreas as our author, Andrea Biglia. Morisi, pp. 541-46, 548-51, has published excerpts from this codex, as has RUSCONI, *Fonti*, pp. 97-98. For two examples of the autograph elements found in this codex, see plates 18 and 19. See note 13 above.

[118] See below note 191.

[119] ORIGO, *The World*, pp. 117-24.

motivated by no feelings of jealousy or envy toward Bernardino[120]. He would reiterate these latter sentiments in a beautiful letter written to Bernardino some years later[121].

Bernardino had many disciples who spread the devotion to the most holy name of Jesus throughout Europe. Among these was Matteo da Messina, afterwards bishop of Agrigento (1414-1446), and later declared a *beatus*, who in addition to Sicily spread the devotion to the name of Jesus in Spain. Preaching at Barcelona, he urged the citizens of that city to have the monogram *yhs* inscribed or painted on their houses and doors, in their bedrooms and other places, as Bernardino was urging in Italy. As in Italy, so here, controversy had arisen, but in Barcelona, among other things, the dispute concerned the very manner of writing the name of Jesus, with certain brethren of the Order of Preachers averring that it ought not to be written with an "h", and Matteo defending the way of writing it he had learned from his master. One of the Dominicans had to flee from the city because of the wrath of the people, with whom Fra Matteo was very popular. The controversy growing in intensity, a certain Fray Antonio, a member of the Augustinian Order and from the same city of Barcelona, doubtless aware of Biglia's genius and his strong feeling in the matter, directed a letter to him informing him about the dispute. Andrea then sent Fray Antonio his treatise, the *Ad Barchinonenses de littera h in Yhesu* [S 10], and advised him that, if he needed more information, he should consult a certain Fray Santiago of Tarragona, a brother Augustinian, who he had heard was a man of gravity and approved doctrine[122].

In this little work Biglia, first of all, rebuked the people of Barcelona because they were disputing among themselves about an inane thing, which pertained, not to faith, but to grammar. They had been incited, Andrea said, into this most stupid of controversies by Fra Matteo and his associates, who were teaching, according to him, that all salvation depended on that one letter, a letter whose value was dubious and disputed among grammarians[123].

Although he knew Greek very well, Andrea was mistaken about the true origin of the letter "h" in the monogram *yhs*. Instead of recognizing the letter as the Greek *eta* represented by a miniscule Roman "h", he considered it a light aspiration that had somehow crept into the word[124].

[120] DE GAIFFIER, *Le mémoire d'André Biglia*, pp. 309-10, and 311, note 6.

[121] See below note 210.

[122] J.B. WÜST, ed., *Andreae de Biliis, O.S.A., tractatus ad Barcinonenses de littera h in nomine Ihesu*, in *Antonianum* 3 (1928), 65-86; p. 68.

[123] Ib., p. 69.

[124] Ib., p. 65.

This tract was most probably composed in 1427, after Bernardino's vindication in Rome. In its tone the work is more restrained, if no less scholarly, than the *De institutis* [S 9][125]. For in the presence of Martin V, surrounded by numerous theologians, Bernardino had responded to the attacks of his detractors. His defense was completely successful, and the pope, entirely reassured in regard to his orthodoxy, invited him to preach at Rome. A little later, in June of 1427, he offered him the bishopric of Siena, but Bernardino refused it[126]. Both these treatises relating to Bernardino have been published[127].

Unrest and Revolt at Bologna

In August of 1428 Bologna was seething with social unrest and civil disorder[128]. Some 153 years earlier, that is, in 1276, the Bolognese had placed themselves under the protection of the Holy See, to better assure their civil liberties. The papal authority was vested in a cardinal legate. In the next century, that is, the fourteenth, the Pepoli family was the dominant influence in Bolognese affairs, but the city later came alternately under control of the Visconti of Milan or the Bentivoglio family of Bologna itself. At times the popes asserted their authority there and took over the government of the city, as in 1420-1428, under Cardinal Condulmer[129].

The revolt of the Bolognese in August, 1428, against the ecclesiastical government is described in graphic detail in the seventh book of his Milanese history [S 1[1]] by Biglia, who was himself a witness of the civil disturbances that swirled around the precarious sanctuary of the Augustinian monastery. The anti-papal riots led by the Canetoli family were so violent that the cardinal legate was constrained to take to flight[130]. That no one and no thing, no matter how sacred, was exempt from the fury of the mob is evident from Andrea's description of the indignities heaped on the monastery of San Giacomo by the rioters:

> "No segment of society was in greater jeopardy than the personnel of the Church, than adherents of the Faith, or members of religious orders. The

[125] Ib., pp. 71-72.

[126] DE GAIFFIER, *Le mémoire d'André Biglia*, pp. 310-11.

[127] See notes 120 and 122 above.

[128] ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 160.

[129] C. M. ADY, *The Bentivoglio of Bologna* (Oxford: Univ. Press, 1969), pp. 1-15; U. BENIGNI, *Bologna, Archdiocese of*, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1907), II,639.

[130] ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 160.

convent of San Giacomo was the object of particular hostility, for, while the convent itself pertains to our order, almost all around it are the dwellings of the other party. Every day the brethren were threatened with fire, destruction, and slaughter. One brother they immediately hanged, because it was said that he wanted to ring the bells. They killed another brother around sixty or more years of age, who had been thrown into prison to make him give them money. During the might they destroyed some of the columns of the exterior portico. The rest of the churches were likewise afflicted with various insults and acts of vandalism"[131].

Flight to Milan

Somehow (he himself gives us no particulars) Andrea was able to take refuge in his native Milan. From there he wrote the following letter [S 35], so charming and full of affection, to his close friend, the humanist, Giovanni Aurispa, in the troubled city he had just fled:

Fra Andrea Biglia bids the best of health to his Aurispa.

Fortune so changes things, my Aurispa, that I fear we grow more distant day by day, even though we ourselves want nothing to come between us that could hinder our mutual regard and relationship. At Bologna we certainly used to take advantage of the opportunity to chat freely and see each other if we wanted to. Now, to bring about what at that time was ready to hand, we have to resort to letters; and we are indeed kept apart, not so much by geography, as by, I might almost say, pestilential decrees. This I know, however: even though the physical man had been disenfranchised, our hearts will certainly persevere in the friendship we have formed.

But you can gather the reason why I remain here from this, that generally in his own city a man leads his life less according to his own will: everyone is looking for things, making demands, importuning, as if it is an affront to family and friends or to the country itself to deny them the advantages we have been accustomed to impart to strangers. Now by entreaties, now by commands they have kept me here against my will, and what I did at Bologna I will do at Pavia, where I have been permitted to go against neither the sovereign authority of our duke nor the will of my friends. Furthermore, you see how Bologna endures quiet. I certainly feared this evil might proceed further than it has; I do not discern the end, since at this very time I have noted that from lesser causes greater dangers have emanated from Rome.

[131] BIGLIA, *Historia* 7 (col. 114B-C ARGELATI-MURATORI): "Nullum nomen quam Ecclesiae, quam fidei, aut Relgionis infestius. Praecipue Conventus Sancti Jacobi (ipse est noster ordo, nam altera pars circum fere habitat) invisus erat: quotidie ignes, ruinae, caedes Fratribus minitabantur. Unum, quia dictus est campanas voluisse pulsasse, statim suspenderunt; alium ferme amplius sexaginta annos natum, ut pecuniam daret, conjectum in vincula necaverunt: aliquot columnas exterioris porticus nocte diruerunt. Sic ceterae Ecclesiae variis contumeliis ac damnis sunt affectae". [translation mine]

> But to us. I do not so much send this Mariano[132] as the bearer of my letter as I consign to you the vicegerent of my commitment, my friendship, my relationship; his affability which, as I might say in one word, is congruous with your humanity is generally well-deserving. I pray you will, as they say, receive him into your bosom and cherish him, for he is completely taken with you. That is, he wants not so much to take advantage of your patronage and genius as to enjoy your benevolence and wisdom. But he himself will explain this better in his own behalf, and by reason of his excellence he will prevail. I for my part have given him assurance about your kindness, which a short time ago had been afforded to me as well and which you yourself seem to intend should in the same way be known and open to all.
>
> I want very much for you to be well and to love us in God, my Aurispa, and to inform us once in a while about your affairs, if you cannot do so often. I go to Pavia into the drudgery, so to speak, of recalling acquaintances but keeping you first in mind. In conclusion, will you greet our friends when you see them, or in your letters, in that city common to the two of us? Farewell.
>
> From Milan, the nones of October [October 7, 1428][133].

It is little wonder that sagacious Filippo Maria tried to enlist in his service the brilliant and eloquent son of a noble house of proven loyalty. The University of Pavia owed its revival to Filippo's grandfather, Galeazzo II, and its great activity and fame to his father, Duke Gian Galeazzo. In attempting to recruit Andrea for the university, Fillippo was simply emulating his father, who had brought scholars from all over Italy to teach at Pavia[134].

We do not know whether Andrea accepted this ducal appointment to the University of Pavia for the academic year of 1428-1429. Nor do we know what he would have taught there[135]. It is possible, however, that his nomination was to the chair of rhetoric which had been held with distinction by Gasparino Barzizza. But these possibilities are not substantiated by documentary evidence[136]. A little later, however, this chair was certainly to be occupied by Biglia's friend, Antonio Beccadelli Panormita[137].

It is probably in the period following Biglia's flight from Bologna that Andrea acceded to a request by the duke that he deliver another memorial oration for Gian Galeazzo. Biglia's second eulogy of the great

[132] SABBADINI, *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa*, p. 60, note 2: "Francesco Mariano abruzzese fù prima scolaro del Barzizza a Milano e poi di Guarino a Verona (*Epistolario di Guarino*, III, 210)".

[133] For the Latin text of the letter see Appendix II. [translation mine]

[134] DE MESQUITA, *Giangaleazzo Visconti*, p. 42.

[135] MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 521 and note 8.

[136] Ib.

[137] Ib.

duke, the *F. B. Andreae secunda collaudatio anniversaria Johannis Galeatii Vicecomitis ducis Mediolani* [S 14], may then have been delivered on September 3, 1428[138]. It has much in common with the first: there is a similar account of Gian Galeazzo's achievements and a few complimentary remarks acknowledging the presence of Duke Filippo, and in the second eulogy as in the first Biglia declared his intention to expatiate on the Visconti theme at another time[139], which intention may have evolved and been realized in his magnum opus, the Milanese history [S 1[1]].

However these things may have been, Biglia, a lover of tranquility, soon had to remove himself from the duchy of Milan, where, as he had written to Aurispa, he was suffering much from his fellow-citizen's unwillingness to let him live in his own way. At least by the end of the academic year in the summer of 1429, Andrea was transferred, quite likely at his own request, to Sant'Agostino, the Augustinian monastery in Perugia. There he had more time for scholarly activity and did in fact resume work on his *Annotationes in evangelia quadragesimae* [S 40[1]], which he had begun at Bologna[140].

During his stay in Perugia, Andrea accepted a three-year contract as a lecturer in theology at the university there; but by the first days of October he had already departed for Siena. Thereafter, because the university officials kept insisting he honor his contract with them, he informed them through a certain Fra Bernardino[141], prior of the convent of Hermits in Perugia, that for the next two years he would be unable to teach in their city. What circumstances made it impossible for Biglia to fulfill this contract have not come to light, but, in view of his character, it is repugnant to believe that he had, like many professors of his time, simultaneously accepted more than one contract. The fact that Fra Bernardino himself, the prior of the house where Andrea had been in residence, came to present the letters in which Biglia declared that he could not keep his agreement makes one think that Andrea acted at the

[138] See note 96. The writer is of the opinion that it is possible to attach a much higher degree of probability to September 3, 1428 as the date of the delivery of the *Secunda collaudatio* than to the date suggested by the author for the delivery of the *In exequiis*, because Biglia was certainly in the Duchy of Milan in 1428. *Secunda collaudatio*: MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana F 55 sup., ff. 50r-57r.

[139] BIGLIA, *In exequiis* V,5-8: "Quanquam ne ego suscepi dicendum omnia quae de tantis viris magnifice praedicanda essent. Alius ferme locus aliudque tempus, si rite spero, his rebus explicandis dabitur"; id., *Secunda Collaudatio* XXII,1: "Atqui de his alio tempore liberius".

[140] See below note 191.

[141] An Augustinian, not to be confused with the Franciscan, Bernardino da Siena.

behest of his superiors. No doubt Fra Bernardino explained the peculiar circumstances necessitating so sudden a transfer when he presented Andrea's written statement[142].

Final Situation

Whatever the facts of the case may be, in the autumn of 1429, at about the age of thirty-six, Fra Andrea Biglia entered upon the last phase of his life and took up residence at the Augustinian monastery in Siena, also named Sant'Agostino[143]. It is certain that he was immediately offered a teaching contract by the Sienese, which he accepted. That the men of Siena, who professed the greatest veneration for their Fra Bernardino, the Franciscan missioner, did not hesitate to welcome to their university the man who had not been sparing, but perhaps even excessive, in his criticism and censure of the Franciscan's preaching methods is in itself a commentary on the academic freedom prevailing in the Italy of the early fifteenth century[144].

Andrea commenced his regular course of lectures at this university at the beginning of the academic year 1429-1430 and, on January 15, 1430, he received thirty florins as the first third of the salary due to him[145].

It devolved upon the new lecturers at the University of Siena to give the inaugural address at the opening of the academic year on the eighteenth of October, the feast of St. Luke[146]. Two such speeches made by Biglia at Siena are extant: the *F. B. Andreae Mediolanensis de laudibus disciplinarum. Senis* [S 30], which has been published[147], and the *Oratio in novationem annuam studiorum habita per fratrem Andream sacrae theologiae discretissimum magistrum Mediolanensem. Senis* [S 31], which is available in manuscript[148]. The first of these, most probably delivered on October 18, 1429, takes note of the presence of Niccolò de' Tedeschi, the foremost canonist of his day, and alludes to the translation of Aristo-

[142] MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 522; ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 161.

[143] VAN LUIJK, *Le monde augustinien*, p. 43.

[144] MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 522-23.

[145] Ib., p. 523 and note 2: "Archivio di Stato, Siena. Vol. 310, c. 3: 'M.° Andrea di Pietro di milano.' Un altro pagamento è registrato a c. 65v: 'M. Andrea di Milano a dì 16 novembre fl. 30'".

[146] Ib.

[147] K. MÜLLNER, *Die Reden und Briefe italienischer Humanisten: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Pädagogik des Humanismus* (Wien, 1899), pp. 64-70.

[148] FIRENZE, Bibl. Naz. Centrale, Nuovi Acquisti 354 fols 142v-146v.

tle's *Metaphysics* [?S 55[2]] which Biglia had made that year, that is, probably in 1429[149]. The second of these speeches would, of course, have been delivered at a subsequent inauguration. A third speech by Biglia of similar character, the *Oratio [de studiis disciplinisque liberalibus] Andrea Mediolanensis ordinis Heremitarum* [S 32], is also extant in manuscript[150]. These three discourses considered together with the two inaugural speeches delivered by Biglia at the University of Bologna: the [*Oratio theologici cursus initiandi causa Bononiae habita*] [S 28], and the [*Oratio in Sacrae Scripturae studium introductoria*] [S 29], furnish a fair idea of Biglia's views on the theory and practice of education in his day[151].

Lecceto: Haven of Peace

Andrea seems to have found at Siena a scholar's ideal milieu: the peace and tranquility he had craved so much and missed elsewhere and the company of learned confreres. No less than five other Augustinian doctors of theology were in residence at Sant'Agostino and on the theological faculty at the university, namely, Masters Gabriele da Spoleto, Bartolomeo da Massa, who was, in addition, provinical of the province of Siena in 1432, Leonardo da Sicilia, Paolo da Buella, and Pietro da Genova[152]. And not far off, only a few miles west of Siena, Biglia had an idyllic retreat in the Augustinian hermitage of Lecceto (Lat. *Illicetum*), which was situated in a locale hallowed by Augustinian tradition and legend. This area in Tuscany was revered as the homeland of Augustinian eremitical life. After his baptism in Milan at the hands of St. Ambrose and before his return to Africa, Augustine had come, so the legend had it, to the forest

[149] See SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1095; id., *Spigolature di letteratura siciliana nel secolo XV*, in *Archivio storico per la Sicilia Orientale* 4 (1907), 119; MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 523, note 4: "Il Sabbadini fissa la data per esclusione. L'orazione fù pronunciata in presenza del Tudisco, questi nel '31 non era più a Siena, dunque essa è del '30. Ragionamente che vale anche nel '29. Vero è che in quest'anno il Tudisco dovette recarsi in Sicilia per decidere una lite, ma ciò avvenne nel dicembre (cf. R. Pirro, *Sicilia Sacra*, I,171) e l'assenza durò pochissimi giorni, tanto che gli venne pagato intero il salario"; ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 162 and note 40.

[150] VENEZIA, Bibl. Naz. Marciana XI 3 fols. 25r-30r.

[151] See notes 89 and 112 above.

[152] MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 524, note 2: "Dagli *Statuti* della Facoltà teologica risulta che nell'anno 1434 vivevano a Siena altri cinque Eremitani dottori in teologia: M.° Gabriele di Spoleto, M.° Bartolomeo di Massa, M.° Leodardo di Sicilia, M.° Paulo de Buella e M.° Pietro di Genova"; ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 163, note 44: "... Bartolomeo da Massa was provincial of the province of Siena in 1432 (Ambrogio Landucci, *Sacra Ilicetana Sylva* [Siena: Bonetti, 1653] p. 49)".

fastness of these hills, in imitation of St. Paul, the first hermit, and St. Antony, the desert father. There Augustine gathered men of similar persuasion into communities, for whom he had, while on Monte Pisano, so the legend persisted, written his Rule, generally known today by the Latin title, *Praeceptum sancti Augustini*. Into these woody solitudes over the years had come, in addition to Augustine, St. Monica, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. William, St. Galganus, and even St. Francis, whom the legend would have a hermit at Lecceto before he founded his own order. Andrea retired here periodically during the few remaining years of his life, and his prolific literary production during this period shows how congenial he found this spot for scholarly activity[153].

Holy Week, that is, April 9 through 15, of 1430 saw the solemn transfer of the mortal remains of St. Monica, Augustine's mother, from a secret crypt under the altar of the Church of Sant'Aurea in Ostia Antica, up the river to Rome, where the saintly relics were entrusted to the care and protection of her spiritual grandsons, the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine[154]. From what the aged pontiff, Pope Martin V, was reported to have said to the Augustinian brethren on that august occasion Biglia fashioned, not long afterwards it would seem, a fascinating little work entitled *De concessione et translatione beatae Monicae, matris beatissimi patris Augustini, sermo* [S 26], the first of Biglia's works to be printed (1587). So different is the tone and style of various parts of this work from Biglia's other writings that it may well have been that Andrea had someone's notes of the proceedings before him as he wrote[155]. The work is well divided into five sections, the fourth and fifth being, in a word, exhortatory of greater Augustinian religious fervor[156]. It is important for the insight it gives into Andrea's Augustinianism when taken in conjunction with the address to the General Chapter of Bologna in 1425 [S 25] and his treatise on the form and propagation of the Augustinian order [S 11].

[153] ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* pp. 167-68; to the literature there cited (note 63) for the present conditions of the Lecceto hermitage there may be added the exterior view shown in a photograph in *Toscana, Parte seconda* (Milan: Touring Club Italiano, 1935) p. 173, fig. 89.

[154] For the detailed argument concerning the dating of this work, see ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 185.

[155] MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana H 117 inf. fols. 112v-124v is Biglia's approved copy of this sermo. It ends on fol. 124v with the words: *Sermo explicit de concessione et translatione beate Monice tanquam ex ore pontificis Martini compositus F. B. Andree mediolanensis*. The other extant manuscript of this work is Kiel, Universitätsbibl. Bord. 10 fols. 1-8.

[156] CASAMASSA, *L'autore di un preteso discorso*, p. 110.

Not many days after composing the sermon on the transfer of Monica's relics, Biglia began work on this last mentioned work, the *Ad fratrem Ludovicum de ordinis nostri forma et propagatione* [S 11][157]. The Ludovico cited in this title is Biglia's aforementioned friend, the fellow alumnus of Padua University who was a magister at that university and had recently become an Augustinian. And it was for this friend's inspiration and instruction that the treatise was written[158]. Andrea attempts in this work to establish a direct link between St. Augustine and the Augustinian hermits of the thirteenth century and mounts a spirited, if futile, defense of the historicity of such tradition. He deplores the decline of the pristine religious fervor of the order and appeals for a better observance of the rule[159]. Both these works written in 1430 have been published, and the sermon on the transfer of Monica's relics has had several reprints[160].

The Translator of Aristotle

It was also in the solitude of Lecceto that Biglia made his translation of the three books of Aristotle's treatise on the soul, the *De anima*, under the title *Fr. B. Andreae Mediolanensis Aristotelis liber De anima ex Graeca in linguam Latinam translatus* [S 57]. This work is extant in manuscript[161]. At the beginning of the Bodleian codex[162], we find the following six hexameters and a prose dedication to the Blessed Mother,

[157] MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana H 117 inf. fols. 125r-142v.

[158] See above note 35. See also ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* pp. 163 and 165. Biglia fervently believed in and defended the moral continuity between the monastic community founded by Augustine in North Africa toward the end of the fourth century and the Order of Augustinian Hermits organized under Pope Alexander IV in the Great Union of 1256. See below note 159. See also John J. GAVIGAN, O.S.A., *St. Augustine and African Monasticism*, in *Tagastan* 1, No. 3 (July 1937), 8-19; id., *De vita monastica in Africa Septentrionali inde a temporibus S. Augustini usque ad invasiones Arabum* (Torino: Marietti, 1962), passim; Arthur J. ENNIS, O.S.A., *The Rule of St. Augustine: Its True History*, in *Tagastan* 9, No. 3 (Mar. 1946), 89-91; Balbino RANO, O.S.A., *Agostiniani*, in *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, Gerrino PELLICCIA and GianCarlo ROCCA eds. (Rome: Edizione Paoline, 1974), I,278-382.

[159] ARBESMANN, ib.

[160] Arbesmann's edition of the *Ad fratrem Ludovicum de ordinis nostri forma et propagatione* is in *Analecta Augustiniana* 28 (1965), 186-218. The *editio princeps* of the work on St. Monica was by Fivizzano. See ML 26 in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena* for detailed information on the *De concessione* and its reprints.

[161] OXFORD, Bodleian Library, Bywater 10 (40042); CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Bibl. Apost. Vaticana lat. 2078 fol. 59r.

[162] That is, folio 1v, which is the reverse of the fly-leaf.

which we may presume are Andrea's own composition, because they are written in his own hand:

"Virgo, pios oculos mentemque intende benignam
Supplicibus, nam sola malis superes, veneranda.
Usque adeo absorpti pervastis (prevastis *cod.*) mergimur undis
Haeremusque rati, si non tua dextra revellat
Lunctantes morti et levior subvectat ad auras
Unda sinusque tuos laeti gremiumque petamus[163].
Beatissimae virgini mariae, F. B. Andreas in Illiceto".

"O venerable virgin
turn your kindly eyes and tender regard
upon your suppliants
for you alone may vanquish the evil.
Swallowed up
to the point of vanishing
by enormous waves
we sink and cling to the barque
except your right hand snatch us
struggling with death
and a lighter surge raise us up
into the air
and joyfully we seek
the hollow of your bosom.

To the most blessed virgin Mary, Fra Andrea Biglia in Lecceto".

If they are his, these verses constitute one of the two extant specimens of Biglia's poetry[164].

Whether the translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, made by Andrea, probably in 1429, is to be identified with the *In Metaphysicam Aristotelis commentaria* [S 55[2]], described by Argelati as extant in 1745 among the Biglia manuscripts then to be found in the library of San Marco in Milan, is a moot point[165]. No manuscript of Biglia's dealing in any way with the *Metaphysics* has been identified as yet. Biglia's translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*, the *[Interpretatio] ethicorum Aristotelis, libri 10* [S 56[1]], is to be read in manuscript[166]. It is quite possible that all or most of Andrea's translations of Aristotle belong to his Lecceto period. It seems that Andrea was making, or having made, a second copy of his translation

[163] Compare the writer's reading of the hexameters with Argelati's on p. 84 below. Argelati omits the fifth hexameter and in consequence changes *unda* to *unde*.

[164] For the second see, above p. 31. ARGELATI, *Bibliotheca*, I,2,161, does not hesitate to attribute the verses on Mary to Biglia, calling them *Versus Auctoris*. [translation mine]

[165] See ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 174. See above note 149.

[166] BUDAPEST, Magyar Tudományos Académia Könyvtára 4°46; CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Bibl. Apost. Vaticana lat. 2078 fol. 1r.

of the *Physics*, known by the title *Primus et secundus liber Physicorum <Aristotelis>, cum principio libri tertii* [S 56[2]], when death stilled him[167].

The question may well be raised as to why a man of Biglia's obviously exceptional intellectual stature was spending his time making translations when he could have been devoting himself to original, creative composition. The question is based, however, on a modern viewpoint of relative values. In the Italy of the early fifteenth century, when still only a few had a knowledge, much less a command, of Greek, it was considered a worthwhile employment and a mark of achievement and distinction to make the Greek classics available to others in Latin translation. Like Andrea, his friends and associates, the eminent humanists Bruni, Aurispa, Guarino, Filelfo, and Valla devoted considerable time and effort to this task. In a *Mischhandschrift* of the fifteenth century, one finds, in association with translations of Greek authors by the prominent humanists Francesco Barbaro, Battista Guarino, Leonardo Giustiniani, and Leonardo (Bruni) Aretino, a Latin version by Biglia of Plutarch's *Vita Timoleontis*, bearing the title *F. B. Andreae Timoleontis vita ex Graecis Plutarchi in Latinas litteras translata* [S 59[2]]. It has a preface addressed to Carlo Malatesta, the [*Praefatium Vitae Timoleontis Plutarchi ab Andrea Biglia translatae ad Carolum Malatestam Ariminensium dominum*] [S 59[1]], which tells of Biglia's friendly relations with Malatesta, the courtesy paid by the prince to Biglia on his visit to Rimini, and the long discussions they had there concerning religion and ecclesiastical politics[168].

Andrea's broad and intimate knowledge of the Greek classics, in addition to Aristotle and Plutarch, is evidenced by the verbatim quotations which grace his works, as, for example, of Homer and Aeschines in the *Ad Alphonsum regem Aragonum de pace cum Philippo duce Mediolanensi componenda* [S 3] and the *Querellae pacis* [S 2], of Demosthenes in the [*Annotationes in evangelios quae per annum leguntur*] [S 41[1]], of Diogenes Laertius and Plato's *Phaedo* and *Republic* in the *De laudibus disciplinarum* [S 30], and by many references to characters and events in Greek literature[169]. Similarly, his writings also abound with quotations from and references to the Latin classics, all of which is not surprising in

[167] See above note 72, Argelati's description of the San Marco manuscript; also ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* pp. 175-76.

[168] Ib., pp. 173, 178-89. *Timoleontis vita*: MACERATA, Bibl. Communale 5 3 c 26, ff. 89r-119r.

[169] Ib., p. 179.

a man who it was said had only to read a thing twice to retain it *in toto*[170].

Among the books Biglia had in his library was certainly a copy of the *Republic* which we know later came into the possession of the humanist Pier Candido Decembrio[171]. In this category of books owned, that is, Biglia's own personal library, belongs the copy of Terence which has from Argelati[172] the title: *Terentii comediae a Fr. B. Andrea Mediolanensi scriptae in membranis cum suis variis commentariis marginalibus atque variantibus lectionibus interlinearibus* [S 60]. This title is inaccurate in that only the argumentum at the beginning of the recently identified manuscript and a few marginal corrections are in Biglia's own hand[173].

Personal Manuscripts

One can readily observe from the Biglia manuscripts that he was careful to have his books well written and tastefully decorated with gracious capitals and, in some instances, with charming miniatures; and he was wont to add to his books, which are, with the exception of the Terence and the Plato, the approved copies of his own works, various elements in his own firm, clear, distinctive script. Among all these

[170] Giacomo Filippo FORESTI DA BERGAMO, *Supplementum supplementi de le chroniche vulgari, novamente dal venerando padre frate Jacobo Philippo del ordine heremitano primo auctore aggiontovi & emendato. Et per Francesco E. Fiorentino vulgarizato & historiato* [Venice: G. di Rusconi, 1520], p. 286: "Et dicono che questo fù di tanta tenacità de memoria: che ogni cosa che due uolte o tre hauesse lecto: subitamente alla memoria lo commenaua"; Domenico A. GANDOLFO, *Dissertatio historica de ducentis celeberrimis Augustinianis scriptoribus* (Rome: Typis Ioannis Francisci Buagni, 1704), p. 60: "Ferunt hunc tantae tenacitatis extitisse, ut quicquid bis legisset, statim memoriae commendaret". The writer interprets this phenomenal tenacity of memory to mean total recall.

[171] FIRENZE, Bibl. Riccardiana 827 fol. 36v: Writing to Fra Angelo, Pier Candido Decembrio says in regard to this volume: "Cum in novo exemplari olim fratris Andreae Bilii graece scriptum offenderim ...". See SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1102, and ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 179.

[172] ARGELATI, *Bibliotheca* I,2,161: "XXIV. Terentii Comediae a F.B. Andrea Mediolanensi scriptae in pergameno peregrie cum suis variis Commentariis marginalibus, atque variantibus lectionibus interlinearibus".

[173] LONDON, British Library (formerly, Museum) Add. 10081. That I need not refer to Biglia's *Terence* [S 60] as a lost production, but can direct the reader to a manuscript in the British Library is due to the fact that Miss Albinia C. de la Mare, visiting the Catholic University of America in the summer of 1974, mentioned her preliminary study of the manuscript to Professor Peebles, who recalled Argelati's relatively detailed account of the *Terence*. This description was subsequently found to agree with the description contained in Miss de la Mare's notes. See also ML 60 in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*, 183.

examples, perhaps the most beautiful specimen of Andrea's book hand is to be found in the aforementioned six hexameters and prose dedication to the Blessed Mother placed at the beginning of his translation of the *De anima*[174].

Where Biglia acquired his knowledge of Hebrew is entirely a matter of conjecture[175]. But it would obviously have served him in good stead in his scriptural studies, as in the composition of his commentary on part of Genesis, the *Hexaemeron, seu de mundo sex diebus condito* [S 47^1], and in writing and compiling his huge collections of sermons which, as former bibliographers have noted, are, in some respects, expositions of Scripture.

It may well have been said that the sermon collections, the *Sermonum diversarum materiarum libri 3* [S 38] and the *Dominicale et festivum [sermones], libri 2* [S 39], were the repositories of Biglia's earlier sermons. Unfortunately, they are both missing. There is extant, however, a sermon by Biglia on St. Dominic, the *Sermo de s. Dominico a fratre Augustiniano Mediolanensi* [S 27^b], which has a prefatory letter of small account [S 27^a] that dedicates the sermon to a certain abbot because he paid strict attention while it was being delivered. A *Sermo de corpore Christi* [S 27^2] and a *Sermo in cena domini* [S 27^3] are also extant[176]. From Marracio and Novarini, two seventeenth-century bibliographers[177], we learn the title of a collection of sermons by Biglia on the Blessed Mother, the *Sermones festivi de beata virgine* [S 45], and the titles of what appear to be two treatises by Biglia on Mary, the *Super '"Missus est angelus" et canticum "Magnificat" expositio* [S 44] and the *De excellenti dignitate virginis Mariae opusculum* [S 46]. All three of these works are

[174] For a treatment of the autograph elements in the Biglia manuscripts see Table VI, forthcoming in *Augustiniana* 44 (1994). See also Table II, ib., and notes 162-64 above.

[175] SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1102. da Cora, whose entry on Biglia has been translated into English by the writer and quoted at length (on p. 1), states that Biglia translated many things from Greek and Hebrew into Latin. Biglia's translations from the Greek, particularly the works of Aristotle (see ML, items S 53, S 54, S 55 and S 56) are well known; but thus far not a single instance of translation by Biglia directly from Hebrew into Latin has come to writer's attention. Some citation in Hebrew or some bit of translation into Latin from that language may yet be found in the two extant collections of Biglia's sermons, see ML, S 40^1 and S 41^1.

[176] *Sermo de s. Dominico a fratre Augustiniano Mediolanensi*: ROMA, Bibl. Angelica 1139 (S 4 8) fols. 129v-135r. *Sermo de corpore Christi*: SALAMANCA, Bibl. Universitaria 64 fols. 69v-72v; *Sermo in cena domini*: fols. 74 bis v-76.

[177] Ippolito MARRACCIO, *Bibliotheca Mariana* (Rome: Typis C. Caballi, 1648, 2 vols), I,80; Luigi NOVARINI, *Virginea Umbra* (*Electa sacra*, 4)(Lyons: Laurentii Durand, 1647, 4th ed.), pp. 29-30.

likewise missing except for four brief citations preserved in Novarini's *Virginea Umbra*[178], which Novarini says were excerpted from chapter three of Biglia's manuscript book, the *De laudibus virginis*[179]. Whether this title is to be identified with the *De excellenti dignitate virginis Mariae opusculum* [S 46] is again moot. The citations in Novarini, moreover, furnish the merest inkling of Andrea's Mariology, which would seem to be traditional and orthodox; but the six hexameters and prose dedication found at the beginning of the Bodleian codex[180] of the translation of the *De anima* are eloquent of a tender personal devotion to Mary.

The year 1431 was especially notable for the demise of the stalwart Martin V at Rome on February 20[181]. He died still struggling, among other things, with the conciliar movement, which sought to master the pope. Martin left it to his successor, Eugene IV, a nephew of Gregory XII, to deal with the Council of Basle, which, after much delay, had been summoned as the Council of Constance had provided[182].

Humanist Connections

The unwinding of the mesh of circumstance along the path of life often leads to frustration, sometimes to fulfillment, but seldom to glory. Tommaso Parentucelli, Andrea's friend and associate at Bologna, would as the future Pope Nicholas V be a great promoter of humanism[183]. During the last months of 1431 and the first months of 1432, however, Biglia had as his student at Siena the young Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who later as Pope Pius II would be one of the most brilliant figures of the Renaissance[184]. Harking back in his opusculum, *De viris aetate sua claris*, to his experience as a student at the University of Siena, Piccolomini reflected that Andrea of Milan, of the Order of Augustinians, whose lectures he had attended, even then had a reputation as a writer of history[185]. It may well have been that Biglia had already circulated the

[178] For the text of these excerpts, see ML 46 in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*.

[179] NOVARINI, *Virginea Umbra*, p. 29.

[180] See note 162 above.

[181] EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica*, I,33.

[182] FLICHE-MARTIN, *Histoire de l'Église*, XIV,229-36.

[183] ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 162.

[184] Ib., p. 163.

[185] Ib., note 43: *Pii II olim Aeneae Sylvii Piccolominei Senensis orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*, ed. J. D. MANSI (Lucca, 1759), III,171: "Hoc tempore etiam Andreas Mediolanensis ex ordine Augustinensium, quem Senis audivi, historiarum scriptor floruit". SABBADINI, *Biglia*, p. 1095, places the time in which Enea Piccolomini was Biglia's student in the last months of 1431 and the first months of 1432.

early books of his Milanese chronicle [S 1[1]].

On June 13, 1431, Agostino Favaroni da Roma, Prior General of the Augustinian Order, had been made titular archbishop of Nazareth[186]. To fill the vacancy thus created until the celebration of the next general chapter, which was to take place on Pentecost of 1434, Pope Eugene appointed Gerardo da Rimini on the same day to the office of *Rector Ordinis*. Gerardo in this new capacity obviously could not fulfill the office of *magister regens* in Bologna for the academic year 1433-1434, to which he had been appointed in 1430 by the General Chapter of Montpellier[187]. Accordingly, on March 22, 1432, he appointed Biglia to serve as *regens* at Bologna in his stead[188]. Andrea, however, never assumed this office, at least not in Bologna[189].

Working under Andrea's close personal supervision, his personal scribe finally finished the approved copy of Andrea's huge work on the gospels of Lent, the *Annotationes in evangelia quadragesimae* [S 40[1]]. In addition to the rubrics before each sermon, Andra appended in his own hand[190] a colophon to the work which bespeaks a sigh of relief and satisfaction over a long, hard task brought to a felicitous conclusion:

> "Here ends the book of annotations on the gospels of Lent of Fra Andrea Biglia of Milan, of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine. Thanks be ever to God. Amen. Begun at Bologna, advanced at Perugia, completed at Siena — for many other things intervened until the year 1431 — on the feast day of Augustine [August 28], as I had desired. Offer praises and prayers to God. Amen. Fra Andrea of Milan, by surname, of the Biglias. The book is ended"[191].

[186] EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica*, II,200.

[187] ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 171, note 66. For the text of the papal bull, see *Analecta Augustiniana* 6 (1915-16), 318-20.

[188] Rome, Archivum generale O.S.A., Dd 5, fol. 5v: "Ferrarie, mart. 22, 1432. — Fecimus magistrum Andream de Mediolano magistrum regentem Bononie pro 4° anno a capitulo generali immediate preterito [*chapter of Montpellier, 1430*] scilicet pro anno nobis [*Gerardo da Rimini*] assignato, et quandocumque vellet manere Bononie in conventu posset sicut magister senior cum scriptore et communi vita fratrum et precipiendo priori et fratribus sub pena inobedientie quod eum recipiant et sibi provideant, sicut dictum et consuetum est". From ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 171, note 66.

[189] Ib.

[190] For the writer's handling of the problem of Biglia's autograph, see Table VI, forthcoming in *Augustiniana* 44 (1994).

[191] MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana, ES VII 2 (Sussidio G 156), fol. 375: "Hic finis libri annotationum in evangelia quadrasgesime F. B. Andree Mediolanensis ordinis heremitarum sancti Augustini. Deo semper gratias. Amen. Cepta Bononie, producta Perusii, completa Senis, nam multa alia intervenere ad annum millesimum quadringentesimum ac trigesimum primum. In die festo Augustini [*August 28*] quod obtaveram [*sic*]. Date laudes ac preces deo. Amen. Frater Andreas Mediolanensis

Yet such was the incredible energy, such was the indefatigable industry of the man that Biglia was soon launched on another project of equal magnitude: "[he would do] the same in expounding the gospels that are read through the year as he [had] done on the gospels of Lent"[192]. The result was another huge volume, the [*Annotationes in evangeliis quae per annum leguntur*] [S 41[1]], or, most probably, the *Expositiones in quattuor evangeliis, libri 4* [S 41[3]][193]. Both these works on the gospels are available in manuscript[194].

Andrea's contract with the University of Siena was shortly due to expire. It was natural, then, for his friends in Lombardy who had tried so hard in 1428 to win him over for the University of Pavia to try again in the summer of 1431, by tempting him with a very prestigious position there. Antonio Panormita, his close friend of student days at Bologna, made himself the spokesman for the rest, and from Stradella, where he had taken refuge from the plague, wrote to Biglia with the offer[195]. They could easily get Andrea a chair, a lectureship at Pavia, he said; and something more: Andrea thought that he, Panormita, had perhaps forgotten him, but no, he had had him made chancellor of the university. So Biglia should get himself up to see Panormita at Stradella[196]. It was at Siena, however, that Biglia had found the peace he had sought in vain elsewhere, the peace that was so dear to his heart and which abided in such a convent of select scholars as Sant'Agostino. Andrea knew how to resist enticement,

cognomine Billiadarum. Explicit". I have found no other example of Biglia's use of the patronymic form, *Billiadae*. [translation mine]

[192] MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana, ES VII 3 (Sussidio G 157), fol. 1r: "Idem in evangeliis que per annum leguntur faciam quod in exponendis quadragesime effeci". [translation mine]

[193] The writer is of the opinion that the title devised by him for this untitled work, that is, [*Annotationes in evangeliis quae per annum leguntur*], and the title found in Pamfilo's list, that is, *Expositiones in quattuor evangeliis, libri 4*, most probably represent one and the same work by Biglia. For the argument see 'h' under ML 43[3] in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*.

[194] The *Annotationes in evangelia quadragesimae* is found in three manuscripts: MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana ES VII 2 (Sussidio G 156), OXFORD, Balliol Library 142, and ROMA, Bibl. Angelica 1109 (S 3 4), while the [*Annotationes in evangeliis quae per annum leguntur*] is found in only one: MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana ES VII 3 (Sussidio G 157).

[195] MARLETTA, *Note* pp. 523-24.

[196] ANTONIO PANORMITA, *Epistole Galliche*, III,34: "Antonius Panormita Andreae theologo s. p. d. ... Veni, fortuna tibi parta est honorificentissima et satis utilis, etiam praeter lecturam quam tibi facile impetrabimus. Et tu putabas me fortassis oblitum tui: at ego feci ut crearere Studii cancellarius ... Te confer ad Stratellae oppidum, ubi pestilentiam fugiens ago in praesentiarum" [*sic*]. From SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1095.

and remained at Siena[197].

Relations with the Holy Roman Emperor

Sigismund, King of the Romans, had failed to overawe the Council of Constance; he had been unable to quell the rebellion in Bohemia; he had lost control over his German nobles; his armies had been defeated by invaders from Turkey; and there had been other misadventures. Consequently, he needed to enhance his badly eroded prestige and influence at the Council of Basle. Therefore, he judged it expedient for him to journey to Rome, there to be crowned Holy Roman Emperor by Pope Eugene[198]. This journey brought Sigismund to Siena on July 11, 1432, and there he remained until the end of the year[199]. Sigismund had had particularly cordial relations with the Augustinians in Constance, who had provided the Roman King with a residence in their monastery of Sankt Augustinus from sometime in 1417 until Sigismund's departure from Constance in the summer of 1418[200]. And so it was only fitting that Sigismund in 1432 should come together with the Augustinians in Siena for the celebration of the year's principal Augustinian event, the feast of St. Augustine on August 28.

On this as on other important and auspicious occasions the eloquent Fra Andrea Biglia was asked to deliver the address. The result was the second of Biglia's two extant panegyrics of St. Augustine, the [*Laudatio sancti Augustini coram Sigismundo rege*] [S 24][201]. As one reads the grandiloquent phrases of this oration, the feeling rises that Biglia can hardly restrain himself: in the rush of rhetoric and in awe of the aged emperor in the midst of his courtiers before him, Biglia, the court preacher, seems nearly on the verge of daring a parallel with the court of heaven itself — almost, but not quite. Even Augustine, whose feast it was, is asked to yield to Sigismund and take second place. The life and deeds of Sigismund, who had more than a little human weakness, who on occasion had been mean and even treacherous, whose over-all achievement can

[197] MARLETTA, *Note* p. 524.

[198] Boleslaw B. SZCZESNIAK, *Sigismund, Holy Roman Emperor*, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIII,208; ORIGO, *The World*, p. 144.

[199] Ludovico A. MURATORI, *Annali d'Italia* (Rome: A. Curti, 1787), IX,1, *ad annum* 1432.

[200] Adolar ZUMKELLER, *Die Augustinereremiten in der Auseinandersetzung mit Wyclif und Hus, ihre Beteiligung an den Konzilien von Konstanz und Basel* in *Analecta Augustiniana* 28 (1965), 20-21.

[201] MILANO, Bibl. Ambrosiana N 280 sup. fols. 29r-30v; no title in the MS.

at best be termed mediocre — the life and deeds of this man are eulogized almost beyond recognition. But what in another would have been servile flattery, or at least outlandish hyberbole, has in Biglia's mouth the ring of sincerity. For Andrea the symbol loomed larger and more important than the reality. This man before him, of advanced years and, consequently, venerable appearance, was for Biglia the elect of heaven, the annointed of God, the successor of Charlemagne, the secular head of the city of God on earth. It would seem that Andrea was overwhelmed by his vision, and the Guelfic sympathies he had inherited from family and friends in Guelfic Milan and professed by word and deed all his life fell into abeyance in Ghibelline Siena.

Sigismund evidently was pleased with the speech. He paid the learned friar the compliment of sending two letters written in Greek for him to translate, then granted him an audience. In the [*Epistola praefatoria commentariorum historicorum de origine Turcharum ad Johannem cardinalem Rupescissam* [S 12[a]][202], the letter to Jean Cardinal Rochetaillée, archbishop of Rouen, written as a preface to the historical commentary on the origin of the Turks he was shortly to write, Biglia has left us a description of this audience that is redolent with reverential deference:

> "To the most honored and faithful father in Christ, Jean Rochetaillée, cardinal of the holy Roman Church and archbishop of Rouen.
>
> I have become quite joyful these days, to tell the truth, since I saw the two letters which Sigismund ordered brought to me for translation because they had been written in Greek. He had received them from Asian parts and from those glorious kings whose names I had hardly believed could reach our ears. Moreover, the inscription on them of the most venerable name of Jesus and of the sign of the Holy Cross, the addition also of the official emblems of the regions as the first fruits of the foreigners' esteem, and lastly, the disposition of their troops as auxiliaries to the king, as often as it should be necessary, against the infidels — these things caused me truly great joy, for it had not even entered my mind that the faith which we ourselves have lost in places less remote was being preserved among [these] foreigners. And particular mention was made in the same letters that the Commander, for that is what they call the head of the Tartars today, had received a great many cities and towns under his suzerainty — in this direction from the Turks, in the opposite direction, from the Persians, with whom the Medes are generally associated.
>
> But when I marveled and, in fact, rejoiced over these things in the presence of Sigismund, he replied he had it for certain that the Christian nations were far more numerous and greater than the infidels or pagans. And he immediately produced a little book that seemed to contain some particulars about these foreign affairs, which he said had been brought to him from the

[202] In Appendix III, I have constructed the text of this letter from two manuscripts. [translation mine]

archives of those cities, and he urged me, if I had any leisure, to make these things better known to our people by a different kind of writing he had in mind. And so, inspired by the special exhortation of so great a king, I myself have undertaken the business as one who has in the opinion of the holy doctor as great an obligation to foreigners in the ministry of religion as to our own. Indeed, I am not so much minded to produce any great work as eager to hazard the labor, if this little work might in some way perhaps find a place among our writings.

To you certainly, excellent father, and to your college, we solemnly pledge and vow a beginning and whatever will come of it. And you will demand no more than we deem complete and worthy of memory or notice, except for this one proviso above all: no one should be so rash as to believe I have excited your eminence's interest by so feeble a lucubration. And yet I know you expend on such things no less of your courteous kindness than of your prudent judgment. Now, therefore, as if you too had commanded it, we begin the task with pleasure and confidence.

Biglia did in fact finish this book, the *Commentarii historici de detrimento fidei orientis, sive de origine Turcharum, ad Johannem cardinalen et episcopum Rhotomagensem* [S 12^{b}], along with other writings, in the little more than three years of life that remained for him. It is available in two manuscripts[203].

Behind Sigismund's special exhortation of Biglia to write a book which would make these things better known to the Christian peoples one detects the concern of a man whose singular preoccupation it had been for many long years to keep the Moslem Turks in check. Most of the other problems of Sigismund's reign would yield to his perseverence or sheer longevity. After almost a decade of struggle with the heretic Hussites in Bohemia, Sigismund's approval in 1436 of the *Compactata* of Prague (1433) would pave the way for peace in Bohemia and the consequent formal recognition of Sigismund as their king by the estates of Bohemia. Almost seventy years old, he was to die unchallenged King of Hungary, King of Bohemia, and Holy Roman Emperor. In dealing with the infidel invaders from the south, however, Sigismund had been largely unsuccessful. In 1396, when Sigismund was a young man of twenty-eight and Andrea was only about three years old, Pope Boniface IX had called for a crusade against the Turks who were overrunning Serbia and Bulgaria. And that same year Sigismund had advanced down the Danube valley at the head of a great army of the chivalry of Europe. But shortly afterward, because of the pride and folly of the French cavalry, the Turks had inflicted a crushing defeat on the crusaders at Nicopolis. Sigismund had

[203] ROMA, Bibl. Angelica 1136 (S 4 5); CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Bibl. Apost. Vaticana 5298 fols. 83r-118v.

had to escape then by way of Constantinople, and made his way back to Hungary only the next year. Eighteen years later, that is, in 1414, when Sigismund was forty-six and Andrea was approximately twenty-one, it had been Sigismund's purpose in promoting the Council of Constance not only to heal the great schism of the papacy but also to establish peace in Christendom, so that a new crusade could be launched against the Turks. After 1422, for the most part, Sigismund's duties to the empire had to be neglected, because he was obliged to remain in Hungary to counter the pressures being exerted there by the Moslems. In 1426-1427 the Danubian province was invaded by the Ottomans. The next year Sigismund was again defeated in a campaign against the Turks. So in 1432, when the King of the Romans at the then venerable age of sixty-four strongly urged the erudite friar of about thrity-nine years to write the different kind of book he had in mind, Sigismund once again was trying through Andrea to communicate to Christians the warning and the plea that had so long gone unheeded: it was imperative for Christendom to unite to check the Turk, or disaster threatened. It took a disaster, however, to awaken Europe to its peril. In 1453, when Andrea had been dead some eighteen years and Sigismund some sixteen, Constantinople, the eastern bastion of Christendom, fell to the infidel[204].

In lieu of the appointment as *magister regens* in Bologna, from which it would seem Andrea begged off, Gerardo da Rimini, the *Rector Ordinis*, on October 1, 1432, appointed Biglia to serve as *magister regens* in Siena until the next general chapter, to be held in Mantua in 1434[205]. There is no reason to believe Andrea did not accept and fulfill this office. We know, however, that he continued his lectures in Siena, because his name appears on a list of the professors of the university dated November 12, 1432[206].

[204] MAIN, *The Emperor Sigismund*, passim; G. J. SHAW-LEFEVRE EVERSLEY, *The Turkish Empire from 1288 to 1914* (London: T. F. Unwin, [1917]), pp. 31-72; Edward S. CREASY, *History of the Ottoman Turks* (Beirut: Khayats, 1961), p. 22-74; James BRYCE, *The Holy Roman Empire* (New York: Schocken, 1961), pp. 324-26.

[205] Rome, Arch. gen. O.S.A., Dd 5, fol. 267r: "Cesene, oct. 1, 1432. — Fecimus regentem in conventu Senarum usque ad generale capitulum prox. futurum magistrum Andream de Mediolano". From ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 171, note 66.

[206] MARLETTA, *Note* p. 524: "Al 1433 si riferisce la nota dei lettori dello studio riportata dalla Zdekauer" (*Lo Studio di Siena nel Rinascimento* [Milano 1894], p. 164) con la data 12 Novembre 1432, data che vale solo per la prima adunanza dei Savi dello Studio".

Reconcilation with Bernardino da Siena

Bernardino da Siena was obliged as late at 1431 to defend himself against charges still being brought against him. Then on January 5, 1432, Pope Eugene IV issued the Bull *Sedis apostolicae* which completely exculpated Bernardino and silenced his enemies[207]. Thereafter, the Franciscan missioner retired to the monastery of La Capriola near Siena, where he turned to setting down his sermons[208]. It would seem there were two young Franciscans, Fra Leonardo and Fra Barnabeo, living at La Capriola and studying at the nearby university. There they were atttending the lectures of the celebrated master, Fra Andrea Biglia, the Augustinian. Through his friendship with these young men, Andrea attempted to effect a reconciliation with Fra Bernardino, for whom he had always professed a deep personal respect and admiration[209]. Barnabeo evidently agreed to make a special effort to bring the two men together, and to that purpose he carried a letter from Andrea to Bernardino at La Capriola [S 36]:

> "To his most honored father in Christ, Fra Bernardino, Fra Andrea bids good health.
>
> Your charity often brings your name to my mind, and I desire nothing more than to be with you, to talk and confer with you, for I believe you intend and pursue all things with a certain singular goodness: under the proviso that you please Christ, even if you do not receive the complete approval of men, since this is a rule in accordance with the thought of the Apostle: *the man who wants to be the servant of Christ must beware of man's tribunal* [*Gal* 1.10 and *1 Cor* 4.3].
>
> Indeed, your sons in Christ, Leonardo and Barnabeo, especially commend your charity to me; and it is really a most beautiful and pleasing thing to listen to them, to hear how they praise your goodness and extol your dignity. And although I love you with an affection not unlike theirs, yet when I listen to them, it is as if they are talking about a parent or the altogether best man in the spirit. My conversation with them is often about your sincerity, your word, and especially about your preaching, which they represent to me in no other wise than the service of a most holy man.
>
> I for my part receive it with all the human understanding I can: thus do I love common virtue, thus am I striving after the charity of all men, especially those who have been dedicated to Christ, who, to me, seem adorned with the spiritual gifts. Today Italy receives you as such, your virtue shows you as such, and I thereupon congratulate you as such. I would neither want you to think I hold any other opinion of you nor to believe any other person, in this regard, more than me, who have thus proposed to cultivate charity, wherever it be, and to preserve peace with others as far as, nay, rather farther than can be done.

[207] ORIGO, *The World*, pp. 127-28.
[208] Ib., pp. 34 and 214.
[209] Ib., p. 213.

For what can we intend that is more amiable, what can we practice toward on another that is more agreeable? This, in my judgment, is what religious profess, and it ought to be the pattern of our daily lives together too. Above all, I would have you accept this brief letter as evidence of this; these common sons of ours, whom I spoke of before, will prove it to you; finally, they will make their report: each of them will tell you that everyone was talking with me about your holiness. You yourself also, if you wish to put it to the test in person, if you would perhaps deign to speak to me face to face, will understand nothing has greater weight with me, nothing is more outstanding in my mind than my opinion of and faith in you.

Given at Siena at the convent of Sant'Agostino. [September 22, 1433][210].

Barnabeo wrote to Andrea from La Capriola the next day to describe Bernardino's reaction to the letter and to ask for Andrea's further evaluation of the situation:

"Barnabeo of Siena bids good health to his reverend master in Christ, Andrea the theologian.

After I left you yesterday, as speedily as possible I joined Fra Bernardino, a most observant man, at the monastery of La Capriola. He had been badly afflicted the previous night with a distressful fluidity in his bowels and a burning in his head. Straightway, when I saw him in this wretched condition, so that the illness would not wear him out, I greeted him with a cheerful countenance and kind words. He immediately sat up to receive me, and I gave him your letter. And having read it, he was neither pleased nor resentful in your regard. So you can readily perceive from this how much love, or hatred, he has conceived for you. I for my part really put my whole soul into persuading him that your heart has by no means been closed to him. And he rather wanted to agree with you in all things according to your own best judgment. For which reason I affirmed that you were, as much as humanly possible, both a defender of his honor and a patron of his cause. I would have you inform me by letter what your mind is in regard to these things, because to me it seemed to deviate not a whit from your judgment of it, nor should I have.

From home the ninth day before the Kalends of October. [September 23, 1433][211].

We can hope these two religious at odds did, by grace, come to mutual trust and understanding, if not friendship, in the brief span left for them together on earth. Andrea's time was short. Bernardino, who had been born about thirteen years before Biglia, would outlive him by some nine years[212].

At the next general chapter, which was indeed held at Mantua the

[210] For the Latin text of this and the following letter see Appendix IV. [translation mine]. For the chronology of these letters, see SEGARIZZI, *Per la bibliografia*, p. 6, n. 2.

[211] See the preceding note.

[212] Bernardino was born September 8, 1380 and died on May 20, 1444. See ORIGO, *The World*, pp. 1-2, 238.

next year, that is, in 1434, Gerardo da Rimini, the *Rector Ordinis* appointed in 1431 by Pope Eugene IV, was elected prior General of the Order of Hermits[213].

The Milanese History

In 1434 Biglia composed the ninth and last book of his magnum opus, his chef-d'oeuvre, the *Mediolanensium rerum historia* [S 1^1][214]. The work deals with events in Italy from the death of Gian Galeazzo on September 3, 1402, to the battle on the Po, which took place on May 23, 1431[215], four years and some four months before Andrea's own death. He knew he had further current happenings to comment on. But he decided of his own accord to give himself a respite from this work, so that he could devote himself to other things[216]. However, before he could return to his chronicle, death intervened[217].

That the work had an immediate vogue is witnessed by the large number of fifteenth-century manuscripts of the history still in existence[218]. And its perennial interest for historians of the period is already evidenced by its two editions in the early eighteenth century[219].

Livy was the model from which Biglia adopted the diction and style and some of the devices of classical historiography. One such device is the use of fictitious speeches put in the mouths of leading characters, such as generals about to lead armies into battle, to set the state and mood for the ensuing action and, when possible, to present opposing viewpoints[220].

[213] ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 171, note 66.

[214] Girolamo MANCINI, *Vita di Lorenzo Valla* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1891), p. 85. From MARLETTA, *Note* p. 524, note 4.

[215] SABBADINI, *Biglia* p. 1089.

[216] BIGLIA, *Historia* 9 (col. 156C ARGELATI-MURATORI): "Quisnam futurus sit exitus, Deus adhuc in incerto tenet. Itaque & nos ultro aliis dediti, paulum interim ex hoc labore silebimus".

[217] Ib. 9 (cols. 157-58 ad finem ARGELATI-MURATORI): "Siluit postea ab opere, quia mortuus, Deo optimo laus & gloria". The edition gives the manuscript which formerly belonged to Apostolo Zeno, that is, VENEZIA, Bibl. Naz. Marciana 162 (3536) (Cl. XXII 306), as the source of the foregoing. In his description of the Madrid manuscript of the Milanese history, NOVATI, *Codice*, p. 219, says that alongside the words given in note 216 above an unknown reader who had scattered notes throughout the manuscript added the following: "Siluit postea perpetuo, quia vita functus 1430 [?] Senis obiit".

[218] See ML 1^1 in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*.

[219] Ib.

[220] ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 180.

The work demonstrates that its author was an Italian patriot of Lombardy, contemporary to the events he was describing, who hoped for the realization of his political ideal, a strong, independent, and politically stable Italian nation, through the expansionist policies of the Visconti lords of Milan. As we have seen, this vindication and glorification of the Visconti and their policies was also the main thrust of Biglia's three extant eulogies of Gian Galeazzo [S 13, S 14, S 14^2]. Thus through Biglia, the propaganda put into circulation by the Visconti perdured to influence modern historians in their itnerpretation of the role played by Gian Galeazzo in the politics of the Renaissance[221].

At the end of some of the manuscripts of the *Mediolanensium rerum historia* [S 1^1], one finds an epigram, consisting of four hexameters, which epitomizes the content of the work[222]:

"Quicquid in Italia gestum est post funera magni
Anguigeri Galeaz, repeti per tempora dignum,
Donec aquas rediere suas, ex arce Cremonae
Propulsi Veneti, manet hoc in codice scriptum".

"Whatever worthy of repetition throughout time
took place in Italy
after the burial of viper-bearing[223] Galeaz
until the Venetians
driven from the citadel of Cremona
returned to their own waters —
this endures written in this book".

While the writer has not yet found an autograph of these verses, or other evidence, it would seem likely that they are Biglia's own composition and would, therefore, constitute the second of two extant specimens of

[221] Ib., pp. 180-81.

[222] NOVATI, *Codice*, p. 220, observes that these verses written at the very end of folio 82r of the Madrid codex are in another hand. The epigram is to be found on pp. 121-22 of the vander Aa-Graevius edition and on pp. 157-58 of the Argelati-Muratori edition, on fol. 82r of cod. 1066 of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, on fol. 115v of cod. AD XII 12 of the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense of Milan and, in two copies of the preceeding *codex Braidense*, on fol. 141v of cod. 162 (3536) (Cl. XXII 306) of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, and on fol. 137r of cod. 5891 of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. According to NOVATI, *Codice*, p. 220, note 2, the epigram was also to be found in the codex which MURATORI, *Praefatio*, p. 637, had borrowed for collation in his edition and which he referred to as *il Valisone*, specifically, cod. 1381 of the Biblioteca Tribulziana in Milan. However, this codex is now missing and has been presumed destroyed in the Second World War. See ML 1 in SCHNAUBELT, *Prolegomena*. [Translation mine]

[223] For a description of the Visconti coat of arms with an account of its evolution, see MUIR, *History of Milan*, pp. 6-7.

Andrea's poetry, the first being the dedicatory verses of Biglia's translation of the *De anima* [S 57][224].

In solemn assembly on the fifth of November, 1434, and in the presence of the bishop, chancellor of the university, the theological faculty of Siena approved new statutes, among which is to be found a review of the doctors then incorporated in the college. There, in tenth place, one reads: "Master Andrea da Milano, of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine"[225]. From a notation in the deliberations of the consistory of the university dated February 11, 1435, we know that Biglia was also lecturing on ethics on feast days. Associated with Andrea that year in the lectureship of philosophy at Siena was Master Battista da Fabriano and, in the second half of the term, Master Piero dei Rossi[226].

Final Days

However it was transported from the east, bubonic plague, known in this instance as the Black Death, had arrived in Sicily some seventy-five years earlier, that is, in the first days of October, 1347, about three months before it reached peninsular Italy[227]. From there it spread throughout Europe until the pandemic stage of the infection was spent some five years later in 1352[228]. To say that one European in three died in this epidemic is not far from the truth[229]. According to the best statistics available, about five thousand Augustinian friars succumbed to the Black Death between 1347 and 1352[230].

The disease then became sporadic, that is to say, the bacillus responsible for the epidemic, or general infection, became confined by constitutional and acquired immunity to a host, such as the flea which

[224] NOVATI, *Codice*, p. 220, note 2, also inclines to Biglia's composition of the epigram at the end of the *Historia*. See note 162 above.

[225] SIENA, Biblioteca Comunale, cod. A XI 9, fol. 8v: "M. Andreas de Mediolano, ord. heremit. S. Augustini". From MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 524 and note 5. [translation mine]

[226] SIENA, Archivio di Stato, *Delib. del Concistoro* 414.26r: "Die xj februarii [*1434 st. flor. = 1435*]. Magnifici domini ... decreverunt quod Magister Andreas de Mediolano ordinis heremitarum S. Augustini habere debeat pro conducta facta de eo ad legendum philsophiam moralem diebus festivis florenos 30"; ib. 412.28v, 413.27r, 415.10r. From MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 524 and note 6; p. 525, notes 1 and 2.

[227] Philip ZIEGLER, *The Black Death* (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1971), p. 40.

[228] David GUTIÉRREZ, *Los estudios en la Orden Augustiniana desde la edad media hasta la contemporanea*, in *Analecta Augustiniana* 33 (1970), 98.

[229] ZIEGLER, *Black Death*, p. 231.

[230] GUTIÉRREZ, *Los estudios*, p. 98; A. DE ROMANIS, *L'Ordine agostiniano* (Florence: Tipografia fiorenza, 1935), 73.

infests rats[231]. Thereafter, the disease broke out in a fresh epidemic whenever the population became susceptible, as, for example, by reason of recent birth or malnutrition[232]. Such an outbreak was evidenced in 1431 by Panormita's flight from Pavia to Stradella inthe summer of that year[233]. And the disease was raging again in Siena in 1435.

On August 28 of that year, the officials at the University of Siena renewed Andrea's contract with them for two more years[234], and, on September 24, Gerardo da Rimini, formerly the *Rector Ordinis*, now Prior General, appointed Biglia vicar for the province of Siena[235].

Providence, however, disposed otherwise. Three days later, that is, September 27, 1435, Fra Andra Biglia, man of penetrating intelligence, compelling eloquence, captivating charm, indefatigable industry, professor of philosophy and theology, popular and court preacher, historian, friend and associate of Renaissance luminaries, author of some sixty-three or more literary compositions, nobleman and gentleman, Augustinian religious and priest of Jesus Christ, had his brilliant career cut short at the height of his powers: he was carried off by the dreaded plague. He died a young man, early in his fifth decade[236].

His obituary recorded in a Sienese chronicle is terse: "On the twenty-seventh day of the said [September 1435] died Andrea, master in sacred theology, of Milan. He died of pestilence, in Sant'Agostino"[237]. His

[231] ZIEGLER, *Black Death*, pp. 24-27.

[232] Ib., pp. 25 and 35.

[233] See above notes 182 and 183.

[234] SIENA, Archivio di Stato, *Delib. del Consistoro* 417.30v: "Dicti M. domini cum Vix. magistris et Reformatoribus Studii ... conduxerunt Magistrum Andream de Mediolano pro duobus annis proximis futuris ... cum eodem salario quo ad presens servit et ad illam lecturam deputandam per dictos Reformatores Studii". From MARLETTA, *Note*, p. 525.

[235] ROMA, Archivum generale O.S.A., Dd 5, fol. 267r: "Arimini, sept. 24, 1435. — Misimus litteram ad conventum Senarum et fecimus magistrum Andream de Mediolano vicarium illius provincie cum auctoritatibus consuetis". From ARBESMANN, *Andrea Biglia* p. 171.

[236] The bibliographers are in general agreement concerning the year of Andrea Biglia's death, that is, 1435; and this is precisely confirmed by documentary evidence. See above notes 223 and 224. Until the studies by Novati and Morisi, however (see notes 5 and 8 above), which fixed the date of Biglia's birth as, first, c. 1395, then c. 1394, there had been some dispute as to whether Biglia died in youth or in old age. See, for example, Vincenzio BINI, *Memorie istoriche della Perugina università degli studi e dei suoi professori* (Perugia: F. Calindri, V. Santucci e G. Garbinesi, 1816, 1 vol. in 2 pts), p. 249, or Gianmaria MAZZUCHELLI, *Gli scrittori d'Italia* (Brescia: Bossini, 2 vols in 6 pts) II,2,1220, note 9, or GANDOLFO, *Dissertatio historica*, p. 60.

[237] Chronicle in manuscript, SIENA, Bibl. Comunale 3 25, fol. 115r: "A dí 27 di detto [*settembre 1435*] morì maestro Andrea in sacra tehologia [*sic*] da Milano. Morì di pestilentia in santo Agostino". From SEGARIZZI, *Per la bibliografia*, p. 6. [translation mine]

entry into the necrology of his home monastery of San Marco in Milan is also brief, but more laudatory: "Likewise the death of [our] brother, the extraordinary doctor in theology and all the fine arts, Master Andrea Biglia, who produced in writing many things of enduring memory. MCCCCXXXV"[238]. He lies buried in the church of that same Augustinian house in Siena which he loved[239].

Epilogue

According to Ludovico A. Muratori, Fra Andrea Biglia died in the odor of sanctity and was venerated as a *beatus* in Milan and in Siena[240], but this cult apparently died out and nothing more has come of it. His prolific scholarship, however, is still attested by his writings, of which something like half certainly survive, a lasting and most fitting monument for a man of genius and dedication.

Villanova Joseph C. SCHNAUBELT, O.S.A.

[238] The Necrology of the Augustinian monastery of San Marco in Milan, MILANO, Bibl. Trivulziana 1614, [n.p.] "Item obitus fratris, doctoris mirabilis in theologia et omnibus bonis artibus, magistri Andree de Bilijs qui multa scribendo edidit perpetue memorie. MCCCCXXXV". From NOVATI, *Codice*, p. 222, note 1. [translation mine]

[239] Those bibliographers who take note of it, without exception, give the Church of Sant'Agostino in Siena as the place of Biglia's burial, for example: Philippe ELSEN, *Encomiasticon augustinianum* (Brussels: Ex typographia Francisci Vivieni, 1654), p. 52, or ARGELATI, *Bibliotheca*, I,2,159.

[240] Ludovico A. MURATORI, *In Andreae Bilii historiam Mediolanensem praefatio*, in his *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* XIX,3-5 (Milan: Ex typographia Societatis Palatinae, 1731) p. 3: "Adolescens Religioso Ordini Eremitarum Sancti Augustini nomen dedit, atque in eo instituto adeo pietate, reliquisque virtutibus claruit, ut post mortem titulo *Beati* apud Mediolanenses ac Senenses fuerit auctus".

APPENDIX I

The Letter of Andrea Biglia To Giordano Cardinal Orsini, Prefatory to the Ammonitio ad Manfredum

AD IORDANUM URSINUM NOBILEM ROMANUM ET ECCLESIAE CARDINALEM EPISTOLA VELUT PROOEMIUM PRO DUOBUS LIBELLIS SEQUENTIBUS*

1. Quid ego aut qua ratione de his quae hoc tempore contingunt scripserim nullius iudicium potius volo esse quam tuum, pater in domino honoratissime, quippe qui tuam auctoritatem in primis multifacio, nec fere quenquam cognosco quem melius intelligere arbitrer quo in loco hodie res ecclesiastica sit. Quod ita Martinum quoque sensisse existimo, cum tibi eam legationem dedit qua adversus perfidam Boemorum rabiem es profectus. Ibi credo plane agnovisti quanti periculi fuerit male orientes errores dissimulavisse. Id ego rectene an potius inepte tantum timuerim suspicione quam experientia diiudicari malo.

2. Hoc mihi modo conscius sum nulla privata cura Bernardini me nomen offendisse, quamobrem placuerit vel de institutis vel adversum instituta eius hoc conscribere. Nam de alio, Manfredo, quid dicam, cuius morem in litteris abs te datis ipse quoque damnavisti, decernes nihil teneri quod apud illum spopondisset.

3. Quae igitur ad hos scripsi, pater optime, tuae prudentiae, dignitati, bonitati subicio, cui et illi, si boni viri esse volunt, maxime credent, et ego semper omne ingenium meum omnemque, ita dicam, fidem meam parata ac dedita ut sint constitui.

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* *Cod. Ambrosianus* H 117 inf., fol. 57r.

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14 viduam mediolanensem *post* damnavisti *delevi*

APPENDIX II

Biglia's Letter to Giovanni Aurispa

Frater B[ilia] Andreas Aurispae suo s. p. d.*

Sic mutat fortuna, mi Aurispa, ut verear ne in dies remotiores simus, quando tamen cuperemus ipsi nihil intervenire, quod vel caritati vel familiaritati officere posset. equidem Bononiae ea opportunitate utebamur, ut si vellemus facile liceret et verba nostra invicem audire et ora intueri. nunc quod eo tempore ad manum erat, desiderio litterarum effici necesse est: nec sane tam terris quam pene ita dicam pestiferis decretis abstrahimur. verum hoc scio, corporum duntaxat haec fuerit iniuria; animi certe in suscepta amicitia perseverabunt.

Tu vero quone pacto hic restiterim, ex eo cogitare potes, quod fere in sua civitate minus suo arbitrio vivitur; omnes quaerunt postulant exigunt, tanquam iniuriae sit vel cognatis atque amicis vel ipsi patriae eas commoditates negare, quas peregrinis hominibus afferre consuevimus. his modo precibus modo iussis invitum tenuere, qui quod Bononiae faciebam, agam Papiae, ubi nec ducis nostri imperio atque auctoritati contraire licuit, nec amicorum voluntati. Bononiam porro quam quietem ferat vides. ego sane extimui ne longius id malum procederet quam est; haud cerno finem, quandoquidem hoc ipso tempore vidi, minoribus causis, Latinis maiora pericula emanavisse.

Verum ad nos. Marianum hunc non tam litterarum portitorem mitto, quam et voti et causae et consuetudinis meae vicarium dedo; meretur ferme eius bonitas quae, ut uno verbo dicam, humanitati tuae congruat. hunc oro, quod aiunt, in sinum accipias foveasque; totus enim te cupit, hoc est non tam patrocinio atque ingenio tuo uti, quam bonitate et sapientia frui. atqui hoc ipse per se melius explicabit proque sua virtute

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* *Cod. Riccardianus* 770, fol. 170r. This letter has been copied from the edition by Remigio Sabbadini. See Table VII, under the year 1891 [forthcoming in *Augustiniana* 44 (1994)].

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1 *Cod.* Frater B[ilia] Andreas/Franciscus B. Andree 4 *Cod.* quando/quin 12 *Cod.* quone/quove 25 *Cod.* meretur/verum 26 *Cod.* foveasque/ferasque

impetrabit. eam ego illi de tua benignitate fiduciam praestiti, quae et mihi dudum comparata erat et ipse ita videris velle omnibus notam et apertam fore.

Opto multum valeas nosque in Deum ames, mi Aurispa; deque tuis rebus nonnunquam, si non potes saepe, doceas. ego Papiam in quoddam recordationum pistrinum, primus tui memorabundus, vado. tu denique amicos nostros, qui in illa communi urbe utrique sunt, aut verbis aut litteris tuis salutabis. Vale.

Ex Mediolano, nonis octobribus [1428].

APPENDIX III

The Letter of Andrea Biglia to Jean Cardinal Rochetaillée, Prefatory to the De origine Turcharum

AD HONORATISSIMUM FIDELISSIMUMQUE IN CHRISTO PATREM JOANNEM A RUPESCISSA S. R. E. CARDINALEM ET ARCHIEPISCOPUM ROTHOMAGENSEM*

1. Factus sum per hos dies, ut vera dicam, laetior, visis duabus epistolis, quas ad me legendas, cum graece scriptae essent, Sigismundus iussit afferri. Has ille ex partibus Asianis acceperat atque ab illis regibus quorum vix nomina ad nos perferri posse credidissem. Nam quod in iis carissimum et Jesu Christi nomen et beatae crucis signum inscriptum erat, quod munera quoque et insignia regionum veluti peregrinae caritatis primitias addebant, quod denique auxilia regis adversum infideles, quoties

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* *Cod.* V *Vaticanus latinus* 5298, fols. 83r-83v; *Cod.* A *Angelicus latinus* 1136 (S 4 5), fols. 2r-2v. *Tit. ex* V (*tit. ex* A: Optimo et honoratissimo patri in Christo, fidelissimo cardinali et episcopo Rothomagensi).

1-2 duabus epistolis V/geminis litteris A 4 ad nos perferri posse credidissem, *ordine numeris s. v. imposito* V/credidissem posse ad nos venire A nam V/tum vero A, huiusmodi A/*om.* V iis V/illis A 5 Iesu V/hyesu A 6 quod munera V/munera *scriptum super* quia *del.* A 7 addebant, quod denique V/attulerunt. Denique et A quoties V/quotiens A

foret opus, exponebant, ea me sane ingenti laetitia affecere, cui ne in mentem quidem venire potuisset fidem apud barbaros servari quam ipsi propinquioribus locis amisissemus. Ac praesertim in iisdem litteris dicebatur imperator, sic enim vocant hodie caput Tartarorum, hinc ex Turcis, inde ex Persis quorum ferme sunt Medii, complures civitates oppidaque in potestatem accepisse.

2. Cuiusmodi ego cum apud Sigismundum et mirarer et vero gratularer, respondit ille se habere pro comperto longe plures maioresque esse Christianorum quam infidelium aut paganorum gentes; ac deprompsit continuo libellum, in quo nonnulla de barbaricis illis gestis contineri videbantur, ex archiviis, ut asserebat, earum urbium / (A 2v) ad se delatum; hortatusque est, si quid otii haberem, haec alio quodam scribendi genere facerem, nostris ut essent notiora. Itaque ipse, qui pro beati doctoris sententia barbaris aeque ac nostris in religionis ministerio deberem, praecipue tanti regis adhortatione provocatus, negotium suscepi, non tam certus equidem magni cuiuspiam edendi operis quam experiundi laboris cupidus, si quo pacto forsan hoc opellae in nostris monumentis locum reperiret.

3. Tibi certe, pater optime, tuoque collegio initium atque quodcumque id erit nuncupamus ac vovemus; neque ipsi plus efflagitetis quam nos factum aut memoria aut cognitu dignum existimavimus: hoc uno in primis proviso, ne temere quisquam me credat tam tenui lucubratione dignitatis vestrae cardines excitavisse. Quamquam scio non

---

8 exponebant, ea me V/exposita, quae mihi A ingenti laetitia affecere V/ingentem laetitiam fecere A 9 ac teneri *post* servari A/om. V 10 amisissemus V/amisimus A ac praesertim V/praesertim quod A 10-11 iisdem litteris dicebatur imperator V/illis litteris ferebatur imperatorem A 11 caput Tartarorum V/Tartarorum caput A vel *ante* hinc A/*om.* V 12 Turcis V/Theucris A vel *ante* inde A/*om.* V 15 Cuiusmodi ego V/Ea vero ipse A 16 se habere *etiam post* comperto *dittographia* A longe V/multo A 17-18 ac depromsit continuo V/protulitque interim A 19-20 ex archiviis, ut asserebat, ... civitatum ... delatum V/rem, ut referebat, ex archiviis ... urbium ... delatam A 20 hortatusque est V/hortatus A 21 Itaque ipse V/Ego igitur A 21-22 pro ... sententia V/secundum ... sententiam A 22 ac V/ut A in V/pro ipsius A 23 deberem V/ debitor sum A 24 equidem V/*om.* A cuiuspiam V/alicuius A experiundi V/experiendi A 25 hoc opellae V/ea res A monumentis V/ monimentis A 26 reperiret V/reperire posset A 28 pater optime V/optime pater A tuoque collegio initium atque V/*om.* A 29 erit V/est A nuncupamus ac vovemus V/vovemus ac dicamus A ipsi plus efflagitetis V/ipse ultra efflagites A 30 nos V/*om.* A factum aut memoria aut ... existimavimus V/putavimus factum, memoria ... videri A 31 in primis proviso V/ante omnia suscepto A me credat V/putet nos A 32 vestrae V/tuae A cardines V/cardinem A

tu minus his rebus humanitatis tuae officium quam prudentiae / (V 83v) iudicium impendes. Iam itaque, quasi tu quoque iusseris, vel libentes rem vel fidentes aggredimur.

APPENDIX IV

*Biglia's Letter to San Bernardino, and Barnabeo's Letter to Biglia**

1

In Christo patri honoratissimo fratri Bernardino frater Andreas salutem.

Tua caritas mihi saepe memoriam tui nominis excitat, ut nihil plus desiderem quam tecum esse loqui agere, nempe qui te omnia credo singulari quadam bonitate et velle et sequi, dum Christo placeas et iam [*sic*] si non totus proberis hominibus, quum ea est secundum apostolicam sententiam regula: qui velit esse Christi servus cavendum ei esse ab humano die.

Praecipue vero mihi tuam caritatem commendant Leonardus ac Barnabeus tui in Christo filii, quos sane pulcherrimum est ac iocundissimum audire quemadmodum et bonitatem tuam laudent et dignitatem predicant, quos ego, cum non dissimili affectu diligam, ita audio ut si mihi parentem aut omnino in spiritu virum optimum commemorent. Saepe cum illis de sinceritate tua de verbo tuo ac de praedicationibus tuis sermo est quae mihi haud aliter quam sanctissimi hominis offitia referunt.

Ipse quanta possum humanitate amplector: sic communem virtutem amo, sic omnium caritatem affecto, praesertim qui Christo sunt

---

32-33 non tu minus V/haud minus ipse A 33 his V/iis A 34 impendes V/afferes A Iam itaque V/Nosque ita A 34-35 quasi tu ... vel ... rem vel ... aggredimur V/veluti rem ipse ... seu ... sive... ingredimur A

---

* These letters have been copied from the editions by Arnoldi Segarizzi. See SEGARIZZI, *Per la bibliografia*, pp. 6-7. SIENA, Bibl. Communale D VI 5, fols. 2r-3r.

dediti, qui mihi spiritalibus donis videantur ornati. Talem te hodie Italia accipit, talem te virtus tua exhibet, denique et ego talem esse gratulor. Nec velim ullo pacto aliam meam opinionem existimes neque de hac re alteri plusquam mihi credas, qui sic proposui caritatem, ubicumque sit, colere, pacem, quoad quin etiam ultra quam fieri possit, cum omnibus servare.

Quid enim amabilius animo tenere possumus, quid suavius invicem tractare? Est haec quantum arbitror religiosorum professio, quae et nostrae conversationis forma esse debet. Eius velim ante omnia brevem hanc epistolam testem accipias; idem tibi hi, quos ante dixi communes filii, probabunt; postremo omnes referent quique mecum de tua sanctitate sermonem habuisse dixerint. Ipse quoque, si cupias praesens experiri, si forte digneris ore ad os mecum verba facere, intelliges nihil apud me plus valere, nihil in animo praestantius esse quam fidem existimationem tui.

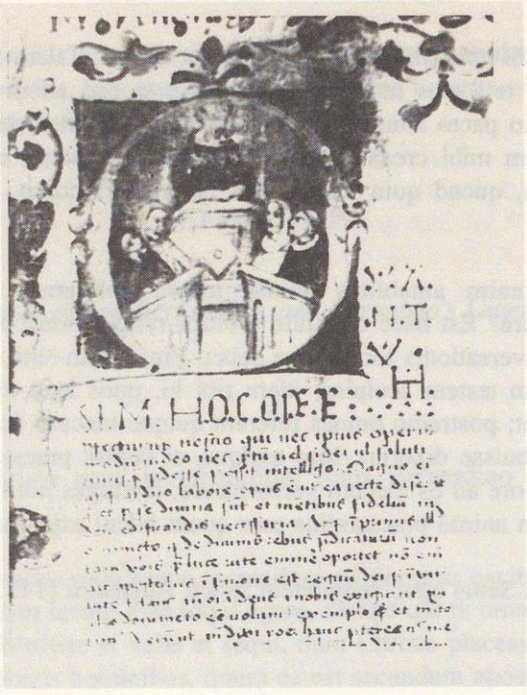
Datum Senis apud religionem sancti Augustini [1433].

2

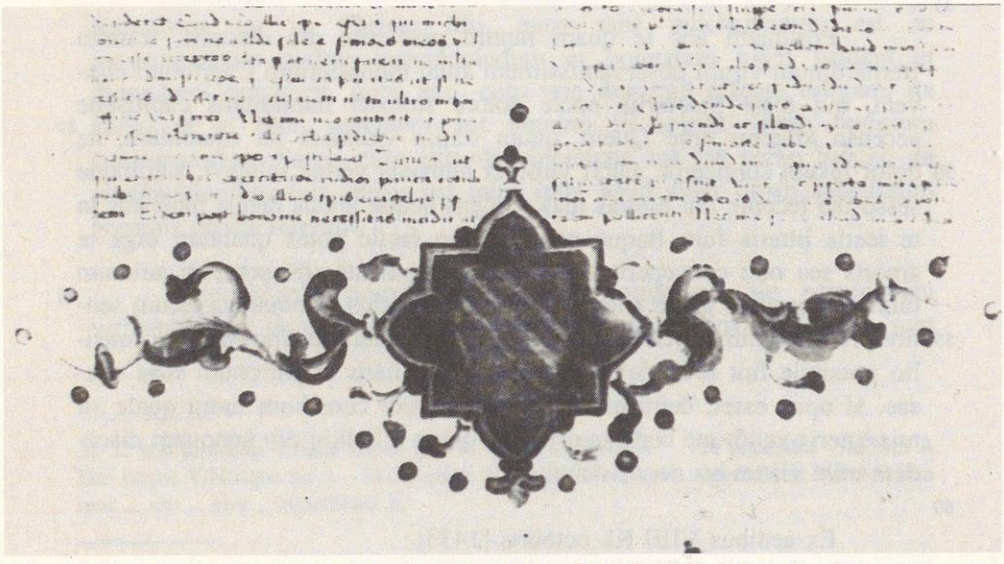
Barnabeus senensis reverendo in Christo magistro Andreae theologo sa. di.

Postquam abs te quam raptim praeterito die discessi, fratrem Bernardinum virum observantissimum apud monasterium Capriolum conveni, qui male praeterita nocte dolore stomaci humiditatis capitisque accensu affectus erat. Quem, quum statim vidissem ita squalidum, ne dolor ipsum conficeret, alacri vultu et humanis verbis salutavi; statimque sessu me recepit; cui litteras tuas reddens neque gratus neque molestus in te lectis litteris fuit. Itaque percipere eo facile potes quantum erga te amoris seu odii conceperit. Ipse vero omni mente sibi persuasi animum tuum nequaquam ab se alienum fuisse, sed potius in omnibus tecum sentire pro tua optima prudentia cupiebat; quamobrem quanto humano consilio possibile fuit te et defensorem suae dignitatis et patronum suae causae, si opus esset, confirmavi. Quarum rerum consilium tuum quale sit tuis litteris velim me certiorem facias, quum a iuditio tuo nunquam discedere mihi visum est neque debui.

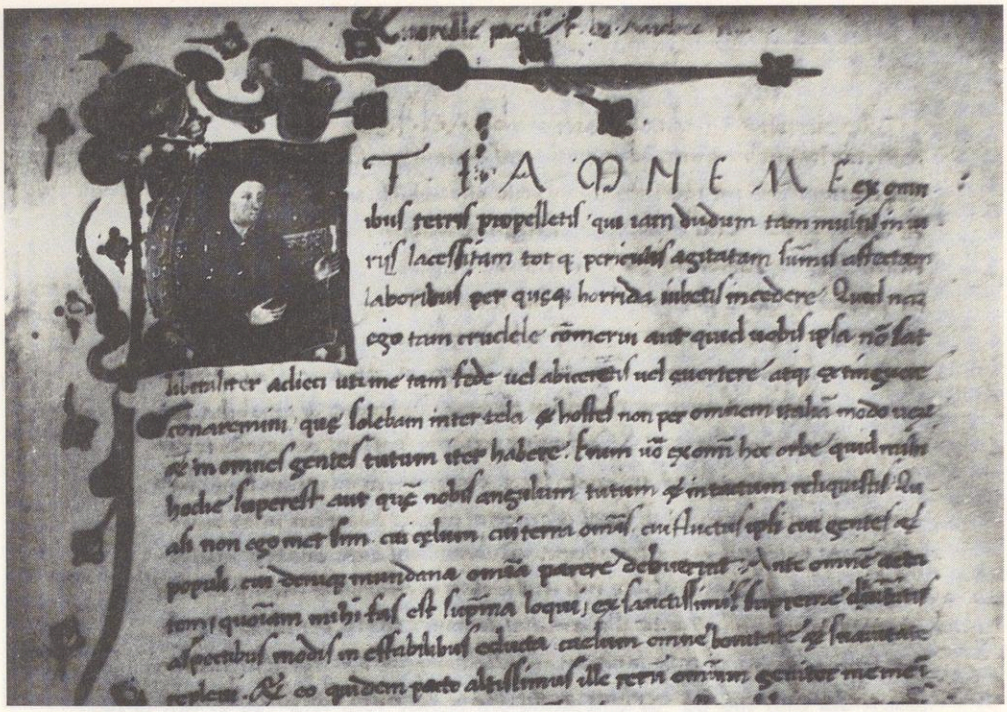
Ex aedibus VIIII Kl. octobris [1433].



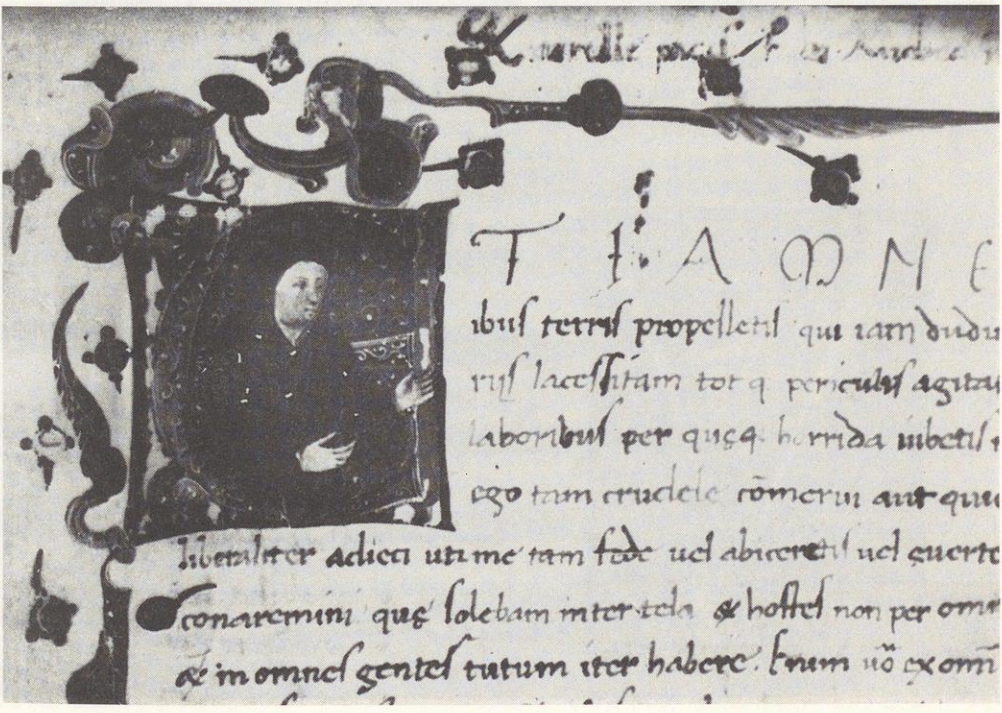
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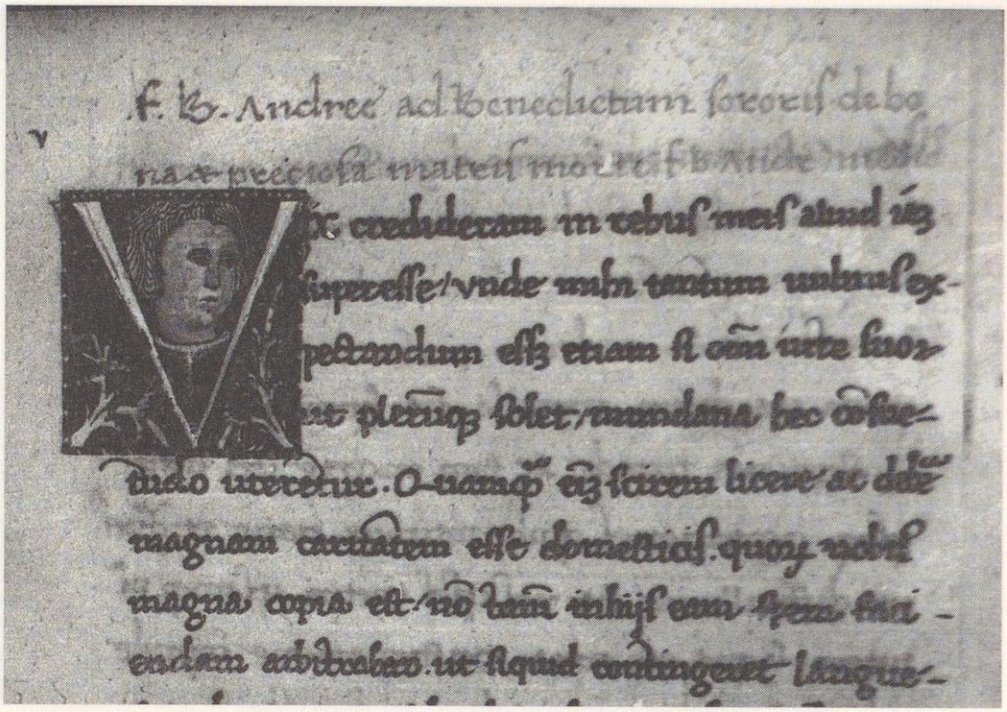
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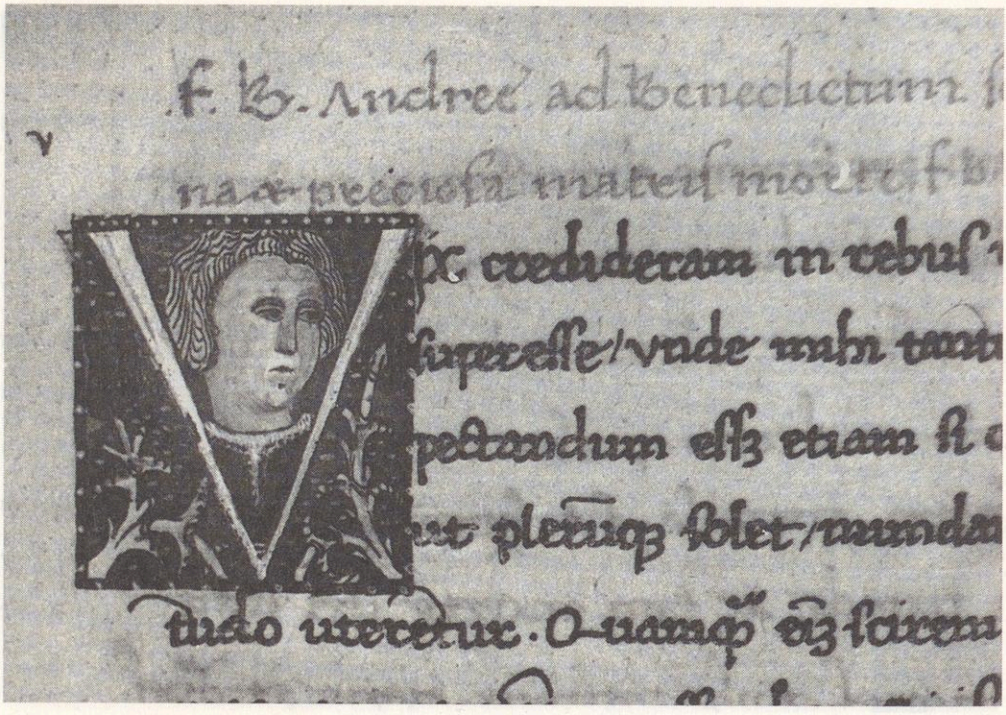
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A RYE RELIC OF AUSTIN FRIARS LONDON

When the first Augustinian friars came to England from France in the middle of the thirteenth century, the social structure of Western Europe was undergoing great changes, and men of religion were learning to adapt their ways to meet the peoples' new needs. In the West, under Benedict and Augustine, monasteries had begun in the establishment of refuges where the laity might retreat from the world's insecurity and the grinding poverty which were for the most part their lot, great bastions resisting the hordes of pagan invaders from the East, avid to put Roman civilization and its heirs to the torch and the sword.

These two founding fathers had demanded of those who offered to follow them a visible separation from the life which they were renouncing. That is not to say that they forgot the command to 'go out into the whole world'; but the first monks had regarded themselves as missionaries only secondarily. Those who wished to find in contemplative prayer a fulness of spiritual living should, they held, come 'into the desert' and join them.

Enough of Augustine's ideals, enshrined in his *Rule*, more adaptable than Benedict's, had persisted for the Tuscan Hermits to live in remote rural settlements; and when in 1248, eight years before Annibaldi's 'Grand Union', Gilbert Earl of Gloucester introduced friars to work in England and to follow Augustine's *Rule*, he housed them at the foot of his castle mound beside the river Stour in isolated Suffolk[1].

Yet the world of Gilbert and his Augustinians was no longer that which had surrounded the ancient monasteries. Commerce was replacing agriculture as a more lucrative pursuit. Towns were expanding; and the Clare friars were committed to mendicancy, the organized soliciting of alms, within defined and jealously-preserved districts, from layfolk able and prepared to support them. So, as more men were drawn to this new

[1] At the Great Union, the 'Hermits' of the Tuscan friars' style was retained in the new appellation, 'Augustinian Friars Hermit'; and the 'Hermit' has only recently been discarded. That the friars were so called, and were still in the thirteenth century living and working in remote country districts, accounts for their implied disparagement, as unskilled labourers, a dominant theme in the pseudo-Augustine *Sermones ad fratres in eremo commorantes*, which the present writer hopes to be able to discuss at an early date.

way of life, they were directed to houses in urban areas, where new money was being accumulated and might be distributed to them. The Austin friars, as also their fellow-mendicants — and, very often, their competitors — Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites — moved to the now thriving centres of this prosperity, which included, very early, London, and, a century later, Rye.

'Austin Friars, London' (though the friars themselves were driven out by Thomas Cromwell, and their buildings were totally destroyed in the Blitz, the name for the site is still current) was founded out of the patronage of the Bohun family, earls of Hereford and Essex; but in 1354 the first church was completely rebuilt. A photograph af the 1920s shows the beauty and opulence of the second edifice[2]. It was 'built of ragstone and chalk, with dressings of Reigate stone' — all materials to be quarried in nearby Kent — 'and the roof was slated'[3] — always a sign of the wealth of mediaeval builders. This was the greatest friars' church in England, exceeding even the dimensions of the Dominican nave and choir at Norwich, which house today a concert hall and a recreation centre. Clustered columns support vast pointed arches and a ceiling of closely-set carved horizontal beams. This picture, showing an interior denuded of chantry altars, statues, votive paintings and lights and all other later mediaeval accretions, evokes the records which Netherlands artists made of their own despoiled yet austerely beautiful shrines[4].

That the first Augustinian buildings were so often replaced at an early date suggests that they were erected in haste, poorly built, and survived the climate only badly. It also witnesses to the fame which the friars acquired through their preaching, and the numbers of those who thronged

[2] Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London,IV: The City*, London, 1929, Plate 51. Cf. also Mary D. LOBEL, ed., *The British Atlas of Historic Towns: III: The City of London*, Oxford, 1989, 65, material contributed by C.N.L. Brooke and Gillian Keir.

[3] *Inventory* (supra n.2), 32.

[4] A striking and curious example is in the British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings P.46 No.7, 'Interior of a church with figures', by Pieter Jansz Saenredam (1597-1665). Cf. Arthur M. HIND: *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists preserved in the ... British Museum*, London, 1931, 44-46. The church, unidentified, is completely stripped of ornament, and the walls have been whitewashed; yet in the foreground Saenredam shows a lady and a gallant conversing with a Franciscan friar in habit and capuche. One can only suppose that this was in a region first surrendered to iconoclasts, but then, as happened in many parts of the Netherlands, regained by Catholics, so that religious were once again free to wear distinctive attire. The writer is much indebted to Miss Hilary Williams of Prints and Drawings for directing him to this interesting picture. Unfortunately, the photograph of Austin Friars, London (supra, n.2) is of too poor quality to permit reproduction.

to hear them. Different circumstances, however, explain the fortunes and the remains of Austin Friars at Rye. This was a busy harbour town, a considerable focus for the mediaeval tourist industry. It was there that countless pilgrims collected, on their way to Compostella, where such 'indulgences' could be gained as to make it a place of devotion equalled now by Lourdes alone; and in Rye they could be delayed for long enough, waiting for favourable weather. This must account for the fine 'Mermaid Inn' and other ancient hostelries to be seen there. The chain of events can be followed easily: the increasing wealth of English citizens enabled them to go abroad in great numbers, this brought prosperity to the 'Cinque Ports', Dover, Hythe, Rye and the others which the Crown required to maintain sea power to defend the Channel against pirates and invaders, and the friars were drawn to them, because provision had to be made for such travellers' spiritual needs.

Louis Francis Salzmann, in his description of Sussex religious houses[5], has very little to tell about Rye Austin Friars. He writes: 'Of its origin nothing is known, except that the friars were firmly established ... by the middle of the fourteenth century'[6]. This was because his only sources of knowledge were generally-consulted British archives. The distinguished German-American Augustinian, Francis Roth, was, however, able to draw on the uniquely valuable repository of mediaeval lore, the registers of his Order's priors general, diligently examined by Roth for his history[7]. Rye was in fact founded in 1364[8]. The first house and church were built on the 'town salts', land still retained as playing fields, uncultivated but at that time used to allow seawater to flood and evaporate, so as to produce salt, an even more essential commodity than nowadays, as it was the only means apart from smoking of keeping meat in a more or less edible state through the winter months. Such a location meant that the convent was virtually unprotected from the sea's incursions and from hostile attack, notably by French freebooters. Therefore it was transferred, c. 1379, to the more sheltered and defensible place on Conduit Hill where its extensive remains are still to be seen. An entry of this year in the generals' register records this move, and refers to the previous friary as 'destroyed'[9].

[5] *Sussex Victoria County History* vol. 2, London, 1907.

[6] *Id.*, 96.

[7] *The English Austin Friars, 1249 - 1538: Sources*, New York, 1963. Citations give numbered documents, not pages.

[8] *Id.*, no. 482.

[9] *Id.*, no. 537.

There exists an undertaking of 1368[10] that the community will offer Masses to which lay persons may be admitted, gratifying no doubt to the friars and to pious pilgrims, but scarcely to the incumbents of St. Mary's, Rye, then as now the parish church. Quarrels and suits over such alms, and the burial of the dead, were a constant feature of mediaeval church life, since the secular clergy resented and fought what they regarded as the mendicants' abusive encroachments upon their own rights and emoluments.

At the time of this undertaking, Richard Bedding was prior, and eleven of his brethren are named; but early in the next century the house, like many other such institutions, was beginning to suffer from a lack of vocations. In 1439 the English provincial agreed to send them four new members, on condition that within four years they found themselves novices[11].

When the Dissolution came, Rye was no more spared than were greater monasteries. A semblance of justice was contrived by Crown visitations, for reports to Cromwell on their present state; and in the South-East these were carried out by a suffragan bishop named Ingworth. In December 1538 he informed his master that he would conclude his inspection at Canterbury, and then proceed to Sandwich and Rye. He and the other commissioners followed a procedure which became standard: each house had to be shown as harbouring notorious evil-livers, or to be poor to the point of destitution, to be redundant or to contain inmates who would not subscribe to the Act of Supremacy. The refusal of this cost St. Thomas More, St. John Fisher and St. John Stone their deaths as traitors. Stone, England's one Augustinian martyr, whose name may show that he was a native of the parish similarly named, one of England's oldest, founded by Augustine, the apostle of England, on the Thames's southern shore, belonged to Austin Friars, Canterbury, where Ingworth conducted a fruitless confrontation with him. Then the bishop went on to Rye, where, he stated, the monastic buildings were ruinous. Since only fourteen years earlier a farmer, William Marsh, had entirely reroofed them[12], it is hard to believe that this was true, any more than the further remark that those who remained there were living in dire poverty, since three years before Clement Harworth had made generous bequests to the prior, Nicholas Unkely, and to four of his companions, possibly the entire community, for

[10] *Id.*, no.791.
[11] *Id.*, no. 1048, also recorded by Salzmann (supra, n.5).
[12] *Id.*, no.1049.

their prayers[13]. Roth wrote that Harworth's will 'proves that the Austins were highly respected and well-loved until the very end'. At any rate, Ingworth did not allege any sexual misconduct there; but none the less, the convent was doomed.

After the London friars had been expelled, their church in the City was ceded to the Huguenot colony, refugees from Catholic persecution, so that they might worship there in peace and in their native tongue, as is still today the situation. For a time, the Rye buildings were likewise used by Dutch Protestants. Before that, Cromwell had placed a value on the property, but, as Ingworth's report had prompted, a very mean one; yet no-one bought it, even though there was then much scrambling after such booty. The later vicissitudes of the premises were many. They were not maintained as a Huguenot Church; and for a time the Netherlanders were succeeded by strolling players, who probably appreciated the hire of what had been the great hall (not the chapel, as Nicolas Pevsner in the generally admirable Penguin Guide to Sussex[14] wrongly stated) as an alternative to their more usual barns. Today this hall is utilized as workshops and showrooms by Cinque Ports Pottery, and the care of this firm for the fabric and their interest in it are some guarantee for its preservation.

One hundred years ago, Augustinians were sent to Hythe, another Cinque Port, some fifteen miles to the east of Rye. This happened in obedience to the laws of demand and supply. The military installations at Hythe, notably the School of Musketry, had created a community, albeit small, of Catholic families, for whom the War Office did not furnish permanent or even long-term chaplains. The bishop of Southwark of that time was John Butt. As a young priest he had volunteered to serve in the Crimea. This was before Florence Nightingale had set about remedying the insanitary conditions of which Butt almost died. His semi-invalidism thereafter still had allowed him a long and useful life; and as a bishop he was determined that the Hythe Catholics should have daily Mass in their own town. Until then, they had often been obliged to make their way as best they might to Our Lady Help of Christians in Folkestone. One can imagine that Butt's Crimean experiences had endowed him with lively sympathy for an Irish soldiery transplanted to non-Catholic England and concerned, above all, for their children's upbringing. It was he who introduced the Austins, themselves chiefly from Ireland, who at once began preparations to build the present church. In 1891 the superior — Hythe had not yet

[13] *Id.*, no. 1099.

[14] Ian NAIRN and Nicolas PEVSNER, *The Buildings of England: Sussex*, Harmondsworth, 1965, repr. 1985, 599.

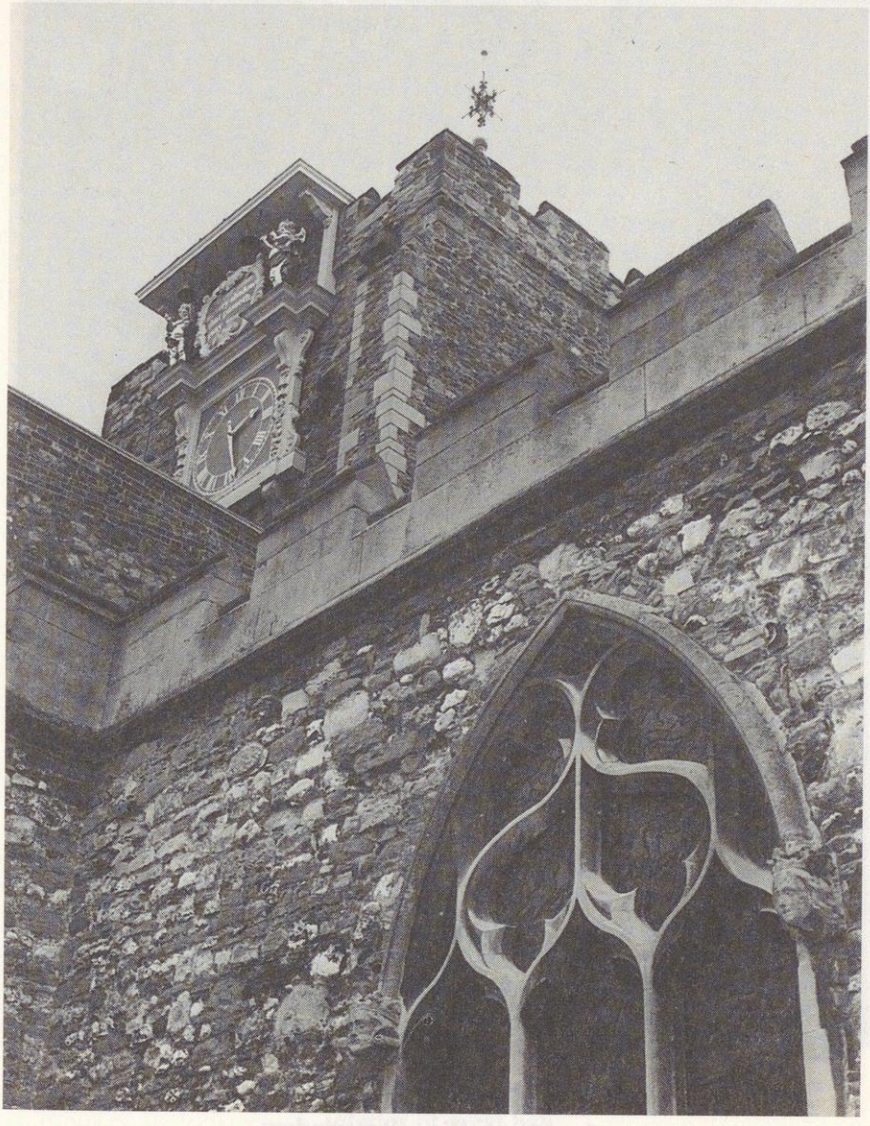
achieved a priory's independence — was a certain Edward Selley, a London convert from the Anglican faith; but he was succeeded by the first prior, Richard O'Gorman, a Wexford man, who had already worked in Hoxton, his Order's pioneering post-Reformation parish in England. Even there, O'Gorman had shown enthusiasm for mediaeval English Augustinian history, and had spent many hours at 'Austin Friars', drawn there by its surviving monumental inscriptions, marking the tombs of London citizens and recording their charitable gifts. O'Gorman's strenuous parochial life at Hythe did not preclude the pursuit of his historian's and archaeologist's interests (he is the author of *Haymo of Hythe*[15], the biography of the son of the Cinque Port who became bishop of Rochester, and who designated his family's home, still standing, to receive and tend the town's poor and indigent). He lost little time before visiting Rye Austin Friars, and immediately he recognized in the 'sollar' or 'solar' window, extending from the ground to the roof, so that it could provide daylight for the high hall, an exact copy of another in the London Austin chapel which he had come to know so well[16]. The window in St. Mary's at Rye, erected in the fifteenth century, is quite evidently modelled on that in the local Austin Friars.

Although O'Gorman never published this find, later events have shown it as a happy one, for want of which the character of the Rye windows could now be forgotten, because the London Austin Friars as he had known it no longer exists. During the Second World War it was destroyed by bombing — and though the Dutch community erected a second church on the devastated site, the mediaeval glories are now gone forever. O'Gorman could not know what service he had performed for English Augustinian history — had he foreseen this, he would have rejoiced, for during his years in South-Eastern England he became known to his compatriots as 'more English than the English', not, from them, necessarily a right-handed compliment. Yet we today can be glad that the footsteps which he left upon the sands of time are not obliterated.

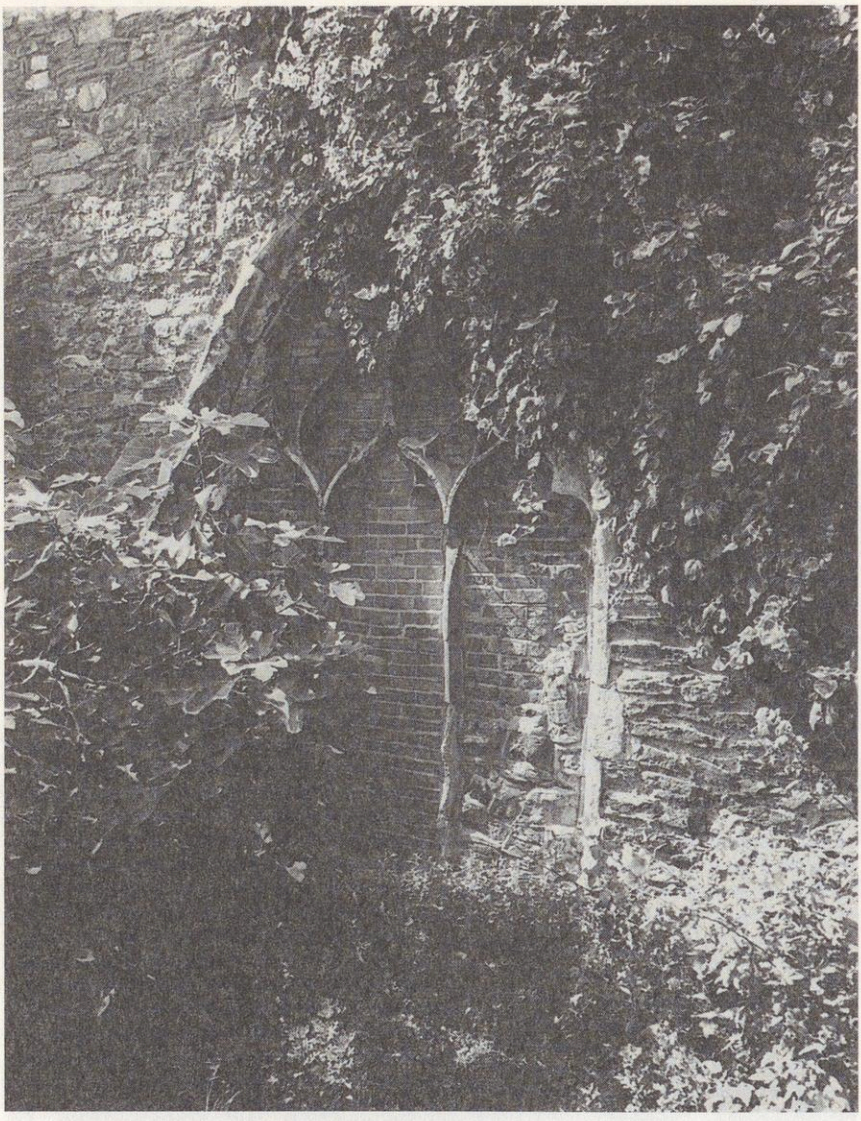
Hythe Edmund COLLEDGE, O.S.A.

[15] London, 1895.

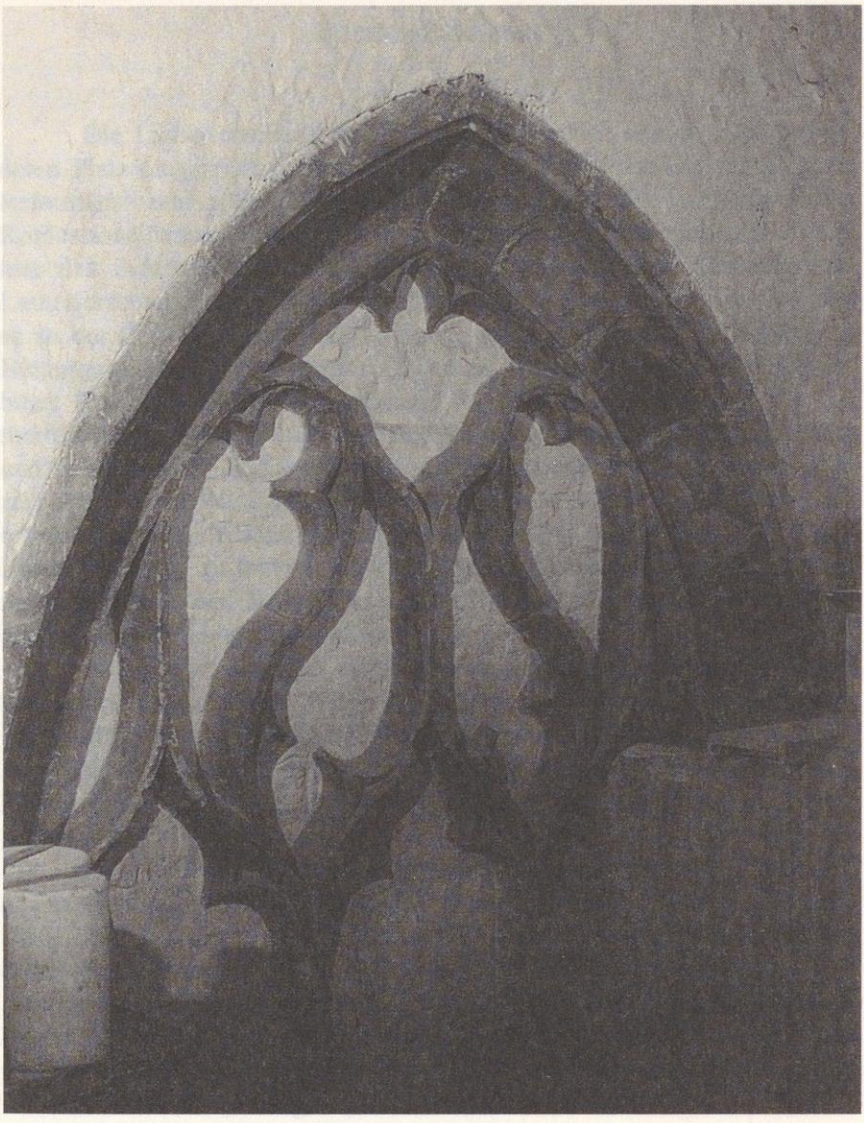
[16] I am obliged to the Revd Heuk van Waveren, now minister of the Dutch Church in London, for information concerning the bombing disaster which destroyed the old Austin Friars. Regrettably, the camera which took the Historical Monuments photograph (supra, n.2) was set to face the east end, so that the window in the south wall which O'Gorman had identified with that at Rye cannot be discerned.



St. Mary's, Rye
14th-century window
stonework much restored
but showing tracery and glazing (modern)
(photograph: Brian Graves).



Austin Friars, Rye
the great hall's sollar window
seen full length from exterior
(photograph: Brian Graves).



Austin Friars, Rye
interior of great hall
showing rendered tracery of
sollar window.
(photograph: Brian Graves).

LUTHER-BULLETIN

Die Lutherforschung hat in den Niederlanden immer einen besonderen Platz eingenommen. Sie war nie allein Sache der Lutheraner, auch Reformierte und später Katholiken spielten dabei eine wichtige Rolle. Konfessionalismus ist dieser Forschung fremd, Interkonfessionalität scheint hier das Schlüsselwort zu sein. Die "Interkonfessionelle Arbeitsgruppe Lutherforschung", die im Luther-Jubiläumsjahr 1983 entstand, meinte, daß es an der Zeit sei, diesen interkonfessionellen Aspekt durch die jährliche Herausgabe eines bulletins zum Tragen zu bringen. Das "Luther-Bulletin" bietet Raum sowohl für die nationale als auch für die internationale Lutherforschung. Zugleich soll in nächster Zukunft auch jungen Forschern und Forscherinnen die Gelegenheit gegeben werden, ihre ersten Ergebnisse zu publizieren. Die erste Ausgabe erschien im September 1992. Darin sind sowohl Niederländische als Deutsche Beiträge (u.a. Gerhard Ebeling, Otto-Hermann Pesch) zu finden. Die Themen sind abwechselungsreich: von der frage "Warum bleibt Luther faszinierend?" bis zu "Luthers Sicht des Paradieses", um nur einige zu erwähnen.

Im Vorwort skizziert die Redaktion die Linie der niederländischen Lutherforschung: Luthers Theologie soll für die verschiedenen Konfessionen durch ein gemeinschaftliches Studium fruchtbar gemacht werden. Ferner wird festgestellt, daß die Forschung in den Niederlanden durch eine Kombination von historischer und systematischer Annäherung an Luther geprägt ist.

Das Bulletin soll einmal jährlich erscheinen (im September) mit einem Umfang von 96 Seiten. Der Abonnementspreis wird rd. Fl. 20,- (BFR 360) betragen. Wer die erste Ausgabe kennenlernen möchte, kann diese gratis bestellen bei der Abonnementsabteilung, s. Hd. Drs. T.H.M. Akerboom, Groesbeekseweg 64, NL-6524 DG Nijmegen. Abschließend lassen wir noch einmal die Redaktion zu Wort kommen: "Vor allem hoffen wir, unsere Leser davon zu überzeugen, daß eine Beschäftigung mit Luther und seiner Theologie noch immer lohnenswert ist."

Ontvangen boeken - Livres reçus

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Bibliographie Historique de l'Ordre de Saint-Augustin 1989-1993

Avec des compléments des années antérieures

Depuis que notre confrère estimé et fondateur de cette revue, Norbertus Teeuwen, commença à publier en 1952 les données bibliographiques — rassemblées depuis 1945 — concernant l'histoire de l'Ordre des augustins[1] et qu'après sa mort en 1973, nous avons pu continuer son travail, le matériel s'est considérablement accru. En 40 ans la *Bibliographie Historique de l'Ordre de Saint-Augustin*, grâce à l'apport de nombreux collaborateurs, a acquis une place fixe parmi les répertoires bibliographiques.

La nouvelle série que nous offrons aux lecteurs et qui couvre la période qui va de 1989 jusqu'au mois de mai 1993, avec des compléments des années antérieures, est de nouveau plus étendue que celle publiée en 1989.

La division de la bibliographie est restée inchangée et la numérotation continue celle des séries précédentes[2]. Nous avons de nouveau ajouté un vaste registre pour faciliter la recherche des personnes, des lieux et de certaines matières.

Enfin, nous tenons à remercier tous ceux qui nous procurent régulièrement des données pour la bibliographie, nommément nos confrères Benedict Hackett (Birmingham), Joseph Van Houtem (Louvain), Rafael Lazcano (Madrid), Francis X. Martin (Dublin), Fernando Rojo (Rome), John Rotelle (Villanova, USA), Paulus Sladek (Zwiesel), Adolar Zumkeller (Würzburg), nos amis les Professeurs Kasper Elm (Berlin) et Manuel Augusto Rodrigues (Coimbra) et les employés de la Bibliothèque Universitaire d'Utrecht.

Eindhoven (Pays-Bas) ALBÉRIC DE MEIJER O.S.A.

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[2] *Augustiniana* 26 (1976), 39-440 (nos 1-2841); 28 (1978), 448-516 (nos 2842-3224); 31 (1981), 5-159 (nos 3225-4198); 35 (1985), 5-192 (nos 4199-5370) et 39 (1989), 189-392 (nos 5371-6686). Les bibliographies sont en vente comme tirés-à-part à l'administration de la revue: Pakenstraat 109, B-3001 Heverlee-Louvain (Belgique).

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6924 — Les augustins d'Alsace dans la tourmente révolutionnaire. Langres, Guériot 1990 (128, ill.).

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6943 *Tipperary, history and society.* Interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county, ed. by W. NOLAN and Th.G. MCGRATH. Dublin, Geography Publications, 1985 (XVI-493).

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6944 MARTIN, Francis Xavier OSA, Murder in a Dublin monastery, 1379. — *Keimelia.* Studies in medieval archaeology and history in memory of Tom DELANEY, ed. by G.Mac NIOCAILL and P.F. WALLACE. Galway, University Press, 1988, 468-498.

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6948 *Gli Agostiniani e le Marche.* Ricerca sulle fonti. Catalogo Biblioteca Egidiana. Tolentino, Biblioteca Egidiana, 1988 (107, ill.).
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6952 GATTI PERER, Maria Luisa, Ornamento e simbolo. La decorazione pittorica nei conventi dell'Osservanza agostiniana: esempi lombardi. — *Arte cristiana* 78 (Milano 1990), 143-160, 27 ill.

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6958 RUBINSTEIN, Nicolai, "Reformation" und Ordensreform in italienischen Stadtrepubliken und Signorien. — *Reformbemühungen* (voir le no. 7273), 521-538.

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6960 VAUCHEZ, André, Ordini mendicanti e società italiana (XIII-XV secolo). Milano, Mondadori-Il Saggiatore, 1990 (321).
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6961 WALSH, Katherine, La congregazione riformata di Monte Ortone nel Veneto. — *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 43 (Roma 1989), 80-100.

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6962 De SANTIS, A., Ascoli nel Trecento , II: 1350-1400. Ascoli Piceno, De Santis, 1988 (593).

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6963 *Diocesi di Bergamo*, a cura di A. CAPRIOLI e.a. (Storia religiosa della Lombardia, 2). Brescia, La Scuola, 1988 (370, ill., cartes).

6964 *Codici e incunaboli miniati della Biblioteca Civica di Bergamo*. Ed. promossa dal Credito Bergamasco. Cinisello Balsamo (Milano), 1989 (495, ill.).
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6965 FRATTINI, Adriano, Gli incunaboli miniati della "Angelo Mai" appartenuti ai conventi di S. Agostino e di S. Stefano [des Dominicains]. — *Bergomum* 82 (1987), 27-92, ill.
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6966 FUMAGALLI, Corrado, S. Agostino di Bergamo. La storia e l'arte della chiesa e dei conventi di Bergamo, Nembro, Almenno, Romano. Villa di Serio (Bergamo), Ed. Villadiseriane, 1990 (210, ill.).

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6967 FAIETTI, Marzia, Un Aspertini inedito: gli affreschi di San Giacomo a Bologna. — *Itinerari*. Contributi alla storia dell'arte in memoria di Maria Luisa FERRARI, tome 3-4 (Firenze, S.P.E.S., 1984-86), 33-48, 21 ill.
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6968 MARCHI, Alessandro, Notizia di Antonio da Crevalcore in un documento sulla chiesa di San Giacomo Maggiore di Bologna. — *Paragone*, n.s. 42, no. 26-27 (Firenze 1991), 79-95, planches 75-80.
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6969 MARR, Thorsten, Die Erlösungsallegorie von Lorenzo Costa in S.

Giacomo Maggiore in Bologna. — *Zeitschrift f. Kunstgesch.* 54 (München 1991), 510-540, 14 ill.

6970 PICININI, Francesca, Uno scultore quercesco-donatelliano ad Adria. — *Ricerche di storia dell'arte* 30 (1986), 99-103, 5 ill. Summary in English.

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6971 ROLI, Renato, Due disegni di Pellegrino Tibaldi. — *Paragone* 38 (Firenze 1987), 34-6, 2 ill.

Attribution à Tibaldi de 2 dessins, dans une collection privée, d'une scène bachique et de S. Élisabeth avec une servante, identifiés comme dessins préparatoires d'une fresque dans la chapelle Poggi de l'église S. Giacomo à Bologna.

6971a STAGNI, Simonetta, Alcuni ampliamenti per Ercole Banci. — *Paragone* 41 (Firenze 1990), 93-99, 14 ill.

'Attributes a Madonna and Child attributed to the school of Francia in the Lehman collection (New York, Metropolitan Museum) to Banci and studies frescoes by him in the Bentivoglio Chapel in S. Giacomo, Bologna, together with other works' (BHA).

Bombile d'Ardore

6972 MONTELEONE, Maria Carmela, Il santuario della Grotta in Bombile d'Ardore. Ardore, Arti grafiche edizioni, 1990 (109).

"Particolare attenzione alla committenza artistica, l'A. traccia la storia di questo santuario rupestre (dioc. Locri-Gerace) fondato nel 1507 da un frate agostiniano" (RSCI).

Borgo San Sepolcro

6973 BANKER, James R., Piero della Francesca's S. Agostino altar-piece; some new documents. — *Burlington Magazine* 129 (London 1987), 645-51, 2 ill.

'Discusses the identity of the apostles in the polyptych, once in S. Agostino, Sansepolcro. Also discussed is the final payment of the altar-piece in May 1470 (rather than 1469) based on new documents published in four appendices' (RILA).

6974 MONTAGNO, D.M., Codicografia servitana, 14. Su libro corale duecentesco di San Sepolcro: dei Servi o di altri "Agostiniani"?. — *Studi storici dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria* 38 (1988), 25-28.

Le ms. Borgo San Sepolcro, Museo Civico J. 187, daté de 1260-1265 appartenait aux augustins de cette ville.

Brescia

6975 PANAZZA, Gaetano, Il convento agostiniano di San Barnaba a Bres-

cia e gli affreschi della libreria. Brescia, La Scuola, 1990 (157, ill. en majeure partie en couleurs).

Petite histoire du couvent, de l'église et description des fresques (1490) de la bibliothèque, restaurées en 1928/29 et 1974/75, qui représentent "le magistère universel de St. Augustin" et plusieurs théologiens de l'ordre. *Crema*, couvent St. Augustin, fresques du réfectoire: 130-139.

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6976 CARLONE, Carmine, I Regesti delle pergamene degli Agostiniani di Buccino, a cura di C.C. Altavilla Silentina (SA), Ed. studi storici meridionali, 1991 (LVIII-336, ill.).

Cartoceto

6977 *Una presenza... Agostiniani a Cartoceto*. Cartoceto, Convento S. Maria del Soccorso, 1992 (21, 18 ill. en couleurs).

"Album amicorum" pour le sculpteur *Stefano Pigini* OSA à l'occasion de son 50e anniversaire sacerdotal, avec des notices historiques sur le couvent.

Città del Vaticano

6978 JOANNES PAULUS PP. II, Chirographum quo Archipresbyter S. Petri Vicarius in spiritualibus Summi Pontificis pro territorio Civitatis Vaticanae constituitur (14.1.1991). — *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 83 (Città del Vaticano 1991), 147-148.

Sur la paroisse Ste Anne, Città del Vaticano, et les augustins gardiens de la Sacristie Pontificale. Par ce chirographe l'office du Sacriste du Pape, confié à l'ordre des augustins depuis 1352, et celui de son vicaire pour la Cité du Vatican depuis 1929, ont pris fin.

Città di Castello

6979 *Chiese e conventi* degli ordini mendicanti in Umbria nei sec. XIII-XIV. Inventario delle fonti archivistiche e Catalogo delle informazioni documentarie. Gli archivi ecclesiastici di *Città di Castello*, a cura di G. CASAGRANDE. (Archivi dell'Umbria. Inventari e ricerche, 14). Perugia, Ed. Protagon, 1989 (LXXXIX-236, ill., cartes).

Colle Val d'Elsa

6980 MIARELLI MARIANI, Gaetano, Alla ricerca di un autentico testo sangallesco: la basilica agostiniana di Colle Valdelsa. — *Quaderni dell'Ist. di storia dell'architettura* 1-10 (1983/87), 337-350, 20 ill., plans.

Attribue la reconstruction de S. Agostino à Antoine da Sangallo l'aîné en raison d'un système proportionnel.

Cori

6981 FIORINI, C.-PALOMBI, D., Un esempio di continuità edilizia: Il tempio e la chiesa di S. Oliva a Cori. — *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, serie III, 10 (1987), 91-128, ill.

L'ancienne église des augustins.

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6982 MECOCCI, Luigi Sergio OFM, P. Giacomo Maria Latini da Corneto (Tarquinia) 1779-1812. — *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 84 (Grottaferrata 1991), 407-449.

Les augustins de S. Marco à Corneto (Tarquinia): 409, 415, 430-31, 434-35, 437, 445.

Crema

6983 CANTONI ALZATI, G., L'erudito Tommaso Verani e la biblioteca agostiniana di Crema nel Settecento. — *Insula Fulcheria* 18 (Crema 1988), 147-189.

6984 FIORENTINI, M.L.-RADAELLI, L., L'ex Convento di S. Agostino [di Crema]. Estratto storico-architettonico. — *Insula Fulcheria* 20 (Crema 1990), 9-127, ill.

Cremona

6985 MAGGIONI, Chiara, Un episodio di cultura agostiniana alle soglie dell'Osservanza: gli affreschi della Cappella Cavalcabò in S. Agostino a Cremona. — *Arte lombarda* 84-85 (Milano 1988), 33-46, 15 ill.

'Downgrades the role of Giovanna Cavalcabò in the commission and suggests that the Augustinians determined the iconography, centered on the Assumption of the Virgin. Reconstructs lost parts of the cycle with the aid of a previously unpublished 17th century description' (RILA).

Dasà

6986 TRIPODI, A., La storia cinque volte secolare della chiesa della Consolazione di Dasà. — *Calabria sconosciuta* 12 (1989), 111-18.

Empoli

6987 SIEMONI, Walfredo, La chiesa ed il convento di S. Stefano degli Agostiniani a Empoli. Castelfiorentino, Soc. Storica della Valdelsa, 1986 (295, 37 ill., plans).

Fano

6988 De BLASI, Elisabetta, La chiesa di S. Agostino e il suo complesso scultoreo: proposte per una nuova ricerca. — *Nuovi studi fanesi* 3 (1988), 137-163, ill.

L'église à Fano remonte au XVe siècle.

Firenze

6989 BRIDGEMAN, Jane, Filippino Lippi's Neri altarpiece: a new date. — *Burlington Magazine* 130 (London 1988), 668-71, 2 ill.

'Argues that the altarpiece, Virgin and Child with SS. John the Baptist, Martin of Tours and Catherine of Alexandria (Florence, Church of S. Spirito), commemorates Tanei de' Nerli's mission, as a Florentine ambassador to Charles VIII in 1494. The traditional date has been the late 1480s' (BHA).

6990 BRUCKER, Gene Adam, Monasteries, friaries, and nunneries in Quattrocento Florence. — *Christianity and the Renaissance* (voir le no. 6692), 41-62.

6991 GRISWOLD, William, A drawing by Cosimo Rosselli. — *Burlington Magazine* 129 (London 1987), 514-16, 3 ill.

'Attributes the drapery study (Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence), probably for the figure of St. Thomas, in a painting, 1482, in the church of *S. Spirito* to Rosselli' (RILA).

6992 HÖFLER, Janez, New light on Andrea Sansovino's journey to Portugal. — *The Burlington Magazine* 134 (London 1992), 234-38.

Firenze, S. Spirito, la chapelle Corbinelli: 234-35.

6993 LISNER, Margrit, Andrea Sansovino und die Sakramentskapelle der Corbinelli mit Notizen zum alten Chor von Santo Spirito in Florenz. — *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 50 (1987), 207-274, 51 ill.

'Analyzes Sansovino's sculptural decoration for the chapel in S. Spirito commissioned by the Corbinelli family and executed 1491-94. Appended note on the fragments of the old S. Spirito choir stalls which are now in the sacristy of S. Domenico, Fiesole' (RILA).

6994 MIGLIO, Luisa, Un nome per tre epitaffi: Coluccio Salutati e gli elogi funebri dei Corsini. — *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 26 (1983), 361-74, 4 ill.

Identification de Salutati comme auteur des épitaphes des tombeaux de Thomas Corsini et de Neri Corsini dans S. Spirito à Firenze.

6995 PADOA RIZZO, Anna, Agnolo di Donnino: nuovi documenti, le fonti

e la possibile identificazione con il Maestro di Santo Spirito. — *Rivista d'arte* 40 (1988), 125-168, 30 ill.

'Discusses previously unpublished documents that confirm Agnolo's participation, as part of the workshop of Bernardo di Stefano Rosselli in the frescoes of the ospedale di Bonifazio, Florence. Tentatively identifies the workshop of A. and his brother Donnino as the "Master of S. Spirito", the painter of the altarpiece of S. Bartholomew in S. Spirito, Florence, and related works. Appendix of documents' (RILA).

6996 *Piante di popoli e strade*. Capitani di parte guelfa 1580-1595, a cura di Giuseppe PANSINI (Archivio di Stato di Firenze), 2 vols. Firenze, Olschki, 1989 (652, 574 facs. en couleurs).

6997 PILLIOD, E., Le Noli me tangere de Bronzino et la décoration de la chapelle Cavalcanti de l'église Santo Spirito à Florence. — *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 41 (Paris 1991), 50-61.

6998 PIZZIGONI, A., Brunelleschi. Bologna, Zanichelli, 1989 (192, ill.).

Brunelleschi architecte de l'église Santo Spirito.

Foligno

6999 MARINELLI, Bruno, Il portale di San Nicolò. — *Bollettino storico della città di Foligno* 10 (1986), 413-421.

7000 — Il libro dei morti di San Nicolò di Foligno (1680-1773). — *Bollettino storico della città di Foligno* 12 (1988), 259-267.

7001 — La soppressione delle corporazioni religiose in Foligno nel 1860 e il convento agostiniano di San Nicolò. — *Storia Religiosa e Civile Folignate*. In occasione del Sinodo Diocesano miscellanea 1 (Foligno 1990), 205-243.

Genazzano

7002 CHORHERR, Edith, Genazzano. — *Marienlexikon* II (voir le no. 6728), 613-14.

7003 MÜCKERSHOFF-GOY, Barbara, Guter Rat. Maria vom Guten Rat. — *Marienlexikon* 3 (St. Ottilien 1991), 64.

7004 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Mutter vom Guten Rat. — *Marienlexikon* 4 (St. Ottilien 1992), 552-53.

Genova

7005 AUSSERHOFER, Marta, Archivnotizen zu Gioacchino Assereto und anderen Genueser Malern des 17. Jahrhunderts. — *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 35 (Firenze 1991), 337-356, 4 ill.

P. 337: Im Pfarrarchiv von S. Giacomo Maggiore, im Register Mortuorum des Jahres 1650 unter dem 29. Juli, "Die predicta 29 iulii 1650 Joachinus Axeretus q. etatis

annorum 48 pictor insignis heri munitus Sacramentis ecclesie adstante me fratre *Aurelio Augustino Cella de Genoa* ultimum diem clausi[t] et hodie sepultus fuit in ecclesia Sancti Augustini".

P. 355, n. 7: Nach Niccolò Perasso (Ms. 839, Staatsarchiv Genua, S. 66-80) erhielten die Augustinermönche der Kongregation der Lombardei die im Jahre 1414 errichtete Pfarrkirche San Giacomo Maggiore 1508 von Kardinal Bandinello Sauli zum Geschenk und übten seit 1516 dort ihre pastorale Tätigkeit aus. Dagegen wurde die ehemalige Augustinerkirche nahe der Piazza Sarzano 1260 durch die Kongregation der Augustiner der Toskana errichtet, (cf. N. Perasso, Ms. 842, Staatsarchiv Genua, S. 129-134); n. 8: Von der besonderen Verbundenheit Asseretos [1600-1650] mit den Augustinern hatte man bisher keine Kenntnis; die überlieferten Arbeiten (die Fresken der Cappella dei Cinturati in der Augustinerkirche, in der er begraben ist, die Malereien im Kloster der Agostiniani Scalzi in San Nicola, und das Gemälde des hl. *Augustinus* und der hl. *Monica* im Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis) hätten allein nicht ausgereicht ein solche Behauptung aufzustellen.

P. 345: In: Inventarium... bonorum relictorum per D. Joachinum Axeretum [31 iul. 1650]: ... "Il ritratto del Priore di S. Agostino".

7006 CENCI, Cesare OFM, Ad Bullarium Sixti IV supplementum. — *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 83 (Grottaferrata 1990), 491-535.

P. 528 (= n. 83): "Breve 1476, nov. 14, Romae. Domus ordinum mendicantium Ianuen., intercedente fr. Stephano de Ianua ordinis Servorum, insimul solvant 50 ducatos dumtaxat pro subsidio imposito civitatis." e.a. *conventus S. Augustini, conventus S. Mariae de Cella OESA*.

7007 FRANCHINI GUELFI, Fausta, Altari genovesi del Settecento. — *Antichità viva* 25 (1986), 33-40, 9 ill.

'Sur la chapelle Torré à l'église de N. Signora della Consolazione avec des fresques de Paolo Gerolamo Piola et un grandiose groupe en marbre sur l'autel par Bernardo Schiaffino' (RAA).

7008 WOLK, Linda, The *Pala Baciadonne* by Perino del Vaga. — *Studies in the History of Art* 18 (1985), 29-57, 20 ill.

'Proposes that Perino's 1534 altarpiece representing the *Adoration of the Infant Iesus* (National Gallery of Art, Washington) painted for the Baciadonne Chapel in the original *church of S. Maria della Consolazione, Genoa*, was created to celebrate the newly attained noble status of the B. family. Proposes that the altarpiece was the central devotional immage in what was the family mortuary chapel; and suggests that Perino's fresco of the *Lamentation* (present church of S. Maria della Consolazione, Genoa) may have been part of the Baciadonne Chapel decorative cycle with the *Adoration of the Infant Iesus* hanging over it' (RILA).

Gravedona

7009 PESCARMONA, D., Tre temi di iconografia mariana a S. Maria delle Grazie di Gravedona. — *Arte Lombarda* 90-91 (Milano 1989), 81-85, 7 ill.

7010 ROVETTA, Alessandro, S. Maria delle Grazie a Gravedona e la cultura osservante nell'Alto Lazio. — *Arte lombarda* 76-77 (Milano 1986), 89-100, 11 ill.

Les fresques 'Le couronnement de *S. Nicolas de Tolentino*' et 'Le martyre de S.

Agatha', données à Domenico Pezzi dans l'église de Gravedona sont discutées à la lumière des influences exercées par la communauté augustinienne locale.

Inzago

7011 *Monasterolo di Inzago* (1489-1989). Raccolta di documenti. Milano-Inzago 1989 (151, ill.).

Lecceto

Lecceto e gli eremi agostiniani in terra di Siena. Ideazione e realizzazione delle immagini Corrado FANTI. Monte dei Paschi di Siena. Cinisello Balsamo (Milano), Pizzi, 1990 (576, ill., facs., cartes).

Contenu: REDON, Odile, L'eremo, la città e la foresta: 9-43; HACKETT, Benedict OSA, Cinque eremi agostiniani nei dintorni di Siena [*S. Leonardo al Lago, Rosia, Montespecchio, Lecceto, Monticiano*]: 45-72; RADAN, George, Gli eremi nell'area senese: una prospettiva archeologica: 73-95; HACKETT, Benedict OSA-RADAN, George, Significato degli affreschi nel chiostro e nel portico di Lecceto: 97-113; FRANCHINA, Letizia, Il convento di Lecceto: crescita di un organismo: 117-178; FARGNOLI, Narcisa, La chiesa di San Salvatore nel Trecento: 181-209; ALESSI, Cecilia, I cicli monocromi di Lecceto: nuove proposte per vecchi problemi: 211-246; GUIDUCCI, Anna Maria, L'Eremo nelle transformazioni rinascimentali: 247-262; MARTINI, Laura, Il rinnovamento decorativo del convento nel Seicento e nel Settecento: 263-286; CORNICE, Alberto, *San Leonardo al Lago*. Gli affreschi di Lippo Vanni: 287-308; ALESSI, Cecilia, La Crocifissione di Giovanni di Paolo [a S. Leonardo]: 300-314; BRANDI, Cesare, *Monticiano*. Gli affreschi di Bartolo di Fredi e Guidoccio Cozzarelli: 315-328; VAILATI SCHOENBURG WALDENBURG, Grazia, La libreria di coro di Lecceto: 329-572.

7013 HACKETT, Benedict OSA, Lecceto: The monastery and its economy by 1650, Part II. — *Analecta Augustiniana* 53 (Roma 1990), 297-328.

Continuation du no. 5702.

7014 *The Letters of St. Catherine of Siena*, vol. 1, Transl. with introduction and notes by Suzanne NOFFKE OP (Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 52). Binghamton, N.Y., MRTS, 1988 (XIV-450).

Édition de 88 lettres (1374-76).

No. 35: To Frate Guglielmo d'Inghilterra (*William Flete*) at Lecceto (1375): 120-22. *Guillaume Flete*: 1, 120, 141, 270, 313; *Jean Tantucci* (Terzo) di Lecceto: 1, 200, 253, 319, 357, 350; Fra *Nofrio* di Lecceto: 122; Fra *Stefano* di Lecceto: 122, 313; le couvent de *Lecceto*: 1, 120, 313, 374.

7015 REDON, Odile, Les ermites des forêts siennoises (XIIIe-début XIVe s.). — *Revue Mabillon*, n.s. 1 (Ligugé, Vienne 1990), 213-242, 1 carte).

7016 VAILATI SCHOENBURG WALDENBURG, Grazia, Un Innario senese del 1415: il Ms Add. 30014 del British Museum. — *La miniatura italiana tra gotico e Rinascimento*. Atti del II Congresso di storia

della miniatura italiana, Cortona 24-26 sett. 1982, a cura di Emanuela SESTI (Firenze, Olschki, 1985), 545-562, 11 ill.

Hymnaire fait pour les augustins de S. Salvatore de Lecceto, maintenant dans la British Library, London.

Lodi

7017 *Diocesi di Lodi*, a cura di A. CAPRIOLI e.a. (Storia religiosa della Lombardia, 7). Brescia, La Scuola, 1989 (361, ill., cartes).

Matelica

7018 ANTONELLI, A., Il trattatello del Gilio e i dipinti di Ercole Ramazzani nella Chiesa di S. Agostino a Matelica. — *Studia Picena* 51 (1986), 157-181, 3 ill.

Messina

7019 PISPISA, E.-TRASSELLI, C., Messina nei secoli d'oro. Storia di una città dal Trecento al Seicento. Messina, Intilla, 1988 (624, ill.).

Milano

7020 CAPRIOLI, A.- RIMOLDI, A.- VACCARO, L. (éd), Diocesi di Milano (Storia religiosa della Lombardia, 9-10). Brescia, La Scuola, 1990 (XVI-387, 389-989, ill., cartes).

7021 Dal PINO, F., Gli ordini mendicanti e la carità. — *La Carità a Milano nei secoli XII-XV*. Atti del Convegno di studi (Milano 6-7 nov. 1987), a cura di Maria Pia Alberzoni e Onorato Grassi (Milano, Jaca Book, 1989), 79-110.

Milano (S. Marco)

7022 CIOCCARELLI, Massimo, La comunità parrocchiale di S. Marco a Milano tra Settecento e Ottocento secondo alcuni "status animarum". — *Studi e fonti di storia lombarda* n.s. 10/21-22 (1990), 120-143.

Sondage 1790-1801.

7023 RECANATI, M.G., Una crocifissione del secondo Trecento in S. Marco a Milano. Una proposta sulla committenza e sulla data. — *Arte Cristiana* 78 (Milano 1990), 3-14, 8 ill.

Milano (S. Maria Incoronata)

7024 GATTI, Sergio, Per la storia dei rapporti fra Seregno e i frati agosti-

niani del convento di S. Maria Incoronata e di S. Marco a Milano. Un primo contributo. — *I quaderni della Brianza* 12/62 (1989), 27-34, ill.

7025 GATTI PERER, Maria Luisa, Novità sulla decorazione della Biblioteca di S. Maria Incoronata a Milano, 1: preliminari; 2: il programma iconografico; 3: una proposta per la prima attività milanese di Bernardo Zenaldo. — *Arte lombarda* 86-87 (Milano 1988), 195-254, ill., plans.

'On the fresco portraits of famous Augustinians, here attributed to Zenaldo possibly with the collaboration of Bernardino Butinone. Includes a detailed chronology and information on the restoration in progress' (RILA).

7026 PATETTA, A., S. Maria Incoronata. — *L'architettura del Quattrocento a Milano* (Milano 1988), 83-91.

Modena

7027 MANICARDI, A., La chiesa di S. Agostino in Modena: alcune indagini sulle strutture e sulle vicende edilizie. — *Atti e memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le antiche province modenesi* 9 (1987), 261-286.

Monte San Savino

7028 CENTRODI, Giuliano, L'inedito tesoretto di argenti nella chiesa di S. Agostino a Monte San Savino. — *Notizie da Palazzo Albani* 16 (1987), 111-120, 16 ill.

Objets liturgiques en argent provenant de divers ateliers italiens (17e-19e s.).

Napoli

7029 ABBATE, Francesco, Ancora sulla cappella Caracciolo di Vico in San Giovanni a Carbonara a Napoli. — *Prospettiva.* Rivista di storia dell'arte antica e moderna, n. 53-56 (Scritti in ricordo di Giovanni Previtali). (Siena 1988-89), 362-66, 8 ill.

7030 CAMIZ, Franca Trinchieri, Augustinian musical education and redemption in the fifteenth-century Caracciolo del Sole Chapel, Naples. — *Imago musicae* 5 (1988), 41-64, 22 ill.

'Examines the significance of an unusual scene with two friars and an angel playing a clavichord, bells, and a psaltery in accompaniment to the silent prayer of a third friar, from fresco decorations by Perrinetto di Maffeo da Benevento, commissioned by the Caracciolo del Sole family in *S. Giovanni a Carbonara Naples*... presents evidence concerning the importance of music and musical education at the monastery and concludes that the funerary chapel served as a choir' (RILA).

7031 MIGLIACCIO, Luciano, I rapporti fra Italia meridionale e penisola

iberica nel primo Cinquecento attraverso gli ultimi studi: bilancio e prospettive, II: la scultura. — *Storia dell'arte* 64 (1988), 225-231, 10 ill.

'Reviews recent literature on the work of Spanish sculptors in Naples, especially the problem of conflicting attributions (to Bartolomé Ordonez, Diego de Siloe, and Girolamo Santacroce) in the altar of the Cappella Caracciolo di Vico in *S. Giovanni a Carbonara*' (RILA).

7032 NICHOLS, Charlotte F., The Caracciolo di Vico chapel in Naples and early cinquecento architecture (Diss. New York Univ. 1988, 431 pp). — *Dissertation Abstracts International A* 50 (1989/90), 7.

La chapelle (ca. 1514) est située dans l'église S. Giovanni a Carbonara, Napoli. Le texte comprend aussi des chapitres sur l'histoire de S. Giovanni du XVe siècle.

Norcia

7033 CORDELLA, Romano, Un sodalizio tra Bartolomeo di Tommaso, Nicola da Siena, Andrea Delitio. — *Paragone* 38 (Firenze 1987), 89-122.

Transcription et analyse d'un document de 1442 sur les fresques dans l'église St. Augustin à Norcia.

Novara

7034 FERRO, Filippo Maria, Storie agostiniane di Giuseppe Nuvolone. — *Paragone* 37 (Firenze 1986), 34-40, 5 ill.

"Describes three paintings with scenes from the life of St. Augustine in S. Agostino, Novara" (RILA).

Ostia Antica

7035 FROMMEL, Christoph Luitpold, Kirche und Tempel: Giuliano della Roveres Kathedrale Sant'Aurea in Ostia. — *Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann*, hrsg. von Hans-Ulrich CAIN e.a. (Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher, 47). Mainz, Th. von Zabern, 1989, 491-505, ill.

Palermo

7036 CANCILA, O., Palermo. Bari, Laterza, 1988 (576).

Pavia

7037 MOSKOWITZ, Anita, A tale of two cities: Pavia, Milan and the arca di Sant'Agostino. — *Source*. Notes in the history of art 11 (New York, 1992), no. 2, 1-9, 3 ill.

Jacques Bussolari: 6, 8-9.

Perugia

7038 *Chiese e conventi* degli ordini mendicanti in Umbria nei secoli XIII e XIV. Inventario delle fonti archivistiche e Catalogo delle informazioni bibliografiche. La serie Protocolli dell'Archivio notarile di *Perugia*, a cura di M.I. BOSSA. Perugia, Regione Umbra - Ed. Umbra Cooperativa, 1987 (XXVII-289, ill.).

7039 MARINELLI, Bruno, Santa Maria Novella in Perugia e le origini della Congregazione perugina dell'Ordine di S. Agostino. — *Analecta Augustiniana* 55 (Roma 1992), 287-327.

Le couvent, déjà existant avant 1400, fut remis aux augustins 1421/1422.

Piacenza

7040 COGHI RUGGIERO, T., La chiesa di S. Agostino di Piacenza e l'Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma. — *Parma nell'arte* (1987), 27-32, 2 ill.

'À propos du rôle joué par des professeurs de l'Académie de Parme dans le choix du projet de nouvelle façade pour l'église S. Agostino, dont la réalisation sera confiée à Camillo Morigia et les travaux menés de 1786 à 1792' (RAA).

Piazza Armerina

7041 VILLARI, Litterio, Storia ecclesiastica della città di Piazza Armerina (Biblioteca dell'Archivio storico messinese, 9). Messina, Soc. messinese di storia patria, 1988 (472).

Pisa

7042 *Per la storia della religiosità pisana.* Analisi socio-religiosa, a cura di S. BURGALASSI (Documenti e testimonianze della Chiesa pisana, 1). Pisa, Pacini, 1987 (X-435).

Prato

7043 *Prato*, storia di una città, a cura di G. CHERUBINI, I: Ascesa e declino del centro medievale (dal Mille al 1494), 2 vols. Firenze; Commune di Prato, Le Monnier, 1991 (XXI-1076 et 226 pl.).

Roma

7044 GILL, Meredith Jane, A French maecenas in the Roman Quattrocento: The patronage of Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville (1439-1483), 2 vols. (Ph.D. Princeton Univer., 1992, 578 pp.). — *Diss. Abstracts Intern. A* 53 (1992/93), 1.

Roma, S. Agostino; S. Maria del Popolo.

7045 HOLMES, George, Florence, Rome and the origins of the Renaissance. Oxford, Clarendon press, 1986 (XIV-273, 45 ill., 1 carte).

Les augustins: 56-7; *St. Claire de Montefalco*: 53, 62-3, 65, 67; *Simon Fidati de Cascia*: 57.

7046 TESEI, G.P., Le chiese di Roma. Roma, Anthropos, 1986 (XIII-563, ill.).

Roma (S. Agostino)

7047 GAVIN, William J., Caravaggio's *Madonna of Loreto* reconsidered. — *Source* VI/1 (Fall 1986), 20-23, 2 ill.

'Identifies an engraving of the Adoration of the Magi by Cherubino Alberti, 1574, after a lost cartoon by Rosso Fiorentino, as the source for the composition of Caravaggio's Madonna of Loreto (S. Agostino, Rome)' (RILA).

7048 LEIN, Edgar, Jacopo Sansovinos sogenannte "Madonna del Parto" in Rom und ihre Beziehung zur Florentiner Skulptur der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts. — *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 35 (Firenze 1991), 193-210, 14 ill.

7049 MONTEVECCHI, B., Sant'Agostino (Le chiese di Roma, nuova serie, 17). Roma, Ist. Naz. di Studi Romani, 1985.

7050 PAMPALONE, Antonella, Inediti e nuove precisazioni sul fondo dei disegni di Luigi Vanvitelli a Caserta. — *Carlo Marchionni, architettura, decorazione e scenografia contemporanea*, ed. Elisa DEBENEDETTI. Roma, Multigrafica, 1988, 321-333, 16 ill.

'Discusses several drawings in the collection of Vanvitelli drawings in deposit in the Reggia (Palazzo Reale), Caserta, including two preparatory drawings for an altar and a portal in S. Agostino, Roma' (BHA).

7051 RUSSO, Laura, Per Marcello Venusti, pittore lombardo. — *Bollettino d'arte*, serie VI, no. 64 (Roma 1990), 1-26, ill.

Sur les fresques de Venusti (ca. 1512-1579) dans la Cappella Mutini à S. Agostino, Roma: 4-5, 9, 17, 3 ill.

7052 AMIET, Robert, Inventaire des manuscrits liturgiques conservés dans les bibliothèques et les archives de Rome. — *Scriptorium* 39 (Bruxelles 1985), 109-118.

E.a. 62 mss de la Biblioteca Angelica.

7053 CAVALLI, Margherita-TERLIZZI, Fiammetta, Legature di pregio in Angelica secoli XV-XVII. Roma, Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali — Biblioteca Angelica, 1991 (XXI-125, ill.).

Catalogue de 50 livres à reliure précieuse.

No. 1: *Paolo Nicoletti (di Venezia* OSA), In libros Aristotelis De anima explanatio (Ms 1595 s. XV); no. 13: *Ambrogio Calepino* OSA, Vocabularum thesaurus copio-

sissimus (1523); no. 19: *Constitutiones OESA* (1551); no. 28: *Raffaele Pasini*, Iconum S.P. Augustini aliorumque Sanctorum ac venerabilium Patrum Eremitarum (Ms 1267, s. XVII); no. 29: Giuseppe Bonafede, I Chigi Augusti (Ms M.5.15, 1660), provenance *Henri de Noris*; no. 32: *Officia propria sanctorum OESA* (1641); no. 48: *S. Thomas de Villanova*, Conciones in dominicis totius anni (1760); no. 50: *Gaspar de san Agustín*, Hieromelissa rhytmica (Ms.s.XVIII).

7054 CECCARELLI, Maria Grazia, Vocis et animarum pinacothecae. Cataloghi di biblioteche private dei secoli XVII-XVIII nei fondi dell' Angelica. Roma, Biblioteca Angelica, 1990 (XXII-326, facs.).

Recueil de catalogues de vente publique de bibliothèques privées, dont 45 provenant de France, 32 d'Allemagne, 3 de Suisse, 18 d'Italie, 75 des Pays-Bas, 4 de Danemark, 1 de Pologne et 10 d'Angleterre.

Angelico Aprosio: 124-7, 170-5; *Ange Rocca*: 168-70; couvent des *augustins de Paris*: 63, 185-6.

7055 DELGADO de HOYOS, F., Tres tesis "de ordine" del catedrático de la Universidad Complutense, maestro Juan de Medina, en el Ms. 512 de la Biblioteca Angélica de Roma. — *Anthologia Annua* 37 (1990), 355-361.

7056 HAMMOND BAMMEL, Caroline P., Der Römerbriefkommentar des Origenes. Kritische Ausgabe der Uebersetzung Rufins, Buch 1-3 (Vetus Latina. Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel, 16). Freiburg, Herder, 1990 (264).

P. 9: *Roma, Bibl. Angelica*, Ms. 1873 (s. XV), ff. 157; p. 10: Bordeaux, Bibl. Municipale Ms. 56 (s. XI), ff. 189, provenance: *Couvent OSA Bordeaux*.

7057 MUNAFÒ, Paola - MURATORE, Nicoletta, La Biblioteca Angelica. Roma, Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali - Biblioteca Angelica, 1989 (85, ill.).

7058 MURATORE, Nicoletta-MUNAFÒ, Paola, Immagini di città, raccolte da un frate agostiniano alla fine del XVI secolo. Roma, Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali - Biblioteca Angelica, 1991 (191, 77 ill.).

Cartes et vues de villes italiennes en manuscrit, recueillies par *Ange Rocca OSA*, fondateur de la Biblioteca Angelica pendant les années 1583-1584. Une partie se trouve dans la même bibliothèque, l'autre dans les *Archives Générales* de l'Ordre de St. Augustin à Rome.

7059 PALAIA, Annamaria-MOSCATELLI, Loana, Biblioteca Angelica. La collezione bodoniana. Catalogo. Roma, Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali - Biblioteca Angelica, 1987 (129, 8 ill.).

L'initiateur de cette collection fut *Augustin Giorgi* (1711-1797).

7060 SERRAI, Alfredo, Una scoperta sensazionale all'Angelica: da Gesner a Passionei a Scheuchzer. — *Il Bibliotecario* no. 7-8 (1986), 81-103.

7061 VIAN, Paolo, I codici fiorentini e romani della "Lectura super Apocalipsim" di Pietro di Giovanni Olivi (con un codice di Tedaldo

della Casa ritrovato). — *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 83 (Grottaferrata 1990), 463-489.

Roma, Bibl. Angelica, Ms. 382: 481-489.

Roma (S. Maria del Popolo)

7062 *S. Maria del Popolo in Roma.* Cenni storici ed illustrazioni dell'intervento di restauro sulla facciata. Roma, Technicon, 1989 (73, 26 ill.).

7063 BELLINI, Paolo, La nascita della Vergine: un disegno perduto di Giulio Romano. — *Grafica dell'arte 1990*, no. 2, 28-33, 9 ill.

'Traces the 16th c. diffusion of the iconography of the Birth of the Virgin from Dürer and Sebastiano del Piombo (painting in S. Maria del Popolo, Rome) to Giulio's lost drawing and successive copies and engravings after it' (BHA).

7064 BENTIVOGLIO, Enzo, La Cappella Chigi: l'immagine ritrovata del secondo pannello bronzeo del monumento di Agostino; gli inediti precedenti artistici del mosaicista Luigi (da Pace) veneziano ed altre considerazioni. — *Raffaello a Roma.* Il Convegno del 1983 (Roma, Ed. dell'Elefante, 1986), 309-314, 7 ill.

'Proposes that a bronze relief of Cupid attributed to the school of Donatello (Chigi collection) was originally one of the reliefs on Raphael's tomb for Agostino Chigi in the Cappella Chigi, S. Maria del Popolo, Roma. Interprets the date 1516 in the dome of the chapel as referring to the commencement, and not completion of Pace's mosaics'. (RILA).

7065 GRAZIOLI MEDICI, Priscilla, Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century marble incrustations in Rome: the Chigi chapel. — *Princeton Raphael Symposion (1983)*: science in the service of art history, ed. by John SHEARMAN e.a.. Princeton, Univers. Press, 1990, 93-98, ill.

7066 MAGNUSSON, Cecilia, The antique sources of the Chigi chapel. — *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* 56 (1987), 135-139, 4 ill.

'Proposes several possible sources, including Villa Adriana, for Raphael's Chigi chapel (S. Maria del Popolo, Rome)' (RILA).

7067 MARINI, Maurizio, Caravaggio: Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio "pictor praestantissimus": la tragica esistenza, la raffinata cultura, il mondo sanguigno del primo Seicento, nell'iter pittorico completo di uno dei massimi rivoluzionari dell'arte di tutti i tempi. Roma, Newton Compton, 1987 (598, ill.).

Ses peintures à S. Maria del Popolo et S. Agostino.

7068 ODENTHAL, Anna Maria, Zur architektonischen Planung der Cappella Chigi bei S. Maria del Popolo. — *Raffaello a Roma* (voir le no. 7064), 305-307, 3 ill., plans.

'Notes that there were several distinct planning phrases to Raphael's project of the chapel' (RILA).

7069 RAY, Stefano, La Cappella Chigi: significato e cultura. — *Raffaello*

a Roma (voir le no. 7064), 315-321, 12 ill., diagr.

'Proposes to interpret R's Cappella Chigi as a mausoleum' (RILA).

7070 — L'esperienza architettonica di Raffaello: oltre "el paragone de li antichi". — *Studi su Raffaello*: Atti del Congresso intern. di studi, Urbino-Firenze 6-14 apr. 1984, a cura di M. Sambucco Hamoud e M.L. Strocchi (Urbino, Quattro Venti, 1987), 213-227, 8 ill.

E.a. sur la Cappella Chigi à S. Maria del Popolo.

7071 SCHULZE, Sabine, Antikes Vorbild in barockem Pathos: Bernini's Daniel in der Löwengrube. — *Antikenrezeption im Hochbarock*, ed. Herbert BECK e.a. (Berlin, Mann, 1989), 173-191, 13 ill.

'Discusses the influence of the Laocoongroup on the sculpture of Bernini, particularly *Daniel* 1655 (Rome, S. Maria del Popolo)' (BHA).

7072 WEIL-GARRIS, Kathleen, Cosmological patterns in Raphael's Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo. — *Raffaello a Roma* (voir le no. 7064), 127-158, 40 ill., diagr.

'The mosaic decoration of the Cappella Chigi cupola exhibits anomalies contradicting the general view of it as a Renaissance depiction of the dome of heaven. Analysis of these irregularities makes it possible to determine what R. planned for the rest of the chapel, the practical problems of transforming an intellectual structure into a visual image, and how these difficulties led to transformations of form and meaning which obscured R's original intentions' (RILA).

Roma (S. Matteo)

7073 FERRERO, F., Nuestra Señora del Perpetuo Socorro: información bibliográfica e cronología general. — *Specilegium historicum Congregationis Ssmi. Redemptoris* 38 (Roma 1990), 455-502.

Sur la dévotion à N.D. du Secours jadis vénérée dans l'église S. Matteo des augustins à Rome.

Rovigo

7074 *Rovigo*. Ritratto di una città. Rovigo, Minelliana, 1988 (IX-297, ill.).

Sampierdareno (Genova)

7075 BRUZZONE, Gian Luigi, Il santuario di N.S. di Belvedere (OSA sec. XIII-1819) in Sampierdareno (Genova). — *Analecta Augustiniana* 56 (Roma 1993), 125-159.

San Gimignano

7076 AHL, Diana Cole, Benozzo Gozzoli's frescoes of the life of St. Augustine in San Gimignano: their meaning in context . — *Artibus et historiae* no. 13 (VII) (Firenze-Wien 1986), 35-53, ill.

7077 — Due *San Sebastiano* di Benozzo Gozzoli a San Gemignano: Un contributo al problema della pittura per la peste nel Quattrocento. — *Rivista d'arte* 40 (1988), 31-61, 6 ill.

Les deux peintures se trouvent à S. Agostino et à la Collegiata à San Gimignano.

7078 ARCHAMBAULT, Marianna M., The Iconography of St. Augustine. Gozzoli's fresco cycle in San Gimignano. — *Augustinian Studies* 20 (Villanova, Pa. 1989), 183-197, 12 ill.

7079 BARTALINI, Roberto, Felice Palma e Lorenzo Usimbardi. — *Prospettiva.* Rivista di storia dell'arte antica e moderna, no. 64 (Firenze 1991), 75-82, ill.

P.77: "Pietro Tacca, il ritratto funebre del dignitario granducale Niccolò Venerosi Pesciolini [1620], *S. Gimignano, chiesa di S. Agostino*", figg. 5-7.

7080 De BENEDICTIS, Cristina, Simone Martini a San Gimignano e una postilla per il possibile Donato. — *Simone Martini.* Atti del convegno Siena 27-29 marzo 1985, a cura di Luciano BELLOSI. Firenze, Centro Di, 1988, 187-191, 7 ill.

"Identifies the dismembered polyptich by Simone divided among the FitzWilliam Museum, Cambridge (three saints), the Wallraf Richartz Museum, Cologne (Madonna with Child) and a private collection (S. Catherine) as a work that according to Vasari Simone executed for S. Agostino, San Gimignano"... (BHA).

7081 ESCHE, Christiane, Selbstverständnis und Zielsetzung der Augustinereremiten im 15. Jahrhundert am Beispiel der Fresken der Augustinusvita von Benozzo Gozzoli in S. Agostino in S. Gimignano. — *Recherches Augustiniennes* 25 (Paris 1991), 263-287, 7 ill.

7082 GORDON, William, Simone Martini's altarpiece for S. Agostino, San Gimignano. — *The Burlington Magazine* 133 (London 1991), 771, 1 ill.

7083 KREYTENBERG, Gert, Zum gotischen Grabmal des heiligen Bartolus von Tino di Camaino in der Augustinerkirche von San Gimignano. — *Pantheon* 46 (1988), 13-25, 26 ill.

Attribution à Tino di Camaino d'une dalle en marbre sculpté qui devait faire partie du tombeau de St. Bartolo réalisé en 1317-1318. Essai de reconstitution du tombeau et du retable qui devaient se trouver originellement au devant du jubé de S. Agostino. En annexe, essai de reconstitution du polyptique de S. Martini qui était à S. Agostino jusqu'au 19e siècle.

7084 KROHN, Deborah L., Civic patronage of art in Renaissance San Gimignano (Ph.D. Havard Univers., 1992, 520 pp.). — *Diss. Abstracts Intern. A* 53 (1992/93), 331.

7085 RONEN, A., Gozzoli's St. Sebastian altarpiece in S. Gimignano. — *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 32 (1988), 77-126, 37 ill.

Peinture faite en 1463/64 par ordre du prieur Dominique Strambi dans l'église St. Augustin.

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7086 COHN, Jr., S.K., Death and property in Siena, 1205-1800. Strategies for the afterlife (John Hopkins Univ. studies in historical and political science, ser. 106, vol. 2). Baltimore, Md., John Hopkins Univ. press, 1988 (XVII-330).

7087 INGENDAAY, Martina, In margine a Sebastiano Conca: documenti e commenti. — *Arte cristiana* 74 (1986), 393-408, 15 ill.

Documents à l'appui l'A. montre que le tableau S. Giuseppe Calasanzio adorant Ste. Marie et l'Enfant (1763) à S. Agostino, Siena, appartenait jadis à l'église S. Pantaleon de Rome.

7088 NARDI, F.D., Aspetti della vita dei religiosi a Siena nell'età della Controriforma (1600-1650). — *Bullettino senese* 93 (1986), 194-240; 94 (1987), 52-175.

7089 PATON, Bernadette Theresa, Preaching friars and the civic ethos in a late medieval Italian Commune: Siena 1380-1480 (Ph. Diss. University of Oxford, 1986, 356 pp.). — *Dissertation Abstracts Int. A* 51 (1990/91), 1729-30.

Augustins, dominicains, franciscains.

7090 The *Paul Getty Museum Journal* 19 (Malibu, Calif. 1991), 142 (= no. 25).

Dans la section: *Acquisitions 1990*, Manuscripts: "Historiated initial L with the Baptism of Saint Augustine witnessed by Saint Monica. Cutting from a choir book illuminated by the Master of the Osservanza, Siena, propably short after 1430, vellum, 18,7 x 16,2 cm., Ms.39; 90 Ms.41. *Provenance*: From a choir book probably made for the Augustinian church of San Trifone, Siena".[?]

7091 SEIDEL, Max, Signorelli um 1490. — *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 26 (1984), 181-256, 93 ill.

'À propos des fresques de Luca Signorelli redécouvertes dans la chapelle Bichi à S. Agostino de Sienne, et du retable, aujourd'hui démembré, commandé pour la même chapelle par Eustachia et Antonio Bichi. L'A. en conclut qu'une grande partie des fresques furent exécutées par Signorelli lui-même et non par ses assistants. La commande siennoise est redatée v. 1490/91, et cette base autorise une nouvelle chronologie de l'oeuvre du peintre et une reconsidération de sa stature en tant qu'artiste à ce moment-là' (RAA).

7092 WALEY, D., Siena and the Sienese in the XIIIth century. Cambridge-New York, Cambridge Univers. Press, 1991 (XXIV-220, 3 cartes).

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7093 BARTOLETTI, D., Gli Agostiniani a Sigillo. Vita e vicende antiche e moderne. Sigillo, Tip. Luconi, 1991 (472, ill.).

7094 PELLEGRINI, G., La fraternità di S. Giuseppe. Fabriano, CEF, 1989 (IV-139).

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7095 CUOMO, A., Arciconfraternità di S. Monica. Associazione studi storici sorrentini 1439-1989. Sorrento 1989 (158, ill.).

7096 — La devozione mariana a Sorrento. Sorrento, Gutenberg '72, 1988 (79, ill.).

Tolentino

7097 *Arte e spiritualità negli ordini mendicanti.* Gli Agostiniani e il Cappellone di San Nicola a Tolentino, a cura del Centro Studi "Agostino Trapè". Tolentino, Convento S. Nicola-Biblioteca Egidiana; Roma, Ed. Àrgos, 1992 (301, ill.).

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7098 BOSKOVITS, Miklós, La nascita di un ciclo di affreschi del Trecen-

to. La decorazione del Cappellone di San Nicola da Tolentino. — *Arte cristiana* n.s. 77 (1989), 3-26, ill.

7099 Il *Cappellone* di San Nicola a Tolentino, a cura del Centro Studi Agostino Trapè. Tolentino, Centro Studi A.Trapè; Ed. Silvana; Cinisello Balsamo (MI), Pizzi, 1992 (260, ill. en couleurs).

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7100 PASINI, P.G., La pittura riminese nel '300. Rimini, Cassa di Risparmio di Rimini, 1990.

Sur les fresques de la Cappellone di S. Nicola à Tolentino: 103-109, 158-164.

7101 GARDNER, Julian, The Cappellone di S. Nicola at Tolentino: Some functions of a fourteenth-century fresco cycle. — *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*: functions, forms and regional traditions. Ten contributions to a colloquium held at the Villa Spelman, Florence, ed. by William TRONZO (Bologna, Nuova Alfa, 1989), 100-117, 6 ill.

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7102 PESCE, Luigi, La chiesa di Treviso nel primo Quattrocento (Italia sacra, 37-39). Roma, Herder, 1987, 3 vols. (XV-647, 672, 133, ill.).

Venezia

7103 MANZONI, M.-BARTOLOZZO, C., La città incustodita. Studi sulla diffusione del culto di S. Nicola a Venezia. Tolentino, Tip. Pezzotti, 1987 (62).

7104 SORELLI, Fernanda, I nuovi religiosi. Note sull'insediamento degli ordini mendicanti. — *La chiesa di Venezia nei secoli XI-XIII*. Contributi alla storia della Chiesa di Venezia, 2, a cura di Franco TONON (Venezia, Ed. Studium Cattolico Veneziano, 1988), 135-152.

Ventimiglia

7105 BRUZZONE, Gian Luigi, Il complesso di N.S. della Consolazione e S. Agostino (OSA 1487-1799) in Ventimiglia. — *Analecta Augustiniana* 53 (Roma 1990), 257-296.

Vicenza

7106 CRACCO, Giorgio, Storia di Vicenza, 2: L'età medievale. Vicenza, Pozza, 1988 (XII-458, ill., plans).

E.a. "Religione, chiesa, pietà": 359-425.

Viterbo

7107 RÖPCKE, Andreas, Geld und Gewissen. Raimund Peraudi und die Ablassverkündung in Norddeutschland am Ausgang des Mittelalters. — *Bremisches Jahrbuch* 71 (Bremen 1992), 43-80, 8 ill.

Le cardinal Peraudi mourut à Viterbo le 5 sept. 1505 et fut enseveli dans *l'église des augustins S. Trinité* le 27 sept. Son monument sépulcral se trouve dans le passage de l'église à la sacristie: 66, et les photographies par l'A. 6, 7 et 8.

PAYS-BAS

7108 EVERS, J.H.S., De gepubliceerde Rooms-Katholieke preek in Nederland 1840-1960. Een 'fondsreconstructie'. — *Munire ecclesiam.* Opstellen over 'gewone gelovigen ' aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. W.A.J. Munier SSCC bij zijn 70e verjaardag. Maastricht, Limburgs Geschied- en Oudheidkundig Genootschap, 1990, 256-276.

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7109 *Romeinse bescheiden* voor de geschiedenis der Rooms-katholieke kerk in Nederland 1727-1831, IV: Inventaris van Romeinse archivalia betreffende het Verenigd Koninkrijk der Nederlanden 1813-1831, samengesteld door J.J. de VALK, *1*: Chronologische lijst van documenten; *2:* Archieven, overzichten en indices (Rijksgeschiedk. Public., grote serie, 215-16). 's-Gravenhage, Instituut voor Nederlandse geschiedenis, 1991 (XXVII-773 et V-439).

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François Alders: nn. 5407, 5416, 5424, 5426; *Jean van der Burg*: 5416; *Thomas Ferdinand Campfens*: 4361; *Augustin Naudts*: 838, 868, 963, 2523, 5286, 5298-9, 5352, 5354, 5363, 5416, 5426; 2: p. 173; *Jean van Olmen*: 5338, 5343, 5352, 5354, 5363; *Jacques Smeyers*: 977, 1047, 1055-6, 1084-5, 1096, 1107-8, 1116, 1146-8, 1154, 1162, 1172, 1175, 1177, 1189-90, 1206, 1214-8, 1230, 1234, 1259, 1266, 1271, 1277; 2: p. 122, 173; *Septime Rotelli*: 977, 1056, 1146, 1148, 1206.

Appingedam

7110 *Groninger kloosters* o. red. v. C. TROMP (Groninger Historische Reeks, 5). Assen-Maastricht, Van Gorcum, 1989 (VI-120, ill., cartes).

Le couvent augustinien d'Appingedam: 93-95, 1 ill., 2 cartes.

7111 HERMANS, Jos M.M., Middeleeuwse handschriften uit Groningse kloosters. Groningen, Athena's boekhandel, 1988 (80, ill.).

P.63 (= no. 10): Groningen, Gemeentearchief, Hs in 4°, 26 (XVe s.), ff. 88+1, ill: Vita S. Catharinae de Alexandria et Vita S. Thomae Becket. Provenance couvent des augustins d'*Appingedam*.

7112 HOFT, A., Vissen rond de Floem. Een bijdrage tot het historisch-topografisch onderzoek van de ontwikkeling van de stad Appingedam tot 1820. Groningen, Wolters-Noordhof; Egbert Forsten, 1990 (299, ill., cartes).

Sur le couvent des *augustins* (1328-1562) et ses biens: 17, 20-2, 24, 26, 28-9, 33, 35, 38, 47, 58, 78-9, 81, 84, 89, 119-20, 123, 134, 140, 142-56, 162, 217, 235-6, 257, 272-3.

7113 KAMMENGA, H., Wandelen in en om Appingedam. Groningen, Van Dijk & Foorthuis, 1989 (64, ill., carte).

Promenades avec attention aux particularités historiques.

Culemborg

7114 HOLTKAMP, Ben, De Elisabeth-klok van de Rooms-katholieke Barbarakerk. — *Culemborgse "Voet-noten"*. Historisch halfjaarbericht 3 (Culemborg, Oudheidk. Genootschap A.K.W. Voet van Oudheusden, 1989), no. 3, p. 28-33, ill.

Sur la cloche fondue en 1555.

7115 — De bewoners van de Papenhoek en hun activiteiten. — *De Drie Steden*. Streekarchivariaat Tiel-Buren-Culemborg 12 (Tiel 1991), 215-221, ill.

Histoire succincte du petit-séminaire de l'archevêché d'Utrecht à Culemborg (1818-1935), de l'école qui l'a précédé et du couvent N.D. du Bon Conseil des augustins qui y a succédé (1935-1973).

Dordrecht

7116 *Bronnen* voor de geschiedenis der dagvaarten van de staten en de steden van Holland voor 1544, I: 1276-1433. Teksten bewerkt door W. PREVENIER en J.G. SMIT (Rijksgeschied. Public., grote serie 202). Den Haag, Inst. voor Nederl. Geschied., 1987, p. 153 (= no. 235).

"Item des vridaghes na sinte Jansdach decollatio te Dordrecht mijn here [hertog Albrecht van Beieren] selve in sijn hant ghegheven also hi ten *Augustinen* te rade ghinc, ghelikerwijs als die brief hout, 60 scilde, maken 6 lib. grote" (Dordrecht, 1358 aug. 30-31).

Eindhoven

7117 *Augustijnen* honderd jaar in Eindhoven 1891-1991. (Numéro spécial

de Nederlandse Analecta OSA). Eindhoven, Klooster Mariënhage, 1991 (32, ill.).

7118 PLAS, Michel van der, Abdijen in de Lage Landen en de mensen die er wonen. Met foto's van Robin LUTZ. Tielt, Lannoo; Baarn, Arbor, 1989 (170, ill.)

Eindhoven, Mariënhage: 114-19.

Haarlem

7119 MEIJER, Albericus de OSA, Augustijnen aan het Spaarne. Nogmaals het graduale van 1493-1494. — *Holland.* Regionaal-historisch tijdschrift 23 (Haarlem 1991), 53-72, 8 ill.

À propos du livre de Wüstefeld (voir le no. 7120) et d'autres études concernant le graduel New York, Public Library Ms 92, provenant du couvent augustinien d'Haarlem, avec un exposé sur la légende de St. Augustin avec l'ange et sur l'histoire du couvent (1490-1513).

L'exposé sur la légende de St. Augustin, traduit en allemand par Manfred JASPER OSA, aussi dans *Cor Unum* 50 (Würzburg 1992), 19-26, 4 ill. et traduit en anglais par Jan BUSCH OSA dans *Augustinian Heritage* 39 (Villanova, Pa., 1993), 21-34, 2 ill.

7120 WÜSTEFELD, Wilhelmina C.M., De boeken van de Grote of St. Bavokerk. Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het middeleeuwse boek in Haarlem (Hollandse studiën, 24). Hilversum, Verloren; Historische Vereniging Holland, 1989 (152, ill., facs.).

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Juvencio (Augustin Marie) Hospital (1870-1957)

8028 AUBERT, Roger, Hospital, Juvencio. — *Dict. d'Hist. et de Géogr. Eccl.* 24 (Paris 1992), col. 1199-1200.

Missionnaire aux Philippines (1894-1901), puis en Chine. Vic. apost. de Hunan septentrional, év. tit. de Cauna (1911-17). Rentré en Espagne il se fit chartreux en 1918 à la chartreuse d'Aula Dei sous le nom Agustín María.

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Tables

Les chiffres renvoient aux numéros de la bibliographie.

Les noms des personnes imprimés en italiques n'appartiennent pas à l'Ordre des Augustins.

Les personnes qui ont vécu avant 1500 sont régistrées par leur prénom, celles qui sont mortes après 1500 par leur nom de famille. En quelques cas on a fait des renvois.

Dans la Table des lieux, le nom des villes et villages signifie la présence d'un couvent ou de personnes individuelles, cités dans la bibliographie.

Dans l'ordre alphabétique ä, ö, et ü sont classés comme ae, oe et ue; Mc comme Mac.

Abréviations

(*A*)	Autriche
(*AUS*)	Australie
(*B*)	Belgique
B.	Bienheureux, Bienheureuse
BHA	Bibliography of the History of Art
(*BR*)	Brésil
(*CH*)	Suisse
CMF	Clarétien
(*CR*)	Costa Rica
CRW	Chanoinesse Rég. de Windesheim
(*CS*)	République tchèque
CSB	Basilien
(*D*)	Allemagne
(*E*)	Espagne
(*EC*)	Équateur
(*F*)	France
(*GB*)	Angleterre
(*I*)	Italie
IMB	International Medieval Bibliography
(*IND*)	Inde
(*IRL*)	Irlande
jr	junior
MAR	Moniale Aug. Récollette
(*MEX*)	Mexique
MSC	Missionnaire du S. Coeur
N.D.	Notre Dame
N.S.	Nostra Signora, Nuestra Señora
(*NL*)	Pays-Bas
OAD	Ordo Augustinensium Discalceatorum
OAR	Ordo Augustinianorum Recollectorum
O(E)SA	Ordo Fratrum (Eremitarum) S. Augustini
OCamald.	Camaldule
OCarm.	Carme
OCD	Carme Déchaussé
OdeM	Mercédaire
OFM	Franciscain
OMI	Oblat de Marie Immaculée
OP	Dominicain
OPraem.	Norbertin
OSB	Bénédictin
(*P*)	Portugal
(*PA*)	Panama
(*PE*)	Pérou
(*PI*)	Philippines
(*PL*)	Pologne
(*RA*)	Argentine
RAA	Répertoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie
(*RB*)	Bolivie
RILA	Répertoire Intern. de la Littérature et de l'Art
RSCI	Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia
SDB	Salésien
SJ	Jésuite
SPB	Sister of the Precious Blood
sr	senior
Sr	Soeur, Sister
SSCC	Prêtre des SS. Coeurs
St, Ste	Saint, Sainte
SVD	Verbite
(*USA*)	États-Unis d'Amérique
(*WAN*)	Nigeria
(*YV*)	Venezuela

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