

THE CREATION OF AUGUSTINIAN IDENTITY IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

II*

IV. FROM MYTH TO IDENTITY

To be an Augustinian: this is the phrase for which we seek definition. The title of the Order itself was sufficient for Jordan: " ... many have been able to live eremitically as religious, who [even] call themselves hermits, but that part of our title, 'of Saint Augustine' distinguishes us from them."¹ 'To be an Augustinian' for Jordan, was then most fundamentally to be a member of that Order entitled to bear the name of Augustine's heirs. In this Jordan was following Henry of Friemar, who had claimed that the title *Ordo Eremitarum Sancti Augustini* belonged only to that Order which had its origin in Augustine's first monastic community, that Order alone whose members could call Augustine *pater noster*.²

Establishing Augustine's paternity of the OESA was not, however, a given for the Order in the early fourteenth century. Facing the challenge from the Regular Canons together with that of Lateran IV, the Augustinian hermits had to prove their claims of origins; they were forced to legitimate their existence. It was in this context, as we have seen, that in the early years of the 1330's, the Augustinian myth was created.

Accepting the authenticity of the myth, and routinely following the Rule did not, however, as such make one truly an Augustinian; the habit, as Jordan affirmed, did not make the monk.³ One must live the life established by the Bishop of Hippo himself. This certainly was the Augustini-

* Cf. *Augustiniana* 49 (1999) 1-2, pp. 109-164.

¹ "Rursus plures possunt esse adhuc Religiosi eremitice viventes, qui se scribunt 'Eremitas', sed illud, quod ponitur in titulo 'sancti Augustini', distinguit nos ab illis." *VF* 1,17 (59,16-18); cf. *Hen. Tract.* 3 (99,35-101,80).

² *Hen. Tract.* 3 (100,56-101,80).

³ "... quia habitus non facit monachum, sed professio et observantia regularis ...," *VF* 1,20 (72); cf. E.L. Saak, "The *Figurae Bibliorum* of Antonius Rampegolus: MS Uppsala C 162," in *Via Augustini. Augustine in the Later Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation. Essays in Honor of Damasus Trapp, O.S.A.*, ed. Heiko A. Oberman and Frank A. James, III, in cooperation with Eric Leland Saak. *SMRT* 48 (Leiden, 1991): 19-41; 34.

an Gerardo of Bergamo's argument in his quodlibetic question, *De praestantia religionis sancti Augustini*, debated in Paris in 1333. Not appealing to any of the historico-mythic elements that were so important for the authors treated above, and for Jordan to be treated forthwith, Gerardo formed his argument for the legitimacy of the OESA on the basis of its legitimately adhering and conforming to the way of life expressed in Augustine's Rule.⁴ Jordan would have heartily agreed. To be an Augustinian, one had above all to live as an Augustinian. How one could best do so, how one could know whether one was a true son of Augustine, was the question to which Jordan sought to provide a definitive answer in his *Liber Vitasfratrum*. As the Augustinian myth revealed, Augustine needed embodiment, and to ensure such embodiment was Jordan's goal. Jordan as historian defended his Order against the Canons' claims to priority, and his own textualization of the Augustinian myth provided the social glue that bound together the diverse individual members within the single body of the Order in the later Middle Ages. When the Augustinian myth was put in service of a programmatic mission, the Augustinian myth gave birth to the Augustinian identity. This identity was still in its embryonic stage in Henry's *Tractatus*; Jordan would textually bring it to term in his *Collectanea Augustiniana* and *Liber Vitasfratrum*.

A. Jordan's *Collectanea Augustiniana*

Manuscript 251 of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris is the autograph copy of Jordan of Quedlinburg's *Collectanea Augustiniana*. The parchment manuscript measures 248 x 186 mm. As the ascribed title suggests, this manuscript contains a miscellany of writings dealing with Augustine. In his Prologue, Jordan mentions that he gathered together into one volume a number of sermons of Augustine, together with other works, including the *Vitae* of Augustine and Monica. These Jordan sent to the Order's *studium* in Paris, most likely delivering the manuscript personally in 1343 on his official visitation of the French Province.⁵ Fol. 2^{ra-vb} contains a *Tabula* of

⁴ See Kaspar Elm, "De praestantia religionis S. Augustini: Eine als verloren geltende Quaestio quodlibetica des Augustiner-Eremiten Gerhard von Bergamo (d. 1355)," in *Mittelalterliche Texte. Überlieferung—Befund—Deutungen*, Kolloquium der Zentralkommission der Monumenta Germaniae Historica am 28./29. Juni 1996, MGH.SS 42, ed. Rudolf Schieffer (Hannover, 1996), 155-172.

⁵ "... quosdam sermones beatissimi patris nostri ac doctoris eximii Augustini, cum quibusdam aliis tractatibus, seu opusculis, vel legendis, de vita et gestis eiusdem sancti patris, ac sue pie matris sancte Monice atque de translationibus eorum ... in unum

the work's contents:

Tituli sermonum Aurelii Augustini episcopi, ad fratres suos in eremo apud Hipponem et aliorum in hoc volumine contentorum.

Sermo primus, de margaritis regularis institutionis: *Fratres mei et letitia cordis mei*

Sermo secundus, de pace: *Fratres carissimi, O si sciretis*

Sermo tertius, de silentio: *Silentium fratres*

Sermo quartus, de prudentia: *Fratres carissimi non solum silentium*

Sermo quintus, de misericordia: *Fratres carissimi, annuntio gaudium magnum*

Sermo sextus, de obedientia et eius discrezione: *Fratres mei dilectissimi, obedientie oportet*

Sermo septimus, de perseverantia: *Fratres mei, sicut dicit Apostolus*

Sermo octavus, de ira et odio: *Fratres mei dilectissimi, sicut omni habere memoriam*

Sermo nonus, de puritate conscientie et virtute spei: *Ad spirituale gaudium*

Sermo decimus, de fletu et penitentia: *Scitote fratres carissimi*

Sermo undecimus, de humilitate et superbia: *Fratres mei ubi superbia*

Sermo duodecimus, de fortitudine: *Quia in hac vasta solitudine*

Sermo tertius decimus, de iustitia: *Ut bene nostis fratres carissimi*

Sermo quartus decimus, contra loquentes sublimia et sapientes huius mundi: //fol .2^{rb}//
Scriptum est fratres carissimi

Sermo quintus decimus, de memoratone extremi iudicii: *Fratres mei dilectissimi, in omnibus operibus vestris*

Sermo sextus decimus, de otiositate fugienda: *Apostolus Petrus*

Sermo septimus decimus, de invidia: *Fratres mei desiderantissimi, nolite*

Sermo duodevicesimus, de murmuratoribus et penis inferni: *Demorantibus vobis in eremo*

Sermo undevicesimus, de vigilia nativitatis domini: *Attingimini filii potentes*

Sermo vicesimus, de nativitate domini: *Fratres carissimi et dilectissimi, Christus homo*

Sermo vicesimus unus, de tribus generibus monachorum et de paupertate: *Ut nobis per litteras*

Sermo vicesimus secundus, de oratione: *Fratres mei et letitia cordis mei, tempus est*

Sermo vicesimus tertius, de obedientia et de superbia: *Nichil sic deo placet*

Explicit sermones sancti Augustini ad fratres eremitas.

Incipit sermo eiusdem ad presbyteros Hipponenses de obedientia: *In omnibus operibus vestris*

volumen collegi ..." Jordani de Quedlinburg, *Collectanea Augustiniana*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, fol. 1^v (hereafter cited as *Jor. Coll.*). The title is given by Hümpfner intro., xxiv-xxv.

De communi vita clericorum, sermo primus: *Propter quod volui*

Sermo secundus: *Caritati vestre*

De tribus constitutionibus Augustini super proprietate clericorum.

Quod tibi liceat habere proprium, ex libro de vita clericorum

Sermo Sancti Augustini ad clericos de legendo //fol. 2^{va}// sacram scripturam: *Scriptum est fratres*

Sequuntur sermones sancti Augustini ad populum.

Sermo de epiphania domini et querendo Christum: *Audistis fratres carissimi*

Sermo de caritate vel pietate: *Fratres carissimi, non recorder*

Sermo de eo quod scriptum est, 'Beatus qui post aurum non abiit, de inventione reddenda': *In scripturis divinis legimus*

Sermo de penitentia: *Admones fratres*

Sermo de ieiunio et oratione: *Adversus demonum nequitiam*

Sermo de cogitationibus: *Primum quidem de cogitationibus*

Decretum observantie regularis sancti Augustini, quod a quibusdam dicitur regula prima eiusdem: *Communi diffinitione decrevimus*

Regula sancti Augustini prima: *Ante omnia fratres carissimi, diligatur deus*

Item regula eiusdem quam speculum appellat: *Hec sunt que ut observetis precipimur*

Excerptum de quodam sermone sancti Augustini, quid nomine prepositi importetur: *Quamvis omnis qui presunt*

Exhortatio sancti Augustini ad fratres: *Fratres oportet nos*

Exhortatio sancti Augustini ad sanctimoniales sorores: *Sicut parata est*

//fol. 2^{va}// Ex sermone sancti Augustini de instructione monachorum Heliam et Heliseum

Tractatus de vita et gestis sancti Augustini

De translatione sancti Augustini duplici

Annotatio temporum beati Augustini

Commendatio sancti Augustini ex auctoritatibus diversis quinquagenita unius doctorum

Tractatus de vita sancte Monice, matris sancti Augustini

De translatione sancte Monice

Metrum pro depingenda vita sancti Augustini

Legenda de sancto Augustino

To date, Jordan's autograph has been the only known copy of his *Collectanea*. Zumkeller lists three additional manuscripts containing only the

Vita Sancti Augustini.⁶ In the fifteenth century Jordan's *Vita* served as the major source for John Capgrave's *Life of Augustine*.⁷ In 1684 J. Hommey, based on the autograph, published Jordan's *Vita Sancti Augustini*, together with the other texts of *Collectanea*, aside from the *Sermones*, the *Regulae*, the *Legenda de Sancto Augustino*, the *Metrum pro depingenda vita Sancti Augustini* and the *Vita Monicae*.⁸ The *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum* of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, however, lists manuscript lat. 5338 as containing a *Vita Sancti Augustini, de translatione ejusdem prima, de translatione secunda, and annotatio temporum beati Augustini episcopi*.⁹ The catalogue further notes: *Auctore, ut videtur, Jordano de Saxonia*. Paris, BnF, MS lat. 5338, fol. 1^{ra}-108^{vb} is actually a previously unknown fifteenth-century copy of the entire *Collectanea*. The first and last quires, however, are missing, and the *Sermones* follow the other texts, rather than preceding them as in Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS 251. The manuscript begins with the *Vita*, though lacking the first quire, the text is preserved only from the end of chapter nine, or fol. 62^{va} of the autograph. I am currently preparing a critical edition of Jordan's *Collectanea Augustiniana*, which will include a thorough study of this manuscript, together with a detailed analysis of the construction of the autograph, a study of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, and complete collation of all extant textual witnesses. Paris, BnF MS lat. 5338 takes on added importance for the critical edition since quire nine of Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal MS 251 is missing. The text in the autograph breaks off on

⁶ Adolar Zumkeller, *Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner-Eremitenordens in mitteleuropäischen Bibliotheken*, Cassiciacum 20 (Würzburg, 1966), 287, nr. 639 (hereafter cited as Zumkeller, *MSS*, with the page reference given in parenthesis). The manuscripts are: Brussels, Bibl. Royale 1351-72, 14. s., fol. 35^r-47^v; Toulouse, Bibl. de la Ville 169, 14. s., fols. 1 sqq.; and Vienna Kaiserl. Privatbibl. 9375.A. n. 22, 15. s., fol. 81-96. Cf. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*, edd. Socii Bollandiani, 2 vols. (Bruxelles, 1898-1901), I: 125-128; *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis. Novum Supplementum*, ed. Henricus Fros. (Bruxelles, 1986), 101-105.

⁷ See Rudolph Arbesmann, "Jordanus of Saxony's *Vita S. Augustini*: The Source for John Capgrave's *Life of St. Augustine*," *Traditio* 1 (1943): 341-353.

⁸ J. Hommey, *Supplementum Patrum* (Paris, 1684), 569-659; I have used the Paris 1696 edition of this work. Hommey's text of the *Vita*, however, is not without its problems. A complete collation of the *Vita* of Jordan's autograph with the text of Hommey yielded 278 variant readings. Many of these are simple mis-readings or eye-skips, yet others are of more substantial nature, based on what is apparently Hommey's attempts to correct and/or improve Jordan's text.

⁹ *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum Antiquiorum Saeculo XVI qui asservantur in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi*, ed. Hagiographi Bollandiani (Bruxellis, 1890), II: 261.

fol. 96^{vb} with chapter 22 of the *translationes Sanctae Monicae* (26 chapters are listed in the separate *tabula* for the *translationes* on fol. 89^{vb}-90^{ra}), continuing then mid-stream on fol. 97^{ra} with the *Legenda de Sancto Augustino*. As indicated in the *Tabula*, which follows Jordan's Prologue, after the translations of Monica yet preceding the *Legenda de Sancto Augustino* was to be a versified life of Augustine, given the title, *Metrum pro depingenda vita Sancti Augustini* (fol. 2^{vb}).¹⁰ This text is preserved in Paris, BnF MS lat. 5338 (fol. 48^{rb}-51^{rb}), which is then followed by a versified life of Paul the first Hermit (fol. 51^{rb}-52^{va}), not mentioned in the *Tabula* of Jordan's autograph.

It is reasonable to assume with Hümpfner that Jordan prepared his *Collectanea* to present to his brothers in Paris when he made his visitation of the French Province in 1343.¹¹ With this work Jordan brought the discussion of the Order's origins to a new level. He based his narrative of Augustine's biography on a previously unused collection of sources: the sermons of Augustine himself. These sermons, which Jordan used as the major proof-texts for his *Vita Sancti Augustini*, offered hard evidence of Augustine's eremiticism for these were the *Sermones ad fratres suos in eremo*. No longer was there need to debate the details, offering creative reconstructions of Augustine's early monastic life in Italy and in Africa; the evidence was at hand. Thus in the prologue to his *Vita*, Jordan stated that he "resolved to insert nothing in this work that was not confirmed by Augustine's own words or by other authenticated sources."¹²

Hümpfner considered Jordan's accepting the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* as authentic works of Augustine 'regrettable,' much in the same fashion as Arbesmann viewed Henry of Friemar's lack of historiographical acumen. Referring to Jordan's use of these pseudo-Augustinian sermons for his *Liber Vitasfratrum*, Hümpfner comments:

In view of the manner of historical writing of this time, Jordanus deserves much credit for his critical attitude and his sincere efforts both to report only ascertained facts and to understand their background and interrelations ... In view of this evident striving for a critical and objective attitude towards matters of tradition, the failure of Jordanus to recognize the false attribution of the

¹⁰ Cf. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis. Novum Supplementum*, 104, n. 799. The missing quire in the autograph has not previously been mentioned by scholars, nor has the *Metrum pro depingenda vita Sancti Augustini*; see for example Arbesmann, "Jordan of Saxony's *Vita*," 344 and Hümpfner, intro., xxiv ff.

¹¹ Hümpfner, intro. xxv.

¹² "... nichil huic operi inserendum censui, quod non ipsius propriis dictis, aut aliorum authenticis scriptis confirmetur." Jordani de Quedlinburg, *Vita Sancti Augustini*, Prol., Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 251, fol. 54^{rb}. Hereafter Jordan's *Vita Sancti Augustini* will be cited as: *Jor. Vita*.

Sermones ad Fratres in Eremo is all the more regrettable. An additional cause was the confused and confusing controversy between the Augustinian Hermits and Regular Canons.¹³

The debate between the Hermits and the Canons was certainly a factor, even though Arbesmann argued that Jordan deplored the controversy, preferring to focus on religious obedience rather than historical priority.¹⁴ Though Jordan makes very conciliatory statements regarding the Canons and their coexistence with the Hermits as custodians of Augustine's tomb both to close his *Collectanea* and in his later *Opus Dan*,¹⁵ his 'deploring' the issue should be read in the broader context of his arguments for the priority of the Hermits.

The polemical nature of Jordan's *Collectanea*, as well as that of his *Liber Vitasfratrum*, is called into question by Hümpfner's argument that Jordan had conceived of the *Liber Vitasfratrum* already as a student in Bologna and Paris, using the *Collectanea* as preparatory material.¹⁶ In the Prologue to the *Collectanea*, Jordan states that he collected into one volume material which he had received from Paris, Rome, and other established monasteries.¹⁷ On this basis, together with Jordan's self-reference as 'least among the scholars of Paris,' Hümpfner claimed that "the material was mainly collected in Paris,"¹⁸ which he assumed Jordan himself had begun doing already in 1319-1322, at least five years previous to the

¹³ Hümpfner, intro. lxxiv-lxxv; cf. Arbesmann, *HFT*, 45 and 66.

¹⁴ Arbesmann, *HFT*, 59-60; cf. *VF* 2,14 (165,3-179,412).

¹⁵ "Quod quidem festum reconditionis eiusdem sacratissimi corporis ibidem tam a canonicis regularibus quam a fratribus eremitarum ordinis in eadem basilica sancti Petri in celo aureo deo et eidem beatissimo patri utriusque ordinis eorum institutori pariter famulantibus condigna honorificentia peragitur et usque in hodiernum diem annis singulis sollemniter celebratur. Regnante domino nostro Iesu Christo cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum, Amen." *Legenda Sancti Augustini*, *Jor. Coll.*, fol. 104^{ra}. In his sermon *De translatione Sancti Augustini* of his *Opus Dan*, Jordan showed no signs of contention: "Unde pro maiori veneratione tanti Patris, iuxta ecclesiam sancti Petri in caelo aureo in qua requiescit, duo monasteria duorum ordinum quos idem pater seipsum instituisse legitur existunt constituta; unum videlicet canonicarum regularium et aliud fratrum heremitarum, qui diebus et noctibus in eadem ecclesia convenientes ad honorem et laudem dei et beati Patris Augustini divinis officiis invigilant incessanter." *Jor. OD*, sermo 59F.

¹⁶ Hümpfner, intro., l-li.

¹⁷ "... quosdam sermones beatissimi patris nostri ac doctoris exemii Augustini ... prout ad me fide digna assertione ac fideli communicatione undequaque exemplaria devenerunt, quibusdam quidem de Parisiis, quibusdam vero de Curia Romana, nonnullis quoque de antiquis et approbatis monasteriis ad me perductis, in unum volumen collegi ..." *Jor. Coll.* fol. 1^v; cf. Hümpfner, intro., xxiv-xxv.

¹⁸ Hümpfner, intro. xxv.

onset of the controversy with the Canons.¹⁹

There is, however, no firm evidence for such an early origin of Jordan's conception for writing the history of his Order. Moreover one must question whether this was even possible, at least with regard to the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*. The origins of these sermons remain in a fog of uncertainty and only a separate, thorough study of all the relevant material might shed new light on the matter. For now it must suffice to say that Hümpfner considered the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* to have been compiled by a Benedictine monk long before Jordan's time.²⁰ Jordan's collection of the sermons nevertheless is the first such collection, and his manuscript was used by the Maurists and subsequently Migne for their editions, albeit containing a much expanded number of sermons. Hümpfner pointed to the *Sermones beatissimi patris Augustini ad heremitas fratres suos* collected by the Chancellor of the University of Paris, Robert de Bardis.²¹ Two manuscripts containing de Bardis' collection claim that the sermons were 'found in Paris' by de Bardis. The collection, and the order of the sermons thereof, is parallel to that of Jordan, leading Hümpfner to posit that de Bardis either copied from Jordan or from the same sources as Jordan.²²

Robert de Bardis was Chancellor from 1336 to 1349, a friend of Petrarch's, and a respected scholar of Augustine. Katherine Walsh has noted Hümpfner's claim regarding the relationship between Jordan's collection and that of de Bardis, though Walsh argues that the copying process must have gone in the reverse.²³ Hümpfner had mentioned that the relationship between de Bardis' collection and Jordan's could only be established by comparing the Vatican and Parisian manuscripts of Robert's collection, a task he was prevented from carrying out due to World War II. The Vatican manuscript, however, rather than stemming from the early fifteenth century as Hümpfner supposed based on the printed catalogue, actually dates from the first half of the fourteenth century; the manuscript, according to Walsh, is a typical example of Parisian book production of the second third of the fourteenth century, and was de Bardis' personal

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, xxiv.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, xxix.

²¹ *Ibid.*, xxvii.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Katherine Walsch, "Wie ein Bettelorden zu (s)einem Gründer kam. Fingierte Traditionen um die Entstehung der Augustiner-Eremiten," in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*. Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16.-19. September 1986, Teil V: *Fingierte Briefe, Frömmigkeit und Fälschung Realienfälschungen*, MGH.SS 33/V (Hannover, 1988), 585-610; 599.

copy.²⁴ The sermons contained in this collection, however, are not given the title *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, and thus Walsh argues that Jordan, though not having been responsible for the collection as such, was the one to give the collection its name.²⁵ In this light, it seems highly unlikely that de Bardis used Jordan's *Collectanea* as his model, but it is most suggestive that Jordan's collection was made based on that of de Bardis; in other words, that Jordan came across the sermons only sometime after 1336. Moreover, Balbino Rano argues that the compiler/author of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, whoever that might have been, used the historical works of Henry of Friemar, Nicholas of Alessandria and the Anonymous Florentine, thus pointing as well to the origins of the sermons sometime after 1334.²⁶ If the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* did not exist before the early 1330's, then Jordan could not have begun his literary work on the *Collectanea* already in 1319-1322 in Paris, aside from in a most rudimentary form. This would further imply that Jordan himself was probably not the one who found the sermons, since he was at this time lector in Magdeburg. Yet had he made his desire of collecting material on Augustine known—and Hümpfner claimed that by 1338 at the General Chapter in Siena, knowledge of Jordan's project was already widespread in the Order²⁷—his co-religious in Paris could very well have sent him the *sermones*, perhaps as copied from de Bardis, which would then also coincide with Jordan's statement in the Prologue to the *Collectanea* that he gathered together into one volume sources which he had received.

Hümpfner argued that while Jordan was still in Bologna he developed the inspiration for his *Liber Vitasfratrum*, having been influenced by the Dominican *Vitasfratrum* and the *Libellus de principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum* of that Order's second General, the blessed Jordan of Saxony (d. 1237).²⁸ It may have been natural for our Jordan to have longed for such a book while a student at Bologna as the one he eventually wrote, yet the evidence suggests another context. From 1322 to c. 1333 Jordan was lector in Erfurt, working very closely with Henry of Friemar. Henry exercised a considerable influence on Jordan. When Jordan assumed his position in Erfurt Henry was already an old man, having been born in 1245. Jordan himself testifies to Henry's age in his *Liber Vitasfratrum*. In his list of the outstanding scholars of the Order, Jordan includes Henry and praises

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 600.

²⁶ See Balbino Rano, "San Agustín y los orígenes de su Orden," 710-720.

²⁷ Hümpfner, intro. xxx.

²⁸ Hümpfner, intro. 1.

his studiousness. Even in his old age, as a septuagenarian and beyond, Jordan relates, Henry studied night and day, and would remain in his study, even though 'some young and new lector' might insist on daily academic disputations. There can be little doubt that the *lector recens aliquis* was Jordan himself, who would have arrived in Erfurt when Henry was seventy-seven years old. There was much affection between the two, and Jordan reveals his having often heard from Henry that although his head never hurt from studying, sometimes his backparts did (... *nonnumquam dorsum suum ex incubitu studii doluisse confessus est*)!²⁹ And as seen above, during the years at least from 1329 to 1334, Henry was viscerally engrossed in the debates with the Canons over custody of Augustine's tomb in Pavia, and thus over the two Orders' respective claims to historical priority. His involvement in this issue might also have been the reason why in 1331 he delegated the responsibility of adjudicating the case of the archbishop of Magdeburg's murder to Jordan.³⁰ It is most plausible to assume that Jordan likewise became rapt with the Order's case during this time. Whereas coming to Erfurt eager for scholarly disputations in public forum, working closely with Henry, Jordan may very well have redirected his efforts, especially after his experience in 1327, two months before the Order received permission to establish a house in Pavia and was given custody of Augustine's body. As related in the *Liber Vitasfratrum*, William of Cremona, the General of the Order at the time, was divinely moved to begin to consider the possibilities of regaining possession of Augustine's body. Although, Jordan confesses, such a suggestion seemed unthinkable and indeed impossible, William was comforted by a divine oracle and began negotiations with the Papacy.³¹ That William would be successful was indicated to a well-known brother of the Order in a vision. The *frater nominatus in Ordine* was surely none other than Jordan.³² In the vision, the brother saw himself together with many other Augustinians, in a Church not of their Order, in which was a large tomb of a great bishop that had fallen into disrepair. As the brothers were gazing at the tomb, the image of the bishop on the tomb rose and went to the altar, and began to sing, "Come, come, come, my sons, and listen to me, and I will teach you the fear of the Lord." The brothers all sat before

²⁹ VF 2,22 (238,142-154).

³⁰ *Gesta Archiepiscoporum Magdeburgensium* 42, ed. Guilelmus Schum, MGH.SS 14.361-484 (Hannover, 1883; reprint: New York, 1963), 434; See also *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Unser Lieben Frauen zu Magdeburg*, nr. 187 dated 10 Nov. 1331, ed. Gustav Hertel (Halle, 1878), 171.

³¹ VF 1,18 (62,22-63,31).

³² Hümpfner, intro. li.

the bishop and he then gave them such exhortation as a father would give to his sons. On this basis, Jordan affirms, "that brother understood that he was spiritually in the presence of blessed Augustine." Augustine then gave each of the brothers a drink from a glass, and when they had all drunk Augustine blessed them and returned to his tomb, whereupon the friars all began to weep, but Augustine comforted them saying in the words of Christ, "Do not weep, my sons, for I will be with you until the end of the world." Whereupon the brother woke, and still tasted the sweetness of the drink he had been given. From this vision, he was filled with wonder and praised God, hoping that the vision indicated that something beneficial for the Order was to come, and sure enough, within two months the documents arrived notifying the Order of the Pope's decision to entrust them with Augustine's body.³³

While it might be tempting to view this account as having stemmed from Jordan having partaken a bit too much from the glass *cum potu valde claro et pulchro* before he had the vision, it can also be seen as a state-

³³ "Porro ista diu affectata reunio, antequam facta esset, cuidam fratri nominato in Ordine per visum revelata fuit hoc modo. Videbatur enim ei, quod ipse cum multis fratribus et melioribus personis Ordinis esset in quadam ecclesia non nostri Ordinis, in qua erat quoddam sepulcrum elevatum unius magni sancti episcopi, sicut ex figura imaginis desuper sculptae ostendebatur. Quod quidem sepulcrum minus decenter a personis illius ecclesiae tenebatur. Nam pulpita et candelabra antiqua cum pulveribus irreverenter superiacata apparebant. Itaque fratribus in ecclesia stantibus et sepulcrum aspicientibus, ecce imago episcopi visa est se elevare et illas scorias super se iactatas indignanter reicere. Et sic surgens episcopus de tumulo pontificaliter indutus ivit stare ante altare et invitans ad se fratres cantare coepit: *Venite, venite, venite, filii, audite me: timorem Domini docebo vos*. Et cantavit haec verba in nota gradualis, sicut episcopi in inthronizationibus cantare solent. Quo expleto sedit ipse, et fratres omnes ante se per ordinem sedere iussit. Et tunc dulcem exhortationem velut pater suis filiis fecit. Ex quo iste frater intellexit in spiritu illum fore beatum Augustinum. Volens autem idem antistes fratribus amorem ostendere singularem, habebat quidem in manu sua vitrum mundum cum potu valde claro et pulchro, bibit ipse primo et postea per ordinem de manu singulis propinavit, intonans valde dulciter et cantans illud: *Aqua sapientiae salutaris potavit eos Dominus*. Et cum pervenisset episcopus ad fratrem istum, bibit et ipse, fuitque potus nobilis et dulcis, inusitatum saporem habens quasi claretum antiquum, ex quo potu frater iste totus exhilarius fuit. Et cum bibissent omnes, episcopus benedixit eis, et sic ad sepulcrum suum redire coepit. Quod videntes fratres unanimiter fleverunt, dolentes de patris recessu. Ipse autem consolans eos paterne ait eis: 'Nolite flere, filii. *Ecce enim vobiscum ero usque ad consummationem saeculi*.' Hoc dicto frater iste evigilabit et invenit os suum, linguam et palatum de potu illo valde dulcoratum. Unde repletus stupore et gaudio gratias egit Deo, sperans illam visionem non esse otiosam, sed alicuius boni pro Ordine praesagam, sicut non multo post claruit in effectum. Nam infra duos menses vel circa venerunt litterae certae de Curia Romana nuntiantes nova, quomodo corpus beatissimi Patris Augustini esset Ordini redonatum. Per omnia benedictus Deus." *VF* 1,18 (65,98-67,135).

ment of his own realization of Augustine's paternity of the Order. And it could very well have been only as a result of such a vision that Jordan turned from seeking academic debate in the classroom to putting his energies into investigating the true sons of Augustine, their origins and their history and what it meant to be such in the first place. Working together then with Henry, he could have developed the conception for his project at that time, and began making known that he sought documentation of all sorts for the history of the Order, to extend on a grand scale the work that Henry in his very old age was sketching in his *Tractatus*. For such a project, in the years around 1327 and shortly thereafter, he would have known as well that a major issue in the debate with the Canons was the biography of Augustine with respect to his monastic foundations. Thus Jordan set to work and began seeking information. Sometime in the mid 1330's he was then sent the sermons of Augustine, which Jordan recognized as having been addressed to Augustine's own hermits. In the later 1330s, Jordan was busy writing the life of Augustine anew, from the ground up, so to speak, as well as working on his sermons, and fulfilling his teaching and administrative responsibilities. When in 1343 he was appointed to make the visitation of the French province, what better gift could he bring along than the first results he had achieved based on the material that his brothers in Paris had procured for him, to gather it all together into one volume, to bring back to Paris the fruits of knowledge that had sprung from there in the first place, as he stated in his Prologue to the *Collectanea*?³⁴

Though such a portrayal is not based on concrete evidence, given the problems with dating the origins of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, and given the context of Erfurt in the late 1320's and early 1330's, it seems as plausible, if not certainly more so, than Hümppfner's assumptions that Jordan conceived of his *Liber Vitasfratrum* while a student in Bologna, and then began preliminary work in Paris collecting material for his *Collectanea*, deploring all the while the controversy with the Canons. Jordan's participation in Henry's campaign to defend the Order against the position of the Canons, continuing the work of his beloved teacher on a grand scale, seems more likely to account for the origins of Jordan's en-

³⁴ "Ipsumque ad locum parisiensem Mare utique copiosum, unde omnia scientiarum flumina exire dinoscuntur destinare satagi. Quatenus exinde fluat iterum per ordinem universum, obsecrans in visceribus caritatis, ut quicumque fratrum de studio conventus nostri parisiensis, cui hunc librum in libraria eiusdem conventus ad communem utilitatem ponendum pro munusculo caritatis donare decrevi, in eo legerit vel eum forsitan transcribi fecerit, oret pro donantis anima, ut Augustini meritis celi fruatur gaudiis. Amen." Jor. Coll. fol. 1^{vb}.

deavor than his own piety in Bologna and Paris as a student. It also places both the *Collectanea* and the *Liber Vitasfratrum* within the context of the debates, which both texts bear witness. Hümpfner himself, after all, points to the final form of the *Collectanea* as taking shaping only after 1334. Despite what may seem on the surface like conciliatory remarks, much as those of Nicholas of Alessandria, Jordan could throw bones to the Canons only because in his eyes there was nothing in fact to debate; the Hermits were the only legitimate first-born sons of their father Augustine, the founder of the Order. And Jordan could prove this based on Augustine's words themselves, words preached to his own hermits, which offered the textual basis for Jordan's re-plotment of Augustine's biography in the most extensive narrative since that of Philip of Harvengt. Jordan's *Vita Sancti Augustini* certainly evidences an ingenious reworking with the eye of a textual critical through the source material, the new as well as the old. On this basis, with his *Vita Sancti Augustini* together with his *Liber Vitasfratrum*, Jordan gave new meaning and new foundations to his Order's mythic origins.

Jordan's *Vita Sancti Augustini* is based on a close reading of Augustine's *Confessions* and *Retractations*, together with the 'Medieval Augustine', namely, the *Vitae Sancti Augustini* of Possidius, Philip of Harvengt and Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*. Jordan supplemented this textual foundation with the sermons of Augustine brought together in his *Collectanea*—and the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* most of all—as well as with the *Chronica* of Datius, Bishop of Milan. In his *Annotatio temporum beati Augustini episcopi*, which follows the *Vita* in the *Collectanea*, Jordan reconstructed the basic outline of Augustine's life as extracted from the *Confessions*. In the *Annotatio* no mention is made of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, and there it no evidence that they were used. Jordan refers only to Augustine's foundation of a monastery in Hippo before his ordination, which Jordan could have taken from Possidius' comment that Augustine founded a monastery upon being made presbyter, as he had previously done when he returned from overseas. It could be that the *Annotatio* represents Jordan's earliest work on his new project. Retracing Augustine's early years, Jordan argues that Augustine was thirty years of age when he was swayed by Ambrose's preaching, though not yet completely converted to the Christian faith. The following year, when he was thirty-one, Augustine visited Simplicianus. It was only thereafter when he was thirty-two that he was finally converted to Christ, and at Easter of his thirty-second year he was baptized. The following year, namely, his thirty-third, Monica died at Ostia and Augustine returned to Africa, remaining a layperson for a period of three years, which extended

from the construction of his monastery outside of Hippo to his ordination as presbyter, the latter thus having occurred in his thirty-sixth year. Jordan expressly rejects the opinions of those who claim that Augustine was baptized when he was thirty years old, or when he was thirty-three.³⁵ This reconstruction thus quashes speculation that Augustine established his first monastery in Italy and wrote the Rule for the Tuscan hermits of Centumcellae. Yet this does not imply that Jordan was immune from repeating the mythical aspects of the Order's origins. His *Vita Sancti Augustini* provided the historical proof for the Hermit's claims, including new evidence for the connections between Augustine's monasticism in Italy and Africa which rendered the possible stay at Centumcellae irrelevant.

³⁵ "Anno suo xxx^o per predicationem Ambrosii conversus est ab errore Manicheorum, ut dicit in fine quinti libri *Confessionum*, sed non dum ad fidem christianam et hoc patet sexto libro *Confessionum*, capitulo undecimo, ubi dicit se iam tricenarium et adhuc in eodem luto hesitantem. Anno suo trigesimo primo perrexit ad Simplicianum, de quo ipse narrat octavo libro *Confessionum*, capitulo primo. Quod autem hoc fuerit post annum suum trigesimum completum patet ex eo quod ipse in sexto libro dixerat se tricenarium et tunc interposito toto libro septimo. In octavo dicit se perrexisse ad Simplicianum et post subdit referens de Ponti<ci>ano et de compunctione sua quam habuit in orto sub ficu, et de sua ibidem totali conversione, que omnia potuerunt peragi eodem anno. Anno igitur tricesimo secundo, ad fidem conversus est totaliter et hoc in orto sub ficu, ut dictum est. Et quoniam hoc factum fuit viginti diebus ante vindemiales ferias, ut ipse dicit nono libro *Confessionum*, capitulo secundo, patet quod non potest stare dictum eorum qui dicunt quod anno illo fuerit baptizatus, quia annus ille terminabatur idibus novembris qui fuit dies natalis sui, ut dicit in libro *De beata vita*, quem librum fecit in rure existens. In quo rure fuit a principio vindemiarum usque ad tempus paschale, ut colligitur ex nono libro *Confessionum*, capitulo secundo et capitulo sexto. Anno vero xxxii^o baptizatus est tempore paschali. Nec potest dici quod prius fuerit baptizatus, salvo contextu narrationis sue in libro *Confessionum* ut ex dictis patet. Et hoc etiam expressius habetur ex libro suo *De academicis* in cuius proemio sumpto ex libro *Retractationum* ipse dicit quod illum librum scripsit nondum baptizatus et in fine eiusdem libri *De academicis* dicit quod cum scriberet illum librum erat agens annum xxxiii^{um} etatis sue. Ex quo manifeste convincitur eum non prius anno xxxiii^{mo} fuisse baptizatum. Et transierat iam de illo anno quantum est ab idibus novembris usque ad pascha. Quod autem tempore paschali baptizatus fuerit hoc expresse dicit Possidonius et potest haberi ex illo quod dicit nono libro *Confessionum* capitulo sexto: Inde ubi tempus advenit, quo me nomen dare oportuit. Tempus enim quo cathecumini in ecclesia nomen dare solebant et baptizari erat tempus paschale. Anno eodem etatis sue scilicet xxxiii^{mo} mater sua apud Ostia Tibernia defuncta est, ut ipse dicit nono libro *Confessionum*, capitulo undecimo in fine. Ex quibus patet quod dictum illorum stare non potest qui dicunt eum in tricesimo suo anno fuisse baptizatum, nec aliorum qui dicunt eum tempore baptismi fuisse triginta trium annorum complete; predicta ergo omnia absque scrupulo certissima sunt ex dictis suis propriis ... Deinde reversus in Africam ad agros proprios ibi ferme per triennium cum suis deo pariter servientibus in ordine adhuc laicali commoratus est, ut dicit Possidonius. Et in illo triennio comprehenditur etiam tempus illud quo adhuc laicus existens construxit monasterium in eremo apud Hipponem usque ad presbyteriatum." *Annotatio temporum*, *Jor. Coll.*, fol. 72^{ra-7b}.

In Jordan's account, Simplicianus is given a role of even larger proportions than he already had in the representations of Nicholas of Alesandria and Henry of Friemar. God gave Augustine the idea, Jordan relates, to go to Simplicianus to confess the errors of his earlier life and to learn from him, since Simplicianus, a hermit, had served God most devoutly from his youth. This Augustine did, and Simplicianus exhorted him to follow the example of Victorinus, whose story Simplicianus told Augustine. Based on this example, Augustine was so moved that he only desired to serve God. Thus he was converted from the exhortation of the old saint Simplicianus and from the examples of Simplicianus' community of hermits, which Augustine desired to follow.³⁶ Having then been baptized by Ambrose, "Augustine received from that saint Simplicianus the habit of holy comportment and the form of living, which later he would spread everywhere in Africa."³⁷ Thus, when Augustine on the instigation of his mother decided to return to Africa, "he went to St. Simplicianus asking him for some servants of God from his own group of brother hermits whom he could take along with him to Africa and with them establish the Order there."³⁸ Simplicianus granted his request and gave him twelve friars, with whom Augustine returned to Africa, together with his friends Nebridius, Evodius, Alipius, and Pontianus, his mother, Monica, and son, Adeodatus. This information Jordan had from one of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, which then also named the twelve, a passage that

³⁶ "Cum autem iam via Christi sibi placeret, sed per ipsam adhuc ire pigeret, misit dominus in mentem eius visumque est ei bonum pergere ad Simplicianum heremitam servum dei, audierat ei quod a iuventute sua devotissime deo servierat et vere sic erat. Iam vero senuerat et multa expertus, multa edoctus erat, et beatus Ambrosius vere eum ut patrem diligebat. Cui estus cordis et errorum circuitus manifestans, ipse scilicet Augustinus devote postulavit ut vir sanctus proferret ei quis esset aptus modus vivendi. Sic affecto ut ipse erat ad ambulandum in via dei, videbat enim plenam ecclesiam et alius sic ibat, alius autem sic displicebat quippe ei quidquid agebat in seculo pre dulcedine dei et decore domus eius quam dilexit. Simplicianus autem eum hortari cepit et ad humilitatem Christi precipue invitavit et inter invitandum Victorini Romani quondam rethoris conversionem in medium recitavit. Rome siquidem multis annis Victorinus ille magister fuerat, et ob insigne preclari magisterii statuum in Romano foro habere meruerat, qui tandem conversus loquacem scolam suam deserens in scola Christi humilis discipulus effectus est. Hoc exemplo commonitus Augustinus ad imitandum exarsit, et soli deo servire proposuit." Jor. *Vita*, 4.1-3, fol. 57^{a-b}.

³⁷ "Ab ipso sancto Simpliciano sancte conversationis habitum formamque vivendi accepit, quam postmodum in Africa exuberans redolevit." Jor. *Vita*, 6.5, fol. 59^b.

³⁸ "Post hec autem cum instigante eius pia matre de Mediolano recedere et ad Africam remeare diserneret, adivit sanctum Simplicianum petens ut sibi aliquos de fratribus suis eremitis servos dei donaret, quos secum in Africam assumeret et cum eis ibi ordinem plantaret." Jor. *Vita*, 7.1, fol. 60^a.

Jordan inserted into his *Vita* as proof.³⁹ Having returned to Africa, Jordan and his band of followers sought a place where they could live a life devoted to God, which they found outside of Hippo, where bishop Valerius built for them a monastery. Here they began to live as a group according to the apostolic rule.⁴⁰ Jordan is very clear: this monastery was Augustine's first monastery, and there he gathered together dispersed hermits, giving them a form of living in keeping with the apostolic way of life and "thus Augustine instituted the Order of Hermits."⁴¹

This then was the first of Augustine's three principal monastic foundations. In the autograph each such foundation is given a separate rubricated heading. The second monastery Augustine founded was in Valerius' garden, after having been made presbyter. Though having been ordained a priest, Augustine still desired to live the monastic life. Being aware of this fact, and having often visited Augustine in his hermitage, Valerius gave him a garden in the city of Hippo where he could establish a second monastery and thus, even as priest, continue to live his monastic life following the apostolic rule, whereby no one would have private possessions, but everything would be held in common and distributed according to need, "which he had previously done," Jordan continued, "when he had returned from across the seas to his homeland, as Possidius said."⁴² Thus Jordan had made the bridge. There was no longer any need

³⁹ "Cuius piis precibus pius ille pater Simplicianus annuens dedit ei duodecim fratres viros religiosos, cum quibus adiunctis sibi carissimis amicis suis qui diu secum fuerant, Nebridio, Evodio, Alipio, et Pontiano, cum matre et filio Adeodato, ad Africam proficiscendi iter arripuit. De hoc ipse in sermone de tribus generibus monachorum, qui incipit *Ut nobis per litteras declaravit sanctus pater Hieronimus*, loquens de genere et ordine heremitarum ..." *Jor. Vita* 7.1, fol. 60^a. Jordan then quotes from sermon 21 of his own collection of the *sermones ad fratres in eremo*, *Jor. Coll.* fol. 26^{a-b}, which is also sermon 21 in the Migne edition, *PL* 40,1268-1269. The twelve hermits named are: Anastasius, Fabianus, Severus, Nicolaus, Dorotheus, Issac, Nicostratus, Paulus, Cyrillus, Stephanus, Iacobus, and Vitalus.

⁴⁰ "Itaque apud Hipponem in eremo segregata a gentibus locum aptum ad serviendum deo inveniens cum favore et subsidio sancti Valerii Hipponensis episcopi monasterium ibidem edificavit et in eo fratres eremitas quos undique per nemora conquisivit una cum amicis et fratribus prius eidem adherentibus collocavit et cum eis vivere cepit secundum regulam sub sanctis apostolis constitutam." *Jor. Vita* 9, fol. 61^{a-b}.

⁴¹ "In prefato autem monasterio ipse Augustinus copiosum numerum fratrum congregavit, quibus et modum vivendi secundum formam vite apostolorum tradidit et sic ordinem eremitarum ipse instituit. *Jor. Vita* 9 fol. 62^a."

⁴² "Reverso itaque Augustino ad monasterium suum, non enim sine monastica disciplina voluit vivere, placuit sancto seni Valerio ordinatori eius ipsum cum suis fratribus in eremo paterne visitare et eis ad tempus pro devotione commanere. Et tunc cognito proposito Augustini quod omnino cum fratribus suis nichil habentibus, nichil habens optabat vivere, monasterium autem istud in eremo nimium distabat a plebe, cuius curam ipse iam

to speculate on what this phrase in Possidius signified, creating differing accounts of Augustine's Italian monastic experience. With Jordan the case was closed. Possidius' statement referred to the monastery outside of Hippo, which Augustine had first established upon returning from Italy. Yet the Italian origins of the Order were simultaneously established, since that first eremitical community was originally comprised of the *servi dei* from Simplicianus' hermitage whom Jordan had taken along with him from Milan. The eremitical way of life was thus transplanted from Simplicianus' Milan to Augustine's Africa, and it was the latter that served as the stock for all further growth, for it was there, Jordan confirms, that Augustine instituted the Order of Hermits. Moreover, Jordan had proved his point with the very words of Augustine. Yet Jordan did not stop here. Whereas Henry of Friemar linked the Order's charter to preach and teach in the cities with Augustine's appearing to Alexander the IV, Jordan explains that in his second monastery Augustine taught his friars monastic discipline and the observance of the Rule, as well as educating them in the study of holy Scriptures, "so that already they might not live only for themselves, but would also be able to be of benefit to others."⁴³ Augustine's hermits in his second monastery were to be hermits indeed, but living in the city were to study the scriptures in order to serve the populace. This ideal Augustine continued in his third monastic foundation, that which he established after becoming bishop as a monastery of clerics within the episcopal residence.⁴⁴ There was no question: Augustine's Hermits were founded before his Canons, five years before, as Jordan calculated in his *Annotatio*.⁴⁵ In his first monastery outside of Hippo

presbyter habebat gerere, dedit ei hortum civitati propinquum in quo mox monasterium edificavit et in eo de fratribus prioris monasterii quosdam secum locavit, colligens nichilominus et alios eiusdem propositi fratres clericos servientes et ibidem deo pariter et in communi viventes, secundum modum et regulam sub sanctis apostolis constitutam, maxime ut nemo quidquam proprium in illa sancta societate haberet, sed eis essent omnia communia et distribueretur unicuique sicut opus erat, quod iam ipse prior fecerat, dum de transmarinis ad sua remeasset, ut ait Possidonius." *Jor. Vita* 11.1, fol. 62^b.

⁴³ "Hos quoque fratres idem pater in omni disciplina et observantia regulari instruxit et nichilominus eos studio sacre scripture erudit, ut iam non tantum sibi in simplicitate viverent sed et alii prodesse valerent." *Jor. Vita* 11.1 fol. 63^a.

⁴⁴ "Videns autem beatus Augustinus quod necesse erat episcopum assiduam hospitalitatis humanitatem quibusque venientibus sive transeuntibus exhibere, quod in monasterio fratrum convenienter fieri non valebat, voluit in ipsa episcopali domo monasterium secum habere clericorum, ut qui presbyter in horto cum fratribus vixerat in episcopio nichilominus pauper cum pauperibus deo regulariter serviret." *Jor. Vita* 13.1 fol. 64^b.

⁴⁵ "Sic enim oportet dicere si volumus salvare calculationem Possidonii, qui dicit eum vixisse in clericatu annis ferme quadraginta et secundum hoc factus est clericus et presbyter anno suo tricesimo sexto. Stetit autem in presbyteratu antequam fieret episcopus per

Augustine had founded his Order of Hermits, which then continued in his second monastery in the city of Hippo, the members of which were to be preachers and teachers for the community. Only after having been ordained bishop did Augustine give a monastic rule to his priests, the *Canons*. And again, Jordan established this *curriculum vitae* based on Augustine's own words, both those of the *Confessions*, and most of all those of his own sermons which he had delivered both to his own hermits and to his own priests.⁴⁶ And this was knowledge that Jordan's brothers in Paris could use very well indeed! It was also the basis for Jordan's comprehensive treatment of the Order, the *Liber Vitasfratrum*, which he completed fourteen years after donating his *Collectanea* to the *studium* in Paris.

The same fervor for the eremitical origins of the Order is present throughout his *Liber Vitasfratrum*. As Jordan explained in the dedicatory letter to the lector in Avignon, John of Basel, the *Liber Vitasfratrum* was to enable one to determine whether one was a true son of Augustine and thus a true member of Augustine's Order and Augustine's religion. For his *magnum opus* Jordan re-narrated Augustine's biography in his treatment of the development of the Order, placed in context of the history of western monasticism. Jordan used his own *Vita Sancti Augustini* as a major source, inserting sections therefrom as needed. In his later work he also cited three additional *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* from those contained in the *Collectanea*. Yet while not leaving the controversy with the *Canons* behind completely, in his *Liber Vitasfratrum* Jordan assumed a far broader perspective and scope: the Augustinian religious identity itself.

biennium, vel circa ut colligitur ex *Cronica* Eusebii, qui inter conversionem suam per beatum Ambrosium factam et episcopatum calculat octo annos. Quorum tres transegerat Mediolani et Rome, et apud Ostia Tibernia usque ad mortem matris, ut patet ex supradictis. Tres vero alios exegit morans apud agros proprios eo modo quo dictum est. Restat duo anni in presbyteratu, quod tempus videtur satis proportionatum considerata numerositate librorum quos ipse presbyter se scripsisse fatetur in primo libro *Retractationum*. Et secundum hoc non vixit in episcopatu nisi annis xxxviii. Obiit enim annorum lxxvi ut dicit Possidonius et idem in *Cronica* memorata. Et sic intelligendum quod ait Possidonius: Vixit, inquit, in clericatu vel episcopatu annis ferme xl^a, ut duo anni referantur ad presbyteratum et residui ad episcopatum. Et sic totum tempus clericatus sui fuerunt anni xl^a." *Annotatio temporum*, *Jor. Coll.*, fol. 72^{rb-va}.

⁴⁶ A number of the sermons Jordan includes in his *Collectanea* are designated as *sermones ad presbyteros suos*, which later became part of the larger corpus of the *sermones ad fratres in eremo*.

B. The *Liber Vitasfratrum*

Jordan's *Liber Vitasfratrum* is an extensive commentary on the Order's Rule and *Constitutions*. In his dedicatory letter to John of Basel, Jordan followed the salutation with the Rule's central dictum: "to have one heart and soul in God."⁴⁷ The entire work should be seen as an exposition of this precept. John had sought Jordan's advice on who is "a true son of our most blessed father Augustine."⁴⁸ Jordan offered his work as a mirror, so that by reading it, "any brother will be able to know based on his own life, whether he is a true son of our most holy father Augustine and thereby, a true brother of his Order."⁴⁹ In the Prologue Jordan stated that he collected accounts of the notable lives and deeds of the fathers and brothers of the Order⁵⁰ "... lest the examples of holy religion from the fathers and the brothers of times past fade into a cloud of oblivion."⁵¹ These served as examples of the true *religio Augustini*, instituted by St. Augustine himself.

Jordan opened chapter one of the *Vitasfratrum* by recalling the life of the first Christian community: "The whole body of believers was united in heart and soul. No one claimed any of his possessions as his own, but everything was held in common ... distributed to any who stood in need." (Act. 4:32f).⁵² He then commented: "Augustine, the most blessed Father and sower of our holy religion, intending to renew the apostolic life, based his entire vision on these words."⁵³ The common life was the most fundamental principle of Augustine's Order. According to Jordan, it was comprised of four parts: the communion of living together in a given place, the communion of spiritual union, the communion of worldly pos-

⁴⁷ "... cor unum et animam unam habere in Deo." VF, Epist. (1).

⁴⁸ "Mirae caritatis virtus ex profluio pectoris vestri emanans fonte de quibusdam quaestionibus dudum conscientiam vestram, ut scripsistis, perurgentibus, utpote qui beatissimi Patris nostri Augustini verus filius existere ...", VF, Epist. (1,5-8).

⁴⁹ "... tum quia eius lectione frater quilibet, an sit verus filius Patris nostri sanctissimi Augustini ac per hoc verus frater Ordinis sui, ex vita propria sua cognoscere valebit ...", VF, Epist. (2,21-23).

⁵⁰ VF, Prol. (3,11-13).

⁵¹ "... ne exempla sanctae Religionis a patribus et praecedentium temporum fratribus in oblivionis nublium deducantur ...", VF, Prol. (3,8-10).

⁵² Acts 4:32-34; as cited in VF 1,1 (7,3-8).

⁵³ "Beatissimus Pater et sacrae nostrae Religionis plantator Augustinus, intendens vitam apostolicam renovare, super praelibatis verbis totam suam intentionem fundavit." VF 1,1 (7,9-11).

sessions, and the communion of distributing goods according to need.⁵⁴ On these four pillars of the *vita communis* Augustine based his Rule, and Jordan organized his *Vitasfratrum* accordingly, treating each in respective parts.⁵⁵

In Part One Jordan narrated the origins of the Order within the broader context of the history of western monasticism. He discussed the Order's habit, title, move to the cities, papal confirmation, and stipulations for living the combined *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa*. In Part Two he proceeded to expound the meaning of the Rule's principle—to have one heart and one soul in God—as expressed in the ideals of humility, charity, chastity, obedience, singing the canonical hours, and prayer. In Part Three apostolic poverty as exemplified in the Acts of the Apostles and renewed by St. Augustine's Rule becomes the focus. The final section of the work is devoted to the principle of 'different but equal', whereby all brothers are aptly provided for according to their need, and not by hard-and-fast norms.

Throughout, Jordan illustrated his commentary with *exempla* from the Fathers—many of which are taken from the *Vitaspatrum*—and from exemplary brothers of 'modern times'. Jordan concluded each part of the *Vitasfratrum* with a chapter on how the Constitutions of the Order pertain to the doctrine first expounded. His overall purpose was to give his brothers a "hand-book" of the *religio Augustini*, to provide them with the goals, ideals, and examples of what it meant to be a member of Augustine's Order.

When Jordan completed his *Liber Vitasfratrum* in 1357, the debate with the Canons over the true heirs of St. Augustine may not have been the only controversy in his mind. On July 5, 1350, Richard FitzRalph, the Bishop of Armagh, attacked mendicant privileges in his *Proposicio*, preached before Clement VI in full consistory.⁵⁶ His central thesis was not primarily the doctrine of apostolic poverty *per se*—as has traditionally been asserted—but rather, as Katherine Walsh has shown, the illegitimacy of mendicant privileges, namely, the rights of the friars to "preach, hear confessions, and bury the laity in their churches while retaining their privileged position of exemption from ordinary diocesan jurisdiction."⁵⁷

⁵⁴ The four parts are: *communio localis cohabitationis*; *communio spiritualis unionis*; *communio temporalis possessionis*; and *communio proportionalis distributionis*. See, *VF* 1,1 (7-9).

⁵⁵ See *VF* 1,1 (9,60-65).

⁵⁶ Katherine Walsh, *Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon and Armagh. A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate* (Oxford, 1981), 350.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 353.

In FitzRalph's mind, the friars interfered with the *cura animarum* and thus they were corruptors of the church's pastoral mission. According to the bull of Boniface VIII, *Super Cathedram* (1300), which Clement VI reiterated in 1349,⁵⁸ friars had the right to preach freely as long as they did not interfere with the preaching of the *praelati*.⁵⁹ FitzRalph pounced on the meaning of the term *praelati* and argued that the term included not simply the bishops, but all those holding church offices.⁶⁰

FitzRalph saw in the friars a contradiction between their involvement in society and their vow of poverty. By obtaining privileges, acting as confessors to kings and princes, and—in the case of the Franciscans — denying that they held *dominium* of their property,⁶¹ the friars proved themselves to be hypocrites, even heretics. In his *De Pauperie Salvatoris* of 1356, FitzRalph went one step further than he had in his *Proposicio* and presented a detailed plea for the abolition not only of mendicant privileges, but also of the Orders themselves.

After the publication of FitzRalph's *De Pauperie Salvatoris* the mendicant controversy became a much debated issue both in Oxford and in Avignon. A papal commission was appointed to investigate the matter, but the *status quo* was preserved when the cause died inconclusively with FitzRalph himself in 1360.⁶²

Jordan must have been aware of this debate when finishing his *Liber Vitasfratrum*. Indeed, it has been argued that Jordan's primary intent was to defend his Order's position on apostolic poverty.⁶³ Jordan did devote ample space to the discussion of the Augustinian view of poverty in his *Liber Vitasfratrum*.⁶⁴ Yet the doctrine of poverty *per se* was not the primary bone of contention for FitzRalph. Rather, the mendicant privileges of preaching and hearing confessions formed the basis for his

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 359.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 368.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 369.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 375.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 447. FitzRalph's attack on mendicant privilege elicited response from the friars, and in the OESA particularly from Geoffrey Hardeby, whose *Liber de vita evangelica* was the only treatise that directly answered FitzRalph's *De Pauperie Salvatoris*; see Walsh, *Richard Fitzralph*, 394 and 413f; cf. Fulgence Mathes, "The Poverty Movement and the Augustinian Hermits." *AAug.* 31 (1968): 5-154; *AAug.* 32 (1969): 5-116; *AAug.* 32 (1969): 5-78.

⁶³ Mathes, "The Poverty Movement," 79-110.

⁶⁴ See *VF*, Part 3.

attacks.⁶⁵ Jordan briefly discussed the papal sanctions of the OESA's right to preach and hear confessions in his chapter concerning the introduction of the Order into the cities,⁶⁶ but his treatment is brief; it forms a stage in the much more encompassing exposition of the origins and development of the Order and gives no indication that it was intended as a defense against a formidable challenge. Jordan, having served as an inquisitor and having written a treatise—now lost—against the heresy of the "Free Spirit,"⁶⁷ was no stranger to asserting orthodoxy against those whom he judged had distorted church doctrine. It is likely that if he had envisioned his *Liber Vitasfratrum* as a reply to FitzRalph, he would have given some indication of this intent. In his lengthy treatment of poverty, the language is in the mode of explication and explanation, not in that of exoneration. There is no firm evidence, aside from temporal proximity, to claim that Jordan composed his *Liber Vitasfratrum* in the heat of the mendicant controversy. This is not to say that he was unaware of the matter, and it is not unlikely that when he submitted his work to the Prior General, Gregory of Rimini, he did so with hopes of contributing to the affirmation of the *religio Augustini*.

While Hümpfner supposes the early origin of the *Vitasfratrum*, he does argue that the mendicant controversy brought the work to fruition. Upon his election as General of the Order in May 1357 at the General Chapter of Montpellier, Gregory of Rimini attacked the decline in the observance of poverty and common life within the Order.⁶⁸ Everywhere he looked, Gregory wrote in a letter to the Provinces of his Order on July 18, 1357, brothers accumulated their own money and sought worldly honors, preferring the way of the seculars, "and thus the path of religion is deserted (... *sicque religiositatis deserta semita* ...)."⁶⁹ In light of FitzRalph's campaign against the mendicants, these words take on added importance, especially since Gregory was well aware of the issue being

⁶⁵ Walsh, *Richard Fitzralph*, 401. FitzRalph's doctrine of the dominion of grace, however, has been seen to reflect the "proto-type" as later adopted by Wycliff; cf. *ibid.*, 385.

⁶⁶ VF 1,16 (57-59).

⁶⁷ See R. Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1972), 130, n. 13, and Hümpfner, intro., xlv.

⁶⁸ Hümpfner, intro., liiif.

⁶⁹ *Gregorii de Arimino O.S.A. Registrum Generalatus, 1357-1358*, ed. Albericus de Meijer, *Fontes historiae Ordinis Sancti Augustini*, Prima series, *Registra Priorum Generalium* 1. Institutum Historicum Augustinianum (Romae, 1976) 4, nr. 1; *AAug.* 4 (1911/12): 372-376, as quoted by Hümpfner, intro., liii.

debated in the Curia.⁷⁰

As evidence that Jordan wanted urgently to offer his solution to the problem, Hümpfner pointed to a passage in which Jordan announced a *Tractatus specialis in fine libri* concerning the miracles of St. Nicholas of Tolentino.⁷¹ This treatise is to be found neither at the end of the *Vitasfratrum*, nor anywhere else in Jordan's works. Thus Hümpfner claimed that Jordan did not have time to compose this treatise; the mendicant controversy prompted his haste in sending his *Vitasfratrum* to the General.

There is, however, absolutely no connection between this passage and the issue of poverty or of mendicant privileges. Jordan announced a *Tractatus specialis* in the chapter concerning the care of sick brothers.⁷² In fact, the very same passage could be used with more validity to argue for an early date of composition. Jordan was discussing the miracles of Nicholas of Tolentino; he had heard many, but could not remember them in detail (*distincte non recole*).⁷³ His intention of writing a special treatise dealing with the miracles of Nicholas could have been inspired by a decree of the General Chapter at Paris in 1329, which asked for all miracles of Augustinians to be collected and reported to the next General Chapter.⁷⁴ Those of Nicholas would have had special importance since in 1325 John XXII set in motion the process for Nicholas' canonization.⁷⁵ Though the Acts of the General Chapter at Venice in 1332 are silent regarding the success of this decree,⁷⁶ these circumstances provide a mo-

⁷⁰ Writing to the Order's provinces from Vienna on Nov. 16, 1358, Gregory explicitly called for measures to combat Fitzralph's attacks; see *Greg. Reg.* nr. 733 (373).

⁷¹ Hümpfner, intro., lvi.

⁷² *VF* 2,11 (136-142).

⁷³ *VF* 2,11 (142,149-150).

⁷⁴ *Acta Capitulorum Generalium et Provincialium*, ed. E. Esteban, *AAug.* 2 (1909)-4 (1912); *AAug.* 4 (1911/12): 87 (hereafter cited as: *Esteban*); as quoted by Hümpfner, intro., li.

⁷⁵ Although the canonization process was begun by John XXII in 1325, Nicholas was not canonized until 1446. For the initial testimony concerning Nicholas' canonization, see *Il Processo per la Canonizzazione di S. Nicola da Tolentino*, ed. Nicola Occhioni, OSA (Rome, 1984). However, the decree from the Paris general chapter does not specifically refer to Nicholas. Rather, it continues, after the passage cited by Hümpfner, by expressing a special interest in Aegidius Romanus; *Esteban*, *AAug.* 4 (1911/12): 87.

⁷⁶ Hümpfner, intro., li. However, an anonymous Augustinian from Pisa wrote a *Vita brevis aliquorum fratrum heremitarum*; see R. Arbesmann, "A Legendary of Early Augustinian Saints," *AAug.* 29 (1966): 5-58. Michael Goodich places this treatise, as well as both Henry of Friemar's *Tractatus* and Jordan's *Liber Vitasfratrum* in the context of the Paris mandate. See Michael Goodich, *Vita Perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 25 (Stuttgart, 1982), 54; cf. Hümpfner, intro., li.

re likely context for interpreting Jordan's declaration of a future *Tractatus specialis* concerning Nicholas than does the mendicant controversy.

When we return to the debate with the Canons, we are on firm ground, since Jordan explicitly mentioned the issue. The very crux of the debate (*totum pondus questionis*) was how one made one's profession. The Canons, the flesh and blood behind Jordan's anonymous *alii*, vowed obedience to a prelate, rather than vowing obedience to the Rule itself.⁷⁷ The Hermits profess obedience "to live until death without possessions and in chastity according to the Rule of blessed Augustine," first to God, then to the Virgin Mary, and finally to the Prior General and his successors. Their vow is not only obedience to the Rule or to a prelate, but to follow these three basic components of religion: obedience to God, to Mary, and to the General of the Order.⁷⁸

As previously mentioned, Arbesmann argued that Jordan deplored the controversy with the Canons, preferring to focus on religious obedience, rather than historical priority.⁷⁹ The extent of Jordan's antipathy towards the issue needs to be determined within the broader context of the treatise. In Arbesmann's proof text, Jordan included not only the OESA and the Canons, but all Orders that follow St. Augustine's Rule, namely, the Dominicans, Praemonstratensians, and "many others."⁸⁰ Jordan's strategy was not one of historical priority *per se*.⁸¹ Rather, as Nicholas of Alessandria and Henry of Friemar, Jordan focused on establishing the true sons of St. Augustine. He admitted that many Orders say that they are the Order of St. Augustine, and many others are hermits, but only the OESA can properly claim to be called 'The Order of Hermits of St. Augustine'.⁸² In fact, Jordan argued, neither the Regular Canons nor the Dominicans—both of whom follow St. Augustine's Rule—bear the appellation 'Order of St. Augustine' in their title.⁸³ Even if not the first to receive Augustine's Rule, the Hermits are the true Order of St. Augustine by reason of 1) their original, primordial, institution, (by Augustine the Order was *primordialiter propagatus*); 2) by reason of their following the Rule; 3) by reason of their papal affirmation and approbation as the true Order of St. Augustine; and 4) by reason of their possessing St. Augusti-

⁷⁷ VF, 2,14 (177,336-347).

⁷⁸ VF 2,14 (177,348-356).

⁷⁹ Arbesmann, *HFT*, 59-60.

⁸⁰ VF 2,14 (173,225-229).

⁸¹ As Hümpfner noted, Jordan omitted the legend that Augustine provided the hermits in Tuscany with a Rule; Hümpfner, intro., lxxiv.

⁸² VF 1,17 (59,9-60,23).

⁸³ VF 2,17 (60,35-37).

ne's most holy body.⁸⁴ These four reasons can be applied to no other Order, thus confirming the fact that the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine is the true, original, and only, Order of St. Augustine.⁸⁵ If Jordan deplored the dispute with the Canons, he did so because he saw it as completely unnecessary. Even if the Canons could prove that they were the first to receive Augustine's Rule, Jordan's preference would be to be a member of the Order that most faithfully represented the *religio Augustini*; in his mind, there was no question—it was the Hermits.⁸⁶

Nevertheless, Jordan did not refrain from putting forward a claim to the historical priority of the Hermits. Based on the reconstruction of Augustine's biography in his *Vita Sancti Augustini*, Jordan explicitly stated: "... [Augustine] gave the Rule to the brothers, and not to the Canons."⁸⁷ His reasoning was that Augustine composed his Rule before he became a bishop and consequently he did not have the legal right to give his Rule to the Canons, since they were not under his authority.⁸⁸ Augustine, Jordan explained, wrote two Rules, or rather, wrote the same Rule twice for different recipients—one for the friars and one for the Canons, although the latter did not exclude the friars.⁸⁹ Yet the priority clearly lies with the friars and their original institution by Augustine.⁹⁰ When Jordan deplored the continued debate between the Canons and the Hermits, he did so because for him there was in fact nothing to debate.

Whereas in 1334 Henry of Friemar had already given the Order its first historical legitimization with his *Tractatus*, Jordan offered a comprehensive exposition of the Augustinian way of life—valid and continuous from its founder to his own time. There are sufficient parallels between the works of Henry and Jordan to intimate that Jordan derived the concept of his *Vitasfratrum* from Henry's *Tractatus*. As Henry's title states, his subject was the origin and development of the Order, and Jordan adopted this two-fold plan accordingly when in his Prologue he explained that he

⁸⁴ VF 1,17 (61,63-70).

⁸⁵ VF 1,17 (61,70-72).

⁸⁶ VF 2,14 (173,229-237); cf. Hermann of Schildesche's *Sermo de beato Augustino*, which Hermann gave in Paris in 1334; see A. Zumkeller, *Schriftum unde Lehre des Hermann von Schildesche* (Würzburg, 1959), 117-128.

⁸⁷ "... istam Regulam fratribus dedit et non canonicis ...". VF 2,14 (167,62).

⁸⁸ VF 1,14 (167,62-64).

⁸⁹ VF 2,14 (169,133-138). For Jordan's discussion of the tradition of the Rule, see this entire section. There are two manuscript traditions of this chapter. Hümpfner states that they represent Jordan's change of mind regarding the authenticity of the *Decretum*; see Hümpfner, intro., lxxvii; cf. VF 2,14 (169,139 col. A-170,164 col. A) and VF 2,14 (170,156-166 col.B).

⁹⁰ VF 2,14 (172,194-195).

will gather his material, "around the origin and development" of the Order (*circa hoc originem progressumque eiusdem Ordinis*).⁹¹ Further, according to Henry, the original principle of the Order stemmed from the most holy fathers.⁹² He opened chapter six of his treatise, which contains *exempla* from outstanding brothers, by claiming: "... but because some holy seeds were fruitfully germinated from the roots of such holiness of this Order's first fathers, I, therefore, was eager to put down in writing what I could find out about the famous fathers of our Order whose sanctity was well known."⁹³ And finally, Henry referred to the Order as 'the holy progeny of the said fathers' (*illa sancta propago praedictorum patrum*).⁹⁴

This sentiment and terminology were taken over by Jordan, who based his work on the principle that "the life of the brothers derived from the life of the fathers."⁹⁵ In Part One he traced Augustine's progeny (*illa sancta propago sancti Augustini*)⁹⁶ from the earliest desert fathers to the Great Union. Furthermore, Jordan incorporated entire sections of Henry's treatise.⁹⁷ Noting that in his *Tractatus* Henry sought to discuss the foundation, approbation, and confirmation by *exempla* of the Order, one should not fail to recognize the similarity to Jordan's overall scheme. Taken all together, the evidence currently available strongly suggests that Jordan conceived of his work in the later 1320's and early 1330's working together with Henry in Erfurt, precisely as the controversy with the Canons was foremost in Henry's mind, and was an issue raging throughout the Order, challenging the Order's religious identity.

Jordan began his work with a statement of purpose. Because the memorable deeds of the outstanding members of the Order should never be forgotten, Jordan affirmed, echoing Henry, "... I was desirous to gather together the life and deeds of the fathers and brothers of our Order ... so that the examples of holy religion from the fathers and brothers of times past might not fade into a cloud of oblivion, but rather be stored

⁹¹ VF Prol. (7,13-14).

⁹² Hen. Tract. 4 (106,34-35).

⁹³ "... verum quia a radice tantae sanctitatis primorum patrum huius ordinis nonnisi sancta germina deicit propagari, ideo sub compendio pro aedificatione fratrum fratres famosae et notoriae sanctitatis huius nostri ordinis, de quibus compertum habui, studui annotare." Hen. Tract. 6 (18,1-5).

⁹⁴ Hen. Tract. 4 (110).

⁹⁵ "... ex vita patrum formatur vita fratrum." VF Prol. (5,58-59).

⁹⁶ VF 1,14 (46,41).

⁹⁷ See VF 1,7 (22ff).

away in eternal memory."⁹⁸ Although the *Liber Vitasfratrum* is not a work of history *per se*, it is eminently historical. Jordan was intent on presenting only what he knew to be true: "... truth is obtained most of all in fact; the facts that are able to be known from the particular deeds of devout persons are actually few with respect to those things that God secretly works in individual holy men ... Therefore, I put down those few accounts that are known to me in some way."⁹⁹ For Jordan history was based on fact. Whereas Henry of Friemar had claimed for the Augustinians the title of the Joachite *novus ordo* and solidified his argument for the historical primacy of the Order with Augustine's two-year sojourn at Centumcellae, Jordan, as already seen in his work on the *Collectanea*, recognized that the chronology of Augustine's biography could not support more than a brief visit to the hermits at Centumcellae, and he makes no reference to the *novus ordo*. In addition, as mentioned above, Jordan based his case against the Canons on an historical analysis of Augustine's Rule; Augustine could not have given his Rule to the Canons first because he was not yet a bishop and therefore he did not have jurisdiction over them. The representation of the Order's early history provided Jordan with the material for the first part of his *Liber Vitasfratrum*.

Jordan began by establishing the character of the apostolic life initiated by Christ, who gave the apostles the example and rule for living.¹⁰⁰ The apostolic community grew over time, and gave birth to three generations of offspring. The first (*prima propago*) was the apostles themselves, who maintained the communal life after the Lord's resurrection, as narrated in the Acts of the Apostles.¹⁰¹ Yet in time, the fervor of that first faith died down and became lax.¹⁰² A group that remembered the pristine perfection of the apostolic community withdrew from the city and from association with those who were negligent in order to renew the apostolic institution in secret; thus the second generation.¹⁰³ The third generation resulted once again from a 'cooling off' of devotion, and this

⁹⁸ "... ne exempla sanctae Religionis a patribus et praecedentium temporum fratribus in oblivionis nubilum deducantur, sed potius in aeterna memoria recondantur, idcirco studui patrum ac fratrum singularium gestorum et notabilium meritorum eiusdem Ordinis vitam gestaque ...," VF Prol. (3,8-12).

⁹⁹ "Quod maxime veritatem obtinet in his, quae in facto consistunt; qualia sunt huiusmodi, quae de gestis particularibus personarum devotarum sciri possunt, quae revera pauca sunt respectu eorum, quae Deus occulte operatur in singulis viris sanctis ... Perpauca igitur utcumque mihi cognita conscripsi." VF Prol. (3,21-4,27).

¹⁰⁰ VF 1,2 (10,25-26).

¹⁰¹ VF 1,2 (10,26-32).

¹⁰² VF 1,2 (11,63-69).

¹⁰³ VF 1,2 (11,69-12,76).

time the move was by individuals who carried the apostolic fervor, but unable to live accordingly, left their parents and friends and chose a solitary life. For this reason, "they were called monks and on account of their common life, they were called cenobites."¹⁰⁴ This third form of the apostolic community lasted for many years, up until the time of the first hermits, St. Paul, and St. Anthony.¹⁰⁵

Jordan then proceeded to discuss the three types of monks.¹⁰⁶ Among the desert fathers were the anchorites, who live entirely alone, cenobites, who live in communities, and the sarabaites. These last were "detrimental and execrable," only pretending to live holy lives, like Ananias and Saphira; even if they appear as angels, in reality—if one could see their inner selves—they are really wolves.¹⁰⁷ This type of monk should be avoided at all costs.¹⁰⁸

Having brought the development of monasticism thus far, Jordan then entered into a rather lengthy discussion of the comparative values and dangers of the anchoritic and the cenobitic lives. The anchoritic form of monasticism provides the individual with the opportunity of pursuing his own perfection and in this sense the anchorite is the more perfect type of monk.¹⁰⁹ The anchorite's life, however, is so harsh and difficult that before entering upon such a vow, "one should be thoroughly practiced in all righteousness and virtue, and filled with the Holy Spirit."¹¹⁰ Not only will one have to be content living alone in the desert on whatever bread and water can be found, but even greater danger, Jordan cautioned, will come from the devil; as Jerome told of Paul, "no one knows what great temptations of Satan he bore."¹¹¹ The serpent came to Eve in paradise when she was alone—and prevailed. It is certain, Jordan warned, "that the Tempter goes for solitude. Wherefore it is necessary that the solitary man

¹⁰⁴ "Qui propter solitariae vitae distractionem monachi nominati sunt et ex communione consortii coenobitae dicti sunt." *VF* 1,2 (12,81-86).

¹⁰⁵ *VF* 1,2 (12,87-90).

¹⁰⁶ *VF* 1,3 (13,3-5). Jordan could have drawn on a number of sources for his discussion of the different types of monks, e.g. Cassian. coll.pat. 18 (1089-1124), or Ps.Aug. erem. 21 (Jor. Coll., fol. 26^a-27^{vb}; *PL* 40,1268f).

¹⁰⁷ *VF* 1,3 (14,30-40).

¹⁰⁸ *VF* 1,3 (13,3-5).

¹⁰⁹ *VF* 1,4 (16).

¹¹⁰ "... volentes transire ad vitam eremiticam debent prius esse omni iustitia et virtute praexercitati atque Spiritu Sancto repleti ..." *VF* 1,4 (16,17-19).

¹¹¹ "Unde etiam de isto sancto Paulo dicit Hieronymus, quod quantas ipse temptationes Satanae pertulerit, nulli hominum cognitum habetur ..." *VF* 1,4 (17,57-59).

be well armed against the enemy."¹¹²

For these reasons, the cenobitic life is safer.¹¹³ Community is not to be shunned but cultivated, for Christ himself promised that where two or three are congregated in his name he will be among them. Thus, how much more does this apply when many are gathered.¹¹⁴ Indeed, "it is better to say the canonical hours together with the brothers in church than alone in your cell."¹¹⁵ Therefore, Jordan concluded, "the cenobitic life is more secure and is more conducive to acquiring perfection, whereas the anchoritic life is suitable for those already perfect."¹¹⁶ Thus, the most perfect form of monastic life would be to combine the anchoritic and the cenobitic lives,¹¹⁷ and this was the accomplishment of St. Augustine.

There is no doubt, Jordan claimed, that Augustine was a cenobite.¹¹⁸ Nowhere is it read that Augustine was ever an anchorite.¹¹⁹ Yet although he was a bishop, he desired solitude. Jordan interpreted this solitude as that of an anchorite, although he admitted that Augustine never actually lived as an anchorite.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, "although Augustine was never an anchorite in the strict sense, as has been shown, it is not subject to doubt that he often partook of an anchoritic life."¹²¹

This dual form of life was possible because of a distinction regarding the meaning of the term 'hermit'. Both anchorites and cenobites could dwell in a hermitage, that is, a solitary anchorite could live *in eremo*. This is also possible, on the other hand, for cenobites. Removed from the crowd and commotion of secular life, yet living in community, cenobites could also be *in eremo*. Whereas anchorite and cenobite refer to the type of life, hermit signifies the place of dwelling. Therefore, there are anchoritic hermits and cenobitic hermits (*eremitae anachoritae et*

¹¹² "Serpens etiam ille in paradiso, volens temptare matrem generis nostri Evam, solitariam eam aggressus est. Ex quibus omnibus convincitur, quod temptator solitudinem amat. Quare oportet hominem solitarium bene esse armatum contra hostem." VF 1,4 (17,60-63).

¹¹³ VF 1,5 (18,3).

¹¹⁴ VF 1,5 (19,35-37).

¹¹⁵ "... quod melius est dicere horas canonicas in congregatione fratrum in ecclesia quam seorsum in cella ..." VF 1,5 (19,42-43).

¹¹⁶ "... vita cenobitica securior est et aptior ad perfectionem acquirendam, vita vero anachoritica competit iam perfectis." VF 1,5 (20,84-86).

¹¹⁷ VF 1,6 (21,3-4).

¹¹⁸ VF 1,7 (22,8-9).

¹¹⁹ VF 1,7 (22,16-17).

¹²⁰ VF 1,7 (26,103-111).

¹²¹ "Verum licet Augustinus numquam fuerit anachorita ex statu, ut ostensum est, sed actum anachoritarum non est dubium eum saepius habuisse." VF 1,7 (27,123-125).

eremitae coenobitae),¹²² and Augustine—from his time with Simplicianus, including both his stay with the hermits of Tuscany and his return to North Africa—lived as an eremetical cenobite.¹²³ Augustine combined the "best of both worlds" and on this basis, founded his Order.

After the death of Augustine, the brothers who lived under the saint's guidance were dispersed due to the increasing hostility of the Vandals, who desecrated their monasteries and profaned their rites. This did not, however, result in the loss of Augustine's heritage. Some of the brothers fled Africa and came to Tuscany, and there regrouped

... some in solitary cells, and others in eremetical communities ... serving the Lord, just as the Lord inspired them. And thus, that holy community, instituted by blessed Augustine and, as it is said, always guarded by him, was in no way broken asunder or abolished, but remained preserved in some good fathers, until in most recent times God deemed it worthy to call together that dispersion, just as He once congregated the dispersion of the Israelites.¹²⁴

Even before this eventually occurred, the Church, beginning with Pope Innocent III, recognized the dispersed Order of Hermits of St. Augustine and granted them privileges. Thus the OESA preceded both the Franciscans and Dominicans, who were of more recent origin.¹²⁵ In addition, Jordan claimed, because they were hermits, the fathers of the OESA lived in more simplicity than even St. Francis, thus preserving the Augustinian origins of the apostolic life by focusing on religious devotion, as had Gerardo of Bergamo, without straining the historical record whereby Francis first lived as an Augustinian.¹²⁶

According to Jordan, at the Fourth Lateran Council Innocent III stopped just shy of officially confirming the Order, having avoided the issue with the word 'acceptance'. After such recognition, the gradual reunification continued apace.¹²⁷ In 1243 Innocent IV, recognizing the considerable fruits that the Dominicans and Franciscans were bringing the Church, desired to increase their benefit. Thus, he brought the diverse groups of Augustinian hermits living in Tuscany into a single Order, and

¹²² VF 1,7 (22,10-15); cf. VF 1,2 (12,90-96).

¹²³ VF 1,7 (23-26).

¹²⁴ " ... nonnulli eorum in cellis solitarie, alii in coenobiis eremiticis se receperunt, servientes Domino sicut cuique Dominus inspiravit. Et sic illa sancta communio per beatum Augustinum instituta et per eum semper, ut dictum est, observata non omnino dirupta fuit et abolita, sed in aliquibus bonis patribus extitit conservata, donec novissimis temporibus illam dispersionem Deus dignatus est congregare, sicut olim dispersiones Israelis congregavit." VF 1,14 (45,15-22).

¹²⁵ VF 1,14 (46,47-48).

¹²⁶ VF 1,14 (45,34-36).

¹²⁷ VF 1,14 (46,44-50).

assigned to them a Cardinal Protector (Richard Annibaldi).¹²⁸ There were still, however, many other faithful heirs of St. Augustine who yet remained scattered. "At which time," Jordan explained recounting the myth of the Order's foundation,

... blessed Augustine, wanting to end the dispersion of his own family, appeared in a vision with a large head but small body, to Innocent's successor to the apostolic seat, Pope Alexander IV. On account of this vision, as if by a divine oracle, the Pope was moved to complete the union that had been begun by his predecessor, Pope Innocent.¹²⁹

Whereas Augustine had originally founded his Order of Hermits in the monastery outside of Hippo, he 're-founded' them by appearing in a vision to Alexander. Jordan's account of this vision is the most developed version, and only with Jordan do we find Augustine's appearance motivated by Augustine's will to reunite the dispersed members of his own religion.

Thus began the *status modernus* of the Order, whose father was St. Augustine, by means of his foundation, and whose mother was the Church, through its approbation. Jordan distinguished the *status modernus* from the *status antiquus* just as he did the *patres* from the *fratres*. He did not view the *status antiquus* and the *status modernus* as "two conditions" in succession,¹³⁰ but rather as two stages in the single *status religionis* of Augustine's Order. The continuity—not the diversity—is stressed. *Status* was a legal term and in this case refers to the way of life established by Augustine; the adjective *antiquus* or *modernus* signified the period pre- and post-Union respectively.¹³¹ Jordan was not setting forth a theory of

¹²⁸ VF 1,14 (46,62-47,79).

¹²⁹ "Unde beatus Augustinus, volens dispersionem suae Religionis congregari, succedenti ei in Sede apostolica, scilicet domino Alexandro papae IV, in visione apparuit, grandis quidem capite, sed membris exilis. Ex qua visione velut divino oraculo papa communis unionem per praedecessorem suum dominum Innocentium inchoatam consummavit." VF 1,14 (47,80-85).

¹³⁰ Cf. K. Elm, "Augustinus Canonicus-Augustinus Eremita," 93, and *idem*, "Elias, Paulus von Theben und Augustinus als Ordensgründer. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsdeutung der Eremiten- und Bettelorden des 13. Jahrhunderts," in *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewusstsein im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Hans Patze, Vorträge und Forschungen 31 (Sigmaringen, 1987), 371-397; 387.

¹³¹ The unity of the term *status* as employed by Jordan can be seen in his analysis of the two different meanings of the term *religiosi*. In one sense, a person can be a *religiosus* if he or she has taken a private vow to God. Such *religiosi* do not bind themselves to a Rule, but rather adopt their way of life freely. These cannot be said to have a *status religionis*. The other definition of *religiosi* applies to those who have bound themselves in solemn profession to God according to an approved Rule. These *religiosi* do have a *status religionis* and are properly said to be *in statu Religionis*; see VF 2,25 (252,28-40); cf.

history, but presented historical evidence to establish that the OESA and the original hermits gathered around Augustine were of one and the same stock. The apostolic life of the apostles, true evangelical poverty—the same as that practiced by Christ and the apostles—was renewed by Augustine's Rule and accepted by the Church.¹³² Both the *patres* and the *fratres* followed the same Rule, the same way of life, in short, the same *status religionis*.

If Jordan can be said to have a theory of history, it is not one of successive *status*, but of continuous decline and renewal. This is seen in his discussion of the three *propagationes*, which eventually led to that holy community of St. Augustine's offspring, and in Jordan's treatment of the stages of development of apostolic poverty. Holding possessions in common — which even the pagan philosophers affirmed as a component of natural law¹³³ — was originally the principle of all Christians in the first apostolic community. In time, as the Church grew in members and in societal influence, the doctrine of apostolic poverty was gradually relaxed, becoming increasingly restricted to the *religiosi*, until finally restored to its pristine form by the Rule—and Order—of St. Augustine¹³⁴, whose members, as the apostles, live with "one heart and soul in God."

Therefore, this religion's holy community is able to be that city, that is, a union of cities, about which it is said in the Psalm, *Glorious things are said of you, City of God*. Glorious things, I say, are told about your origin (*de propagatione tua*) which you once had from your father, namely blessed Augustine; even more glorious things, however, are said about your confirmation (*de institutione tua*), which you have from your mother, that is, the holy universal church.¹³⁵

The Augustinian Order was truly the "city of God," a beacon in a dark sea with waves of decline and renewal. Jordan was certainly aware of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*. It is, however, the differences that should be

Hen. Tract. 4 (109,98-102).

¹³² VF 3,1 (320,8-16); VF 3,3 (330,3-9).

¹³³ VF 3,1 (322,63-75).

¹³⁴ VF 3,2 (326ff).

¹³⁵ "Haec igitur sancta communio huius Religionis potest esse illa civitas, id est civium unio, de qua dicitur in psalmo: Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, civitas Dei. Gloriosa, inquam, dicta sunt de propagatione tua, quam olim habuisti a Patre, scilicet beato Augustino; gloriosiora vero dicta sunt de institutione tua, quam habes a matre, scilicet sancta universali Ecclesia." VF 1,20 (70,76-81). This is the only place I have found where Jordan refers to the institution of the Order as derived from the Church. Usually, the foundation and institution of the Order is explicitly attributed to Augustine, with the Church's affirmation, and confirmation. See VF 1,14 (45f).

stressed between Jordan's use of the image 'the city of God' in his *Vitas-fratrum*, and Augustine's *magnum opus et arduum*. For the Bishop of Hippo, the account of the city of God was the history of salvation; it began with the separation of the light from darkness and reached its final end in the beatitude of eternal, heavenly peace. There is indeed a historical dimension to Augustine's city of God, but the historical is always in a dialectical relationship with the trans-historical.¹³⁶ For Jordan, the Order as the city of God is completely historical. It enjoys divine protection and guidance, but it functions as a historical example. Jordan never equated membership as such in this city of God with beatitude. Jordan's city of God, namely the exemplary function of the Order, is the model of the most perfect Christian life. Yet the Order as the city of God occupies a special place in the history of Christianity. To see more precisely how this was so for Jordan, we must look back to the Order's founder himself, St. Augustine.

Augustine harmonized the anchoritic and the cenobitic lives, and he established his Order on this principle. In his person and in his Order Augustine united the active with the contemplative life. For Jordan the contemplative life did not consist in meditation alone, but included the cure of souls and spiritual growth in all forms, carried out by preaching, guiding, and teaching. The active life pertained to physical necessity, of oneself or of a neighbor.¹³⁷ All aspects of the spiritual life are part of the contemplative life.¹³⁸ Augustine instituted his Order as a contemplative Order, but one that was to minister and preach to the people. Because of this original institution, the Church "directed the 'little brother hermits' of St. Augustine to the cities."¹³⁹ Just as St. Augustine, who frequently sought the solitude of contemplation, so the brothers of the Order lead a eremitical life of meditation and contemplation, but are eager to impart

¹³⁶ For Augustine's view of history and the city of God, see R.A. Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine* (Cambridge, 1970) and Sigurd Böhm, *La Temporalité dans l'Anthropologie Augustinienne* (Paris, 1984).

¹³⁷ *VF* 1,10 (33,6-9); cf. "Tertia conclusio est quod utraque vita simul est perfectissima ... opera vite active ea que fiunt ad subventionem proximi corporalem; contemplative vero ea que fiunt ad lucrum et profectum spiritualem, ut predicare et huiusmodi." Jor. *OD*, sermo 39B.

¹³⁸ See E.L. Saak, "Quilibet Christianus: Saints in Society in the Sermons of Jordan of Quedlinburg, OESA," in *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons*, Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, Texts et Études du Moyen Âge 5, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, with Edith Wilks Dolnikowski, Rosemary Drage Hale, Darleen Pryds and Anne T. Thayer (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1996), 317-338; 322.

¹³⁹ "Sane hunc modum primariae institutionis Ordinis attendens sacrosancta mater Ecclesia fratres eremicolas sancti Augustini ad civitates direxit ..." *VF* 1,11 (35,23-25).

their spiritual goods to others by their works and their doctrine, teaching equally by example and word.¹⁴⁰

For Jordan the harmony of the anchoritic and cenobitic lives, together with the union of the active and contemplative lives, form not merely a perfect life, but the most perfect life.¹⁴¹ This *vita perfectissima* was the unique accomplishment of Augustine. In his Rule and institution Augustine taught the most perfect life to his Order, which, as no other, is therefore able to be the city of God. The true sons of Augustine hold a special place within the history of Christianity as the embodiment of the *vita perfectissima*, and Augustine, Jordan reminded his brothers, "is to be the exemplar and rule of all our actions."¹⁴² As much as they were able, the Augustinian Hermits were to be 'the imitators of our Father Augustine' (*imitatores Patris nostri Augustini*).¹⁴³ It was thus that the heirs of the historical Augustine were able to be in the city and yet the city on the hill.

In his *Liber Vitasfratrum* Jordan used the foundational myth of the OESA to unite the *fratres* with the *patres*, the *status modernus* with the *status antiquus*. The over-arching theme of the entire work is the exhortation to imitate the life of Augustine, which Jordan had narrated in his *Vita Sancti Augustini*. The phenomenon of mythic imitation provided the link between the friars of Jordan's day and their Order's founder. For the Augustinians, Augustine's primordial foundation (*primordialiter propagatus*) was the archetype which they strove to imitate in their daily lives.¹⁴⁴ The imitation of Augustine gave the Augustinians their legitimacy, their unity, and their memory: it gave them their religious identity. The OESA was a mythic community,¹⁴⁵ centered around the most perfect life established by Augustine, of which the *fratres* of the later Middle Ages were both the heirs and the imitators. While the historical argument of Jordan's text provided the members of the Order with the narrative of what made an Augustinian an Augustinian, the Augustinian myth itself equipped the Order with its self-understanding as a religious community in

¹⁴⁰ VF 1,11 (35,25-36,33). Cf. Caroline Walker Bynum, "The Canonical Concern with Edification Verbo et Exemplo," in *idem*, *Jesus as Mother. Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1982), 36-40.

¹⁴¹ See VF 1,4 (15ff).

¹⁴² "...qui [Augustine] debet esse omnis nostrae actionis exemplar et regula ..." VF 1,11 (36,32-33).

¹⁴³ VF 2,21 (226,2-3).

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Eliade, *The Sacred and The Profane*, 101 and 105, and *idem*, *The Myth of Eternal Return* (New York, 1954).

¹⁴⁵ See note 183 in Part I of this article.

late medieval society.

During the century that separated the Great Union from Jordan's *Liber Vitasfratrum*, the OESA had developed from a conglomerate of various eremitical groups each following Augustine's Rule, into the saint's true sons and heirs. Jordan's *Liber Vitasfratrum* is the most comprehensive expression of the Order's identity in the later Middle Ages. It is a handbook for teaching how one was to be an Augustinian, complete with examples. Whereas in the course of the 1330's the Augustinian myth was created by the Anonymous Florentine, Nicholas of Alessandria, and Henry of Friemar in context of the Order's debate with the Canons over which group was most authentically Augustine's true heirs, Jordan, who most likely conceived of his plan in the same context, textualized the myth on a grand scale, diffusing it through all aspects of the Order's life. The members of Augustine's religion were to imitate Augustine in all ways; he was their rule and exemplar for life within the Order. When Henry of Friemar recounted how Augustine appeared to Alexander IV, Henry turned the vision into a divine oracle. Jordan repeated Henry's insight, and added his own contribution by making the initiative for the Great Union that of Augustine himself, and Augustine's desire to reunite the dispersed members of his own *religio*. And whereas Henry associated the Order's charge to preach, teach and hear confessions among the people in the cities with Alexander's approbation of the newly reunited Order, Jordan laid the foundation thereof in his *Vita Sancti Augustini* by showing how Augustine instituted his second monastery and taught its members the Holy Scriptures so that they would live not only for themselves, but also to minister to the populace. This then became his *cantus firmus* for the entire *Liber Vitasfratrum*, for this life comprised the combination of the anchoritic and cenobitic that Augustine had accomplished and passed along to his sons as the *vita perfectissima*.

The complex of factors that comprised the Order's *vita contemplativa* was based on the model of Augustine, which the Order supported and defended as uniquely its own. Only the members of Augustine's religion could legitimately call Augustine *Pater noster*, as the author of the *Initium*, Nicholas of Alessandria, Henry and Jordan all made clear time and time again. It was not just an ideal that the sons of Augustine were following: it was a programmatic mission of perpetuating Augustine's heritage. By being Augustinians the hermits were filling out the body of Augustine which was so diminished as it appeared to Alexander IV. The myth of Augustine, as it was created in the early years of the 1330's, started to flow as blood through the veins of Augustine's body throughout all facets

of the Order, giving it life and form, based on the Order's narrative identity as emplotted in Jordan's *Vita Sancti Augustini*. For grasping Augustine's heritage in the later Middle Ages, scholars must look beyond the explication of theological doctrines: the religious Augustinianism of the late medieval sons of Augustine formed the core of the phenomenon that can be labeled late medieval Augustinianism. In the later Middle Ages 'being an Augustinian' was determined by one's adherence to the Augustinian identity, created by the true sons of Augustine in the early decades of the fourteenth century.

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