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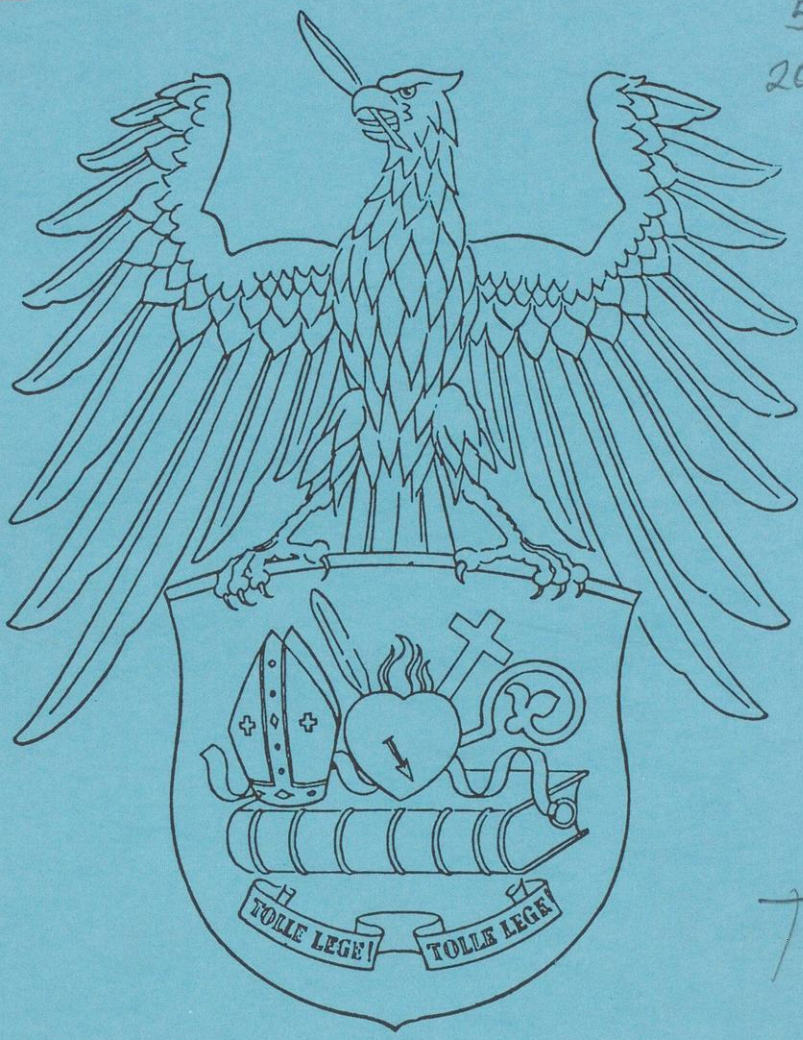

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AUGUSTINIANA

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TIJDSCHRIFT VOOR DE STUDIE VAN SINT AUGUSTINUS EN DE AUGUSTIJNENORDE

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

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INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM AUGUSTINIANUM LOVANII

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LUCIEN CEYSSENS (1902-2001)[1]

Friar Minor Luciaan Ceyssens passed away in Sint-Truiden on Tuesday, the 10th of April 2001, at the age of 98. He was born in Wijchmaal-Peer (Province of Limburg, Belgium) on the 8th of October, 1902, as the youngest child of a farmer's family with six children. He was christened Willem. After his secondary education at the diocesan college in Peer and the Friar Minor colleges in Lokeren and Rekem (Limburg), he studied philosophy, also in Rekem – Ceyssens had joined the Franciscan order as a novice in 1920. He chose Lucianus (Lucien) as his religious name. He studied theology in Turnhout and Sint-Truiden, where he was ordained as priest on the 8th of September 1927.

Because Ceyssens was at that time suffering from failing health, he was granted exemption to devote himself to his studies. During his stay in Turnhout he published a number of books on the history of education in Turnhout before 1830 and on the Friar Minors in Turnhout. During the period 1929-1931 he took, as a free student, for some time classes about the historical method in Leuven. Because of his aptitude for historical research, Ceyssens was sent to study at the Faculty of Church History of the Gregoriana in Rome in 1934. On the basis of his former publications he was immediately admitted to the second licentiate. For his doctorate he chose to work on the modern period. Under the guidance of the German Jesuit J. Grisar he wrote on the introduction of the Antijansenist form in the Low Countries during the period 1692-1694. He presented his doctoral dissertation, *Introduction du formulaire antijanséniste en Belgique. Premier essai (1692-1694)* in 1936. Contrary to the expectations of his promoter, Ceyssens came to the conclusion, based on a very thorough examination of records, that it was wrong to simply classify the opponents of Jansenism as "orthodox" and to point out the Jansenists as the only guilty party. Ceyssens' promoter, who was disappointed because the research result was rather disillusioning with regard to his order, agreed to award Ceyssens with the Ph.D. on the condition that the dissertation would not be published – it was not until the

[1] Exhaustive overviews on Ceyssens' life and work can be found in M. G. SPIERTZ, *L'œuvre du professeur Ceyssens. Son importance pour l'étude du jansénisme*, in I. VÁZQUEZ, *L'œuvre littéraire de Lucien Ceyssens sur le jansénisme et l'antijansénisme devant la critique* (Bibliotheca Pontificii Athenaei <<Antonianum>>, 20), Rome, 1979, pp. 125-137; J. A. G. TANS, *L'œuvre scientifique de Lucien Ceyssens*, in L. CEYSSENS & J. A. G. TANS, *Autour de l'Unigenitus. Recherches sur la genèse de la Constitution* (BETL, 76), Leuven, 1987.

publication of volume IV of the series *Jansenistica* in 1962 that the merits of the dissertation could be appreciated. From the time of his doctorate until the time of his death, Ceyssens' research would be largely determined by his interest for Jansenism and Antijansenism.

In 1934 Ceyssens was appointed as professor at the Antonianum, a task he fulfilled until 1963, with an interruption during the Second World War. He performed this task with devotion, but with little enthusiasm: the "hodie homo non sum", a Latin translation of the Flemish "vandaag ben ik geen mens" has led many a Spaniard and Italian to a metaphysical crisis with regard to the own identity. During his stay in Belgium (1940-1945) Ceyssens gave lectures on church history at the training house of his order in Leuven and he initiated the rebuilding of the Franciscan theological library, which had been destroyed by the war. He was also entrusted with the care of the provincial archives in Schaarbeek. Alarmed by the possiblity of air raids, Ceyssens moved these archives to the cellars of the convent and in this way rescued them from a certain destruction: two weeks after the move to the cellars this convent too was badly damaged by the violence of war.

In 1963 Ceyssens decided to retire in order to have "a few years" left to occupy himself with scientific research. Ten years later, during a conference in Rome, he gave an overview of the urgent research desiderata regarding Jansenism[2]. At that occasion, he explained that he wanted to make a start with the research regarding these desiderata, and he applied himself in such a way that one can state 30 years later that he has realised his own research project: until 2000[3] articles were being published in specialist journals[4].

[2] Cf. *Pour une histoire plus poussée et plus explicite de l'antijansénisme, in Actes du colloque sur le jansénisme, organisé par l'Academia Belgica*, Rome, 2 et 3 novembre 1973 (BRHE, 64), Leuven, 1977, pp. 1-25.

[3] Cf. *La requête académique de l'Université de Louvain au pape Innocent XI (1684)*, in Augustiniana 50 (2000) 297-304.

[4] For an overview of Ceyssens' numerous publications on Jansenism, see H. WILLEMS, *Les publications du Père Lucien Ceyssens concernant le jansénisme*, in *Miscellanea jansenistica offerts à Lucien Ceyssens O.F.M. à l'occasion de son soixantième anniversaire*, Heverlee-Leuven, 1963, pp. 7-57; I. VÁSQUEZ, *Les publications du Père Lucien Ceyssens concernant le jansénisme et l'antijansénisme 1937-1977*, in *Antonianum* 53 (1978) 194-266 (resumed in I. VÁZQUEZ, *L'œuvre littéraire de Lucien Ceyssens sur le jansénisme et l'antijansénisme devant la critique* (Bibliotheca Pontificii Athenaei <<Antonianum>>, 20), Rome, 1979, pp. 15-91); ID., *L'œuvre littéraire de Lucien Ceyssens sur le jansénisme et l'antijansénisme devant la critique. Premier supplement*, in *Antonianum* 60 (1985) 505-517; ID., *L'œuvre littéraire de Lucien Ceyssens sur le jansénisme et l'antijansénisme devant la critique. Deuxième*

Professor Lucien Ceyssens belonged to that generation of scholars who could still indulge in going one's one way, averse from any bureaucratic and other administrative obligations or pseudo-obligations. His life consisted of working in archives in Rome, Utrecht, Mechelen, Paris. He rendered invaluable services to the scientific research with the publication of his *Sources relatives aux débuts du jansénisme et de l'antijansénisme*, nine voluminous parts covering the period 1640-1682[5]. He also supplied an interpretative reference frame by situating the Jansenistic controversy within two spiritual movements of the Renaissance: strict Augustinism and Molinism[6], at which it was apparent to Ceyssens that Jansenius, in accordance with the direction indicated by Clemens VIII, hoped that Augustinus would supply him with the "final" answer. In over 400 books and articles, covering everything from the person of Jansenius to the bulle Unigenitus[7], Ceyssens tried to do justice to that group of sincere believers, who were labelled Jansenists because of their serious avowal of the Christian faith. Ceyssens protested his whole life against the fact that deeply religious people, Jansenius first and foremost, were labelled as "heretics" because they regarded to be a Christian and to live as a Christian as serious matters. He demonstrated repeatedly that personal profit, small-minded actions and flattery were the real motivations of some of the so-called orthodox Church figures[8]. Through his publications Ceyssens acquired a place among the great historical researchers on Jansenism: there was no one better acquainted with the history of Jansenism in Belgium. In addition he succeeded in presenting results of scientifically high-minded research in a captivating way to the reading public. He was an excellent storyteller, whose stories were well documented and worth reading!

supplement, in *Antonianum* 68 (1993) 375-390. For his other publications, it is advisable to consult *Franciscana*, which offers an overview of the literary activities of the Flemish Minor Friars on a yearly basis.

[5] For this, see J. A. G. TANS, *a.c.*, p. IX: "On peut dire sans restriction qu'aucune étude sur l'histoire ecclésiastique du dix-septième siècle ne peut impunément négliger cette riche documentation."

[6] Cf. TANS, a.c., pp. IX-X.

[7] Cf. L. CEYSSENS & J. A. G. TANS, *Autour de l'Unigenitus. Recherches sur la genèse de la constitution* (BETL, 86), Leuven, 1987; L. CEYSSENS, *Le sort de la bulle Unigenitus. Recueil d'études offert à Lucien Ceyssens à l'occasion de son 90e anniversaire*. Présenté par M. LAMBERIGTS (BETL, 104), Leuven, 1992.

[8] Compare his synthetic article: *Que penser finalement de l'histoire du jansénisme et de l'antijansénisme*, in RHE 88 (1993) 108-130.

Ceyssens' work was innovative, but not in the modern sense of the word. Ceyssens chose to stick to his sources, he did not invent any new historical methods, he did not make any statements beforehand that turned out to mistaken afterwards. By means of publications, he preferred to use publications to demonstrate that in the end the so-called orthodox truths regularly did not check out: e.g. in 1967 he published in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* an article on Paray-le-Monial: the traditional interpretations of the so-called apparitions were thus far explained as a reaction against the dangers of Jansenism. Ceyssens' research showed that a meticulous reading of the preserved material indicates rather the opposite: reactions against the Antijansenism[9].

During his lifetime professor Ceyssens received many honours: in 1963 on the occasion of his 60th birthday he was offered a Festschrift[10] by the 'Augustijns Historisch Instituut'. The 'Université catholique de Louvain-la-Neuve' awarded him a honorary doctorate because of his mind-broadening research[11]. The Faculty of Theology of the K. U. Leuven organised in 1979 a colloquium in honour of the researcher Ceyssens: Le jansénisme au Pays-Bas[12], invited him to attend in 1985 the conference L'image de Jansénius[13], and honoured him especially on the occasion of his 90th birthday in 1992 with the publication of *Le Sort de la bulle Unigenitus*, a intrinsically coherent collection of Ceyssens' publications mainly about Jansenism in France. The 'Oud-Katholieke Kerk van Nederland' paid tribute to Ceyssens in 1989 with the Blaise Pascal-award. Peer made him honorary citizen of their city. Ceyssens was deservedly proud of this last distinction. During his lifetime, Ceyssens did not limit his time and energy to the research of subjects which were internationally appreciated and respected, but he dedicated himself with as much enthusiasm to the so-called local history: his publications on Peer or

[9] See his Paray-le-Monial et le jansénisme, in RHE 62 (1967) 49-69.

[10] *Miscellanea Jansenistica offerts à Lucien Ceyssens à l'occasion de son soixantième anniversaire*, Heverlee-Leuven, 1963.

[11] Cf. R. AUBERT, *Discours prononcé à Louvain-la-Neuve le 24 avril 1978*, in I. VÁZQUEZ, *L'œuvre littéraire de Lucien Ceyssens sur le jansénisme et l'antijansénisme devant la critique*, pp. 11-14.

[12] Cf. J. VAN BAVEL & M. SCHRAMA (éd.), *Jansénius et le Jansénisme dans les Pays-Bas. Mélanges Lucien Ceyssens* (BETL, 56), Leuven, 1982.

[13] See his *La défiguration de Jansénius*, in E. VAN EIJL (éd.), *L'image de C. Jansénius jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*. Actes du Colloque, Louvain, 7-9 novembre 1985 (BETL, 79), 1987, 23-31.

on (remarkable) family members, ancesters and/or friends need to be mentioned in this regard.
Ceyssens was a hard worker: "Il n'avait pas simplement parcouru les années (...), il les avait aussi vécues" [14]. This fertile life has now come to an end. May he rest in peace. Ceyssens scribens mortuus est. Requiescat in pace cum sanctis.

Leuven M. LAMBERIGTS

[14] VAZQUEZ, *a.c.*, p. 475.

JULIAN OF AECLANUM'S *TRACTATUS* IN OSEE, IOHEL, AMOS

Some notes on the current state of research

In 1580 René Laurent de la Barre published a collection of works by Rufinus of Aquileia which contained the fragment of a commentary on the Minor Prophets entitled *Tractatus prophetarum Osee, Iohel et Amos*[1]. Barraeus's text of this latter work is based on a MS from the Charterhouse of Mont Dieu[2], which is now lost. That MS contained mainly authentic Rufiniana[3]. Barraeus seems to have had no reason to question Rufinus's authorship of the *Tractatus*. He followed a medieval tradition going back to a 10th century MS from Corbie, which names Rufinus as the most probable author[4]. There is, however, no ancient proof for such a claim. Gennadius and Cassiodorus in their catalogues, for instance, do not list the *Tractatus* among Rufinus's works.

[1] Renatus Laurentius Barreus, ed., *Ruffini Aquileiensis presbyteri opuscula* [some prints have, less humbly, *opera omnia*; cf. G. Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar zu den Propheten Osee, Joel und Amos. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Exegese*. Analecta Biblica 9 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1958), 24 n. 1] *quaedam partim antehac nunquam in lucem edita partim nuper ope doctissimorum virorum emendata et castigata* (Paris: apud Michaelem Somnium, 1580). The commentary mentioned can be found on pp. 25-168; *tractatus* is its title in the 9th, 10th century Corbie MS (Paris. BN Lat. 12148) which also ascribes the work to Rufinus (cf. below n. 4). The author himself categorizes his work as an explanatio (CCL 88, 115.16); cf. also Y.-M. Duval, "Iulianus Aeclanensis restitutus. La première édition – incomplète – de l'œuvre de Julien d'Éclane", in: RÉAug 25 (1979): 162-72, 167-68.

[2] Cf. Barreus, Ruffini (n. 1), iiia (PL 21, 71-72); BOUWMAN, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1), 24; L. De Coninck & M. J. D'Hont, ed., *Iuliani Aeclanensis expositio libri Iob, tractatus prophetarum Osee, Iohel et Amos, accedunt operum deperditorum fragmenta post Albertum Bruckner denuo collecta aucta ordinata*. CCL 88 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977), 18-19. Barraeus is now also traded as the name for the text of La Barre's print, which has replaced the lost MS.

[3] M. Simonetti, "Sulla tradizione manoscritta delle opere originali di Rufino", in: SE 9 (1957): 25; 10 (1958): 31.

[4] Parisinus Bibl. Nat. Lat. 12 148 (saec. IX sive X): tractatus prophetarum ... quem esse putamus Rufini...; cf. G. Morin, "Un ouvrage restitué à Julien d'Eclanum: Le commentaire du Pseudo-Rufin sur les prophètes Osée, Joel et Amos", in: RB 30 (1913): 1-24, 1-2, drawing on Fontanini's and Vallarsi's lives of Rufinus (PL 21, 268; cf. below n. 5). Other representatives of the said medieval tradition are John Colonna (13th century), Andrea Dandolo (14th century) and John of Trittenheim (15th century).

In 1590 Rufinus's authorship of the *Tractatus* was seriously called in question by the Jesuit exegete Francisco Ribera[5]. Ribera's doubts were subsequently confirmed, e. g. by Tillemont, Fontanini and Vallarsi, whose arguments were based on three main points: 1. The author of the *Tractatus* holds a bias against Origen. 2. He is also critical of Jerome, though he refers to, and relies on, the Hebrew text and Jerome's translation. 3. His Latin strikes as artificial and constructed[6]. All of which speaks against Rufinus' authorship.

But who, if not Rufinus, was the author? Only Vallarsi came up with a suggestion. He included the *Tractatus* in an appendix to his edition of Rufinus' works[7]. In the preface to that edition he argued that Jerome's pupil Orosius might be a likely candidate for the authorship of the *Tractatus*[8]. The latter had to be a presbyter or a bishop[9], to come originally from the west and to have lived, at least for some time, in

[5] Cf. Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), 2. Ribera's commentary on the Minor Prophets was in fact first published in Salamanca in 1587. Its second edition was published in Rome in 1590 by Jacob Torner; see C. Sommervogel et al., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* 6 (Paris: A. Picard & Brussels: O. Schepens, 1895), 1761; cf. now also K. Reinhardt, *Bibelkommentare spanischer Autoren (1500-1700)*, vol. 2 (M-Z) (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1999), 238-45, 240-41. In that latter edition of Ribera's commentary the reference can be found on p. 91. Ad Os 2:14 (ecce ego lactabo eam) Ribera makes an interesting discovery. The author of the tractatus translates "lactabo eam" as "I will feed her" (lactare from lac-lactis), yet it means "I will seduce her" (from lacio). Rufinus, Ribera writes, would not have made such a simple mistake. He would have known better from the Greek text. Ribera thus began "to persuade himself that the author of this commentary was not the Rufinus who wrote against Jerome" (ibid.). There were also differences in their style, he adds. Ribera is extensively cited by Fontanini and Vallarsi in their Vita Rufini (PL 21, 75-295, 271). Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1), 6 n. 4, makes the same point as Ribera (concerning Os 2:14), but does not cite him.

[6] On Fontanini and Vallarsi cf. above n. 5; on Tillemont cf. Sebastien Le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclesiastique* XII (Paris: Charles Robustel, 1710), 315 and 659; on point 3. The language of the tractatus: The harsh verdict of Fontanini, Vallarsi and Tillemont on the supposedly corrupt language and style of the tractatus has of course long been revised; cf. below n. 13.

[7] Dominicus Vallarsi, ed., *Tyrannii Rufini Aquilejensis Presbyteri opera quae exstant omnia nunc primum collecta, ordinate disposita, ab alienis sejuncta, aucta et ad Mss. codd. quamplurimos, necnon vetustiores editiones castigata, notis atque observationibus continentur illustrata studio ac labore Dominici Vallarsii...* (Verona, apud Petrum Antonium Bernum & Jacobum Vallarsium, 1745), 389-560 (PL 21, 959-1104).

[8] Vallarsi, *Tyrannii Rufini* (n. 7) (PL 21, 67-70).

[9] Vallarsi argued that the *tractatus* was structured like a teaching homily, as if the author was in reality a speaker (preacher) addressing an audience. But, as Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), 1-2, replies, Vallarsi's observations could as well apply to a writer addressing a readership.

the east. Orosius, a presbyter, maybe even a bishop, most probably from Braga in modern day Portugal, who spent part of his life in Palestine, qualifies on all of these accounts. Vallarsi even thought to have found an entry in a 12th century catalogue of ecclesiastical writers which ascribes to him a commentary on the Minor Prophets[10]. But that entry is unreliable[11]; and since Vallarsi did not even remotely address the burning issues of language and style in the *Tractatus*, his assumptions about the author's *persona* remained arbitrary and, ultimately, of no consequence.

The situation had not changed, when in 1903 Germain Morin came up with the idea to ascribe the work to Vigilantius[12], a presbyter from Aquitaine, who had visited Jerome in Palestine and whom Jerome later accused of polemicizing against the cult of martyrs and saints, the practice of vigils and ascetic life in general. The *Tractatus* may indeed show a certain affinity to Vigilantius's character and thought, as presented by Jerome, but like Vallarsi before him, Morin failed to address the question of language and style. He soon had to drop his case. Vigilantius was not the author of the *Tractatus*.

Then, in July 1912, Morin stumbled across some passages in Augustine's *Opus imperfectum contra Iulianum*, citations from Julian's of Aeclanum work *Ad Florum*, an invective against Augustine's doctrine of original sin. Originally a bishop from Aeclanum in southern Italy, Julian, so goes the tradition, had written it while in exile in Mopsuestia in Cilicia around the mid-420s and sent it to his friend Florus in Constantinople. From there it also found its way

[10] Anonymus Mellicensis, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis;* see E. Ettlinger, *Der sogenannte Anonymus Mellicensis De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis. Text- und quellenkritische Ausgabe mit Einleitung* (Karlsruhe: Braun, 1896), 78; and also the more recent work of F. R. Swietek, *Wolfger of Prüfening's De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (Diss. Univ. of Illinois, 1978); but note the critique of the work of Swietek by F. Fuchs, "Zum Anonymus Mellicensis," in: DA 42 (1986): 213-26, 216. Melk is not where the author wrote, but where the MS was found on which the editio princeps is based. Today the author has been identified as Wolfger of Prüfening (*1100); on him cf. G. Glauche, "Wolfger von Prüfening", in: LMA 9 (1998): 308-309.

[11] Cf. the references listed under n. 10, especially Ettlinger, *Der sogenannte Anonymus Mellicensis* (n. 10), 78; cf. also Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), 6.

[12] Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), 7. However, on p. 17 Morin admits that the recent publications by Bruckner had opened new opportunities for his own research. See in particular A. Bruckner, *Julian von Eclanum. Sein Leben und seine Lehre. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Pelagianismus.* TU 15/3a (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897); Id., *Die vier Bücher Julians von Aeclanum an Turbantius. Ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik Julians und Augustins*. Neue Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche 8 (Berlin: Trowitzsch & Sohn, 1910; repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1973).

to Rome, where the then bishop of Thagaste and Augustine's friend, Alypius, spotted it at a visit in 426. It was from him that Augustine received his copy, which he began to refute almost immediately in what was to become his *Opus imperfectum*, citing in full almost six out of the eight *libri ad Florum*, which Julian had written. These *Libri VIII ad Florum*, Morin found, bear striking similarities to the *Tractatus* in language and style. To demonstrate this he drew up lists of words and phrases, which became the basic frame of reference for a number of further lexicographical studies on the Latin of Julian of Aeclanum[13]: *profanitas, magister gentium* (for St. Paul)[14], *obscenitas, censura, angor, stemma, neutiquam, consulentia, concinenter, gnarus-ignarus*, supin plus *ire*, 4th declination on *-us*, like *apparatus, attritus, natatus etc.*, nouns on *-as*, like *profanitas, generalitas, inanitas, nimietas etc.*, nouns on *-tio*, like *ablactatio, frustratio, praelatio, taxatio etc.*, nouns on *-tor* and *-trix*, like *castigator, circulator, superatrix, ultrix*, adjectives on *-lis*, like *causalis, trabalis, aequabilis*, verbs on *-escere*, like *cinescere, adolescere, aegrescere etc.* He also pointed to similarities in the areas of prose rhythm and other syntactic elements[15].

Shortly before he published his findings Morin made another interesting discovery. As early as 1884 the German scholar Carl

[13] Most notably those of Alberto Vaccari, who used the method to attribute himself a number of works to Julian. See A. Vaccari, *Un Commento a Giobbe di Giuliano di Eclana.* Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1915); Id., "Nuova Opera di Giuliano Eclanese: Commento ai Salmi", in: Civiltà Cattolica 67 (1916, 1): 578-93; then also V. Bulhart, "Lexikalisches zum Spätlatein", in: WS 67 (1954): 145-61; J. H. Baxter, "Notes on the Latin of Julian of Eclanum", in: ALMA 21 (1951): 5-54; G. Bouwman, "Zum Wortschatz des Julian von Aeclanum", in: ALMA 27 (1957): 141-64; and Id. *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1). The method is continued in a certain sense by A. Primmer, "Rhythmus- und Textprobleme in Aug. op. imperf. 1-3", in: WS NS 9 (1975): 186-212; 11 (1977): 192-218, who also touches upon questions concerning the language of *Ad Florum*. See also id., "Textvorschläge zu Augustins Opus imperfectum", in: H. Bannert, J. Divjak, R. Hanslik, eds., *Latinität und Alte Kirche. FS Rudolf Hanslik*. WS.B (Böhlau: Wien 1977), 235-50.

[14] Following J. Witte, *Der Kommentar des Aponius zum Hohenliede* (Diss. Erlangen, 1903), 26, Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), 10 n. 1, and 22 n. 1, sees the use of this term by Apponius in his commentary on the Canticum, Appon. exp. Cant. 1.3 (CCL 19, 4.34), dating probably from the second half of the 6th century, as possible evidence for Apponius's knowledge of Julian's commentary on the Canticum mentioned by the Venerable Bede (see below n. 25). More recently this suggestion has been ignored. It is neither mentioned in the critical edition of Apponius's commentary (CCL 19) nor by H. König, *Apponius. Die Auslegung zum Lied der Lieder. Die einführenden Bücher I-III und das christologisch bedeutsame Buch IX*. Vetus Latina. Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel 21 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1992), 7.

[15] Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), 8-17.

Paucker had preliminarily suggested Julian of Aeclanum as author of the *Tractatus*[16]. In an appendix to his study on the Latin of Orosius Paucker reiterated the common opinion first expressed by Ribera that the author of the *Tractatus* must be counted among the "more eminent theologians of the early fifth century. He cannot have been Jerome, however. For although he uses Jerome's translation from the Hebrew, he even more frequently criticises Jerome. Nor does he seem to have been a follower of Augustine, like Orosius. Julian the Pelagian comes to mind, an ingenious and not entirely uneducated chap", Paucker mused. Paucker never had the chance to verify his proposition, but he did a lot of groundwork on the text, as Morin and after him Bouwman gratefully acknowledged[17].

Having established the author on linguistic and stylistic grounds Morin went on to put the work in its historical context. As Vallarsi rightly assumed, it would have been written within a few years after Jerome's death[18]. This is precisely the period when Julian left Italy to stay with Theodore of Mopsuestia in Cilicia[19] and to write the *Libri*

[16] C. Paucker (ed. H. Rönsch), *Vorarbeiten zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte. Dritte Abteilung, II. De latinitate scriptorum quorundam seculi quarti et ineuntis quinti p. C. minorum Obseruationes, II. Orosius* (Berlin: Calvary, 1884), 53: Epimetrum I. ad II. De latinitate Orosii: Identidem locis Orosii testimonia adiecimus e commentariis in prophetas minores tres Oseam, Joel, Amos, Rufino Aquileiensi adscriptis, ut pridem constat, immerito, quod quare fecerimus iam clarescet. Commentarios istos (sane luculentos, sobrietate praesertim interpretationis commendabiles, uerborum sensus exponere contentae ipsos, neque, ut Hieronymus solet Origenem secutus, ad allegoriam singula quaeque referendo tanquam aenigmata conantis dissoluere) conscripsisse mihi quidem uidetur unus aliquis ex eminentioribus quinti seculi ineuntis doctoribus, incertum tamen an catholicis. Hieronymum quidem, tametsi translatione Scripturae noua illius utens, saepius reprehendit, neque Augustini uidetur fuisse sectator, ut erat Orosius. Venit in mentem Iuliani Pelagiani, hominis ingeniosi neque ineruditi, sed de eo uidero si forte alias.

[17] The latter more expressly than the former; cf. Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), 18; Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1), 29-37.

[18] Which Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), 18, following the tradition initiated by Prosper chron. 1274 (MGH AA IX, 469), dates into the year 420. More recent studies prefer 419. There seems to be no doubt about the day, 30 September. See J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome. His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (London: Duckworth, 1974), 331-32; for the present state of research and more recent literature cf. A. Fürst, "Hieronymus", in: S. Döpp & W. Geerlings, eds., Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 21999), 286-90, 286-87.

[19] According to Marius Mercator, commonitorium super nomine Caelestii = coll. Palat. 36 (ACO I/V/1, 68.23-26): ... Iulianus et reliqui conplices eius ... ex omni Italia deturbati sunt; Id., epistula in refutationem symboli Theodori Mopsuesteni = coll. Palat. 15 (ACO I/V/1, 23.24-25): ... secutum esse Theodorum; and Id., commonitorium aduersum haeresim Pelagii et Caelestii uel etiam scripta Iuliani = coll. Palat. 14

VIII ad Florum. Probably during the same period Theodore of Mopsuestia wrote a polemic against Jerome's and Augustine's teachings on original sin[20]. It might be influenced by one of Julian's

(ACO I/V/1, 19.26-27): ... in Cilicia ingeris. However, it is not clear when exactly Julian left Italy for Cilicia. In 421 Augustine is still perplexed: Aug. c. Iul. 2.34 (PL 44, 697): ... ubicumque sis, ubicumque legere ista potueris... Is he assuming that Julian has already left Italy, or that he is still there, on the move, or in hiding? Julian could indeed still have been in Italy. He even could have written *Ad Florum* there. In Flor. = Aug. c. Iul. imp. 1.7 (CSEL 85/1, 9) Julian writes that Augustine's friend Alypius "recently" (nuper) handed over Augustine's work On concupiscence (nupt et conc. 2) to Count Valerius. He is refering to an event that happened in 421. Traditionally, Julian is thought to have been already in Cilicia, when he wrote these lines. Yet even if we suppose that he was, the question remains, when he arrived there. Nuper does not give a clue here. It could mean anything, from a few weeks to a few years. Julian could have travelled to Cilicia at any time between the second half of 419 and the second half of 421, or even later, if we assume that he wrote *Ad Florum* while still in Italy, and travelled east after completing it.

[20] *Photios, Bibliotheca* 177 (II 178 Henry), in his summary of Theodore's work, thinks that it was directed against Jerome, whom Theodore called Aram, a westerner who had come to the east and composed books about the new heresy. He had also claimed to have found a fifth gospel in the library of Eusebius of Palestine and rejected the existing Biblical translations to produce a new one of his own, although his Hebrew was not natural, but acquired from a low-born native speaker. On Henry's edition of this passage cf. the review by M. Aubineau, "Photius, Bibliothèque Cod. 53 sur les Pélagiens", in: RPh 93 (1967): 232-41. The "books" which Theodore may have had in mind here is Jerome's *Dialogue against the Pelagians*, in particular Hier. dial. adu. Pel. 3.2 (CCL 80, 99-100), where Jerome cites from an apocryphal Gospel *According to the Hebrews*, where it is supposedly written that even Jesus may have unwittingly committed sins. Cf. O. Wermelinger, *Rom und Pelagius*. Päpste und Papsttum 7 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1975), 54. The sixth century (cf. ACO I/V/1, viiviiii) compiler of the *Collectio Palatina*, where fragments of Theodore's original seem to be preserved, apparently thought that Theodore's invective was directed against Augustine. Cf. coll. Palat. 51 (ACO I/V/1, 173-76). Following Tillemont, *Mémoires* XII (n. 6), 449, and J. M. Vosté, "La chronologie de l'activité littéraire de Théodore de Mopsueste", in: RBibl 34 (1925): 54-81, 79, L. Wickham, "Pelagianism in the East", in: R. Williams, ed., *The Making of Orthodoxy. Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 200-13, 206-207, thinks that both possibilities are not mutually exclusive. In contrast, J. Gross, "Theodor von Mopsuestia, ein Gegner der Erbsündenlehre", in: ZKG 65 (1953/1954): 1-15, 11-15, and Id., *Geschichte des Erbsündendogmas 1: Entstehungsgeschichte des Erbsündendogmas. Von der Bibel bis Augustinus* (München: Reinhardt, 1960), 200-202, argues that Theodore had only Jerome in mind. On Jerome's and Augustine's teachings on original sin in comparison see A. Fürst, "Zur Vielfalt altkirchlicher Soteriologie. Augustins Berufung auf Hieronymus im pelagianischen Streit", in: J. B. Bauer, ed., *Philophronesis für Norbert Brox*. Grazer theologische Studien 19 (Graz: Institut für Ökumenische Theologie und Patrologie an der Universität Graz, 1995), 119-85. Fürst's findings support the view that Theodore's arguments are not only directed against the teachings of Jerome, but also against those of Augustine. On the development of Jerome-

earlier works[21]. After Theodore's death in 428 Marius Mercator claimed that around 423 Theodore had declared Julian a heretic at a synod in Cilicia[22]. But his "report" lacks credibility[23]. If Julian wrote the *Tractatus* in Mopsuestia, in addition to the *libri ad Florum* and, as

's own position against Pelagius see now B. Jeanjean, *Saint Jérôme et l'hérésie*. Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité 161 (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1999), passim.

[21] The doctrines condemned by Theodore, as reported by coll. Palat. 51 (ACO I/V/1, 173-76) and Photius, *Bibliotheca* 177 (II 178 Henry), bear striking similarities to those listed in a Letter to the Romans quoted by Augustine in Aug. c. duas epp. Pel. 1 (CSEL 60, 423-59). This letter, Iul. ep. Rom. (CCL 88, 396-98), is almost certainly composed by Julian of Aeclanum, most probably during the months after Pope Zosimus's death on 26 December 418. It was signed by Julian and a group of fellow bishops opposed to the condemnation of Pelagius and Caelestius and addressed to the clergy of Rome. The modern editor, De Coninck (CCL 88), is not entirely certain about its authorship and date and places it somewhat awkwardly towards the end of the volume. But see the critical note by Duval, "Iulianus Aeclanensis restitutus" (n. 1), 164. Julian's authorship of ep. Rom. was first called into question by Jean Garnier, who argued that Julian himself denied it: Iul. Flor. = Aug. c. Iul. imp. 1.18 (CSEL 85/1, 15). Garnier ascribed the letter to Caelestius: Joannes Garnerius, "Dissertationes septem, quibus integra continetur historia Pelagiana = Appendix secunda ad primam partem operum Marii Mercatoris", in: Id., *Marii Mercatoris s. Augustino aequalis opera quaecumque extant* (Paris: Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, 1673) (PL 48, 255-698); ibid. "Dissertatio" V, 317-19 (PL 48, 505-507). In the passage in question, however, Julian only denies that ep. Rom. is identical to one of two letters which he had written a few months earlier to Pope Zosimus. One of these two letters is extant in fragments Merc. comm. Iul. = coll. Palat. 11 (ACO I/V/1, 12.7-39) now edited as Iul. ep. Zos. (CCL 88, 335f.). The other one is lost. Garnier, however, perhaps to compensate for the loss of ep. Rom. to Julian's œuvre, saw it extant in a *libellus fidei*, traditionally seen as a document composed by a group of either Sicilian or Aquileian bishops: Garnerius, "Dissertatio" V, 319-23, with further notes on pp. 324-35 (PL 48, 508-36). On arguments against such an identification see Wermelinger, *Rom und Pelagius* (n. 20), 220-26, esp. 220-21 nn. 3 and 4. Interestingly, at one point *Libellus fidei* 3.16 (PL 48, 522) also attacks Hier. dial. adu. Pel. 3.2 (CCL 80, 99f.) of Manicheism, just as Theodore does in his work against Augustine's and Jerome's teachings on original sin (cf. the previous note). Taken together, however, the arguments against Julian's authorship of the *libellus fidei* and in favour of his authorship of ep. Rom., and the striking similarities, and downright parallels, between Theodore's invective and ep. Rom. suggest a dependence of the latter on ep. Rom.

[22] Merc. epistula in refutationem symboli Theodori Mopsuesteni = coll. Palat. 15 (ACO I/V/1, 23.33-34).

[23] F. Loofs, "Pelagius und der pelagianische Streit", in: RE 15 (1904): 747-74, 772, dismisses it as an invention. Mercator is the only source for the event and in a sense even he does not say that it actually occured. He rather seems to conclude from Theodore's Creed (ed. A. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Alten Kirche* (Breslau: Morgenstern, 1887; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1962), 302-308) that it must have occured. On a balanced discussion of the evidence see Bruckner, *Julian von Eclanum* (n. 12), 5-6, who calls in question Mercator's claim, but stops short of dis-

he announces in the prologue of the *Tractatus*[24], after finishing a commentary on the books of Solomon[25], he stayed there for more than just two or three years. In that case he wrote the *Tractatus* well after 423, though yet prior to his translation of Theodore's commentary on the book of Psalms[26]. Thus Morin's suggestions imply, though Morin

missing it entirely. If the synod took place, Bruckner argues, it would have done so not earlier than in 424. Anazarbus 423 was first suggested by Garnerius, "Dissertatio" II, 219-20 (PL 48, 359-61); further literature in Bruckner, *Julian von Aeclanum* (n. 12), 6 n. 2; Wermelinger, *Rom und Pelagius* (n. 20), 252. C. Pietri and others, eds., *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, vol. 2: *Prosopographie de l'Italie chrétienne* (313-604), vol. 1 (A-K) (Rome: École française de Rome, 1999), 1175-86, 1179 n. 132, accepts Garnier's version; M. Lamberigts, "Iulianus IV (Iulianus von Aeclanum)", in: RAC 19 (2000): 483-505, 487, is – rightly – inclined to dismiss it altogether on the basis of Bruckner's and Loof's arguments in conjunction with the new concern of dating and locating Julian's exegetical works (cf. n. 26).

[24] Iul. tr. proph. prol. (CCL 88, 115.13f.): Salomonis quippe uoluminibus disserendis, dispositionum eius gloriam sumus, in quantum posse contulit, exsecuti.

[25] Only fragments of a commentary on the Canticum remain extant in the writings of the Venerable Bede: Iul. Cant. (CCL 88, 398-401); cf. Beda Cant. praef. (CCL 119B, 167-73). The same work of Bede also contains fragments of a work of Julian's entitled *de bono constantiae*; Iul. bono const. (CCL 88, 401f.); Beda Cant. praef. (CCL 119B, 173-75). These fragments could be part of the commentary on the uolumina Salomonis, of which Julian speaks in the preface to the tractatus. See above, the previous note, and F. Nuvolone & A. Solignac, "Pélage et Pélagianisme", in: DSp 12/2 (1986): 2889-2942, 2906.

[26] Cf. in contrast Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), p. 19: "...de 421 à 423, ou peu après...." Morin ignores the sore issue of Theodore's alleged condemnation of Julian in 423 or 424 (see above n. 23). As a consequence he also fails to discuss the implications of his own suggestion that Julian did not only write the *libri ad Florum* and the *tractatus in Osee, Iohel, Amos* in Mopsuestia while staying with Theodore, but also the commentary on the uolumina Salomonis, *de bono constantiae*, the *expositio in Iob* and the translation of Theodore's commentary on the Psalms. For the translation of Theodore's commentary on Psalms it seems reasonable to assume a later date than for the *tractatus*, since, by its very nature as a translation, it shows a much closer acquaintance with Greek and with Theodore's thought than the *tractatus*, which depends more on Jerome's commentary on the Minor Prophets. This opinion is shared by Lamberigts, "Iulianus" (n. 23), 490 and 499, but not De Coninck, *Iuliani* (n. 2), vii, who reckons that the translation of Theodore's commentary on Psalms is one of Julian's earliest works. His view has recently been endorsed by N. Adkin, "Julian of Eclanum on Psalm 103:2", in: JTS 51 (2000): 161-63, 161 n. 4. Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1), 60, argues that the *tractatus* is Julian's last and most mature work. He dates it into the late 430s (439), after Julian's return to the west. Cf. Prosper epit. chron. an. 439 (MGH AA IX, 477.1336). G. De Plinval, "Julien d'Éclane devant la Bible", in: RSR 47 (1959): 345-66, 354 n. 31, dates it tentatively into the early thirties (432-436), shortly after the Council of Ephesus (431). He is endorsed by De Coninck, *Iuliani* (n. 2), xi and xviii, and Duval, "Iulianus Aeclanensis restitutus" (n. 1), 168. The general lack of evidence for the period after 430, however, makes it difficult to argue convincingly for any date later than 430. One could also ask why the

himself never accounted for these implications, that Julian did not leave Mopsuestia prior to 423 or 424, and that Theodore did not condemn Julian, neither in 423 nor in 424, nor in any other year. Rather, Julian and Theodore were throughout in agreement in matters of doctrine and exegetical method[27].

tractatus should have remained fragmentary, if Julian composed it during the comparatively 'quiet and peaceful' (Bouwman, ibid. pp. 60 and 79) periods of either the 430s, or after 439 (against I. Strobl, *Eine Untersuchung zum Verständnis alttestamentlicher Prophetie anhand des Julian von Aeclanum zugeschriebenen Kommentars zum Propheten Joel*, Diss. Mag., Universität Wien, 1991, 7 n. 29, who argues that under the circumstances the fragmentary character of the *tractatus* is of no consequence. Note also that the later parts of the work are less well composed and their style is less polished than in the earlier parts). It seems therefore reasonable, taking into account textual as well as historical considerations, to date the *tractatus* into the comparatively dense and turbulent mid- to late 20s.

On further details concerning Julian's translation of Theodore's commentary on Psalms see L. De Coninck & M. J. D'Hondt, ed., *Theodori Mopsuesteni Expositiones in Psalmos Iuliano Aeclanensi interprete in Latinum versae quae supersunt.* CCL 88A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977), vii-xlv, and the more recent work by M.-J. Rondeau, *Les commentaires patristiques du Psautier (iiie-ve siècles), vol. 1: Les travaux des Pères Grecs et Latins sur le Psautier. Recherches et Bilan.* Orientalia Christiana Analecta 219 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1982), 175-88.

[27] A possible exception to the rule, as a note by J. Stiglmayr, "Der Jobkommentar von Monte Cassino", in: ZkTh 43 (1919): 269-88, 275-76, implies, is the *expositio in Iob,* once attributed to Philip the presbyter, which follows Theodore's brother's, Polychronius' of Apamea, commentary on Job rather than Theodore's. Theodore presents Job as a contemptuous pagan and even goes as far as to deny the canonicity of the book. Polychronius asserts its canonicity and presents Job as a Biblical saint struggling with his God. Stiglmayr took the departure of exp. Iob from Theodore as evidence against Julian's authorship, which had been argued for by Vaccari, *Un commento a Giobbe* (n. 13). Vaccari responded to Stiglmayr's objections in A. Vaccari, "Il Commento Cassinense di Giobbe", in: A. M. Amelli, *Scritti di Letteratura Ecclesiastica dedicati al A. Amelli.* Miscellanea Amelli (Badia di Montecassino, 1920), 43-51, esp. 48-51. Stiglmayr reaffirmed his position, but failed to present new evidence in Id., "Zum Jobkommentar von Monte Cassino", in: ZkTh 45 (1921): 495-96. In the meantime Vaccari's position had been endorsed by A. Jülicher in: TLZ 41 (1916): 78-79, C. Weyman in: TR 15 (1916): 241-42; 18 (1919): 325, A. D'Alès in: Études 147 (1916): 132; RSR 6 (1916): 311-24, 314-22, D. De Bruyne in: RB 12 (1915): 595, and A. Souter in: JTS 16 (1916): 336-38. With Vaccari's position firmly established and Stiglmayr's refuted, the apparent departure of exp. Iob from Theodore's exegesis of Job can no longer be seen as evidence against Julian's authorship of exp. Iob. There is no reason why Julian, as the author of exp. Iob, should not have had recourse to, besides John Chrysostom's exhortations, Polychronius's (rather than Theodore's) commentary, and depicted Job as a (pagan!) Biblical saint struggling with his fate before God rather than a man doomed to a meaningless existence in pain, suffering and ultimate death. Theologically, this would have been fully in tune with Julian's fundamental tenet, the irreversible goodness of creation due to God's unequivocal and absolutely reliable willing and acting as creator and saviour. Cf. on this latter point

Morin's examination of the *Tractatus* is guided mainly by interests arising from its historical context. Later authors studying the work like D'Alès, Bouwman and De Plinval followed Morin in that respect[28]. They looked for "Pelagian doctrine" in the *Tractatus* and asked to what extent Julian was influenced by Theodore's exegesis, or, more generally, by the Antiochene tradition. Julian himself situates the

M. Lamberigts, "Julian of Aeclanum: a Plea for a Good Creator", in: Augustiniana 38 (1988): 5-24, although Lamberigts does not consider exp. Iob, despite passages like Iul. exp. Iob praef. (CCL 88, 3): sancti itaque Iob uita laudatur, ut in eo bonum humanae naturae possit agnosci, quae tam ad repulsam peccatorum quam ad sectationem uirtutum omnium, quippe ita a deo condita, etiam sine legis scripta magisterio ostendit se sibi posse sufficere. It may, of course, be that, as Ch. Kannengiesser, "Job (livre de): 2. Job chez les Pères", in: DSp 8 (1974): 1218-25, 1222, suggests, exp. Iob is here influenced by Imperial Stoic ideas. But, as E. Dassmann, "Hiob", in: RAC 15 (1991): 366-442, 379-91, shows, what Kannengiesser identifies as Stoic, may as well pass as Early Christian, beginning from Iac 5:11. Thus it is not surprising that theologically Julian's view of Job is not in the least at odds with Theodore's, who, in his commentary on Job, points out that by virtue of its content the story of Job deserves its place in the Bible (PG 66, 697AB): quae autem ad significationem uitae eius [sc. iusti] necessaria erant exponere, haec omnia sufficiebant quemlibet ad meliora conuertere et aemulatorem facere boni. Of course, the seriousness of Theodore's denying the book its canonicity must not be underestimated, as may have been done by R. Devreesse, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste*. Studi e Testi 141 (Rome: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948), 33-35, considering the historical impact of that denial. Cf. on this J. M. Vosté, "L'œuvre exégétique de Théodore de Mopsueste au 2e Concile de Constantinople", in: RB 38 (1929): 390-93. Yet what must be taken into account is that Theodore rejected the canonicity of Job mainly for formal reasons, like: 1. The story is shared by cultures outside Israel (PG 66, 698B). 2. Its message is in a sense 'un-Biblical'. Especially Job's show of self-contempt is untypical for the way in which wise and just men are usually depicted in the Bible (PG 66, 697B). 3. The style of the book is artificial and construed, as if the author vaingloriously tried to display his poetic abilities, rather than preach a humble sermon (PG 66, 698A). On the last four references from Theodore's commentary cf. Ch. Schäublin, *Untersuchungen zu Methode und Herkunft der antiochenischen Exegese*. Theophaneia. Beiträge zur Religions- und Kirchengeschichte des Altertums 23 (Köln and Bonn: Hanstein, 1974), 77-83. See also Dassmann, "Hiob", 403-405 and 419-20. Julian's recourse to, besides other sources, Polychronius may thus indicate his departure from Theodore in this one instance and to some degree, while on the whole he remains firmly within the Antiochene tradition. Furthermore, this departure, if it can be called that, extends more to the application of exegetical method than to theological substance. As far as the latter is concerned Theodore would certainly have applauded Julian's work.

[28] A. D'Alès, "Julien d'Éclane, exégète", in: RSR 6 (1916): 311-34 (cf. also above n. 27); Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1); De Plinval, "Julien d'Éclane devant la Bible" (n. 26).

Tractatus in the latter, in the prologue[29] as well as in the main text[30]. Following the great Angelo Mai, Morin also identified traces of Theodore's commentary on the Minor Prophets in Julian's *Tractatus*[31],

[29] In Iul. tr. proph. prol. (CCL 88, 115f.) Julian mentions John Chrysostom as a previous Antiochene interpreter of the Minor Prophets, but Chrysostom, Julian argues, only did exhortations, not proper exegetical commentaries (exhortatione, non explanatione). Origen, he goes on, indulged in allegories, and Jerome merely reiterates Origen's allegories, or diverts to the quisquiliae of Hebrew exegesis, thus losing the thread of the narrative, the consequentia of the Biblical text.

[30] The prime, though in a certain way misleading, example cited by Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), 19 n. 1, is Hosea's marriage to a prostitute following an order from God, which, as Iul. tr. Osee 1.1.2-5 (CCL 88, 119-121) reports, the Egyptians and others who follow Origen interpret as a non-corporeal affair, while the Syrians, with whom he sides, take it literally, as an act of prophecy and devotion on the prophet's part to emphasize and illustrate his message to the people. If necessary, however, Julian concludes the passage, one could defend God's order and Hosea's action even in plain rational terms, as a means of transfering the woman from a commercial life as a prostitute to the honourable existence of a modest housewife. – The example chosen by Morin – it happens to stand at the beginning of the commentary – can be misleading in the context of a modern exegesis of Hosea, which has increasingly become preoccupied with metaphors, and tends to dismiss interpretations built on a literal understanding of the text, like Julian's, as naïve. This would not cause any problems, if only any better solutions were on offer. If, however, metaphors are not properly understood, if they are contradictory, if clusters of metaphors confuse, and a point of reference is not in sight, as I. Willi-Plein, „Das Zwölfprophetenbuch", in: Theologische Rundschau 64 (1999): 351-95, 361-67, writes of some recent studies on Hosea, the situation is similar to the one which Julian decries in his prologue in reference to the allegorizing of an Origen and a Jerome (cf. above n. 29). It is useful to keep in mind that Julian, and Antiochene exegetes in general, did not advocate literalism for its own sake, but to communicate better the consequentia ἀκολωθία, or coherence, of the Biblical text. If that intention pointed beyond the literal meaning, it could well be taken into account. But first a basic understanding of the text had to be secured. Morin, for his part, was well aware of this; cf. Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), 19 n. 2.

[31] Mai had first edited Theodore's commentary on the Minor Prophets in 1832, and then again in 1854 with a Latin translation. Cf. A. Mai, ed., *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio e Vaticanis Codicibus edita* VI (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1832), 1-300; Id., *Novae Patrum bibliothecae* VII (Rome: Spithoever, 1854), 1-300. This second edition was included by Migne (PG 66, 123-632), behind Mai's prefaces to his first (PG 66, 104-119) and his second edition (PG 66, 119-23). On further details see H. N. Sprenger, ed., *Theodori Mopsuesteni commentarius in xii prophetas. Einleitung und Ausgabe*. Göttinger Orientforschungen V/1 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977), 3-4. In the preface to his first edition (PG 66, 118) Mai notes that Theodore and the author of the tractatus are in remarkable agreement (astipulans Rufinus) on Os 11:1 (see Theodore's text: ... διότι νήπιος Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἐγὼ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ...; Julian's text: ...quia puer Israel, et dilexi eum, et ex Aegypto uocaui filium meum...). Theodore writes that the text calls Israel a child, from the time when he was in Egypt, when he began to grow into a people and God began to take care of him. Julian writes that the text speaks here of the people,

and, despite the, generally, non-polemical character of the work[32], instances of "Pelagian" exegesis[33]. Finally, he notes a few vague hints at Julian's "Lebenswelt", the gloomy world of the Late Empire. When reading in the prophets of disasters, famine and war, Julian can say that he knows these things not only from history books. His own time has seen people deserting magnificent cities, leaving them to be covered by forest, burying their valuables in the soil committing them to permanent rot and oblivion[34]. No year passes without another

but adds that "apostolic authority indicates that this is applicable to the person of Christ". Morin rightly remarks that there should be more obvious parallels than this. Theodore here says nothing at all about the possibility of a typological application of the motif to Christ, which is hardly surprising, since the Greek text of Hosea speaks of "Israels children" whom God has called out of Egypt, not "my son". Maybe Mai thought that Julian's identification of child, Israel and people depended on Theodore and encouraged him to associate it with the story of the infant Jesus in Egypt according to Mt 2:15. However, the source on which Julian really depends for this passage is Jerome's commentary, where all possibilities, including the textual problems, are discussed at length. See Hier. in proph. min. Osee 3.11.1-2 (CCL 76, 119-21). In contrast, Morin is intrigued by Julian's preference for interpreting the prophecies in their historical context, i. e. as linking them to contemporary events and figures like Hezekiah, Sennacherib, or to the Macchabees, before applying them to Christ and eschatological events. Although even here Jerome provides ample material for discussion, the method by which Julian treats the individual cases reminds of Theodore rather than Jerome. Cf. Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), 19 n. 3. Following the general verdict of Bruckner, *Julian von Eclanum* (n. 12), 124, Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1), 129, casts doubt upon the possibility of any obvious, direct, dependence of Julian's exegesis on that of Theodore.

[32] But cf. Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), 21 n. 3, and Stiglmayr, "Der Jobkommentar von Monte Cassino" (n. 27), 277 n. 3, on the anti-clerical and social-critical remarks in Iul. tr. Iohel 2.4-11 (CCL 88, 241); tr. Amos 2.7.11 (CCL 88, 309.158-165). Such remarks discredited the author of the *tractatus* already before he was known as Julian of Aeclanum. See, for example, the verdict of Tillemont, *Mémoires* XII (n. 6), 316.

[33] Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), 20 on Iul. tr. Osee 2.6.7 (CCL 88, 167-68), where Julian insists at length that Os 6:7 "they broke the covenant like Adam" (sicut Adam transgressi pactum) means exactly what it says, i. e. sicut here means in similitudine, in imitation of Adam committing his act of transgression, and not that the perpretators acquired a state of dereliction in paradise and carried it forward to the present day. See also below n. 59.

[34] Iul. tr. Osee 2.9.5-6 (CCL 88, 186f.): quod autem subicit, "desiderabile argenti eorum urticae hereditabunt" [cf. Os 9:6d Vulg.: desiderabile argenti eorum urtica hereditabit], ex usu captiuitatem euenire, utinam nos lectio tantum et non etiam experimenta docuissent. constat quippe uel aedes magnis sumptibus fabricatas, cum defecissent incolae, siluis fuisse contectas, uel plerumque etiam auri et argenti defossos thesauros, his qui occuluerant interemptis, in continuam obliuionem perisse; cf. Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), 20 n. 2.

victory for Rome's enemies[35], and when Julian reads Amos describing the plight of captivity, he wishes that he knew of that condition only from his reading. In fact, however, "this plight has become so common nowadays that one is struck by the audacity of those who still hope for a better future"[36].

Yet despite his rather dim view concerning the general prospects of his day and age Julian seems far from succumbing in principle to the gloom surrounding him. This impression of a Julian who remains optimistic and confident, always ready to act and respond to oncoming challenges is confirmed by Gennadius, who reports that "in a time of famine and anxiety Julian managed to procure alms for those in need". This passage famously led to the curious "canonisation" of Julian by Pietro de Natali in his "Catalogue of Saints"[37], who studiously ignores Gennadius's added remark that Julian abused his "apparent charity in order to attract many nobles and especially religious men and women to associate themselves to his heresy"[38].

[35] Iul. tr. Amos 1.2.13-16 (CCL 88, 272.175-76): quae omnia mala hostili euenire uictoria, annuis magis cladibus quam annalibus litteris comprobamus.

[36] Iul. tr. Amos 2.8.10 (CCL 88, 315.145-149): quod totum tempore captiuitatis obtingere, utinam lectione tantum indicante nossemus. sed tam frequens nostris temporibus eiusmodi est facta condicio, ut quidquam melius sperantium miremur audaciam; but cf. already Hier. comm. in Osee 1.4.3 (CCL 76, 39), and Kelly, *Jerome* (n. 18), 294 n. 44.

[37] Petrus de Natalibus, *Catalogus sanctorum et gestorum eorum ex diuersis et multis uoluminibus collectus* (ed. A. Verli: Vicenza, 1493; editio princeps). Pietro de Natali, who died some time after 1400, wrote the work between 1369 and 1372 (see his own account ed. by A. Poncelet, in: AnBoll 29 (1910): 35). He calls Julian a confessor [qui] scripsit aduersus Augustinum ... et ... alios heresiarchas and fuit in elemosynis liberalissimus. Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), 21 n. 2, following diocesan propria of his time argues that the passage could refer to the cult of St. Julian, bishop of Cuenca in Spain, which predates the lifetime of that bishop in the 13th century and may therefore be traceable to an ancient popular image of Julian of Aeclanum as a liberal giver of alms. H. I. Marrou, "La Canonisation de Julien d'Éclane", in: Theologie aus dem Geist der Geschichte. FS Berthold Altaner = HJ 77 (1958): 434-37, in contrast thinks that the entry in Pietro de Natali's "Catalogue" represents not so much a "popular" as a "literary canonisation". According to his own account (ed. Poncelet p. 36) Pietro de Natali had drawn his information from a book of legends composed by Pietro Calo de Chioggia († 1348), which renders exactly Gennadius's account cited below in the following note (n. 38). The legend of Julian the confessor is therefore most probably a literary creation by none other than Pietro de Natali himself.

[38] Cf. Gennad. uir. ill. (45) 46 (Ed. E. C. Richardson. TU 14.1a (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896), 78): Hic Iulianus eleemosynis tempore famis et angustiae indigentibus prorogatis multos miserationis specie nobilium praecipueque religiosorum inliciens haeresi suae sociauit; for an analysis of the links between historical background and literary representation in Gennadius's account cf. B. Czapla, *Gennadius als Literarhistoriker.*

Morin closes with a note on Julian's lemma, an early variant of Jerome's translation, the Latin Vulgate[39]. Julian repeatedly praises this text as "that latest edition called 'according to the Hebrew'" [40]. He values it particularly for its integrity and, therefore, reliability concerning language and style (*elocutionum integritate*). It is interesting that he follows it even when it differs from the text which Jerome uses for his commentary on the Minor Prophets[41], a work on

Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung der Schrift des Gennadius von Marseille De uiris illustribus. Kirchengeschichtliche Studien 4/1 (Münster: Schöningh, 1898), 101-103. More recently Andreas Kessler has indicated that it could have been precisely Julian's euergetism at the outset of his episcopal career that raised suspicions about his orthodoxy and dragged him into the Pelagian controversy; cf. A. Kessler, *Reichtumskritik und Pelagianismus. Die pelagianische Diatribe de diuitiis*. Paradosis. Beiträge zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur und Theologie 43 (Freiburg/Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, 1999), 56.

[39] Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), 22-24; cf. also Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1), 61-79; De Coninck, *Iuliani* (n. 2), xxviii-xxx; R. Weber, ed., *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, [3]1983); *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem iussu Ioannis Pauli PP. II cura et studio monachorum abbatiae pontificiae sancti Hieronymi in urbe O. S. B. edita, vol. xvii: Liber duodecim prophetarum* (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1987).

[40] Iul. tr. proph. prol. (CCL 88, 116): istam postremam editionem, quae secundum Hebraeum appellatur, eligerem; cf. also Id. tr. Iohel prol. (CCL 88, 227).

[41] See Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1), 71: „Die Textkritik ist ihm [as far as the Biblical text is concerned] vollkommen fremd; er betrachtet seinen Schrifttext als ein fest Gegebenes, an dem er nicht rüttelt." According to Bouwman some cases of textual corruption may have been introduced at a later stage in the transmission of the *tractatus*. In general, however, Julian's text hardly varies from the oldest strands of Vulgate MSS. Indeed it shares with the latter the most blatant mistakes (ibid. p. 75), while Jerome obviously revised his text later on (see below n. 51). Julian may have adapted such revised variants from Jerome's commentary, but only in the body of his own commentary, not for his lemma (see below in this note the example given by De Coninck, who does not differ that much from Bouwman); cf. Bouwman, ibid., 66-69. Thus the fact that Julian does not seem to tamper with his lemma, does not mean that he ignores variant readings. He considers them, especially if he finds that they can help him to explain his text. E. g. on Ioel 2:23-24 his lemma reads faciam ad uos imbrem matutinum et serotinum in principio. To unravel the apparent contradiction Julian cites the LXX reading, which he got most probably from Jerome's commentary, Hier. comm. in Iohel 2.21-27 (CCL 76, 189.486f.); cf. Iul. tr. Iohel 2.24f. (CCL 88, 245.319f.): quod septuaginta non "in principio", sed "sicut a principio" transtulerunt. It seems obvious, Julian concludes, that (like the LXX) the Vulgate does not imply here that everything happens simultaneously. Rather, there is a sequence of events: First God sends the rains, then the barns are filling up and then the people are joyful. Thus in principio here simply marks the beginning of a sequence of events. Julian here may have developed further a notion which he found expressed in rudimentary form by Jerome in his commentary: Hier. comm. in Iohel 2.21-27 (CCL

which Julian relies heavily in exegetical terms[42]. Morin picks three examples: 1. *Os* 11:12, where Julian's text says *circumdedit me in negotiatione Efraim et in dolo domus Israhel.* Instead of *negotiatione* Jerome reads *negatione*, which he qualifies as *mendacio*, while Julian

76, 189.510-12): [deus] qui dedit eis alimenta iustitiae, et, ut septuaginta transtulerunt, et imbrem temporaneum et serotinum, ut comedant atque laetentur. This belies Bouwman, ibid., 127-32, who argues that Julian ever only copied Jerome. On Julian's exegesis of Ioel 2:23f. see also ibid. p. 73. Some further notes on this passage: Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), 23, wrongly suggests that Julian reads a principio. He reads in principio. Interestingly, as far as the Hebrew original is concerned, the LXX were on the right track: in principio renders Hebrew: bāri'šōn, while the more probable variant is kāri'šōn, meaning "like in the old days", when the covenant was still intact. Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Dodekapropheton 2: Joel und Amos*. BKA 14/2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 66 and 76. Theodore of Mopsuestia finally, in his commentary, ignores the sicut (Gr. καθὼς) in his text and writes: Theod. Mops. in Ioelem 2.23 (93-94 Sprenger): ἃ γὰρ τοῖς ἀνωτέροις εἶπεν ἀφηρῆσθαι ταῦτα νῦν ἀποδίδοθαι λέγει; on Theodore's handling of the lemma cf. R. Bultmann, *Die Exegese des Theodor von Mopsuestia* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1984), 44-46.

The case of tr. Iohel 2.24f. leads De Coninck (CCL 88, xxx n. 163) to question Bouwman's view (ibid. 71-72) that the LXX (resp. Old Latin) emendations in Julian's commentary are largely not by Julian himself, but by later copists, for if Julian had carried them out himself, he would have indicated this, since he likes "to show off". The reference to the LXX variant in tr. Iohel 2.24-25, Bouwman argues (p. 71 n. 1), must therefore be treated as an exception. Against this view De Coninck lists several cases, which differ from tr. Iohel 2.24f. only in that in them Julian does not "show off", i. e. explicitely state that he has the respective variant from the LXX. For example, in Iul. tr. Osee 1.3.1-5 (CCL 88, 145.4, 146.27) the lemma has for Os 3:2a the Vulgate version fodi eam... (from fodere: to dig, dig up, excavate, prick, prod, jog) rendering Hebrew vā'ēkrēhā, "I rented her" (Hebrew krh can mean "to dig" or "to rent"). In his commentary Julian explains fodi eam ... by posset ... conduci, "she can be rented". He most probably has this from Hier. comm. in Osee 1.3.2-3 (CCL 76, 34.45), where Jerome, who also cites the LXX lemma, renders LXX ἐμισθωσάμην as conduxi. Both, Bouwman and De Coninck, are partly right, Bouwman in saying that Julian treats his lemma with the utmost care and is not inclined to make emendations, even when he has a seemingly better variant at his disposal. De Coninck is right in saying that Julian however does work with different text variants in his commentary, not just rarely and in order to show off, as Bouwman alleges, but rather frequently, as part of his exegetical method and because he works with Jerome's commentary. What is interesting here is that even Jerome in his commentary seems to leave the lemma alone, despite fodi being obviously not the right translation, for unlike Hebrew krh it is not synonymous with conduci. There are other cases where Jerome does interfere with his lemma. It is after all his own translation; cf. Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1), 66 n. 3; cf. also below n. 51.

[42] As the following examples show, Julian keeps to his text, but adapts his exegesis, if necessary, with the help of Jerome's commentary, as for Os 11:12. For Os 14:4 on the other hand, Julian's text favours his own, literal, approach. Julian's attitude to the text, therefore, works both ways.

tries to make sense of *negotiatio* by qualifiying the *negotiator* as *malus*, operating fraudulently (*fraude*). On the whole the variant reading remains only of little consequence for the exegesis[43]. Similarly Morin's second example: 2. On *Os* 14:4 Julian has *misereberis populi* instead of, as Jerome, *pupilli*. This, of course, allows Julian to deliver a beautifully literal exegesis, while Jerome has to explain a metaphor: "Israel here is called an orphan, because he has deserted God, his father"[44]. 3. Morin's third example has practically no bearing on the exegesis at all, though the variant reading might affect the syntax. Os 14:6 Julian's text declines the proper name (*ero quasi ros Israheli. germinabit...*), Jerome's does not. Whether this warrants a different punctuation of Jerome's text, as Adriaen suggests (*ero quasi ros. Israel germinabit...*)[45], depends also on whether one may assume that Jerome usually declines proper names, or here, specifically, *Israel*. For if he does not – and indeed he does not in most of his works (the ratio is approximately 10:1 in the case of *Israel*, even though in the commentary on the Minor Prophets it is almost reversed)[46], the non-declension of a proper name does not necessarily suggest that it is set in the nominative.

Besides the latest rendition from the Hebrew, Morin finally notes, Julian knows "a few more editions" (*sunt enim plusculae [editiones]*), which he calls *uulgatior*[47] and on which he relies for the (sic) other Biblical books[48]. According to Bouwman the latter statement is not quite correct[49]. What can be said according to

[43] Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), 22; Iul. tr. Osee 3.12.1 (CCL 88, 208); Hier. comm. in Osee 3.11.12 (CCL 76, 130). Note also that negotiatio and negotiator are more common in Late Latin. Cf. A. Souter, *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), 264, and in this article above Morin's list of vocabulary typically used by Julian.

[44] Iul. tr. Osee 3.14.4 (CCL 88, 223f.); Hier. comm. in Osee 3.14.4 (CCL 76, 154.87).

[45] Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1), 68 n. 1, argues that the move is wrong, even though he agrees with Morin that Jerome did not decline Israel in this verse. The modern editors of the Vulgate (cf. n. 39) agree with Bouwman, against Adriaen (CCL 76, 155.112).

[46] Cf. Iul. tr. Osee 3.14.6 (CCL 88, 224.66), Hier. comm. in Osee 3.14.6 (CCL 76, 155.112), and above the previous note (n. 45).

[47] Cf. Iul. tr. Iohel prol. (CCL 88, 227.6-7).

[48] Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), 23.

[49] Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1), p. 78-79, refutes Morin in detail. Gn 21:12 in Iul. tr. Osee 1.1.2-5 (CCL 88, 120.118f.), Morin's first example, as Bouwman points out, could have been quoted from the New Testament (Rm 9:7 or Hebr 11:8) and in any case represents a rare variant of the Old Latin translation. According to B. Fischer, *Genesis. Vetus latina. Reste der altlateinischen Bibel. Nach*

Bouwman is that in the *Tractatus* Julian cites most Biblical passages from the Vulgate, except those from New Testament writings and the *Canticum*.

Bouwman's monograph of 1958 marks the next big step in research on Julian's *Tractatus*. Despite some minor criticisms Bouwman generally builds upon Morin's findings in his study of Julian's Biblical text[50]. He compares several MS traditions and finds that Julian's lemma is equivalent to an early version of Jerome's translation; for it contains errors which Jerome is thought to have corrected in later drafts to attain a purer rendering of the text *iuxta Hebraeos*[51]. The MSS containing these variants may stem from an

Petrus Sabatier neu gesammelt und herausgegeben von der Erzabtei Beuron 2 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1951), 225, Julian's tractatus is the only source for this variant. For the long quotation III Rg 12:26-33 in Iul. tr. Osee 2.7.2 (CCL 88, 171f.) Julian uses his own Vulgate text. (Jerome in his commentary does not cite the passage.) Ier 2:13 in Iul. tr. Osee 3.10.9-10 (CCL 88, 198.154-55) is from the Old Latin. However, in this case Julian does not resort to his own text, but takes the passage from Hier. comm. in Osee 3.10.9-10 (CCL 76, 113.300-303). Mt 10:16 in Iul. tr. Osee 2.7.11 (CCL 88, 175.185f.), Bouwman suggests, could well be cited from memory, as again, no other source is known for this particular "Old Latin" rendering of the verse. What Bouwman does not mention is that once again Julian finds a very similar version in Jerome's commentary: Hier. comm. in Osee 2.7.11f. (CCL 76, 77.267): astuti quasi (Iul: sicut) serpentes.

[50] Cf. Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1), 61-79, 76.

[51] Copies of the earliest translation of Os, Ioel and Am may have circulated from as early as 392, while the text in the commentary dates from as late as 406; cf. Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1), 76 n. 1, the reference to J. O. Smit, *De Vulgaat. Geschiedenis en herziening van de latijnse bijbelvertaling*. Bijbelse monographieën (Maaseik: Romen Roermond, 1948), 33-38, esp. 37 (table and discussion concerning Jerome's complaint about the quality of pirate copies of his autographs). See now also Kelly, *Jerome* (n. 18), 159-63 and 283-85 and S. Rebenich, *Jerome: The 'Vir Trilinguis' and the 'Hebraica Veritas'*, in VigChr 47 (1993) 50-77, (on chronological questions in connection with the Bible translation); cf. further Bouwman, ibid, 71 and, on Os 11:8 as an example of a text improvement over time, 66 n. 3, with a reference to J. Ziegler, *Die jüngeren griechischen Übersetzungen als Vorlagen der Vulgata in den prophetischen Schriften*. Personal- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der staatlichen Akademie zu Braunsberg, Ostpreussen, 1943-1944. Beilage (Braunsberg: Ostpreussen, 1943) (on the influence of the more recent translators, the recentiores, Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus, upon Jerome's continuous work on the text). On the development of Jerome's attitude towards the LXX and the Bible iuxta Hebraeos respectively see now A. Kamesar, *Jerome, Greek Scholarship, and the Hebrew Bible*. Oxford Classical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 41-72. It is important to recognize that Jerome's aim was not to produce an ideal Bible beyond LXX and Hebraica, but a version as close to the Hebraica as possible, besides the LXX and other translations. For that reason Jerome has no problem resorting to texts other than his translation from the Hebrew in order to get the most out for his exegesis of particular passages, for example Os 7:1-3, as we shall see below; cf. Kamesar, ibid.,

archetype older than the latter[52]. A group of Old Latin variants may largely result from later interventions[53]. Bouwman's general impression is, however, that many contaminations in Julian's lemma were introduced at a very early stage in the transmission process and not eliminated or aggravated at a later stage, which suggests that it could originate from an archetype "practically identical" with an early draft of Jerome's first translation[54]. After all, between the latter (ca. 392) and Julian's lemma lies an interval of less than fifty, possibly even less than thirty years.

Bouwman's textual studies[55] and his studies on Julian's language, style, hermeneutics and exegetical practice[56] have been acclaimed, his additions to the Corpus Iulianum mostly dismissed. Already in 1959 George De Plinval criticizes his attribution to Julian not only of the so called *Praedestinatus*, *Ad Demetriadem*, *Ad Celantiam* and the Viennese fragments (MS 954), but also of the commentary on the *Canticum*, *De bono constantiae* and others. Why

82-88, esp. 87-88, against G. Bardy, "La littérature patristique des Quaestiones et responsiones sur l'Écriture sainte", in: RB 41 (1932): 349-69, 358, who argues that Jerome worked on reconciling the differences between the different textual traditions. An analogous issue arises in the correspondence between Jerome and Augustine, where the discussion is not about the canon of Scripture, but about quantitative and qualitative textual variants in Biblical writings regarded as canonical in either (LXX and Hebrew) tradition. Thus A. Fürst, *Augustins Briefwechsel mit Hieronymus*. JAC.E 29 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1999), 140 n. 361, against R. Hennings, *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Augustinus und Hieronymus und ihr Streit um den Kanon des Alten Testaments und die Auslegung von Gal 2,11-14*. VigChr. Suppl. 21 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 110-21 and 131-217 (cf. also below n. 62).

[52] Cf. Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1), 71-76.

[53] Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1), 71, points out that the *tractatus* was transmitted via Spain, where the Vetus Latina remained dominant longer than elsewhere; with a reference to D. De Bruyne, "Étude sur les origines de la Vulgate en Espagne", in: RBén 31 (1914-1919): 373-401. It remains to be asked, however, whether the various types of variants can be divided into "very early" and "late" ones as "sharply" as Bouwman suggests on p. 68. As indicated under n. 51, some variants close to Old Latin readings may go back to Jerome himself, or to the earliest copists of his early drafts, as Bouwman himself points out on pp. 71 and 75.

[54] Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1), 75-76; cf. Jerome's complaint that friend and foe alike spread pirate copies of his works, which were of doubtful quality: Hier. epist. 48 (49) ad Pammachium 2.2 (CSEL 54, 348.2): statim ut aliquid scripsero, aut amatores mei aut inuidi diuerso quidem studio, sed pari certamine in uulgus nostra disseminant.

[55] Carried further by the critical edition of the tractatus prepared by C. Van Deyck, completed by L. De Coninck and M. D'Hondt (CCL 88, xvii), and by the critical edition of the Vulgate text of the Minor Prophets (s. above nn. 39 and 41).

[56] Cf. Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1), 52-60 and 80-135.

not ascribe to Julian the prefaces and translations of Anianus of Celeda as well? he asks[57]. Such attributions cannot be made on purely lexicological grounds, he adds[58]. Historical and psychological aspects must be considered as well. Bouwman's attempts to secure a chronology of Julian's literary activity on the basis of his use of different versions of Biblical texts in the *Tractatus* deserve similar criticism[59].

[57] G. De Plinval, "Julien d'Éclane devant la Bible" (n. 26), 348. But here De Plinval himself is not above criticism. The last two items certainly are Julian's (cf. above n. 25), the first, De Plinval fails to mention, has been successfully attributed to Arnobius the Younger by G. Morin, "Examen des écrits attribués à Arnobe le jeune", in: RBén 26 (1909): 419-32. Cf. Id., "Étude d'ensemble sur Arnobe le jeune", in: RBén 28 (1911): 154-90, M. Abel, *"Le Praedestinatus et le Pélagianisme"*, in: RTAM 35 (1968): 5-25, F. Gori, *Praedestinatus.* CCL 25B (Turnhout: Brepols 2000), and (already) Jacobus Sirmondus, *Praedestinatus. Praedestinatorum haeresis et libri S. Augustino temere ascripti refutatio* (Paris: Sebastien Cramois, 1643) (= PL 53, 583-672, 491, 567, 671-72), and J. L. Mosheim, *Vollständige Kirchengeschichte des Neuen Testaments* 1 (Heilbronn: Eckebrecht, 1786), 737-38. The case of the *Epistula ad Demetriadem* is trickier than either Bouwman or De Plinval are able, or willing, to appreciate. Cf. O. Wermelinger, "Neuere Forschungskontroversen um Augustinus und Pelagius", in: C. Mayer & K.-H. Chelius, eds., *Internationales Symposium über den Stand der Augustinusforschung 1987* (Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag, 1989), 189-217, 213. Similarly *Ad Celantiam* (cf. ibid.), of which one can merely say that R. F. Evans, *Pelagius. Inquiries and Reappraisals* (London: Black, 1968), Id., *Four Letters of Pelagius* (London: Black, 1968), has so far been more successful in attributing it to Pelagius than Bouwman has been in ascribing it to Julian. In the case of the Viennese fragments De Plinval has a personal interest, since he attributes them to Pelagius. Cf. G. De Plinval, *Essai sur le style et la langue de Pélage.* Collectanea Friburgensia. Nouvelle serie, fasc. 31 (Fribourg en Suisse: Librairie de l'Université, 1947), 9 n. 5. But cf. Nuvolone-Solignac, "Pélage" (n. 25), 2900. Finally, De Plinval fails to mention the *Libellus fidei*, on which he agrees with Bouwman (but see above under n. 21).

[58] De Plinval, "Julien d'Éclane devant la Bible" (n. 26), 349.

[59] Cf. Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1), 78-79; as mentioned under n. 26, Bouwman aims for a late date of the *Tractatus* (around 439). His main evidence from the Biblical text is that Julian relies almost exclusively on the Vulgate. But the lemma of the *expositio in Iob* is also a version of the Vulgate, and the citations from other Biblical books are also taken in part from the Vulgate and partly from the Vetus Latina. Citations in Turb. and Flor. are also from the Vetus Latina, but again, Job and Kohelet, and, in one passage, Isaiah, are cited from the Vulgate, while elsewhere in these two writings Isaiah is cited from the Vetus Latina. In his translation of Theodore's of Mopsuestia commentary on the Psalms Julian cites from both, the Vetus Latina and Jerome's translation from the Hebrew. This evidence provides no basis whatsoever for putting the writings in any chronological order. Historical and theological aspects must be considered as well. But here Bouwman displays a weakness. For example, criticizing (on p. 79 n. 3) Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), 20 (see above n. 33), he is, of course, right in that it is not, or rather, it should not be considered, "Pelagian" (in the sense of "heretical") to hold that sins are committed in imitation (imitatio, similitudo) of Adam's transgression, as Iul. tr. Osee 2.6.7 (CCL 88,

De Plinval wants to evaluate Julian's exegesis in its historical context. He presents Julian as a representative of a widespread late fourth, early fifth century "rationalist-moralist" Biblical movement, the western branch of which later became associated with "Pelagianism"[60]. Deposed and exiled for his sympathy for the latter

167f.). For even Jerome holds that view: Hier. comm. in Osee 2.6.6f. (CCL 76, 66f.). What he does not consider, however, is that Jerome wrote his commentary before 406. At about the same time Pelagius wrote his Pauline commentaries without being accused of heresy for another decade. When Julian wrote his commentary in the 420s Pelagius had been condemned and with him the view that sins are committed merely by imitation rather than the inheritance of, and, thereby, essential participation in, Adam's transgression. A writer anxious to pass as orthodox during that period would have modified his position accordingly in order to avoid any conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities and Augustinian propagandists like Prosper of Aquitaine and Marius Mercator. Cf. Wermelinger, *Rom und Pelagius* (n. 20), 244-53. The author of the *Tractatus*, however, reiterates and even accentuates Jerome's position. In the given historical context this makes him a potential "Pelagian" or "Semi-Pelagian". In conjunction with all the other evidence concerning the author of the *tractatus* it can be read as a characteristic of Julian's authorship. De Plinval, "Julien d'Éclane devant la Bible" (n. 26), 354 n. 31, argues on historical grounds against a late date of the *Tractatus* (s. above n. 26).

[60] De Plinval, "Julien d'Éclane devant la Bible" (n. 26), 352-53, thus duly mentions Pelagius (with his *Testimonia* and commentaries on the Pauline Epistles and the Canticum), Anianus of Celeda (with his translations of Chrysostomica), and the authors of the interlinear commentary on Job (CPL 3rd ed. 757; Dassmann, Hiob (n. 27), col. 405) as representatives of that movement in the west, not however, for example, Jerome. In contrast to this view see now, with a special focus on Pelagius, J. Tauer, "Neue Orientierungen zur Paulusexegese des Pelagius", in: Augustinianum 34 (1994): 313-58. On Anianus of Celeda cf. H. Marti, "Anianus von Celeda", in: Döpp-Geerlings, *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur* (n. 18), 30-31. De Plinval, ibid., 352 n. 28, also lists in this context a work which he calls the "Pseudo-Augustinian *Speculum*". By that he does not seem to refer to the (probably) 5th century Italian Pseudo-Augustinian *Speculum audi Israhel* (CSEL 12, 287-700), a systematic collection of Bible passages with headings, but the *Speculum quis ignorat* (CSEL 12, 1-285), an apparently incomplete, annotated collection of Bible passages. Augustine's authorship of the latter has often been doubted, but never convincingly disproved. De Plinval had tried to attribute it to a Pelagian author (cf. ibid., 352 n. 28), because in his opinion its teaching on grace was Pelagian in tendency. For Augustine's authorship cf. most recently A. Mutzenbecher, "Der Nachtrag zu den Retraktationen mit Augustins letzten Werken", in: RÉAug 30 (1984): 60-83, 63-71, who dates the work into 427, after the completion of the *Retractationes*. This also explains Augustine's use of Jerome's Vulgate in this work, a text which he rejected a decade earlier, but to which he seems to have subscribed during the later 420s; see on this question A.-M. Bonnardière, "Augustin a-t-il utilisé la Vulgate de Jérôme?" in *Saint Augustin et la Bible*. Bible de tous le temps 3, ed. A.-M. La Bonnardière (Paris: Beauchesne, 1986), 303-12; ET: *Augustine and the Bible*. The Bible through the Ages 2, ed. P. Bright (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), 42-51. On Augustine's adaptation and on other aspects of the impact of Jerome's translation from the Hebrew cf. also my forth-

Julian continued his work under the auspices of the most illustrious eastern representative of that Biblical movement, Theodore of Mopsuestia.

De Plinval detects three basic rules, according to which Julian conducts his exegesis: 1. Establish the respective Biblical author's main intention and analyse the structural coherence (*consequentia*) of the text under review[61]! 2. Clarify obscure passages and "make them plain" [62]! 3. Treat the historical meaning of the text as its basic

coming article "A Shift in Patristic Exegesis".

Tauer in particular has shown that it is Pelagius's thought, and that of other representatives of that movement, which is embedded in a larger exegetical tradition, rather than that tradition, which originates from a particular kind of "Pelagian" (in the sense of "inherently heretical") way of thinking as promoted by those exegetes, which were later branded as "Pelagian", like Pelagius or, in the present case, Julian of Aeclanum. De Plinval clearly suggests the latter and his assumption is vital for his evaluation of Julian's exegesis. A case in point is his rejection out of hand on p. 350, n. 18, of Wörter's suggestion that the later Julian may in a certain sense have "converted" to "Semi-Pelagianism", and his unlikely call upon Klasen and Bruckner to support his case. Cf. F. Wörter, *Der Pelagianismus nach seinem Ursprung und seiner Lehre. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Dogmas von der Gnade und Freiheit* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Wagner, (1866) ²1874), 396-402; F. Klasen, *Die innere Entwicklung des Pelagianismus*. Beiträge zur Dogmengeschichte (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1882), 250-60; Bruckner, *Julian von Eclanum* (n. 12), 163-65. Klasen fundamentally dismisses the theological relevance of Julian's thought. Bruckner is more balanced, but less optimistic than Wörter. De Plinval is right in that the idea of a "conversion" to "Semi-Pelagianism" is ill-conceived. He does not appreciate, however, that among late 420s and 430s western theologies Julian's looks less extreme than Augustine's. It is more in tune with that of a John Cassian, of a Vincent of Lérins or of an Arnobius the Younger than that of a Prosper of Aquitaine or a Marius Mercator. Wörter had a point in that respect and was largely misunderstood by Klasen, Bruckner and De Plinval. On this whole area see now also R. A. Markus, "The Legacy of Pelagius: Orthodoxy, Heresy and Conciliation", in: R. Williams, ed., *The Making of Orthodoxy. Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 214-34.

[61] Cf. Bouwman, Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar (n. 1), 80-87.

[62] De Plinval, "Julien d'Éclane devant la Bible" (n. 26), 355 n. 33, immediately ridicules this aim as "ramener [sc. ces passages] à quelques formules claires et banales" and, mysteriously, contrasts Julian's exegesis of Am 1:3-5 in tr. Amos 1.1.3-5 (CCL 88, 262-265) with Augustine's of Am 6:1-6 in doctr. 4.7.16-20 (CCL 32, 128-131), an entirely different passage, completely ignoring the fact that Augustine merely interprets his passage to explain the use of rhetorical devices (quae pertinent ad praecepta eloquentiae), while Julian explores the fundamental purpose and real meaning of the whole work (cf. the first and third rule of Julian's exegesis according to De Plinval!). On Julian's exegesis of Am 6:1-6 cf. Iul. tr. Amos 2.6.1-6 (CCL 88, 299-302), on Augustine's see M. Moreau, "Sur un commentaire d'Amos", in: A.-M. La Bonnardière, *Saint Augustin et la Bible*. Bible de tous le temps 3 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1986), 313-22, and A.-M. La Bonnardière, "Augustin a-t-il utilisé la Vulgate de Jérôme?" in: ibid., 303-12. These two articles suggest that in doctr. 4.7.16-20 Augustine, who elsewhere criticizes Jerome for replacing the seasoned LXX translation with his

meaning (i. e. the meaning with the highest degree of reality). Treat allegory and other non-historical ways of interpretation as secondary to the historical meaning of the text[63]!

Julian, De Plinval argues, reads Hosea, Joel and Amos as "poetic transpositions of contemporary disasters"[64]. By "disasters" he

new version ex hebraeo, resorts to the latter, as it seems, on purpose to write what in fact becomes "un hommage à Jérôme" (p. 314). Cf. Fürst, *Augustins Briefwechsel mit Hieronymus* (n. 51), 139-45 and 223-24. Doctr. 4.7.16-20, dating from around 425/6, is one among several passages that show that in his later works Augustine adapts the technique used by Jerome and Julian of comparing the two versions for exegetical purposes (La Bonnardière, "Augustin", 311-12).

[63] Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1), 111-13 and 130-32, and De Plinval, "Julien d'Éclane devant la Bible" (n. 26), 355-56, tend to formulate the principle in a too simplistic fashion, as if one type of interpretation is supposed to entirely suppress the other. That way they see the use of allegory and typology by Julian as an inconsistency. However, Julian and the Antiochenes merely defend the priority of the historical perspective, against the dominance of allegory and typology, not against their very existence. For a balanced survey of the problem cf. now F. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 161-85.

[64] De Plinval, "Julien d'Éclane devant la Bible" (n. 26), p. 356. Here De Plinval takes for granted that Julian, like Jerome and Theodore, sees Joel as a contemporary of Hosea and Amos. Cf. Iul. tr. Iohel prol. (CCL 88, 227.17), Hier. comm. in Ioelem 1.1 (CCL 76, 161.34f.), Theod. Mops. in Ioelem prol. (79.29f. Sprenger). On Amos cf. Iul. tr. Amos 1.1.1 (CCL 88, 260.4f.), Hier. comm. in Amos 1.1.1 (CCL 76, 212.13-15), Theod. Mops. in Amosum 1.1 (109.22-24 Sprenger). Hosea and Amos can be dated from Os 1:1 and Am 1:1. Both are said to have lived under king Jeroboam II. of Israel (786-746) and king Oziah of Judah (786-736). Hosea is also reported to have lived on, through the reigns of kings Jotham (756-741) and Ahaz (742-725), to that of king Hezekiah (725-696) of Judah. Corroborating internal evidence suggests that Amos prophesied earlier than Hosea. Cf. Wolff, *Joel und Amos* (n. 41), 105-106. As a book, however, Hosea in its final edition predates Amos and takes precedence over the latter in the canon. Jerome makes no difference between the persons and the literary products, when he writes on Am 1:1 that first comes Hosea, then Joel and then Amos, but all lived in one generation. The book of Joel bears no title which would allow it to be dated on its own grounds. However, in cases like this, Theodore, Jerome and Julian keep to the rule that every book which does not bear its own date is to be dated after the last book preceeding it which does bear its own date. In the case of Ioel this is, of course, Os. Theodore, Julian and Jerome therefore agree that Joel is a contemporary of Hosea and Amos and that his prophecy falls in between the other two. It would be less easy to sustain this position, if it was not corroborated by internal evidence, i. e. the content of Ioel, which seems very similar to that of Os and Am. Julian, for example, can write in the prologue: 'he [Joel] has suffered the cruelties and abuses of the same kings [as Hosea], he has accused the same crimes of the raging people and announced to those who committed crimes the same imminent torments'. This encouraged even more recent exegetes, like J. Schmalohr, *Das Buch Joel, übersetzt und erklärt*. Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen 7/4 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1922), to treat Joel as a contemporary of Hosea and Amos, or, like M. BIC, *Das Buch Joel* (Berlin:

(De Plinval) here means the "political" disasters recorded in 1 and 2 Kings, i. e. the Assyrian invasion of the northern kingdom in 722, Sennacherib's campaign in 701, and the Babylonian invasion of 587, whereby the latter cannot strictly be called "contemporary" [65]. The prophecies of salvation, he continues, Julian associates with Hezekiah's reign of peace as preliminary to the eschatological

Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1960), even earlier, into the reign of king Joash (837-800). The common opinion now, however, is that Joel dates from the post-exilic period; Willi-Plein, "Das Zwölfprophetenbuch" (n. 30), 372: "Joel belongs into the period of Persian rule." It was first put forward by W. Vatke, *Die biblische Theologie 1: Die Religion des Alten Testaments nach den kanonischen Büchern entwickelt* (Berlin: Bethge, 1835), who thought of the 5th century. Wolff, *Joel und Amos* (n. 41), 2-4, thought the 4th century more likely. J. L. Crenshaw, *Joel*. Anchor Bible 24C (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 21-29, favours once more the 5th century.

Another point which De Plinval fails to address in this context is Julian's struggle with the prophets' commutatio temporum ἐναλλαγὴ τοῦ χρόνου, their apparent presentation of past events as future ones and vice versa. Cf. Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1), 83-85; Sprenger, *Theodori Mopsuesteni* (n. 31), 90-91. Like Theodore and Jerome, Julian was, of course, not entirely oblivious to the fact that the problem lay in the nature of the Hebrew tempora. Cf. Iul. tr. Osee 1.1.2-5 (CCL 88, 124.277f.) with Hier. comm. in Osee 1.1.2 (CCL 76, 8.80f.) and Iul. tr. Amos 1.4.1-3 (CCL 88, 279.51) on characteristics of the Hebrew language (idiomata hebraei sermonis). But other than Jerome – and more like Theodore – Julian sees the problem as a literary and also an historical one, affecting his intention to clarify the consequentia of the text and the contemporary-historical reference of the prophecy under review. Cf. Iul. Theod. Mops. exp. Ps 9.35 (CCL 88A, 52.360-62) on commutatio temporum as a key to understand the passage and Julian's commentary on Ioel 2 and 3, e. g. his identification of Hezekiah with the doctor iustitiae, ridiculed by De Plinval (see below n. 66), with Theodore's prologue on Amos, where he develops an extensive argument on why Amos's prophecy should be seen in the historical context of Hezekiah's reign. On Theodore's use of ὑποθέσεις in this context cf. Schäublin, *Untersuchungen* (n. 27), 84-94. Strobl, *Eine Untersuchung* (n. 26), 69-71, quite rightly suggests: „Dass Julian zunächst an keiner Stelle an Christus und das NT denken lässt, rückt ihn allerdings in die Nähe Theodors"; cf. also Bultmann, *Die Exegese* (n. 41), 96-109.

Indeed, one of the most striking features of Theodore's and Julian's exegeses is that they treat the prophecies concerned as if they were historical records of the future, i. e. the (short term, contemporary-historical) future from the point of view of those prophecies, which by now (in Theodore's and Julian's time) has, of course, once more become the past, as historically recorded in 1 and 2 Kings (III and IV Reg). Even motifs from the New Testament are treated in this way. E. g. the motif of the coming of Christ is divided into an (historical) first and an (eschatological) second coming, whereby the first coming, historically recorded in the New Testament, is given priority. Thus it seems, as if the eschatological future is seen as but a small (remaining) section of the whole of history. In De Plinval's opinion this is, of course, mere rationalism and historicism, lacking in theological vision and spiritual depth (cf. below nn. 66, 67 and 71).

[65] Jerome and Julian are aware of that problem. But cf. Hier. comm. in Amos 3.7.1-3 (CCL 76, 313-15), Iul. tr. Amos 2.7.1 (CCL 88, 305f.), and below n. 66.

salvation in Christ[66]. But "historical" is not necessarily "political" for Julian and his preference for the historical does not exclude the allegorical[67]. The detailed description of a locust plague in Joel 1:4, for

[66] Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1), 129 n. 3, argues that Julian himself develops this motif, which, he says, can be found only once in Theodore's commentary on the Minor Prophets: Theod. Mops. comm. in Oseam 1.6-10 (7 Sprenger). But see also ibid. prol. (1.21 Sprenger), 1.1 (3 Sprenger), and in Ioelem 2.1 (86 Sprenger). He admits that it occurs several times in Theodore's commentary on Psalms and quotes the same passages as De Plinval, "Julien d'Éclane devant la Bible" (n. 26), 356-57 n. 38, but unlike De Plinval he does not seem to accept this as evidence for a dependence of Julian's *tractatus* on Theodore's commentary on Psalms. Cf. Iul. Theod. Mops. comm. in Pss 13 (CCL 88A, 65-71; 78-86 Devreesse), 28 (CCL 88A, 128-31; 132-34 Devreesse), and 29 (CCL 88A, 132-35; 135-37 Devreesse), and already Morin, "Un ouvrage" (n. 4), 19 n. 13, and Vaccari, "Nuova opera" (n. 13), 587. Bouwman and De Plinval agree, however, on excluding Jerome's commentary on the Minor Prophets as a possible source of the motif. But cf. Hier. comm. in Amos 3.7.1-3 (CCL 76, 313-14), where Jerome pointedly rejects an eschatological interpretation of Amos's vision of salvation (God has pity with Jacob and saves him from annihilation) as premature. The prophet's vision, he insists, refers first and foremost to Hezekiah, who expressed his hopes for "peace in my days" (IV Reg 20:19). So it does not even include his children, let alone the present age, Jerome points out. It therefore leaves open the possibility of further disasters preceeding the final cataclysm. This insistence on underpinning any eschatological interpretation with a historical one is an important precondition for developing a meaningful salvation-historical interpretation of Hezekiah's reign as a preliminary to Christ's eschatological rule, as Julian does, though admittedly not for this particular passage, Am 7:1-3 (on a reason for that cf. Bouwman, ibid., 36, and De Plinval, ibid., 358 n. 44). But cf. Iul. tr. Osee 3.10.11-12 (CCL 88, 199f.), tr. Iohel 2.26-27 (CCL 88, 246.364-373), 3.20-21 (CCL 88, 258f.) on Hezekiah's reign as a historical preliminary to Christ's eschatological reign, and tr. Osee 1.1.6-7 (CCL 88, 127f.), 3.12.1 (CCL 88, 208.28-38), 3.13.13 (CCL 88, 220f.), 3.14.1-7 (CCL 88, 223f.), tr. Iohel 2.28-32 (CCL 88, 248.250.252), 3.4-8 (CCL 88, 254f.), 3.20f. (CCL 88, 258f.) on the relative importance of Hezekiah's rule in the prophecies of Hosea and Joel. Bouwman's and De Plinval's judgments must therefore be differentiated. Julian did get some idea about the relative importance of the reign of Hezekiah from both, Theodore and Jerome, but he also developed this idea further in his own exegesis, especially on Hosea and Joel. Finally, in tr. Iohel 2.26-27 Julian hints at a further possible source for the idea, when he notes that the emphasis on the special role of Hezekiah in salvation history goes back to the prophet Isaiah (cf. Bultmann, Die Exegese (n. 41), 96 n. 1). De Plinval, ibid., 357-58 n. 42, ignores that passage, when he declares Julian's exegesis of Ioel 2:23 (dedit uobis doctorem iustitiae) as banal, because Julian sets out with a literal understanding of the verse: "He gave you a learned professor of ethics", before concluding (CCL 88, 246.362-373) that according to the prophet Isaiah the verse ultimately refers, beyond Hezekiah, to Christ.

[67] De Plinval, "Julien d'Éclane devant la Bible" (n. 26), 358, sees this sophistication as a development for the worse, an impoverishment and a decline of exegesis even compared to Pelagius. Julian, he argues, is cool and detached, superficial and vague. He lacks the fear of God that would breath life into the threats and promises of the prophets. See in contrast Schäublin, *Untersuchungen* (n. 27), 26-27, on the problematic ethos of Antiochene exegesis, especially as represented by Theodore of Mopsuestia (cf. above n. 64).

example, he understands strictly literally as a natural disaster, a natural-historical as opposed to a political-historical event[68]. Then he goes on, however, in the wake of Jerome, to interpret the same event allegorically, with the four types of locusts representing the four basic emotions of the soul (hope, joy, fear and pain)[69]. De Plinval is ultimately unable to appreciate the theological value of this kind of exegesis, although he recognizes that rationality and the goodness of God are Julian's guiding principles[70]. He criticizes that Julian does not allow for every passage in the Bible to be interpreted directly and unequivocally as signifying the eschatological reality of Christ and the Church[71].

[68] Again an opportunity for De Plinval to decry the banality and inconsistency of Julian's work. Cf. also Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar* (n. 1), 112. But Jerome, too, reports from his own experience of a real locust plague in Palestine: Hier. comm. in Ioelem 2.1-11 (CCL 76, 178.95-96): hoc nuper in hac prouincia uidimus... Nevertheless, he and Theodore both go on to apply the four types of locusts to the four powers which submitted Israel in history, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Greeks and the Romans, whereas Julian insists that prior to such an exegesis one has to take into account the real possibility of devastating locust plagues in Palestine (again he may have got this information from Jerome!) and suggests to discuss the event in terms of natural science. Having considered that aspect, however, he moves on to suggest that there is also a possibility of understanding the four types of locust as signifying the four emotions of the soul (cf. below n. 69). On the whole passage see also Strobl, *Eine Untersuchung* (n. 26), 93-105, and already A. Merx, *Die Prophetie des Joel und ihre Ausleger* (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1879), 179-80.

[69] The whole passage extends from Iul. tr. Iohel 1.2 to 2.19f. (CCL 88, 228-44). The allegory is drawn from Hier. comm. in Iohel 1.4 (CCL 76, 164). Bouwman and De Plinval both criticize Julian for including it in his commentary, but fail to mention the source. On the classical sources for the psychological model behind the allegory (including Augustine) see now G. J. P. O'Daly, "Affectus I-II," in: Augustinus-Lexikon 1/1-2 (1986): 166-71, 167; on Jerome cf. H. Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics. A study on the Apologists, Jerome and other Christian writers.* Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis. Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 6 (Gotenburg: Almquist och Wiksell, 1958), 331-46. The classical background may have tempted Julian to include it in his commentary, not, however, without modifying it considerably; cf. Strobl, *Eine Untersuchung* (n. 26), 101-104.

[70] De Plinval, "Julien d'Éclane devant la Bible" (n. 26), 359: For Julian there is 1. a rational explanation for every single detail in the text. 2. Prophetic threats are usually not ending in real disasters because of God's patience. 3. If nevertheless evil occurs, it is because people act foolishly. Moreover, every evil is contingent. In the end God restores everything. Of course, combined, these principles make up a perfect recipe for reducing the threat of Old Testament prophecy.

[71] De Plinval, "Julien d'Éclane devant la Bible" (n. 26), 362, contrasts this with Ambrose's and Augustine's intention of relating every single detail in the Bible to this reality. Julian's attitude is, of course, guided by the principle of Antiochene, and especially Theodore's, exegesis, according to which only a few passages in the Old Testament may be interpreted as τύποι μελλόντων, which leads Antiochene exegetes to restrict themselves almost entirely to an historical exegesis of the Old Testament. Cf. Sprenger, Theodori Mopsuesteni (n. 31), 127.

De Plinval concludes by decrying the secondary, epigonal, character of Julian's work, his "re-writing" of Jerome's commentary in a spiritually mediocre and secularist fashion[72]. In his view Julian's achievements lie in using Jerome's new Biblical translation, and his and others', like Theodore's and Polychronius' commentaries, distilling them into a brilliant Late Latin and acquaint a wider public with an exegesis that concentrates on the historical and literary detail rather than mystical-theological speculation. Julian may be granted a tiny share in Jerome's great merit of mediating between east and west, on the whole, however, he remains vastly inferior to a Jerome or Theodore of Mopsuestia; and even compared to a Pelagius or an Anianus of Celeda he lacks spiritual generosity and self-abnegation. He is, and should remain, a personality of the second tier[73].

This verdict is unjustified, the result of an analysis lacking in depth and limited to the *Tractatus*, which should be judged by its own merit, and compared to works similar rather than dissimilar to itself. Julian's literary output as a whole should be seen against the background of his turbulent life and the age in which he lived. Its epigonal character is shared, to a greater or lesser degree, by that of other authors, above all Jerome's[74]. Moreover, it cannot alter the fact that the degree of learning, level of philosophical reflection and literary skill displayed by Julian are exceptional, not only by the standards of his own, but by the standards of any age.

[72] De Plinval, "Julien d'Éclane devant la Bible" (n. 26), 362-64.

[73] De Plinval, "Julien d'Éclane devant la Bible" (n. 26), 365-66.

[74] Take, for example, the dependency of Jerome's commentary on Zechariah on that of Didymus the Blind. Cf. L. Doutreleau, ed., *Didyme l'Aveugle. Sur Zacharie: texte inédit d'après un papyrus de Toura 1-3*. SC 83-85 (Paris: Cerf, 1962), vol. 1, 129-37. For all his commentaries Jerome drew extensively on Rabbinic and earlier Christian sources. For Hosea, for example, he names Appolinarius, Origen, Pierius, Eusebius of Caesarea, and Didymus the Blind. Cf. Hier. comm. in Osee prol. (CCL 76, 4f.). For Zechariah he adds Hippolytus. Cf. Hier. comm. in Zachariam prol. (CCL 76A, 748.30). For Joel and Amos he refers to "others". Cf. Hier. comm. in Ioelem 2.28 (CCL 76, 193f.): alius dicit...; comm. in Amos 1.3.3 (CCL 76, 245.64ff.): ... legi in cuiusdam commentariis... He certainly drew on commentaries of Origen's on Joel and Amos. Cf. Y.-M. Duval, "Vers le Commentaire sur Joël d'Origène", in G. Dorival & A. Le Boulluec, eds., *Origeniana Sexta. Origène et la Bible*. Betl 118 (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 393-410, and the edition of fragments of the latter from P. Oxy. XIII 1601 by R. Reitzenstein, "Origenes und Hieronymus", in: ZNW 20 (1921): 90-93. See now also Y.-M. Duval, "Vers l'In Malachiam d'Origène. Jérôme et Origène en 406", in: W. A. Bienert & U. Kühneweg, Eds., *Origeniana Septima. Origenes in den Auseinandersetzungen des 4. Jahrhunderts*. Betl 137 (Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 233-59.

Today it is much easier than in the days of Morin, Bouwman and De Plinval to make this case in point, with De Coninck's edition of 1977, though sadly it cannot be called "complete" [75], H. N. Sprenger's edition of the same year of Theodore's of Mopsuestia commentary on the Minor Prophets[76], and M. Adriaen's edition (post Vallarsi) of Jerome's commentary on the Minor Prophets of 1970[77]. Furthermore, scholarship nowadays thinks differently than yet De Plinval about the dependency of later authors on earlier ones[78].

De Plinval was certainly right in calling the *Tractatus* a "re-writing" of Jerome's commentaries on Hosea, Joel and Amos. He could have called it by an equally fashionable expression a «relecture». It was a "re-writing" influenced in spirit, if not letter, by Theodore's commentaries on Hosea, Joel and Amos. But De Plinval was wrong to consider the *Tractatus* an inferior work for that. He might have come to a different conclusion, if he had compared the three authors in detail. Bouwman had compared the texts, but had failed to appreciate Julian's originality as a writer and thinker. His verdict that Julian has merely "copied" Jerome[79] is contradicted by his own findings concerning Julian's language, style, compositional technique, exegetical method and theological content. For these are not only similar, but also dissimilar to Jerome's and Theodore's. Both, similarities and dissimilarities alike need to be studied in more detail. The new editions have made this much easier. Strobl in her work on *tr. Iohel* has shown how it can be done. A lot however still remains to be done, before we can say that we can now fully evaluate the achievement and limitations of Julian's contribution to Late Ancient Biblical exegesis.

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[75] Cf. the detailed critique of De Coninck's edition (cf. above nn. 2 and 26) by Y.-M. Duval, "Iulianus Aeclanensis restitutus" (n. 21). M. Lamberigts, "Some remarks on the critical edition of the preserved fragments of Julian of Aeclanum", in: RTAM 54 (1987): 238-39, contains a number of useful remarks, though nothing in particular on the tractatus, similarly M. Stein, "Bemerkungen zu Iulianus von Aeclanum", in: JAC 43 (2000) 122-125.

[76] Cf. above n. 31.

[77] M. Adriaen, ed., *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera. Pars I. Opera Exegetica 6. Commentarii in Prophetas Minores*. CCL 76 and 76A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1970).

[78] See, for example, the excellent study by Strobl, *Eine Untersuchung* (n. 26).

[79] Cf. Bouwman, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar (n. 1), 125 and 131.*

WAS THERE "AUGUSTINIAN" CONCUPISCENCE IN PRE-AUGUSTINIAN NORTH AFRICA?

Introduction.

In his article on *concupiscentia* written for the *Augustinus Lexicon*, Gerald Bonner makes two sweeping assertions: (1) that "the explanation of A[ugustine]'s understanding and use of c[*oncupiscentia*] is to be found in the sense in which it appears in the Latin Bible," and, (2) that "A[ugustine] was within African tradition understanding c[*oncupiscentia*] as a quality which might be good or evil, but which was normally employed in an unfavorable sense."[1]

The first of these conclusions is too far reaching due to its unqualified use of the phrase "in the Latin Bible." This oversimplifies the matter in that the Latin biblical text, at least up to the time of Augustine's ordination as bishop, was extremely fluid.[2] In fact, I would contend that Augustine's adoption and subsequent redefinition of the term *concupiscentia*, though it almost certainly was based on his reading of the Bible, cannot be said to be based upon his having consistently read that term in many passages of the Latin Bible.[3]

The second assertion, though correct in its particularity, is too sweeping in that it at least implies the existence of an "African tradition" surrounding the theological usage of *concupiscentia* in patristic North Africa. In fact, it is this implication, combined with Bonner's omission of a discussion regarding the particular aspects of Augustine's teachings on *concupiscentia* and how they could have been derived from his North African predecessors, which provides this study with its theme. Is it in fact demonstrable that Augustine drew from the particular theological traditions of Christian North Africa

[1] *Augustinus Lexikon*, ed. Cornelius Mayer (Basel: Schwabe & Co. AG, 1994) cols. 1113-1122, s.v. "*Concupiscentia*," by Gerald Bonner. Note that both of these conclusions are slightly modified forms of what Bonner had written in his "*Libido* and *Concupiscentia* in St. Augustine", in *Studia Patristica* VI, ed. F. L. CROSS (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), 303-314, particularly 305 and 308.

[2] For the sake of space, a discussion of the state of the biblical text at the times of Cyprian and Tertullian and of Tertullian's ability to provide his own translations, both of which complicate this question exponentially, has been intentionally bypassed.

[3] This assertion can be demonstrated by a perusal of the *apparatus* of the Beuron edition and Sabatier's volumes (for the full bibliography see footnote 18 *infra*). Even Augustine himself can occasionally be found substituting variant terms in place of *concupiscentia*. Of course, whether he did this accidentally, i.e., from memory, because he wished to communicate a particular nuance of meaning or because he actually had in front of him at a particular moment a genuine variant text is normally quite difficult to prove.

(i.e., the thought of Tertullian and Cyprian) as he developed his understanding of concupiscence?

Before attempting an answer to this question two preliminary issues seem requisite. First is the issue of delineating the primary features of Augustine's doctrine of concupiscence. Second is the need for a brief explication of the method followed in this investigation.

Augustine's "mature" doctrine of concupiscence.

Whether or not Augustine's understanding of concupiscence evolved significantly over the course of his life,[4] the published studies on this topic seem to be agreed that the positions he defended in his last twenty years in his battle with the Pelagians (and especially with Julian of Aeclanum) represent Augustine's thoughts at their most developed and most consistent stage.[5] These views may be summarized as follows:

[4] For the view that Augustine's teaching did not appreciably evolve, see Mathijs Lamberigts' "A Critical Evaluation of Critiques of Augustine's View of Sexuality", in *Augustine and His Critics*, eds. Robert Dodaro and George Lawless (London: Routledge, 2000), 182-83, where he writes "It ought to be emphasized that Augustine's negative evaluation of sexuality is a constant which runs through his entire written corpus, and cannot, therefore, be seen as a characteristic particular to the late Augustine alone... [t]hroughout his life, Augustine never deviated from his standpoint." Representing a somewhat different point-of-view, Johannes van Oort has noted that "Augustine expounds his doctrines especially in the struggle against the Pelagians. And in this struggle – mainly forced by the sharp opposition of Julian of Aeclanum – he developed them further." For the latter, see Johannes van Oort, "Augustine on Sexual Concupiscence and Original Sin" in *Studia Patristica Vol XXII Papers Presented to the Tenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1987*, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone (Leuven: Peeters Press, 1989), 382.

[5] In spite of this consistency, the significance of the bishop of Hippo's ideas have not failed to generate tension among modern scholars. In fact, some scholars have seen in them an unnecessarily negative and pessimistic streak which has, when wedded to Augustine's general theological dominance within Western Christendom, imparted a dysfunctional legacy to Western Man's sexuality. The negative assessment of Augustine's views and influence with which I am best acquainted is that of Elaine PAGELS in her *Adam, Eve and the Serpent* (New York: Random House, 1988), especially chapters 5 and 6. Others include Uta Ranke-Heinemann in her *Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven. Women, Sexuality and the Catholic Church*, trans. P. Heinegg (New York: Doubleday, 1990) 75-98; and Peter Brown in his *The Body and Society. Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988) 387-427, especially 396 and following. More appreciative assessments and/or rebuttals of Pagels *et al.* have been published by Mathijs Lamberigts, T. J. van Bavel and Gerald Bonner. Lamberigts' copiously footnoted article in the volume by Dodaro and Lawless, also cited *supra*, is a good place to begin. For a response specifically directed at the positions taken by Pagels, see *idem*, "Augustine, Julian of Aeclanum and E. Pagels' *Adam, Eve and the Serpent**" *Augustiniana* 39 (1989) 393-435. For additional discussions of the positive aspects of Augustine's views, see T. J. van Bavel "Augustinus' houding tegenover seksualiteit", *Kleio* 22 (juli-september 1993) 176-185, especially 182-185, and pages 313-314 of Dr. Bonner's "*Libido and Concupiscentia*" cited *supra*.

- *Concupiscentia* has wounded Adam's natural descendents in that, virus-like, it has entrenched itself within human nature in such a way that it is able to evade the control of the human mind, both rationally and morally.[6] In short, it "overwhelms the whole intellect."[7]
- One of its chief products is sexual lust (*libido carnalis*), which is *in se* always morally bad or evil. "Our sexuality bears witness to our fallen condition"[8] via the observable phenomena of the disobedience of the sexual organs, the shame most people feel at nakedness and the privacy and/or darkness most desire when engaging in sexual activities.[9]
- Concupiscence, because it produces this evil lust, is the vehicle by which Original Sin is transferred to all human beings and by which all natural descendants of Adam come under the control of the devil. In fact, ultimate responsibility for it is assigned to the devil in as much as he is the author of sin.[10]
- In spite of these aforementioned results, because there remains a residue of freewill in every human being (and thus ethical responsibility), when freewill is combined with the divine grace, *concupiscentia* becomes conquerable. In baptized Christians, *concupiscentia* remains only as an impulse to sin; it cannot force a Christian to commit sin, although complete victory should only be expected in the next life, following the resurrection to complete Christlikeness.[11]

[6] See, e.g., *De pecc. meritis et remissione*, I, 57; *ibid.*, II, 36; *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum*, I, 34-35; and *Contra Iulianum*, IV, 57.

[7] Bonner, "*Libido and Concupiscentia*", 309.

[8] *Ibid.*, 310. Recall, however, that this did not mean for Augustine that marriage is evil *in se*.

[9] See, e.g., *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* I, 22,24; II, 33,55 and *Contra Iulianum* IV, 63 where Augustine writes "... the disobedience of the sexual organs is evil; ... it arose as a counterpart to the disobedience which the man committed with the tree." All English translations of Augustine employed herein are the work of Roland J. Teske. See *Answer to the Pelagians*, vols. 24/1; 24/2 and 24/3 in the series *The Works of Saint Augustine. A Translation for the 21st Century*, (New York: New City Press, 1997-1999).

[10] See, e.g., *De natura et gratia* 28; *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* I, 21-22; *Contra Iulianum* III, 9; III, 51; IV, 38; IV, 65; V, 3; VI, 22; VI, 27 and *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum* I, 36 and I, 11 where we read that "children of believing spouses are ... born guilty on account of original sin ... and for this reason ... are under the power of the devil ... the author of the sin."

[11] See, e.g., *De perfectione iustitiae hominis* 13,31; *De pecc. meritis et remissione*, I, 39,70; II, 4; *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* I, 33,38; *Contra Iulianum*, III, 62; IV, 56; IV, 83.

The Method of Investigation.

Assuming the significance of the more than 100 years (to say nothing of other contextual differences) which separate Augustine from his North African predecessors and given the aforementioned fluidity of the text of the Latin Bible, what then remains as a viable methodological "ground zero" for this type of investigation? The soundest footing, though it too has its difficulties,[12] seemed to be that of a return to the original texts of the biblical materials.[13]

Given the fact that "*concupiscentia* is a Christian technical word, generally translating the Greek *epithumia*,"[14] I first looked at the places in which *epithumia*, along with the allied term *hedone*, is employed in the Christian scriptures.[15] Next, I culled from this list the passages which were clearly negative in tone or implication, i.e., those where one of these terms is employed in context with sinful behavior, or, passages in which moral exhortation and/or moral disapproval are/is the goal of the author.[16] This list of passages in hand, I then

[12] The allusion here is of course to the textual problems of the Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek originals, not to mention the host of problems associated with the production of the LXX.

[13] Choosing to confine this investigation to the "biblical materials" should not be viewed as a claim that any of these three writers drew their inspiration for these ideas *exclusively* from the Bible. To varying degrees, all three were unquestionably impacted by other contemporary cultural or intellectual currents. With regard to Tertullian and, to a lesser extent, Cyprian, one of the most often discussed intellectual influences is that of late-antique philosophy, especially Stoic philosophy. A perusal of the recent literature reveals that while most scholars do speak of Stoic ideas as being observable in the writings of these two, there remains considerable disagreement concerning how to quantify that influence. Given the variance of opinion on this and other questions regarding influence, a search confined to the biblical evidence seemed to be the least problematic course since no one doubts that both Tertullian and Cyprian were fundamentally and profoundly influenced by the Bible. For some of the various opinions concerning the degree of Stoic influence on Tertullian and Cyprian see, e. g., Michel Spanneut, *Tertullien et les premiers moralistes africains* (Paris: Gembloux, 1969) 21-31, 78-80 & 95-96 (including footnotes with references to other literature), and Marcia L. Colish, *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages, II Stoicism in Christian Latin Thought through the Sixth Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985) 12-35. For a brief discussion of Tertullian's incorporation of Platonic ideas into his doctrine of the human soul, along with selected bibliography, see pages 49-50 and footnote 37 *infra*.

[14] Bonner, "*Concupiscentia*," col. 1114.

[15] That Augustine called upon the biblical usage of *epithumia* and *hedone* as a foundation for his doctrine has been noted by Lamberigts in his article "A Critical Evaluation ..." page 180. For the Old Testament, passages which employed forms of the Hebrew roots *'āvāh*, *hăvāh*, *hōvāh* and *ḥāmăd* were also consulted.

[16] Interestingly, this step of my study has led me to conclude that the New Testament usage of *epithumia* is overwhelmingly negative in that I would classify approximately 85-90% of its 38 uses as negative and approximately 35% of its uses as both negative and overtly sexual. *pace* Lamberigts, whose phrase "frequently negative connotations" regarding the NT's employment of *epithumia* and *hedone* proves to be a bit of an understatement.

referenced the available volumes of the Beuron *Vetus Latina* project[17] and the volumes on the Latin biblical text produced by Petrus Sabatier.[18] It was at this juncture that things became complicated. These resources revealed that in addition to *concupiscentia*, *libido* and their derived forms, the translators of the various Latin versions employed no less than 10 terms or phrases to communicate the aforementioned concepts.[19] In a final step, the CLCLT CD-ROM database[20] was used to search the works of Cyprian and Tertullian for the occurrence of these terms in order to produce an exhaustive list of passages in which these two authors discuss their understanding of *concupiscentia* as well as any related doctrines.

Evidence from the Works of St. Cyprian

The significant passages in Cyprian's works pinpointed by this investigation number almost two dozen and encompass seven works and several letters. Most of these may be categorized as affirming just two ideas: (1) the conquerability of *concupiscentia carnis* and (2) the significant role assigned to the devil in the actual commission of sin.

On at least eleven occasions in five different works Cyprian makes it sufficiently clear that he believes the struggle with the flesh, and even the vice of concupiscence, is winnable.[21] Moreover, it is also the case that Cyprian's teaching normally portrays a *via media* between the extremes of resignation to sin and the possibility of complete Christian perfection. On the one hand, as he unfolds the meaning of the phrase "lead us not into temptation" from The Lord's Prayer, he notes that "we all need help [since] no one is strong in his own strength"[22] while, on the other, he writes that though "the struggle

[17] Available to me were about 7 and 1/2 volumes of the Beuron edition, 4 covering the majority of the NT letters and 3 on individual books of the OT. The "1/2" here is used only to indicate that I had access to portions of the book of Sirach in fascicle form.

[18] See Petrus Sabatier, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae seu Vetus Italica et Caeterae quaecumque in Codicibus Mss. & antiquorum libris reperiri potuerunt: Quae cum Vulgata Latina & cum Textu Graeco camparatur*, 3 T., Remis: Reginaldus Florentain, 1743, reprint Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1991.

[19] This complication offered tangible proof that Dr. Bonner's previously quote statement about the Latin Bible was far too general. Cf. page 1 *supra*.

[20] CLCLT = Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts. The version employed was: CLCLT-4 release 2000, moderante Paul Tombeur, Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis Lovanii Novi, Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium.

[21] See, e.g., *De mortalitate* 4 and 26; *De zelo et liuore* 16; *De bono patientiae* 21; and *De habitu uirginum* 5, 6 and 21.

[22] See *De dominica oratione* 14.

with the flesh is the greatest and most obstinate for young maidens," there nevertheless are some of them who "no longer have desires of the flesh and of the body" and who are, apparently with success, "cutting away the desires of the flesh."[23]

A search of the occasions in which Cyprian mentions the role of the devil in the context of *concupiscentia* reveals three key passages: *De zelo et liuore* 2, *De dominica oratione* 14, and *De habitu uirginum* 20. In the first of these, Cyprian seems all but certain to have 1 John 2:15-17 in mind as he warns that the devil offers "to the eyes seductive forms and easy pleasures (faciles voluptates) so that by sight he may destroy (destruat) chastity." Interestingly, these three passages can be equally counterbalanced by three other passages, all drawn from *De habitu uirginum*,[24] in which Cyprian warns that inappropriate human conduct such as over-adornment, unchaste conversation, and going to the baths can "enkindle passions" (libidinum), can "become an inducement to vice" (inlecebram vitiis) or, most clearly, can directly "foster the desire of sexual lust" (concupiscendi libidinem nutrias). The fact that the three passages, which assign a lead role to the devil in the process, are so neatly counterbalanced by three which all point to human conduct, though obviously a numerical coincidence, do point to a certain paradoxical quality in Cyprian's thought which, as was noted above, is also present in Augustine's formulations. For Cyprian, the devil is an enemy who deftly employs all the various *concupiscentiae carnis* against the human race. However, Cyprian is also convinced that if these same humans are not watchful, they in themselves can wreak havoc on their neighbor, even when the chosen course of action is not intentional.[25]

Even more interesting, given the specific topic of this investigation, are two passages taken from Cyprian's letters. The first is from section 5 of *Letter 64*, and the second is an extended passage drawn from sections 26 and 27 of *Letter 55*.

[23] See *De habitu uirginum* 5 and 23 respectively.

[24] See chapters 9, 18 and 19 respectively.

[25] See also section 25 of *Letter 55* where, in elucidating the difference between an adulterer and one who temporarily disavowed Christianity, Cyprian, following Tertullian, points out that most who have disowned Christ have done so under torture or other pressure whereas an adulterer always commit his sins "of his free will." Less prominent, but also significant is Cyprian's affirmation that the post-lapsarian human has maintained freedom of the will found in *De habitu uirginum* 23. For Cyprian "God does not order [continence], but encourages it; nor does he impose the yoke of necessity, since the choice of the will remains free."

In section 5 of *Letter 64*,[26] Cyprian, as he concludes his discussion of his belief that no one, regardless of the number of their sins or degree of their sinfulness, should have their access to grace hindered, rhetorically asks:

> ... how much more should an infant not be prohibited, who, recently born, has not sinned at all, except that, born carnally according to Adam, he has contracted the contagion of the first death from the first nativity. He approaches more easily from this very fact to receive the remission of sins because those which are remitted are not his own sins, but the sins of another.[27]

That Cyprian would mention a "contagion" in close proximity with a reference to Adam seems quite straightforward, especially if we allow ourselves to read later (and primarily Augustinian) doctrinal formulations into his words.[28] Also significant, for reasons which will

[26] According to Duquenne, this letter probably dates from the Spring, i.e., "*post mai*", 252. See Luc Duquenne, *Chronologie des lettres de S. Cyprien* (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1972), 34. See also G. W. Clarke, *The Letters of St. Cyprian of Carthage Vol. III, Letters 55-66*, Ancient Christian Writers Series, no. 46 (New York: Newman Press, 1986), 302-303, where Clarke, while accepting Duquenne's dating, notes that this date is only a reasonable supposition.

[27] All translations of Cyprian used here are from volumes 51 ("Letters" translated by Rose Bernard Donna) and 36 ("Treatises" translated by Roy J. Deferrari, *et al.*) of the series *The Fathers of the Church, A New Translation* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1964 and 1958 respectively). For the Latin text see CCL 3C, 423-425. The relevant lines read: ... quanto magis prohiberi non debet infans qui recens natus nihil peccauit, nisi quod secundum Adam carnaliter natus contagium mortis antiquae prima natiuitate contraxit, qui ad remissam peccatorum accipiendam hoc ipso facilius accedit quod illi remittuntur non propria sed aliena peccata.

[28] The fact that Augustine saw this passage as confirming his own teaching logically follows from the number of times he makes explicit reference to it. See, e.g., *De pecc. meritis et remissione* III, 5,10-11; *Contra Iulianum* I, 6,22; I, 7,32; III, 17,31; *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum* 4,23 and, especially, *ibid.* 4,28 where he references Cyprian's *Ad Quirinum* (a.k.a. *Testimonia*) 3,54 as "proving" that Cyprian held and taught the doctrine of original sin. It is worth noting, however, that in that passage, which is in fact little more than a florigelium, Cyprian offers no explanatory comment or exegesis. He merely cites several biblical passages such as Job 14:4-5 and Psalm 50/51:7 as supporting the idea and moves on to his next topic. See also Julius Gross, *Entstehungsgeschichte des Erbsündendogmas* (München: Ernst Reinhardt Verlag, 1960), 121-123 and Joseph Ziegler, „Iob 14, 4-5a als wichtigster Schriftbeweis für die These 'Neminem sine sorde et sine peccato esse' (Cyprian, test 3,54) bei den lateinischen christlichen Schriftstellern", *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 1985, 3* (München: C.H. Beck, 1985). For a

soon become apparent, is Cyprian's clear assertion that these sins are not the child's in any direct way, but that they are "the sins of another" (aliena peccata).

Looking to *Letter 55*,[29] we find Cyprian asserting that the ultimate cause of the failings of the flesh is twofold: both the devil and the flesh play a role. He writes that "these evil deeds (i.e. specifically adultery and idolatry, but also the sin catalogues of Eph. 5 and Col. 3) do not come from the Holy Spirit but, from the instigation of the adversary and from the unclean spirit of inborn concupiscence." Indeed, according to Cyprian, it is these two causes combined that "drive men to act against God and to serve the devil."[30] Conspicuous by its absence is the lack of a full explanation or elucidation concerning this "unclean spirit of inborn concupiscence." While it is conceivable that Cyprian felt an explanation here would take his readers too far afield in what had already become a long letter, it seems most likely that he was confident that Antonianus, the letter's

second passage which demonstrates Cyprian's views on the effectiveness of baptism as well as a second reference to his belief in the "contagion," see *De habitu uirginum* 23, where, employing Pauline terminology, Cyprian writes that all who are baptized "put off the old man by the grace of the saving waters" and that these same baptized individuals are also "renewed by the Holy Spirit, [and] are cleansed from the impurities of the old contagion by a second birth." (Cf. the Latin: hominem illic ueterem gratia lauacri salutaris exponunt et innouati Spiritu sancto a sordibus contagionis antiquae iterata natiuitate purgantur.) The idea that baptism is itself the "second birth" is a more than plausible extrapolation from John's gospel. See John 3, where in his discussion with Nicodemus regarding the necessity of being "born again," Jesus, in verse 5, also includes the necessity of being born of both "the water and the spirit." The idea of the hereditary contagion is, of course, less immediately defensible.

[29] This letter probably dates from not more than 12 months before *Letter 64*, having been written between August 251 and May 252. For this date see Clarke, *The Letters of St. Cyprian*, 159-160 as well as Duquenne, *Chronologie*, 32, who assigns it to some point before the end of the Summer of 251.

[30] For the Latin of this portion of *Letter 55* see CCL 3C, 290. There we read: Neque enim mala facta de sancto spiritu ueniunt sed de adversarii instinctu et de inmundo spiritu natae concupiscentiae contra deum facere et diabolo seruire conpellunt. That humanity is culpable for *concupiscentia* is most frequently in *De habitu uirginum*. Here, though Cyprian never explicitly mentions Adam in relationship to *concupiscentia*, he does explicitly say to virgins that, if and when they are not careful about their dress, to say nothing of their frequenting of the public baths, they attract "the eyes of the youth, draw after [themselves] the sighs of young men, foster the desire of concupiscence, enkindle the fire of hope, so that, without perhaps losing your own soul, you nevertheless ruin others and offer yourselves a sword and a poison, as it were, to those who behold you ..." This quote is from chapter 9. For other similar ideas see chapters 6, 18 and 19 where various activities of men and women are claimed to ignite or re-ignite *concupiscentia*.

recipient, as well as anyone with whom he was likely to share it, would not find it problematic and, therefore, would require no further explanation.

More troubling, however, are the words which appear a mere seven lines later (still in *Letter 55*). There, Cyprian is intent on refuting those who would permanently bar anyone who has been guilty of idolatry from ever being re-assimilated into Catholic communion. Cyprian's opponents contend that "the idolatry of the guilty passes over to the one who is not guilty" and that "one person is stained by the sin of another." Cyprian counters this position with the idea that "everyone himself is held responsible for his own sin and one cannot be guilty for another" (unumquemque in peccato suo ipsum teneri nec posse alium pro altero reum fieri), and duly supports his view with quotations from Ezekiel 18:20 and from Deuteronomy 24:16.[31]

That there exists a difficulty in these two letters for readers far removed from Cyprian's context is obvious: How could someone who (1) has been infected from birth with an "unclean spirit of inborn concupiscence (*Letter 55*)" and with the ancient "contagion of the first death (*Letter 64*)" and who (2) stands in immediate need of baptism, be, simultaneously, the inheritor of sins which "are not his own, but the sins of another" ([non propria sed aliena peccata] *Letter 64*) and yet not "guilty for another" ([nec posse alium pro altero reum fieri] *Letter 55*)? The difficulty only increases when it is remembered that these two letters are separated by, at most, only two years of time.

While heeding the caveat against trying to remove Cyprian from his own time and context (e.g., by assuming he felt a need for a high degree of theological systematization), this situation remains puzzling when we recognize: (1) the statements' close proximity to each other within the same letter (*Letter 55*) and, (2) the care with which the letter's argument is laid out. Even more problematic is Cyprian's simultaneous insistence that his opinions concerning the impossibility of sins being commutable were both "according to our faith and the form of divine preaching given to us" (secundum fidem

[31] Ezekiel 18:20 reads in part "The virtuous man's virtue will be his own, and the wicked man's wickedness shall be his." Deuteronomy 24:16 has "Fathers shall not die for their children and the children shall not die for their fathers. Everyone shall die in his own sin." It is possible that Cyprian viewed the last sentence of the Deuteronomy verse as his "out." Perhaps he saw the "contagion" passed on from Adam as immediately becoming the sin of the recipient and therefore not the sin of another. Such a resolution of course remains problematic in that it is both an argument from silence and one that Cyprian, for some reason, did not regard as needing explication.

nostram et diuinae praedicationis datam formam) and in accord with a "rule of truth" (ratio veritatis). Surely, these were not phrases that a 3rd century bishop would carelessly throw around or waste on a trivial discussion. Though it could be that Cyprian felt no tension between declaring that little ones stood in need of baptism (since they are all born with an "unclean spirit of inborn concupiscence" and/or a "contagion"), and that these infections did not amount to inherited sin, it seems necessary, given the dearth of contextual assistance, to admit that any such conclusion would be, at best, a speculation.

Still, the picture of Cyprian which emerges here is one of a Christian teacher who, although sensitive to the problem of concupiscence, (consciously?) refuses to step beyond the general lines of the problem as laid out by Scripture. In these passages he shows himself to be a teacher confident of the necessity and efficacy of baptism as well as of the role the devil plays in the lives of all those who desire to live in obedience to God. However, at no point does one find Cyprian assigning great significance to *concupiscentia*, and nowhere does he betray the belief that it, in a way more distinct than other human struggles, proves the effects of the Fall, or that it is especially diabolical. In fact, in a way which could be labeled as almost anything except "Augustinian," Cyprian seems to be completely at ease with keeping *concupiscentia* and any idea of *aliena peccata* distinctly separate as he goes about his pastoral concerns.

Evidence from the Works of Tertullian[32]

Like Cyprian, Tertullian also held positions similar to those Augustine would later adopt concerning the conquerability of *concupiscentia carnis* and of the role of the devil in the commission of sin in general and of sexual sin in particular.[33]

[32] It goes without saying that assessing Tertullian's theological views, because of his overt and widespread use of polemic and rhetoric, to say nothing of the issues surrounding his Montanist affiliations, can pose significant problems. When, for example, is a particular statement genuinely reflective of his thought and when is it merely *ad hoc* to this particular debate or that particular exhortation?

[33] As was done with Cyprian *supra*, Tertullian's thoughts on the freedom of the will, while certainly significant, are restricted to the footnotes. Given the theological positions of Marcion, it should not be surprising that clear endorsements of the freedom of the will occur quite frequently in Tertullian's work against him. A good example can be found in book II, chapter 9. Here, after declaring that the soul of man is "infirm," goes on to insist that this infirmity is a direct result of "[the soul's] power of the will, as being free, not a slave" and that the soul sinned only through "that which was an addition to its nature, that is through its free-will".

Given Tertullian's ever-present moralism and ethical severity, it is needless to dwell on the former of these; examples may be found virtually *passim*. The few passages in which Tertullian can be found in sympathy with those who are struggling with their lower natures are consistently and thoroughly overwhelmed by his invective against all who persist in lives of sin. For example, in chapter 15 of *De monogamia*, a work dating from 210/211,[34] Tertullian, in a somewhat vain attempt to defend himself against the charge of undue harshness regarding his policy of one and only one marriage, writes that "the infirmity of the flesh" should never be admitted as a valid excuse for those who fail. Indeed, for him, the weakness of the flesh exists to be conquered, regardless of the situation the Christian finds himself in. Since this weakness "does not excuse a man whose lapse is the result of torture (defectio); far less does it excuse one whose lapse is the result of lust (impudicam)."[35]

Chapter 16 of *De anima*, written in either 206 or 207, is a passage which gives a clear picture of the role Tertullian assigns the devil in the commission of sin.[36] Interestingly, it is also one of the four most significant for his understanding of concupiscence. Here, Tertullian, synthesizing both the biblical record and the thought of Plato concerning the constitution of the human soul (which he did view as partially acceptable),[37] speaks of the human soul as possessing

[34] All dates for works referenced in this study have been taken from T. D. Barnes' *Tertullian A Historical and Literary Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 54-56.

[35] See also: *Apologeticum* 9,19; 46,11 (where Tertullian claims (hyperbolically?) that Christians never violate Jesus' injunction found in Matthew 5:28 that they not even lust after another woman); *Ad uxorem* 4 and *De pudicitia* 17. A passage which grants the good glimpse of Tertullian's "soft side" (though even there he is still quite rigorous), is *De uirginibus uelandis* 10. Here, he admits that "the struggle to overcome concupiscence" is "great" for those who, by virtue of their having been married, have become "accustomed to such concupiscence".

[36] Other good examples are: *De paenitentia* 7; *Aduersus Marcionem* V,17; *De exhortatione castitatis* 13; *De anima* 39; *ibid.* 41; and *Apologeticum* 22,6 where the role of demons and fallen angels play in generating sin within the system of Tertullian is explicitly discussed.

[37] As is the case with his relationship to Stoicism (cf. footnote 13 *supra*), Tertullian's relationship to Platonism in general is quite complex. For general comments see Eric Osborn, "Tertullian as Philosopher and Roman", in *Die Weltlichheit des Glaubens in der Alten Kirche* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), 231-247 and esp. 233-241 and J. H. Waszink, „Einfluss des Platonismus im frühen Christentum", *Vigiliae Christianae* 19 (1965) 129-162, esp. 145 and 152-154. Waszink is also the best source for a detailed (and an extremely erudite) analysis of specific passages of the *De anima*. See his *Q.S.F. Tertulliani De Anima* (Amsterdam: Muelenhoff, 1947), 230-231 along with 41*-44* of that work's introduction. Also helpful for specific information are: Osborn, *Tertullian, First Theologian of the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 164-167; Barnes, *Tertullian*, 205-210; and Adhémar d'Alès, "Tertullien Helléniste," *Revue des Études grecques* 50 (1937), 329-362, esp. 334-343 and most especially 338-342.

both a rational and an irrational element. The irrational element, which, *contra* Plato, was not originally present at creation, "came later" and was "imbedded in the soul" from the "suggestion of the serpent" and is the part that has produced "the very act of the first transgression." This attribution of the soul's irrational element to the devil fits well since, when Tertullian couples it with the ideas that "the impulse to sin proceeds from the devil" and that "all sin is irrational," he is then justified in concluding that is also irrational every form of sinful concupiscence. In short, having begun from the axioms (borrowed from Scripture and Plato respectively) that God is the soul's creator and that He is completely rational, Tertullian is able to reject any theories which assign to God or to God's will the genesis of irrationality, and, by extension, sin and/or any of the negative forms of concupiscence.[38]

In addition to *De anima* 16, there are three other passages which seem helpful for a full elucidation of his teaching regarding *concupiscentia*. In *De anima* 27, 4, Tertullian discusses the question of the means by which the human soul is conceived. In the process of defending his view that both the body and soul are simultaneously generated, he also notes, almost in passing, that

> Nature should, for us, be an object of reverence and not the occasion of blushes. It is lust that has befouled the intercourse of the sexes, not the natural use of this function. It is the excess and not the normal activity which is unclean. Thus has natural intercourse been blessed by God: 'increase and multiply.' On the other hand, He has cursed excess as adultery, debauchery and lewdness.[39]

[38] It is also interesting to note that here, Tertullian, much as would Augustine two centuries later (for a brief discussion of this see Lamberigts, "A Critical Evaluation ...," 179-180 and footnotes), is quite clear that there to exist some good and excellent forms of *concupiscentia*. As examples, he makes reference to Luke 22:15 where Jesus "desired" to eat the Last Supper with his disciples and to I Timothy 3:1 where anyone who "desires" to be a bishop desires a good and a rational thing.

[39] No English translation that I checked was able to capture the directness and simplicity of the Latin, which can be found in CCL II, 823: Natura ueneranda est, non erubescenda. Concubitum libido, non condicio foedauit. Excessus, non status est impudicus, siquidem bendictus status apud deum: crescite et in multitudinem proficite, excessus vero maledictus, adulteria st stupra et lupanaria. Incidentally, further corroboration of this position is found in book V, chapter 16, of *Aduersus Marcionem* where we read one of Tertullian's numerous endorsements of the good of marriage. While not particularly surprising in itself, the fact that he explicitly couples this endorsement with a rejection of the possibility that concupiscence continues to exist within marriage is significant. In the process of exegeting 1 Thessalonians 4:3-5 Tertullian opines that Paul's exhortation that all Christians should learn how to "possess their

That Tertullian could draw such a line of demarcation between marital or "natural" activity and activities sponsored by lust would seem to indicate that he, at least at this juncture, did not see lust as normally present in marital sexual intercourse.[40] The third passage is from chapter 6 of *De pudicitia*, a work which dates from 210/211. Here, Tertullian offers still another of his many commentaries on the events of the fall and its results.[41] The most impressive lines read:

> Let us grant if the Sensualists wish it, that in the ancient days every kind of impurity was allowed. Let us grant that before Christ the flesh was wanton, even that it was lost before it was

vessels in honor" and not "in the lust of concupiscence, even as the Gentiles" does not apply to married persons since "concupiscence ... is not ascribed to marriage even among the Gentiles, but to extravagant, unnatural and enormous sins" and that "the law of nature ... does not forbid connubial intercourse, but concupiscence." For a discussion of the way the early Latin Christians exegeted verses 4-5 of this passage, see Jean Doignon, "L'exégèse latine ancienne de I Thessaloniciens 4,4-5 sur la possession de notre vas," *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 83 (juillet-septembre, 1982), 163-177, and esp. pages 163-165. Regarding the repeated assertions of Tertullian concerning what constitutes "natural" sexual activity and the degree to which such activities were or were not a part of the later Roman Empire, see chapter 2 " 'Pagan' and 'Christian' Marriage Ideology and Practice" of Judith Evans Grubbs', *Law and Family in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995). Especially helpful are pages 54-73 where Grubbs argues that Christian marriages did not adhere to higher standards of morality than did those of the pagans and that, moreover, Roman standards of morality had generally been quite high for some time. She attributes this common (and according to her still current) misconception to the literary techniques of the contemporary satirists and to the fact that they were largely commenting on the mores of the very highest Roman social classes. For a differing take on the evidence, see the multiple publications of French scholar Paul Veyne germane to this issue. Most seminally, see his "La Famille et l'amour sous le haut-empire Romain," *Annales économies Sociétés Civilisations* 33 (janvier-février 1978), 35-63.

[40] Note, however, the contrast, if not contradiction, this statement makes with the statement from *De uirginibus uelandis* 10 cited in footnote 35 *supra*. There, in a work which, at the outside, dates from 3 years earlier, Tertullian does attribute concupiscence to married sexual relations in so far as the married have become "accustomed" to it.

[41] Despite the limited parameters of this investigation, no less than 18 passages containing key elements of the doctrine of the fall and of the consequences of the first sin were located. Examples include the ideas that the warped sense of pleasure gained from sin is "inborn" in *Apologeticum* 7; that the soul is now "infirm" *Aduersus Marcionem* II, 9; that for everyone there exists a "veil of former corruption" which must be removed by means of "new birth" in water *De anima* 41 and numerous assertions that we all (or at least the souls of all of us) were "in Adam" *De pudicitia* 6 and *De anima* 27 (both discussed supra). Even more clear and detailed is *De anima* 40 where being in Adam is taken as being synonymous with being "sinful", "unclean" and "shameful."

> sought out by its Lord. It was not yet worthy of the gift[42] of salvation; it was not yet ready for the obligation of sanctity. It was still reckoned as being *in Adam* (Le Saint's italics), sinful, quickly lusting for what seemed beautiful, preoccupied with things base, repressing prurience with fig leaves. The poison of lust and the milky stains were everywhere within it, not possessing, that plant (of the donkeys)[43] which the waters had not yet cleansed.
>
> But when the Word of God descended into flesh ... which belonged to heaven, not to hell and which was girt with flowers of sanctity and not with leaves of lust, flesh which imparted its own purity to the waters – from this time on, any flesh whatsoever [baptized] into Christ loses its former residual stains.[44] Now it is something different. Now it emerges new, not

[42] Here, "gift" replaces Le Saint's choice of "grace" for the Latin "dono." This change represents the first of several emendations to Le Saint's translation. For the full bibliographical information, see footnote 45 *infra*.

[43] The translation here, though still not without difficulties, follows vol. 394 of the *Sources Chrétiennes*, page 173, which reads "... et les souillures, laitueses, faute de posséder 'la plante des ânes', que les eaux non plus n'avaient encore lavée." The portion of Le Saint's translation that I have here replaced reads: "... the infecting filth ..., and well were they able to cling to it, since as yet there were no waters which themselves had cleansed it." For the rationale of Micaelli and Munier in support of this reading, which hinges on reading "id onear" in place of "idoneae" see pages 121-122 of their volume. In part, they write "Tertullien s'est empressé de tirer de ces vertus de l'épilobe; mais, pour lui, la plante des ânes, par excellence, c'est le Christ qui, par son baptême, a communiqué à l'eau le pouvoir de laver toutes les souillures de la chair, le Christ, dont les corps est la nourriture des chrétiens accusés d'adorer une tête d'âne et affublés, dès lors, du sobriquet d'*asinarii* (*asini cultores*), forgé tout exprès par Tertullien." Note also that I have included their emended Latin text in footnote 45 *infra*, thus accepting their text over that of the CCL editor Dekkers who, concerning this line, confessed that "locus nondum sanatus."

[44] The phrase "from this time on, any flesh whatsoever [baptized] into Christ loses its former residual stains" here replaces Le Saint's "all flesh which is in Christ loses its old, residual stains." In my view, the repeated references in this context to waters justify the insertion of the adjective "baptized." Cf. again Munier's translation which also adds "a lavé". Regardless of the view taken on the best way to resolve these difficulties, the fact remains that the most important point for the purposes of this investigation is contained in the final sentence of this paragraph where Tertullian juxtaposes the concupiscent, and therefore filthy, generative relations of fallen human beings with the spiritual, and therefore immaculate, regeneration provided by baptism. Finally, note also that this text is an all but certain adaptation of and allusion to 2 Cor. 5:17. If correct, this observation could offer a new insight into the role of baptism in Tertullian's theology in that, here, he could be equating that sacrament with the Pauline idea of reconciliation.

from the slime of sperm, not from the filth of concupiscence, but from pure water and the Holy Spirit.[45]

Note that in this passage Tertullian draws links between the Fall, the sin of the first couple and their sexual function, or, perhaps better, their sexual dysfunction. Among other ideas, note well that on two occasions in these few lines he makes a direct link between Adam and Eve's leafy coverings and the presence of lust and/or concupiscence.[46]

The fourth and last passage is *De cultu feminarum* I,1,11 where Tertullian writes of "the ignominy, I mean, of the first[47] sin (primi delicti) and the odium of being the cause of the fall (perditionis) of the human race." This salvo is followed by the accusation that each of the "beloved sisters" of the target audience is also "an Eve" and with the claim that "you are the one who opened the door to the Devil, ... you

[45] This translation is by William P. Le Saint. See *Tertullian Treatises on Penance* (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1959). For the Latin, see CCL II, 1291 (while noting the addition of some material from SC 394 as mentioned in footnote 43 *supra)* where we read: Habuerint pristina tempora omnis impudicitiae, si uolunt psychici, etiam potestatem. Luserit ante christum caro, immo perierit antequam a domino suo requisita est: nondum erat digna dono salutis, nondum apta officio sanctitatis. Adhuc in adam deputabatur cum suo uitio, facile quod speciosum uiderat concupiscens et ad inferiora respiciens et de ficulneis foliis pruriginem retinens. Inhaerebat usquequaque libidinis uirus et lacteae sordes non habentes, idoneae quod nec ipsae adhuc aquae lauerant. At ubi sermo dei descendit in carnem ... quae non ad inferos, sed ad caelum pertineret, quae non lasciuiae frondibus, sed sanctimoniae floribus praecingeretur, quae munditias suas aquis traderet, exinde caro quaecumque in christo reliquas sordes pristinas soluit, alia iam res est, noua emergit, iam non ex seminis limo, non ex concupiscentiae fimo, sed ex aqua pura et spiritu mundo.

[46] It is also helpful to recall that the biblical text of Genesis 3:7 explicitly mentions only that Adam and Eve had acquired "shame"(cf. Genesis 2:25) and that their newfound knowledge of their nakedness, according to Genesis 3:10, only made them "afraid." On this point also cf. *De uirginibus uelandis* 11 where, in yet another accommodation of theology to a polemical and exhortatory context, Tertullian notes only that Adam and Eve, after they obtained "intelligence" given them by "the tree of recognition," were "first sensible of nothing more than of their cause for shame" and that, apparently much as all humans normally do by, at the latest, the onset of puberty, "they each marked their intelligence of their own sex by a covering." Conspicuous by its absence is a mention of lust, concupiscence and/or sexual temptation.

[47] Here, I have again amended the English translation, which reads "original sin," in order to reflect the more ambiguous sense of the Latin "primi delicti." Translating the phrase "primi delicti" as "original sin" seems problematic in that it reads a later and dogma-laden formulation back into the thought of Tertullian. For a view which supports this choice, see Osborn, *Tertullian, First Theologian*, 163 where he writes, "Tertullian, like Paul, wrote a lot about sin. He made the first moves toward a doctrine of original sin ..." (italics added) and page 167 where he notes, even more explicitly, that "[w]hile Tertullian displays the origins of the idea, one cannot attribute the later doctrine of original sin to him."

are the one who persuaded him whom the Devil was not strong enough to attack. All too easily you destroyed (elisisti) the image of God, man. Because of your desert, that is death, even the Son of God had to die." While it is true that Tertullian is probably[48] employing the precedent of the author of 1 Timothy 2:9-15 (which, incidentally, also has recommendations for the proper way for women to dress) his laying the blame for the fall at the feet of Eve is theologically puzzling, even if it is rhetorically masterful.[49]

This last passage, in addition to pointing us toward the first of our summary observations, highlights a most troubling aspect of Tertullian's thought on this subject: his inconsistency. Though wide latitude must be given to the observation that this work's larger polemical intent, i.e., to heap shame upon his female readers in order to gain their undivided attention and open them up to his correctives, the presence of this passage nevertheless remains problematic for the larger picture. Elsewhere, Tertullian is quite clear in his acceptance of the argument of passages such as Romans 5 and 1 Corinthians 15 which link the fall to Adam and portray him as the thesis of Christ's "second Adam" anti-thesis.[50] Here, however, and *unlike* the author of 1 Timothy 2, he explicitly states that it is because of the sin of Eve that Christ had to come and die, thus not only disregarding the masterful Pauline parallel, but also indicating that there are aspects of that first sin which were still in need of expiation. Simply put, the first observation is that, given the general presence of this *ad hoc* theological style, the question of Tertullian's overall place within the North African tradition with regard to the issue of *concupiscentia* cannot be conclusively resolved.

A second, more positive observation surrounds Tertullian's introduction of the idea of "irrationality" into the equation of the fall

[48] Note well, however, that he makes no explicit reference to Paul and that he employs no introductory formula (as he often does) to make plain to his reader that he has this text in mind.

[49] In Tertullian's defense, by referencing 2 Corinthians 11:3, one might possibly argue that Paul provided Tertullian with still another authoritative precedent for such rhetorical techniques. On the other hand, it should also be noted that although Paul does make much of Eve's failure in 2 Cor. 11:3, he does not directly link it to culpability for the results of the Fall, as does Tertullian. Also interesting in this regard, although space does not permit a full treatment, is *De pecc. meritis et remissione*I, 16,21 where Augustine, explicitly referencing Sir. 25:24, "apologizes" for the places where Scripture accuses Eve of introducing sin into the world. This passage would seem to offer indirect support for the general conclusion that Augustine is more systematic in his theological reasoning that are either Tertullian or Cyprian.

[50] See, e. g., *De pudicitia* 6; *De anima* 40 and *De monogamia* 17. In the latter, the "first Adam"/"second Adam" parallelism is quite clear.

and its effects. As noted above, irrationality of sinful behavior in general, and of the post-lapsarian sexual function in particular, is a hallmark of Augustine's view.[51] Moreover, when this element of irrationality is added to Tertullian's near syllogistic deduction that all that is irrational proceeds from the devil, it is only a short logical step to seeing anything that is irrational as evil *in se*.

Thirdly, it is also interesting that Tertullian does allege that Adam and Eve's sin immediately affected human sexuality and sexual function. Recall, for example, that in *De pudicitia* 6 the Tertullianic purpose for the fig leaves, a.k.a. "leaves of lust" (lasciuiae frondibus), was to "repress prurience" (pruriginem retinens) and that the flesh of all humanity, which at that time was still "in Adam," was inhabited everywhere with "the poison of lust" (libidinis virus) and "milky stains" (lacteae sordes).

Fourthly, and still looking back to *De pudicitia* 6, it also seems valid to observe that Tertullian implies that all unregenerate flesh in truth belongs "to hell" (ad infernos) and that once this flesh is washed in the "pure water" of baptism, which itself is explicitly opposed to "the slime of sperm and the filth of concupiscence" (ex seminis limo, non ex concupiscentiae fimo), it loses its "residual stains" (reliquas sordes). Here again one is impressed with how close this language and spirit is to Augustine's picture of concupiscence infecting all parts of the human body.

Finally, recalling the words of *De anima* 27,[52] and before getting too excited that we have hit upon a real precedent for Augustine's thought in Tertullian, we should recall that he, at least at this stage,[53] did not regard "normal activity" between married couples as "unclean." This passage would seem to indicate that married sexual activity, so long as it is practiced in moderation, is not, as it was for Augustine, an evil of which good use is made. On the contrary, although Tertullian does give credit to the evil of lust as having made relations between the sexes problematic, he does seem convinced that it was not harmful, or even sinful, *in se*.

[51] See pages 40-41, including footnote 6, *supra*. Also note that this distinction does give some credence to Augustine's repeated assertions, *contra* Julian of Eclanum, that his views are in consonance with tradition, since, as Lamberigts has clearly shown, Julian believed that there was nothing irrational or even unnatural about *concupiscentia*. See, Lamberigts, "A Critical Evaluation ...", 177 where he writes, "What Julian could not accept, however, was that *concupiscentia* had been characterised as having the power to elude the *rational* (italics added) and moral autonomy of the human person."

[52] Cf. pages 50-51 and footnote 39 *supra*.

[53] I.e., 206 or 207. Recall also the apparent contradiction pointed out between this work and *De uirginibus uelandis* in footnote 40 *supra*.

Conclusion

If asked to judge concerning the relative degree of influence that Cyprian and Tertullian could have had on Augustine, I would have to conclude that there exists a greater affinity, in both quality and quantity, between Tertullian and Augustine than between Cyprian and Augustine. Indeed, while it may be generally true that "Cyprian was the medium through whom Tertullian influenced Augustine,"[54] when discussing the development of the ideas surrounding *concupiscentia*, it seems more accurate to see Cyprian as a break in the chain from Tertullian to Augustine than as the key link.[55]

This said, we must not forget to re-ask this article's thematic question: Are these affinities strong enough to demonstrate that Augustine drew from the particular theological tradition of Christian North Africa as he developed his understanding of concupiscence? Well, yes and no. On the one hand, Cyprian and Tertullian do seem to prefigure several of Augustine's specific formulations concerning *concupiscentia*, especially in the choice Augustine shared with Tertullian to explicitly link concupiscence and irrationality to the negative characteristics of post-lapsarian sexuality. On the other hand, and largely because of their own (self-imposed?) limitations and contradictions (e.g., recall Tertullian's general willingness to allow polemics and rhetoric to take precedence over theological systematization), at no point do Cyprian or Tertullian provide substantial evidence foreshadowing the considerable edifice Augustine was later to construct. In other words, when studied from the standpoint of shared vocabulary, it seems safe to assert that, while the ideas and attitudes concerning *concupiscentia* and its general semantic domain might have been borrowed from "within African tradition,"[56] what Augustine did with that Scriptural and traditional data was profoundly, if something less than completely, his own.

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[54] James Morgan, *The Importance of Tertullian in the Development of Christian Dogma* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd, 1928), 166. Indeed, the huge disparity between the number of times Augustine invoked the names of Cyprian and Tertullian (cf. footnote 55 *infra*), does offer a piece of corroboration to Morgan's assertion.

[55] Though it can be risky to pay too much attention to purely statistical evidence, it remains interesting to note that, when taken as a whole, Augustine's *corpus operum* contains 589 references to Cyprian by name. Almost 10% (52 references) of these are to be found in just the two works *Contra Iulianum* and *Contra Iulianum (opus imperfectum)*. Curious, but equally interesting, is the fact that in the whole of Augustine there are only 17 references to the name of Tertullian and his name is found only once in the two works specifically directed against Julian.

[56] Again, these are Bonner's words from col. 1114 of his *Augustinus Lexikon* article. Cf. footnote 1 *supra*.

LEÇONS NOUVELLES POUR LE "*DE CORREPTIONE ET GRATIA*"

Vient de paraître dans le CSEL vol. XCII, p. 127-284, une nouvelle édition du *De correptione et gratia* avec près d'une centaine de leçons nouvelles ou corrections par rapport à l'édition des Bénédictins parue en 1690, tome X, col. 749-778, texte repris avec quelques corrections par Gaume, *S. Aurelii Augustini Hip. ep. Opera omnia*, t. 10, col. 1281-1318, Paris 1838, puis par Migne dans PL 44, col. 915-946, Paris 1842. Sur la suggestion de plusieurs amis nous croyons utile d'en donner dans cet article la liste pour permettre aux augustinisants de les repérer plus facilement. Nous ne reproduirons pas les justificatifs de ces amendements que l'on trouvera dans l'apparat critique de l'édition. Mais pour permettre d'en apprécier la valeur, nous les regrouperons sous quatre rubriques: – 1. *Errata*; – 2. *Simples inversions*; – 3. *Textes scripturaires*; – 4. *Autres corrections textuelles*. Les références aux chapitres et paragraphes traditionnels sont suivies de l'indication de la ligne dans la nouvelle édition, puis dans PL 44, aux colonnes et lignes.

1 – Errata:

Le texte des Mauristes paru en 1690 a fait l'objet d'une réimpression en 1696, à l'insu des Mauristes eux-mêmes, bien que sous leur responsabilité[1]; malheureusement des modifications typographiques apportées lors de la reproduction ont introduit quelques errata qui se sont répercutés par la suite, suivant que les éditeurs postérieurs ont recouru par inadvertance à la seconde édition plutôt qu'à la première.

- I,1,3, p. 219 (PL 915,4)- Maur. 1e éd.: egi deo (bonne leçon); 2e éd.: egi *dei*; Migne: egi deo
- II,4,5, p. 221 (PL 918,24)- Maur. 1e éd.: illi a quo aguntur (bonne leçcon); 2e éd.: illi a quo *agunt*; Gaume, col. 1284,18: illi a quo *agunt*; Migne: ille a quo *agunt*
- VI, 9,4, p. 226 (PL 920,47)- Maur. 1e éd.: qui haec (bonne leçon) dicunt; 2e éd.: qui *hoc* dicunt; Gaume, col. 1287,15: qui *hoc* dicunt; Migne: qui haec dicunt
- VI, 9,9, p. 226 (PL 920,53)- Maur. 1e éd.: nobis dare (bonne leçon) possimus; 2e éd.: nobis *dari* possimus; Migne: nobis

[1] Cf notre article *Les méthodes d'édition aux XVIe er XVIIe siècles à partir des éditions successives du "De correptione et gratia"*; dans *Troisième centenaire de l'édition mauriste de saint Augustin*, Paris 1990, p. 96-97.

dare possimus

- X, 27,2, p. 251 (PL 932,35)- Maur. 1e éd.: qui (bonne leçon) creauit; 2e éd.: *quia* creauit; Gaume, col. 1302,9: *quia* creauit; Migne: qui creauit
- XI, 30,13, p. 254 (PL 934,27)- Maur. 1e éd.: ut nullis (bonne leçon) iustitiae; 2e éd.: ut *nulli* iustitiae; Gaume, col. 1304,27: ut *nulli* iustitiae; Migne: ut *nulli* iustitiae
- XI, 32,31, p. 258 (PL 936,22)- Maur. 1e éd.: ut et (bonne leçon) bene; 2e éd.: ut bene; Gaume col. 1306,36: ut bene; Migne: ut et bene
- XVI, 49,21, p. 280 (PL 946,39)- Maur. 1e éd. ex ipsa est (bonne leçon) infirmitate; 2e éd.: ex ipsa infirmitate; Gaume 1318,38: ex ipsa infirmitate; Migne: ex ipsa infirmitate
- XVI, 49,23, p. 280 (PL 936,42)- Maur. 1e éd.: gratia qua (bonne leçon) id quod; 2e éd.: gratia id quod; Migne: gratia qua id quod

De ces neuf accidents typographiques intervenus lors de la réimpression de l'édition bénédictine en 1696, trois se retrouvent dans Gaume, puis, probablement en dépendance directe, dans Migne: II, 4,5: *agunt* au lieu de *aguntur*; XI, 30,13: *nulli* au lieu de *nullis*; XVI, 49,21: *ex ipsa infirmitate* au lieu de *ex ipsa est infirmitate.*

2 – Textes scripturaires:
(Les sigles V et M réfèrent à la Vulgate et aux Mauristes)

- III, 5,8, p. 222 (PL 918,44-45) - I, Cor. 6,7: delictum est quia (*V* delictum est *in uobis quod* / *M* delictum est *in uobis* quia)
- V, 7,25, p. 224; VI, 10,20, p. 228 (PL 920,2; 921,52) – II Tim. 2,25-26: ne quando det illis (*V nequando* det illis / *M nequando* det *eis*)
- VI, 10,23, p. 228; VIII, 17,19-20, p. 238; XII, 38,27, p. 266 (PL 921,56-922, 1; 926,23-24; 940,15-16) – Luc. 22,32: rogaui pro te… (*V M ego* rogaui pro te)
- VI, 10,31-32, p. 229 (PL 922,12) – Phil. 1,3-6: super communicatione uestra (*M communione* uestra)
- VII, 12,8, p. 232 (PL 923,39) – cf. Rom. 9,21: ab illa consparsione (*V massa* / *M conspersione*)
- VII, 15,2-13, p. 235-236 (PL 925,10-28) - Rom. 8,31-39: - v. 31 qui filio proprio filio (*V* filio *suo*) non pepercit… – v. 34 quis qui condemnat (*V* quis *est* qui condemnet / *M* quis condemnat)? Christus Iesus (*M Christus*) qui mortuus est, magis autem qui resurrexit (*V immo* qui et resurrexit)... – v.

37 sed in his omnibus superuincimus per eum (*V superamus propter eum*)… – v. 38 neque principatus, neque praesentia (*V* neque principatus, *neque uirtutes, neque instantia*)

- IX, 22,9, p. 244 (PL 929,20) – Ioh. 6,61: quia murmurant (*V M murmurarent*)
- IX, 24,7, p. 247 (PL 930,40) – Ps. 29,7 non mouebor (*M* non *mouebimur*)
- IX, 24,26, p. 248 (PL 931,9) – Ps. 29,2: auertisti autem faciem tuam et factus sum conturbatus (*V M* auertisti (autem *om.*) faciem tuam a *me* et)
- XII, 37, 25, p. 265 (PL 939,29) – I Cor. 1,30: in Christo Iesu (*M* in Iesu Christo)
- XIII, 40,10, p. 268 (PL 941, 6) – Is. 1,19: si uolueritis et obaudieritis (*V M* et *audieritis*) me
- XIII, 41,8, p. 270 (PL 941, 42) – II Mac. 7,29: fratribus tuis te (*M* fratribus (*tuis om.*) te recipiam
- XIV, 44,1-2 et 4-5, p. 272 (PL 943,1-2, 7) – I Tim. 2,4: omnes homines uult saluos fieri (*M* 1^{e} *cit.*: uult omnes homines…; 2^{e} *cit.* omnes homines uult)
- XIV, 45,12-16, p. 273 (PL 943,33-38) – I Sam. 10,25-27: - v. 25 et dimisit Samuel populum (*V omnem* populum) – v. 26 et abierunt potentes quorum tetigit dominus corda cum Saule (*V et abiit cum eo pars exercitus quorum tetigerat Deus corda*) – v. 27 et filii pestilentes dixerunt: numquid saluabit nos hic? (*V filii uero Belial dixerunt: num saluare nos poterit iste / M et filii pestilentes dixerunt: quis saluabit nos? hic?*) Et inhonorauerunt eum et non attulerunt ei munera (*V Et despexerunt eum*, et non attulerunt ei munera)
- XIV, 45,23, p. 274 (PL 943,44 sv.) – I Par. 12,18: et spiritus induit Samaï (*V M* Amasai) principem (*V add.* inter) tringinta et dixit (*V ait*) Tui sumus (*V M add. o*) Dauid
- XV, 46,24, p. 276 (PL 945,5) – Luc. 10,6: super illam pax uestra (*V* super *illum* / *M* super *illam domum* pax uestra)
- XV, 48,5, p. 278 (PL 945,44) – I Cor. 8,11: perit infirmus (*V M peribit* infirmus)
- XVI, 48,14-15, p. 278 (PL 945,10-12) – Ezech. 33,6: ille quidem in suo peccato (*V M* ille quidem in *peccato suo*)

3 – Corrections textuelles justifiées par les leçons des manuscrits et jugées les plus fidèles à Augustin:

- I, 1,12, p. 219 (PL 917,8) scripta (*rescripta*)

- I, 2,21, p. 220 (PL 917,44) et apostolica (*add. et catholica*) fides
- II, 3,18, p. 221 (PL 918,15) doctor dicit (doctor *gentium*)
- II, 4,9, p. 222 (PL 918,29) terra eius (terra *eorum*)
- IV, 6,2, p. 223 (PL 919,5) omnino aliud (*alius*)
- IV, 6,15, p. 223 (PL 919,22) dante illo accipere noluissem (illo *ego* accipere)
- IV, 6,16, p. 223 (PL 919,23) cum ergo (cum *uero*)
- V, 8,14, p. 225 (PL 920,21) potens est enim ille (potens est ille)
- VI, 9,4, p. 226 (PL 920,46) quid fecimus (*facimus*)
- VI, 9,29, p. 227 (PL 921,21) quod (*quia*)
- VI, 10,4-5, p. 227 (PL 921,34) relapsus sim (relapsus *sum*)
- VI, 10,51, p. 230 (PL 922,36) sine (*nisi*)
- VII, 11,3, p. 231 (PL 923,10) corripiuntur (*correptione*)
- VII, 11,17, p. 231 (PL 923,28) dici homini (dici *homo*)
- VII, 11,18, p. 231 (PL 923,29) perseuerares (in *eo* perseuerares)
- VII, 12,15, p. 232 (PL 923,49) qui hoc bonum habet (qui hoc *donum* habet)
- VII, 13,9, p. 233 (PL 924,16) elegit illos (elegit *eos*)
- VII, 14,34, p. 235 (PL 925,8) illos ergo elegit ad obtinendum (illos ad obtinendum)
- VII, 16,17, p. 237 (PL 925,50) futuri sunt (futuri *sint*)
- VIII, 17,2, p. 237 (PL 925,55) qui eam (*quibus* eam)
- VIII, 18,18, p. 239 (PL 927,7) igitur (*ergo*)
- VIII, 19,32, p. 241 (PL 927,48) cur autem id aliis donetur (cur autem aliis donetur)
- IX, 24,10, p. 247 (PL 930,45) sed pereatis (sed *ne* pereatis)
- IX, 24,14, p. 247 (PL 930,49) unde alibi (unde *et* alibi)
- IX, 24,44, p. 249 (PL 934,33) et nemo (*ut* nemo)
- IX, 25,11, p. 249 (PL 934,48) praeparauit in gloriam (praeparauit *deus* in gloriam)
- X, 27,3, p. 251 (PL 932,36) exortura (*exoritura*)
- X, 28,8, p. 252 (PL 933,30) nec (*neque*)
- XI, 29,16, p. 253 (PL 934,9) rixa a se (rixa *de* se)
- XI, 30,9, p. 254 (PL 934,22) filio proprio (filio *suo*)
- XI, 31,6, p. 256 (PL 935,12) quem reliquit (*quam* reliquit)
- XI, 31,15, p. 256 (PL 935,24) carnis uoluptatem (carnis *uoluntatem*)
- XI, 32,32, p. 258 (PL 936,23) potuerit (*poterit*)
- XII, 34,13, p. 260 (PL 937,13) factus erat (factus *fuerat*)

- XII, 34,30, p. 261 (PL 937,33) ergo (*igitur*)
- XII, 34,32, p. 261 (PL 937,37) inuenit finis (*inueniet* finis)
- XII, 35,18, p. 261 (PL 938,7) et acceperunt (et *accipiunt*)
- XII, 38,17, p. 266 (PL 940,2) insuperabiliter (*inseparabiliter*)
- XIII, 41,2, p. 269 (PL 941,34) de domino deo dicit (de domino deo *suo* dicit)
- XIV, 43,12, p. 272 (PL 942,50) plantande et rigante (plantande *atque* rigante)
- XIV, 43,13, p. 272 (PL 942,51) arbusculis (*arbustulis* faux hapax)
- XIV, 45,17, p. 274 (PL 943,40) cum Saule (cum *Saül*)
- XIV, 45,33, p. 274 (PL 944,6) non ex bona uoluntate fecerunt corde pacifico (non ex bona uoluntate fecerunt, *quod fecerunt* corde pacifico)
- XV, 48,9, p. 278 (PL 946,4) quid ad nos pertinet (quid ad nos)
- XVI, 49,13, p. 279 (PL 946,28) non corripiatur (non *corripitur*)
- XVI, 49,13, p. 279 (PL 946,28) neglegatur (*negligitur*)
- XVI, 49,13, p. 279, (PL 946,29) dicit enim (dicit *etiam*)
- XVI, 49,21, p. 280 (PL 946,39) ex ipsa est infirmitate crucifixus (ex ipsa infirmitate crucifixus)

4 – Simples inversions:

Un dernier type de corrections introduites sur la base sinon du consensus des manuscrits tout au moins de leur majorité rectifient des inversions de mots opérées par les premiers éditeurs Amerbach et Erasme pour se conformer au classicisme de leur époque, mais ces inversions ne nous ont pas paru conformes au style augustinien.

- IV, 6,17, p. 223 (PL 919,24) praecepta eius (*eius praecepta*)
- V, 7,23, p. 224 (PL 919,54) Paulus apostolus (*apostolus Paulus*)
- V, 8,16, p. 225 (PL 920,24) possit etiam (*etiam possit*)
- V, 8,23, p. 225 (PL 920,33) suum flere peccatum (*suum peccatum flere*)
- VI, 10,44, p. 229 (PL 922,28) dei donum (*donum dei*)
- VII, 15,3, p. 235 (PL 925,13) omnia nobis (*nobis omnia*)
- VII, 19,13, p. 240 (PL 927,24) haec ergo (*ergo haec*)
- VII, 19,31, p. 241 (PL 927,47) istam uitam (*uitam istam*)

- IX, 21,16, p. 243 (PL 929,7) filii sunt (*sunt filii*)
- IX, 22,21, p. 245 (PL 929,36) filii dei uere (*uere filii dei*)
- X, 27,8, p. 251 (PL 932,42) quorum est princeps (*quorum princeps est*)
- XI, 31,2, p. 255 (PL 935,7) esse uellet malus (*uellet esse malus*)
- XI, 31,12, p. 256 (PL 935,19) haec est prima gratia (*haec prima est gratia*)
- XI, 32,7, p. 257 (PL 935,42) est culpa (*culpa est*)
- XII, 33,13, p. 259 (PL 936,46) perseuerantiae felicitas (*felicitas perseuerantiae*)
- XII, 35,30, p. 262 (PL 938,23) serui sunt facti (*serui facti sunt*)
- XII, 35,31, p. 262 (PL 938,24) perseuerantiam illo (*illo perseuerantiam*)
- XII, 36,2, p. 263 (PL 938,33) eos propterea (*propterea eos*) contresens
- XIII, 40,28, p. 269 (PL 941,28) beatissimus sine fine (*sine fine beatissimus*)
- XIV, 43,1, p. 271 (PL 942,36) patiantur ergo se homines corripi (*homines se*)
- XIV, 43,2, p. 271 (PL 942,38) argumententur contra gratiam (*contra gratiam argumententur*)
- XIV, 43,13, p. 272 (PL 942,52) facere saluum nullum (*saluum facere nullum*)
- XV, 46,19, p. 276 (PL 944,43) praedicabat apostolus etiam (*praedicabat etiam apostolus*)
- XV, 46,29, p. 276 (PL 945,2) secundum praedestinationem autem dei (*secundum autem praedestinationem dei*)
- XV, 47,3, p. 277 (PL 945,19) hoc in nobis operatur (*in nobis hoc operatur*)
- XV, 47,5, p. 277 (PL 945,22) uult deus (*deus uult*)
- XV, 48,2, p. 278 (PL 945,39) firmum fundamentum dei (*firmum dei fundamentum*)

Les corrections que nous avons retenues se sont imposées tout d'abord par la confrontation des manuscrits et l'examen de la tradition du *de correptione et gratia* du 5e au 13e s. L'enquête engagée sans a priori a révélé alors des variantes ou leçons d'intérêt divers. Un certain nombre d'entre elles concernait des passages de l'Ecriture, elles nous ont obligé à nous référer à la *Vetus latina* dont disposait Augustin pour arbitrer le choix de la bonne lecture. D'autres variantes, comme les

mots nouveaux ou les formes grammaticales voire les interversions, nous ont paru concerner la morphologie ou le style propres à Augustin. L'arbitrage a été alors beaucoup plus difficile, mais grâce à la concordance du CETEDOC, et la comparaison des formes attestées en d'autres passages nous avons opté pour la plus courante sous la plume d'Augustin. Le *de correptione et gratia* est l'un des traités d'Augustin qui a été le plus exploité dès le 9e s. avec la controverse sur la prédestination, puis la Réforme au 15e s., et le Jansénisme au 17e s., sans parler des interventions injustifiées et incompréhensibles d'éditeurs comme Amerbach et d'Erasme et à leur suite dans la précédente édition de Migne, maintenant envers et contre tout la leçon *inseparabiliter* au lieu de *insuperabiliter* voulue par Augustin (XII, 38, 17, p. 266, cf. p. 201-202). Les lecteurs habitués à la lecture des textes d'Augustin pourront juger librement.

Paris Georges FOLLIET

AQUA HAERET. A VIEW ON AUGUSTINE'S TECHNIQUE OF BIOGRAPHICAL SELF-OBSERVATION IN *DE ORDINE.*

1. The Problem:

The way Augustine describes it, his first serious interest in philosophy was wakened by a specific problem, namely the *unde-malum*-question.[1] For the Church Father, finding an answer to this question meant much more than getting rid of some intellectual uneasiness. Rather, the problem of the existence of evil within the good and almighty Creator's Creation arose a severe existential crisis Augustine laboured under for a long time and that was overcome only bit by bit.[2]

One of the first steps to the riddle's solution was Augustine's discovery that evil could not be defined as a substance (as the Manicheans did erroneously), nor as an autonomous static reference-point within the well-ordered Creation at all.[3] Evil "is" not. Rather, evil "happens". That is the idea Augustine's philosophical solution for the problem pivots upon. But how and why does it happen, then? Certainly not as an element nor as an effect of God's Creation (strictly insofar as it stems from God). Still, God's Creation is an intrinsically dynamic system of references from and towards God and within itself, a system framed, built upon, and held together by certain parameters

[1] The question, pondered since the early writings, continues to be a vividly discussed problem in the last unfinished work, the *Opus imperfectum contra Julianum*, where it can still be found *ad verbum* (VI 16). Therefore, J. M. Rist is right to say: "That broad question, still raised in Augustine's last work [...] was the most important and most enduring challenge to Augustine throughout his life" (*Augustine*, Cambridge 1994, p. 261).

[2] Glancing backward, Augustine describes his search for a satisfying answer in terms of a feverish crisis (*Conf.* VII 5,7), a quest for answers that within short led to a delirium of his soul (VII 14,20): *et non requiescebat [scil. anima mea] et aliena loquebatur*. Also in *De libero arbitrio* I 4, Augustine explains to Evodius that it was the very question of evil that troubled an vexed him more than anything else in his youth and made him become a Manichee. And even by the time other philosophical problems seem to clear up in Augustine's mind, he still confesses that the problem of evil and its origin remained much of an unsolved and painful mystery to him (*Conf.* 7,11). – For a reasonable study on Augustine's *unde-malum*-question with a good insight into the close-to-traumatic experience of his Manichean past cf. F. De CAPITANI, *Il problema del male nel giovanne Agostino*, in: *Il mìsterio del male e la libertà possibile* (Ed. L. Alici), Rome 1994, pp. 57-80.

[3] Cf. *De civitate Dei* XII 3, XIX 11ff, *De moribus Manichaeorum* II 2,3, *De natura boni* 4, etc.

and cornerstones.[4] And it is in these (free) dynamics God concedes to His Creation that the solution Augustine was looking for could be found.

For Augustine, the problem of defining evil has changed, then, since his Manichean days: evil cannot be denied, so much is true. But it is equally true that evil cannot be "something", created by the good God's will and power, nor that it can be an entity or a fixed parameter of Creation.[5] It seems plausible, though, that evil could be the effect of a referential defect within the well-ordered Creation of God, and therefore has its roots in the fragile dynamics of reality. For Augustine, as for Shakespeare's Polonius, it just "remains / That we find out the cause of this effect, / Or rather say, the cause of this defect, / For this effect defective comes by cause" (Hamlet II 2).

No doubt, then: evil is not a *natura*, nor a *substantia*, i.e. not an entity in its own right at all; rather, evil parasitically corrupts, lessens, or interferes with the sound (i.e. non-defective) relation every *substantia* or *natura* should have with its first ontological cause and intrinsic aim, namely God, its Creator and its *summum bonum*.[6] Augustine's final solution to the *unde-malum*-question by way of defining evil as an ontological lessening of the *natura* through free will's *aversio a Deo*[7] was initially based on this fundamental insight: that if we search for the origin of evil, we have to search within the possible deviations or hinderings of the world-process that stems from God and flows back to Him through every single creature's reversion towards its ontological origin.

In his immense œuvre, Augustine seems to hint at this shift in his inquiry on evil several times. In this context, G.R. Evans has called attention to an episode the Church Father relates in *De ordine* (I

[4] In *De natura boni* 4, Augustine names *ordo, species* and *modus* as the most important of these parameters; cf. my article *Augustine on Mode, Form and Natural Order*, in: *Augustinian Studies* 31 (2000), pp. 59-77.

[5] After all, all things God created were "very good", *omnia valde bona*, as we know from *Gen* 1,31. In the Platonic tradition, too, there exists a dogma of God who is not responsible for evil or badness: cf. Plato, *Rep.* 379 bc etc.

[6] Cf. *Contra epistolam Manichaei* 35,39: *quis enim dubitet totum illud quod dicitur malum, nihil esse aliud quam corruptionem;* or *De natura boni* 6, where evil's quasi-nature is reduced to the fact of *adimendum et minuendum quod bonum est;* and in *De natura boni* 17, Augustine states: *cuique naturae non est malum nisi minui bonum etc.*

[7] The defect-cum-effect theory Augustine offers for the explanation of evil plays with the multiple meaning of *defectus*, which in Latin stands for "defect" or "flaw" etc., as well as for (e.g. military) "defection", "desertion", etc., which is where the problem of free will and the voluntary aversion from God comes in.

3,6ff).[8] Evans is certainly right in his surmise that this episode and its literary elaboration tell us something about Augustine's intellectual biography during the decisive time of his first approach to a satisfying philosophical solution for the problem of evil (which roughly coincides with the period of his Christianising). Still, I think Evans' interpretation can be deepened and expanded in order to obtain a fuller understanding of the episode. In the following, I shall therefore reconsider the *De ordine* episode in question, taking Evans' terse comments as a point of departure for my own interpretation. Also, I shall begin my interpretational attempt without judging the historicity of the episode; for the present, my primary concern is with the philosophical insight Augustine wants to illustrate by telling this episode.[9]

2. *An Awkward Episode:*

Before his baptism, Augustine and a circle of his friends (or "disciples") spent some time for reflection and preparation at the country-estate of Verecundus in Cassiciacum near Milan (autumn 386). One night, when Augustine lay awake absorbed in disquieting thoughts (as he usually did at the time, he informs us in parenthesis), his attention was drawn to the irregular noise of the bath-water flowing by outside the sleeping-room through a water channel. And as much as he thought about it, he could not find a plausible explanation for the irregularities of the water's flow. – When Augustine puts his question about the strange phenomenon to the other members of the Cassiciacum circle in the next morning, however, one of them (Licentius) immediately has a disarmingly simple answer to it: the shedding of leaves in these months of autumn-winds might plug the channel with foliage and stop up the water's flow from time to time until the water pressure washes away the leave-plug (*De ordine* I 3,7). This is indeed the kind of reasonable explanation Augustine was looking for, and therefore he does not hesitate to agree to Licentius' theory: *visum est mihi probabile aliud* [*scil.* explanation] *non habenti, confessusque sum* [...] *nihil me invenisse, cum diu quaesissem cur ita* [*scil.* the irregular water-flow] *esset* (*De ordine* I 3,7).

[8] Cf. G. R. Evans, *Augustine on Evil*, Cambridge 1982, p. 93f.

[9] The same as other early Augustinian writings, *De ordine* is composed in a "Platonic" manner as a dialogue. It is almost impossible to decide how much of the dialogue's content and "link and frame" story can be considered to be historical in a strict sense. In any case, symbolic and metaphoric elements might have permeated or even overlapped the historic nucleus I am very much inclined to concede to the episode.

In spite of the quick agreement, Augustine's tiny problem and its solution gives way to a lengthy philosophical discussion within the circle of friends, that soon transcends the parameters of the triggering water-channel episode: why do disturbing things like the plugging of a water-channel happen at all? Obviously, neither the construction of the channel, nor the planting of the trees, nor the autumnal shedding of leaves were meant to be out for this unpleasant effect. On the contrary, everything seemed to be disposed at its best: The channel was designed to swiftly conduct sufficient water into the bathing room; the leafy trees in the garden were planted in the hope that they would cast cool shadows and perhaps bear fruits; let alone the entirely agreeable natural disposition that makes trees lose their foliage in the autumn in order to make place for new budding in springtime ... (*De ordine* III 4,11).

Certainly everybody would admit that all this can be called well disposed, and arranged in an orderly manner, and not without a sufficient cause. And exactly this seems to be an important principle that persists in spite of all open questions: we may not always understand why something happens in one way or another (or why it happens at all) in particular circumstances, v.gr. why the leaves of the well-planted trees in an accurately designed garden should have plugged the rightly constructed water-channel. Yet, Augustine and his disciples of the Cassiciacum circle coincide in one thing: whatever happens, there is an evident principle subjacent to all particular difficulties of explanation any event or happening might raise. It is the principle that nothing happens without a cause: *Latent ista sensus nostros, penitus latent: illud tamen quod aggressae quaestioni satis est, nescio quomodo animum non latet, nihil fieri sine causa* (*De ordine* I 4,11). In a more apophthegmatic formulation (after a wordy investigation of the problem), Augustine repeats this principle in I 5,14: *nihil fieri, nihil gigni quod non aliqua causa genuerit ac moverit.*

3. The Background of the Episode:

– So much for now concerning the Cassiciacum-discussion. What has been said so far is sufficiently revealing to venture the following observations, before returning to the discussion of the causes of evil:

G. R. Evans is certainly right to say that (so far) the outcome of Augustine's conversation about the nightly water flow with his friends

in Cassiciacum is a typically Platonic one[10]: it is a pivot also of Plotinus' philosophy that everything happens strictly according to explaining causes[11]. No doubt: Augustine brings up a principle pertaining to the philosophical denomination he consulted in those times of troublesome inquiry into the origin of evil, reading the *Platonicorum libri*[12]. And, as it is well known, it will be the Platonists' tenets on the issue that lateron would serve as a basis for Augustine's further discussion (and solution?) of the problem.

Yet, I think there is much more "Platonic potential" to this Cassiciacum-episode. Regardless of the question of the told events' historicity – at a closer look (which is the look I want to propose in this article) it seems hard to believe that the water's continual flow and its irregular disturbing interruption shouldn't imply a metaphorical reference to the Neo-platonic image of the perpetual outflow of reality, the constant emanation from the first cause: well disposed and flawless in its arrangement, but punctually obstructed and disarranged in many important regards. An obstruction of the otherwise perfect emanation that we identify as evil. The fact is that during his time in Cassiciacum (and also even earlier), Augustine was desperately pondering the problem of evil, of the defective causes for this occasional obstruction or disarrangement of the – Platonically speaking[13] – ontological flow coming from God and transmitting good being onto creatures. By the way it is told, and in view of its suggestive choice of images and motifs, Augustine's Cassiciacum episode could well be considered an anecdotal – maybe, in the worst of cases: burlesque or self-parodying – pendant of his "philosophical situation" in autumn 386. It was deep at night when he noted the bath-

[10] Evans *op. cit.*, p. 94.

[11] Cf. *Ennead* III.1.1,14-16: Περὶ δὲ τῶν γιγνομένων ἢ ὄντων μὲν ἀεί, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἐνέργειαν ποιουμένων ἀεὶ κατ' αἰτίας ἅπαντα λεκτέον γίνεσθαι, τὸ δ'ἀναίτιον οὐ παραδεκτέον κτλ. This axiomatic *nihil sine causa* of the Platonists' account of reality can be traced back to Plato's *Timaios* (28 a 4ff): πᾶν δὲ αὖ τὸ γιγνόμενον ὑπ' αἰτίου τινὸς ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίγνεσθαι· παντὶ γὰρ ἀδύνατον χωρὶς αἰτίου γένεσιν σχεῖν. For the further history and development of the axiom, cf. Jan Opsomer / Carlos Steel, *Evil without a cause*, in: *Zur Rezeption der hellenistischen Philosophie in der Spätantike* (Eds. Th. Fuhrer and M. Erler), Stuttgart 1999, p. 255.

[12] Cf. *Conf.* VII 9,13 about the time in question: *procurasti mihi* [...] *quosdam Platonicorum libros ex graeca lingua in latinum versos*; and VIII 2,3; *quosdam libros Platonicorum, quos Victorinus* [...] *in latinam linguam transtulisset*.

[13] A Neoplatonic way of speaking perfectly assimilated in *De ordine* to a Christian interpretation of reality – and to the metaphors of the water-channel episode: in paragraph 17 of the same book, Augustine lets the whole world(process) "flow out" of God.

water's irregular flow, and repeatedly our attention is drawn to the fact that it was pitch-dark: *erant enim tenebrae* (*De ordine* I 3,6). – A metaphor, more probable than not, for Augustine's situation of groping in the dark regarding the problem of evil[14]: a situation that had led him into the obscurity of heretical Manichaeism with its belief of an ontological principle of evil, which the Manichees themselves called *tenebrae* (cf. *Contra epistolam Manichaei* 35,39). In this utter darkness of his spirit, Augustine lays awake turning thoughts and questions over in his mind. It is a state of mind the Church Father also tells us about in *Conf.* VII[15]; and it is a known biographical fact that it was exactly the *unde-malum*-problem Augustine was racking his brain with at the time in question, *cum evigilassem de more, mecum ipse tacitus agitarem quae in mentem nescio unde veniebant* (*De ordine* I 3,6).

– I should fear all this could seem to be an over-interpretation of the short *De ordine* anecdote if it wasn't for a certain additional stylistic indication, or rather an idiomatic clue that strongly speaks for an interpretation of the anecdote as a glimpse Augustine allows us into his intellectual biography:

From Cicero's *De officiis* we know of an ancient Latin saying that was used to characterise a situation of stagnation, of obstructed continuation, where something is wrong or lacking, where one finds oneself at a loss: (*hic*) *haeret aqua*.[16] The proverb appears for a second time in Cicero's writings; also in *Ad Quintum fratrem* II 8, it is clearly used to express personal resignation facing an unnerving problem or question: *in hac causa mihi aqua haeret*; meaning: "I am quite at a loss concerning this problem". This winged word of the stagnant water expresses the perplex condition of "being completely out of one's depth" with the very same image Augustine chooses to illustrate his own perplexity when introducing us into the vexing problem of defining evil by means of telling us the personal experience of the stagnant water flow in *De ordine*.

[14] For *tenebrae* is a Biblical metaphor for evil as well as for an obscured state of mind: cf. the usage of the word in *Mt* 4,6, *John* 8,12 and 12,46, *Acts* 26,18 1 *Ptr* 2,9, among others.

[15] Cf. *Conf.* VII 7,11 and *passim*. In *De libero arbitrio* I,4, Augustine confesses to Evodius that the question of evil and its origin had been the cause for his heretical aberration and that it was only by God's help that he came out of it and could acquire a new standpoint facing the problem: cf. supra note 2.

[16] *De officiis* III 33,117: [...] *sed aqua haeret, ut aiunt*. The expression *ut aiunt* shows that the idiomatic phrase *aqua haeret* was in proverbial use at least at Cicero's times. (Generally, and as Cicero himself admits, *De officiis* indulges in proverbial clichés and commonplaces now and then: cf. *De officiis* I 30,33).

Should it be possible, then, that Augustine's Cassiciacum episode of the plugged water-channel imitates the proverbial expression? Or is the episode to be taken as a real biographical experience Augustine had in or about the year 386? But in this case: why does he tell it in such a lengthy manner? Why should he make such a "big deal" out of it? As a matter of fact, I think we could be facing an autobiographical experience that – put together with the simultaneous existential situation of the Church Father – retrospectively acquired a deeper symbolical meaning for Augustine, not at least, most probably, by combining it with the known classical proverb.[17] By offering the reader this multiple access to and open interpretation of the *De ordine* discussion about evil, Augustine intends to play with the proverbial stagnant water motif in order to give us a succinct insight into a decisive moment of his spiritual biography and philosophical development the way he thought of it by the time he wrote *De ordine*.

From his *Confessions*, we know that the solution Augustine found to the *unde-malum*-question was not entirely his own. Rather, Augustine was put on the scent for the right answer (which he was not able to find by his own wits) by others whom he considers to be God's tools: in the *Confessions*, the Church Father retrospectively tells us that it was an "unworthy person" who introduced him to the writings of the Platonists (and made them accessible to him) and to their view of the problem, a view he himself was *mutatis mutandis* willing and afterwards also definitely going to adopt (*Conf.* VII 9,13). In Cassiciacum, it is Licentius, to whom Augustine must confess that he never would have guessed by his own wits what had caused the water's irregular flow if it had not been for Licentius' simple conjecture of the clogging leaves in the water channel: *nihil me invenisse, cum diu quaesissem cur ita esset* (*De ordine* I 3,7). The same as it were the fundamental insights of the Platonists on the problem of evil that helped Augustine for his solution of a disquieting philosophical problem, it is Licentius in the metaphorically condensed Cassiciacum episode who confronts Augustine with the eye-opening explanation and the Platonic maxim of the impossibility of causeless events or happenings (*De ordine* I 3,7, and I 4,11).

[17] The proverb's etymological background might not differ all that much from Augustine's *prima facie* somewhat trite experience at Cassiciacum. August Otto's conjecture about the origin of the *aqua-haeret*-proverb is: „Nach der gewöhnlichen Annahme wäre an die Wasseruhr zu denken, doch könnte auch das auf den Feldern stehende Wasser, das nicht ablaufen will, die Quelle der Redensart gewesen sein" (*Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, Leipzig 1890, p. 32).

And there is still another conspicuous point to the Cassiciacum episode and to the way it is told: The careful reader of *De ordine* will note a tacit shift in Augustine's formulation of the meditated question between the beginning of the water-channel episode (I 3,6) and its thematic conclusion (I 5,14). This shift corresponds to a philosophical insight Augustine underwent about the year 386 and would ponder and pursue for the rest of his life. And this shift can easily be traced by Augustine's choice of words in the Cassiciacum anecdote, and the crucial insight that has brought it about can easily be deduced from the variation in style that lets the vocabulary of the initial question in *De ordine* I 3,7: *cur ita esset* (the question Augustine found no answer to) differ from the choice of words Augustine's questioning displays on the way towards a possible solution: it is the *oboriri* (I 3,8), the *fieri* (I 3,8f), the *gigni* and *moveri* (I 5,14) Augustine is concerned about now, the growing, the realisation, the accomplishment or the coming about of things, or rather of situations or states of affair.[18]

It is another correspondence with Augustine's inner biographical development that is expressed in this semantic shift in *De ordine*: by the time he reached the Cassiciacum-stage of his philosophical concern with the *Platonicorum libri* and the entire Platonic system, Augustine had gradually dismissed his Manichean positions and attitude that had formerly made him pursue the origin of evil in the quest for some ontic quantity, for an entity or any substantial being whatsoever that could serve his explanation as a cause. Meanwhile, he had acquired another philosophical attitude towards the problem he had been struggling with for so long and in vain. An attitude that opened the way for an interpretation of evil understood as an obstruction or a disarrangement within the delicate dynamics of reality, of its flowing system of interrelations and interdependencies: the solution for the problem of evil does not lie within the sphere of being, *esse*, it must have dawned upon Augustine at some time around 386, but in the realm of coming-to-be, of *fieri* and *gigni*[19] – just as the nightly obstruction of the water-flow in Cassiciacum had no explanation in an "ontological" defect, in a defect

[18] The literary style of the whole passage – as if it were imitating the water-channel anecdote by rhetorical means – is in itself a breakthrough that overcomes a semantic clog and gives free way to a set of active, dynamic verbs and formulations in Augustine's new found way of explaining his vexing problems concerning evil.

[19] Which brings us back in a roundabout way to Evans' interpretation, who also notices an important change in Augustine's setting of the same old question: "The important word is here 'happens'. He is discussing, not a static order, but an order of events", etc. (*op. cit.*, p. 94).

of things in their very being (of the water-channel, of the trees, of the water, etc.), but in the flow and interrelation or connection of events: the autumnal alteration of nature, the leafing of the trees in the wind, the movement of the water, etc.

– So let us finally return to the discussion in the School of Cassiciacum once more: the conversation has meanwhile reached a point where the "order of all things" has become the issue (*De ordine* I 5,14). This orderly system of beings we call God's Creation is all-embracing, God's work, and good, as paragraphs 15 to 20 of the same chapter are quick to explain. And thus the same old question reappears under a decisively new premise. Given that the entire reality is from God and entirely in order the way He created it: how is a disarrangement or a disturbance of this originally good universal balance of all things possible? In short: not "how can evil be?" is the question to be asked in order to obtain a satisfying answer, but: "how does evil *come about*?". It is the long-known *unde-malum*-question Augustine feels compelled to raise once more at that point of *De ordine*. What is new in the question this time, is the shift from "to be" to "to come about": evil has to be explained within a dynamic correlation of substances and events, it has to be and only can be explained as dynamically arisen, as an effect. Augustine sticks to his premise of the *corruptio-boni*-thesis that evil cannot have an autonomous ontological status, cannot be a substance, not a being in its own right. Rather, it will only be definable as a failed or obstructive relation of ontologically autonomous (and therefore naturally good) *naturae* to their similars, to certain good-warranting parameters of Creation, and most of all to the *summum bonum*.[20]

4. Some Concluding Remarks (and a Short Outlook):

On these few pages, I have tried to show how I think that *prima facie* unconnected biographical facts, self-observation *a posteriori*, Augustine's interpretation of his own inner development, and a Latin winged word, worked together to form a much-telling literary setting for Augustine's *De ordine*. The link-and-frame story of the dialogue (part of which is what I have called the Cassiciacum anecdote) can thus be read on more than one interpretatory level, or so I wanted to

[20] Cf. also Evans *op. cit.*, p. 96: "In any case, it is clear that once we begin to allow for the possibility of change and movement in the universe, the problem of evil takes on a new dimension. We are no longer concerned with the crude Manichean notion of a 'territory' of evil, but with an active force, with the way evil *brings about* events" (my italics).

argue. In a shallow way of reading, it is just a nice – though by modern standards not all too witty – opening and framing for the philosophical dialogue, a mere introduction to the severe topic of Creation's inner order and the possibility of its understanding. But the simple fact that the trite water-channel episode should be triggering an in-depth discussion of the entire world order should be calling our attention. There must be more to it than it seems on first sight, and there surely is.

Understanding Augustine often (if not always) requires a multiple-level reading of what he writes – at least as far as his biographical works or anecdotal allusions are concerned. By way of the short and somewhat awkward Cassiciacum anecdote, I have tried to demonstrate what I think could be an adequate interpretational way of reading Augustine. I should like to venture the statement that much of Augustine's biographical material could (and should) be read in this way. Some of the most troublesome problems of interpreting Augustine would appear in an entirely different light. I just want to mention two of them: the much commented upon theft-episode of *Conf.* II[21], and the question of the Church Father's inner relationship to his mother, Monnica. Especially the latter one has become a thorny and more often than not completely (v.gr. psycho-pathologically) misunderstood problem of modern Augustine-exegesis. A thorough multiple-level reading of the *Confessions* in the style I have tried to propose on these pages with the example of the Cassiciacum-anecdote would most certainly discover Augustine's biographical accounts of his relationship to Monnica as an episodic cipher or a metaphor for his inner relationship (in terms of distance, betrayal, forgiveness, approximation, loving acceptance, etc.) towards his Church, which he – reborn in baptism as a "late" Christian – must have felt and recognised to be his second, spiritual mother, *Mater Ecclesia*, by the time he wrote his *Confessions*. – In this context, I should like to touch just on one of so many possible examples: In *Conf.* II 3, Augustine incidentally lets us know that his mother used to be very glad about his studies of (pagan!) academic literature. She thought, as he relates, that this would not only do no harm to his spirit, but rather bring him (the pagan!) nearer to God by inquiring into truth. Take this biographical glimpse combined with 4th-century abomination of pagan lore some Christian denominations proposed and attacked with a

[21] For a thorough discussion of the theft-motif in *Conf.* II cf. chapter 3.3.1 of my forthcoming book *Unde malum*.

staunched *sola-scriptura*-principle[22], on the one hand, and with the orthodox Faith's usage of Ancient pagan wisdom (philosophy, above all) for its own theological purposes[23] on the other hand: what a multiple-level reading of Augustine's short reference to his mother's encouragement of his studies can show, is not only a contingent, perhaps even nostalgic, information about the loving care and almost providential wisdom of Monnica in raising her son, but certainly also a plain allusion to Mother Church's standpoint concerning pagan wisdom; namely, that Ancient thought, philosophy and academic lore, though pagan, can be successfully used in the propagation, explanation, and understanding of the true Faith, and even can be a route to Christian Faith.

By this way of reading the Church Father, I should like to argue by way of conclusion, then, we would do nothing else but follow Augustine's own exegetical method[24] allowing a metaphorical or allegorical sense to a text's contents without at the same time denying its historicity, its *ad-litteram* or "factual" correctness.

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[22] After all, for many critics of pagan philosophy and above all of Platonism, the so-called 'Ελληνισμός was nothing else but one of the standard-heresies a Christian could incur in; for an excellent study of the problem cf. B. R. Suchla, *Verteidigung eines platonischen Denkmodells einer christlichen Welt*, Göttingen 1995, p. 6-11, and for an exhaustive bibliographical listing of publications on the question of Platonism in early Christian theology cf. *ibid.* note 19 on p. 2.

[23] Just like Israel used and took with it the treasures of Egypt in the Exodus, Augustine says in *De doctrina christiana* II 40,60.

[24] Cf. *De Genesi ad litteram* I 1,1f; *De utilitate credendi* 3,5ff; *De doctrina christiana* II 9 and 10; etc.

MEMORY, TRUTH, AND REPRESENTATION AT AUGUSTINE'S CONVERSION SCENE: A REVIEW

The story of Augustine's conversion to Catholic Christianity recounted in the *Confessions* has long been the subject of controversy. Much of that controversy has centered on the conversion scene described so powerfully at the end of Book 8. The century-old debate initiated by Harnack and Boissier, extended by Alfaric and Boyer, given new life by the researches of Courcelle and Bolgiani has recently been revived by Leo C. Ferrari in a series of articles beginning in 1980 with his "Paul at the Conversion of St. Augustine."[1] Although inspired by Courcelle's work, Ferrari does Courcelle better by suggesting that Courcelle too largely assumes the general verisimilitude of Augustine's description of that final conversion scene at the end of Book 8. For his part, Ferrari would like to break "the spell of the justly famous conversion scene."[2] Ferrari's argument is that Augustine's description of the final conversion scene in the Milanese garden is a fabrication so artfully executed that it continues to be regarded as a truthful account of what actually took place.

What I propose here is an assessment of Ferrari's attempt to disenchant Augustine's readers. In all I will be reviewing six articles published between 1980 and 1992.[3] I will begin with Ferrari's master

[1] Adolf von HARNACK, *Monasticism: Its Ideals and History and the Confessions of St. Augustine*, translated by E. E. Kellet and F. H. Marseille (London: Williams and Norgate, 1901), 119-171; Gaston BOISSIER, *La fin du Paganisme: Étude sur les dernières luttes religieuses en occident au quatrième siècle* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1922), I. 291-325; Prosper ALFARIC, *L'Evolution intellectuelle de saint Augustin. I, Du manichéisme au néoplatonisme* (Paris: Emile Nourry, 1918); Charles BOYER, *Christianisme et Néo-platonisme dans la formation de Saint Augustin* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1920); Pierre COURCELLE, *Recherches sur les Confessions de Saint Augustin* (Paris: 1950; second edition, enlarged 1968); Franco BOLGIANI, *La Conversione di S. Agostino e l=VIIIo libro delle Confessioni* (Turin: Univ. di Torino, Fac. Lett. 8.4, 1956); Leo C. FERRARI, "Paul at the Conversion of St. Augustine (Conf. VIII, 12, 29-30)", *Augustinian Studies* 11 (1980): 5-20.

[2] Leo C. FERRARI, "Saint Augustine's Conversion Scene: The End of a Modern Debate?" *Studia Patristica* 22 (1989), 246.

[3] Leo C. FERRARI, "Paul at the Conversion of St. Augustine (Conf. VIII, 12, 29-30)", *Augustinian Studies* 11 (1980): 5-20; "Saint Augustine on the Road to Damascus", *Augustinian Studies* 13 (1982): 151-170; "An Analysis of Augustine's Conversional Reading (Conf. 8.12,29)", *Augustinian Studies* 18 (1987); "Saint Augustine's Conversion Scene: The End of a Modern Debate?" *Studia Patristica* 22 (1989), 246; "Truth and Augustine's Conversion Scene", *Collectanea Augustiniana* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990), 9-19; "Beyond Augustine's Conversion Scene", in *Augustine: From Rhetor to Theologian*, ed. Joanne McWilliam (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1992), 97-107.

theme paper at the 1987 Oxford Patristic Conference in which he summarized most of the articles he had published up until then and reiterated his claim that he had proved Augustine's account of his conversion as a fabrication.

I. "Saint Augustine's Conversion Scene: The End of a Modern Debate?"

In his master theme paper at the 1987 Oxford Conference for Patristic Studies,[4] Ferrari sets forth his own approach to Augustine's conversion scene as indisputable. Ferrari's argument rests on this simple fact: Romans 13.13-14, the Pauline text which Augustine claims as central to his conversion, rarely appears in any of the works that Augustine wrote prior to the *Confessions* and after. Ferrari rightly wonders why such silence on a text which changed Augustine's life so dramatically.

For Ferrari, the absence of Romans 13.13-14 in Augustine's early works can only mean one thing: the two verses were not instrumental in the conversion in Milan as Augustine's came to describe it, and that the latter narrative in the *Confessions* merely attests to Augustine's interests in Paul's conversion in the late 390s when Augustine was writing his own conversion narrative. This must be the case, Ferrari argues, because Augustine betrays no such silence in the early works and in the *Confessions* about the impact his reading of Cicero's *Hortensius* had upon him when he was eighteen. And for this reason "there is no need to impute to the young Augustine of 386 the transformed personality of that powerful scene" (p. 246).

Ferrari proposes that the "real" conversion which set Augustine towards writing the narrative found in the *Confessions* came much later, and derives "from a momentous event just prior to writing the *Confessions*, which event caused this writing, together with its dramatic embellishments, including the conversion scene" (p. 246). This, he claims, solves the problem of the two Augustine's: the Augustine of the Cassiciacum dialogues and the Augustine of the *Confessions*. And "also has the advantage of showing an evolutionary conversion more in accord with the sequence of events in the *Vita* of Augustine's biographer, Possidius" (p. 246). But how much Possidius' narrative tells us about Augustine's life prior to his conversion in Milan is open to question.

[4] Leo C. FERRARI, "Saint Augustine's Conversion Scene: The End of a Modern Debate?" *Studia Patristica* 22 (1989), 246.

When Ferrari assesses Augustine's earlier conversion narratives he uses Augustine's words in a manner that leaves so much in doubt. Ferrari claims, for instance, that his view "makes good sense out of an otherwise inconsistent statement repeatedly made by Augustine and ignored, to their peril, by the historicists. This is the insistent statement that the earlier works (including the dialogues) were written too much under the influence of the pride of the schools" (p. 246). In the first place, the statement does not refer to all of Augustine's early works. And secondly, Augustine's comment about writing under the residual influence of the schools does not remove the problem of the "two Augustines." After all, in *De beata vita* 1.1-5 and in *Contra Academicos* 2.2.3-6 Augustine speaks of his conversion as a conversion to *philosophia*.

II: "Paul at the Conversion of Augustine (Conf. VIII, 12, 29-30)"

The substance of Ferrari's position is spelled out in his 1980 article on "Paul at the Conversion of Augustine (Conf. VIII, 12,29-30)." The argument follows two tracks. First, the use of Romans 13.13-14 in the writings prior to the *Confessions*, and second, the citations of Paul's works around the time of the writing of the *Confessions*, all of this intended to show how the famous *tolle lege* scene has been fabricated.

Ferrari distinguishes the two opposing camps: "The historicists maintain that the *tolle lege* scene is an historic fact; an accurate account of an event which really transpired, exactly as described" (pp. 6-7). The fictionalists "claim that the tolle lege scene is wholly or partly fictional in character" (p. 8). Ferrari notes that for the historicists the idea that Augustine "has added, omitted or otherwise changed any incidents in his conversion-story" (pp. 8-9) raises an ominous question "as to just where this tampering with the original facts would end. It therefore becomes unthinkable to allow fact to be contaminated in any way by fiction. Consequently every event in the story of the *Confessions* must have taken place exactly as described" (p. 9). But while the historicists claim such authenticity and insist that the *tolle lege* scene be regarded as "historical fact and therefore a faithful account of the events exactly as they transpired" (p. 9), the fictionalists have no such qualms. They "can be represented as arguing that such an interpretation loses sight of the true nature of the *Confessions*" (p. 9). The *Confessions*, Ferrari assures us, "is not a mere diary of daily events in the author's life, but rather a work of literary art whose prime *raison d'être* is the religious edification of the

reader. In such a perspective, while there can be no doubting the essential elements of the conversion-story, the author must be permitted to tell the story in his own way and in accord with the exigencies of his main purpose. Consequently, a certain romanticising of reality is inevitable" (p. 9). Augustine must be allowed a certain literary licence to invent or reinvent his past in the hope of providing edifying discourse. Needless to say, it is the fictionalists who seem the most reasonable arbiters of Augustine's narrative, with the historicists looking like conservative reactionaries desperate to save Augustine from calumny.

Ferrari speaks of "permitting" Augustine to tell the story as he would like to do it, but there is no analysis of Augustine's methods and his own claims about the truthfulness of his account, or even about the place of memory and recollection in his attempt to give an account of his past sins and misdeeds. To suggest also that Augustine be permitted a certain romanticizing of reality in order to tell his story "in accord with the exigencies of his main purpose" appears laudable, but in fact is misleading, if Ferrari overlooks Augustine's claim to be seeing in his experience the outworking of an event much like the story of Antony that he heard (*Confessions* 9.7.14). And if Augustine retells his story by fabricating scenes in order to provide edifying discourse, one would have to ask just what notion of "edifying discourse" Augustine supports.

To omit certain details in telling a story is not quite the same thing as adding or otherwise changing what actually took place. The former incurs little moral difficulties if in fact those details are deemed irrelevant or tangential. However, if they alter the scope of the narrative and make someone like Augustine look better than he was, it poses a problem. Furthermore, if Augustine fabricates his narrative by adding or embellishing his account, he places himself in a morally questionable posture. For one who lamented his career as a rhetorician, telling lies to people who knew he was telling lies and being praised for it (*Confessions* 6.6.9-10), this would be quite an achievement.

Ferrari uses the notion of "the romanticising" of Augustine's narrative to preclude a much more difficult problem: the very nature of historical experience and how we remember and represent the past. By presenting the historicists as the opponents of a literary approach to Augustine's *Confessions* he sets historical representation over against fiction as the only two ways of looking at a work like the *Confessions*, ignoring in the process a much earlier argument by O'Meara.[5]

O'Meara argues that the literary qualities of Augustine's narrative do not detract from the historical facts underlying them. And so rather than set the literary against the historical, the narrative is both historical and literary and we should see the literary as undergirding a historical reality without which there would have been no story to tell.[6]

If there is any merit at all to Ferrari's argument it rests on Romans 13.13-14 and its near absence in Augustine's works prior to the *Confessions*. And yet even this potentially fascinating problem is lost in an interpretative matrix that leads to a great deal of confusion. In any case, if Augustine had said nothing in the Cassiciacum dialogues about being converted by reading the Apostle Paul, then the silence about Romans 13.13-14 would be deafening. That he does mention Paul demands that we be cautious in dismissing the role of the Pauline passage in the conversion described years later in *Confessions* 8.12.29. The absence of any specific mention of Romans 13.13-14 in the early writings, then, should not be construed in such simple terms as Ferrari suggests, especially because, as we will see, every little detail Ferrari provides about Augustine's commentary on Paul's texts in the early writings undermines Ferrari's thesis.

Ferrari points out that in the early works "Augustine is found to be astonishingly silent on even the most provocative occasions. There are no rapturous exegesis of Romans XIII,13-14 to be found ... Indeed, as far as I have been able to ascertain, there is scarcely one reference to these verses in his works of that period. This is strange when one considers the general atmosphere of enthusiasm which permeates these writings" (p. 12). "It is even stranger, when one takes account of some of the particular works involved," Ferrari continues. He writes that while Augustine wrote *De vera religione* to Romanianus in the hope of converting him from Manichaeism Augustine does not mention Romans 13.13-14. Ferrari finds this surprising, given the similarities of their experiences and the "well-known closeness of the two friends" (p. 12). But why is this necessary? Ferrari does not indicate that in the epistolary sections of the much earlier *Contra Academicos*, sent to Romanianus from Cassiciacum (386/387), Augustine mentions the reading of Paul as the

[5] J. J. O'MEARA, "Augustine's Confessions: Elements of Fiction", in *Augustine: From Rhetor to Theologian*, ed. Joanne McWilliam (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1992), 77-95.

[6] Cf. Henry CHADWICK, "History and Symbolism in the Garden at Milan", in *From Augustine to Eriugena: Essays on Neoplatonism and Christianity in Honor of John O'Meara*, eds. F. X. Martin, O.S.A and J. A. Richmond (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1991), 42-55.

event which liberated him from the Platonists and returned him to the Catholic Church of his youth. Augustine does not state specifically what texts from Paul he read.

Ferrari, however, finds "more revealing" Augustine's comments in the *Expositio quarumdam propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos*, written in 394.

> Here, one would think, is an instance where Augustine cannot avoid expatiating upon Romans XIII, 13-14. Such an expectation is not entirely doomed to disappointment. Augustine comments very briefly upon verse 11 in chapter 13 and then passes directly on to take up the very last words of verse 14: *et carnis providentiam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis*. This omission means ignoring the reveling and drunkenness and other vices condemned by Paul. More significantly, it constitutes an omission of consideration of Paul's advice to put on the Lord Jesus Christ. Most significantly of all, it constitutes an omission of all but the last words of Romans XIII, 13-14. (pp. 12-13)

Ferrari continues:

> It is therefore a very casual treatment of those very same verses to which Augustine is soon to attribute his conversion in the Confessions a conversion which occurred some eight years before the writing of the Expositio. And within six years, the Confessions is to appear with its high-lighting of the impact of Romans XIII, 13-14 right at the climactic moment of Augustine's conversions. (p. 13)

Ferrari thinks this incredible: "What remains of the ecstatic impact in the appropriate sections of the *Expositio*?" he asks. "What remains there of the role of those Pauline verses in the unforgettable conversion-scene in the *Confessions*? Verse 13 is not even singled out for comment. Of the fourteenth verse, only the last few words are selected for exegesis" (p. 13). Ferrari wonders: "How could he comment even on the verse-fragment some eight years later without betraying some acknowledgment of the profound spiritual revolution which that particular text had wrought in his life during the conversion-scene of the *Confessions*" (13-14)?

This is not a question that will go away easily, and Ferrari's astonishment is not at all misplaced. Certainly, the occasion of the text lends itself to speculation as to why Augustine chose not to speak more directly about his conversion, but it should hardly be considered

conclusive proof that the latter account in *Confessions* 8.12.29 is fabricated.

Ferrari's disappointment is equally in view when he considers Letter 22, sent to Aurelius Bishop of Carthage, though this time Ferrari changes his tune. Ferrari claims that the citation of Romans 13.13-14 in Letter 22 is irrelevant to his present concerns. But why should it be, when Augustine's references to Romans 13.13-14 are so few? What does Letter 22 present to make it insignificant and irrelevant in this discussion when the issue at stake is Augustine's early citations of Romans 13.13-14? Ferrari claims that the reason for citing Romans 13.13-14 is that Augustine is dealing with a "question of rioting and drunkenness (*commessationes et ebrietates*) which not only are publically tolerated, but even are a feature of the ceremonies to honour the memories of the blessed martyrs." And so "it would be difficult to find a scriptural quotation more pointedly appropriate to condemning these most unholy practices than Romans XIII,13-14. Its presence on this occasion could therefore hardly be considered significant in terms of the purpose of this present study" (p. 14). So it appears Augustine did not have to write about his conversion experience when he was having to comment on the act of public rioting and drunkenness which occasioned his citation of Romans 13.13-14 because the context was hardly significant to his own personal experience.

And yet there is much in Letter 22 that indicates that it is indeed a special case, but not along the dismissive lines that Ferrari suggests. It is the only place in Augustine's corpus with the exception of the conversion scene in *Confessions* 8.12.29 where Augustine mentions Alypius' renunciation of the world and Romans 13.13-14 within a few paragraphs of each other. There is no hint in the letter that someone else had suggested the passage to Augustine. If anything, it is Augustine who presents it to Aurelius as a critique of certain accepted practices in the African church which he believed needed to be addressed. Far from being incidental to Ferrari's concerns, the use of Romans 13.13-14 in Letter 22 establishes unequivocally that Augustine saw it as a rubric for his conception of worldly renunciation. Letter 22, then, provides one of the earliest clues for the conversion scene that is later recounted at *Confessions* 8.12.29.

To buttress his case, Ferrari turns his attention to Augustine's references to Romans 14.1ff., the passage where Alypius read the phrase "receive the person who is weak in faith" and took as his own call to conversion (*Confessions* 8.12.30). Ferrari takes this as yet

another piece of the puzzle, showing how unimportant Romans 13.13-14.1 was to Augustine prior to writing the *Confessions*. The use of Romans 14.1 in describing Alypius conversion is another fabrication, part of the "artistic embellishments added later in Augustine's carefully constructed portrayal of their conversion" (17). The *tolle lege* scene "would thus be a fiction of Augustine's genius" (p. 17). To grant an author such artistry and to claim a misrepresentation as a work of genius curiously accords honor to an art which on any reading would be deemed dubious. But Ferrari manages this with a certitude at once perplexing and uncompromising, as he never once poses the question as to how Alypius could have been talked into this "artful deception."

Now Ferrari explains what actually happened, and for this he turns to the Cassiciacum dialogues. Take, for example, his explanation of Augustine's brief narrative of his conversion in *De beata vita* 1.4, where Augustine talks about reading scripture after his encounter with the books of the Platonists. Noticeably, Augustine makes no specific mention of Paul in his epistolary comments in *De beata vita*. Still, it is not difficult to imagine that this is what he has in mind when he writes about comparing the books of the Platonists "with the authority of those who have handed down the divine mysteries" with the effect that he soon gave up his secular career (*De beata vita* 1.4).

And yet, Ferrari writes that "notwithstanding this omission, the description in the *Confessions* makes it abundantly clear that Paul was of especial interest to Augustine in that initial venture into the Scriptures" (p. 18). But why does Ferrari see the need to use the later account in the *Confessions* to explain an omission in a narrative from 386, when that very narrative mentions the authority of those who have handed down the divine mysteries as the turning point of Augustine's conversion narrative? Augustine is explicit about his Pauline readings in *Contra Academicos*, written at the same time as *De beata vita*. Ferrari seems indifferent to *Contra Academicos*, though, and insists that the reference in *Contra Academicos* to Augustine's pre-conversion Pauline readings must be to *Confessions* 7.21.27 exclusively. In which case, Augustine could not possibly be alluding to *Confessions* 8.12.29. But upon this reading, one cannot make sense of Augustine's claim in *Contra Academicos* that after reading Paul he was converted.

III. "Saint Augustine on the Road to Damascus"

In the article "Saint Augustine on the Road to Damascus" [7] Ferrari shifts his focus away from the use of Romans 13.13-14 specifically to the narrative found in Acts 9.1-9 about Paul's conversion. Since Ferrari insists that he has already proved the fictional nature of Augustine's reading of Romans 13:13-14 in *Confessions* 8 in the 'tolle lege' scene in the previous article (pp. 151-152), he can now proceed to show exactly how Augustine went about fictionalizing other elements of his narrative. According to Ferrari, Augustine deliberately wrote his narrative under the influence of Paul's conversion recounted in Acts 9.1-9, and therefore sought to provide an account of God's gracious act in redeeming the wayward Augustine in a manner similar to what happened to Paul on the road to Damascus. This is supposed to be so obvious and self-evident as to require little argument. "To those familiar with the works of Augustine, the influence of Paul is too obvious to require labouring here. Further, the presence of Paul becomes particularly powerful with the approach of the conversion scene in the *Confessions*. Indeed, so powerful is this presence that one is justified in wondering if it may not extend even further to the actual shaping of the events of the conversion-scene" (p. 152).

Here Ferrari adopts an interesting and somewhat simplistic standpoint about the supposed Pauline resonances, allusions, and citations in the *Confessions* 8.12.29-30. Ferrari claims that "in considering the account which we have of Paul's conversion, there is the fact that, as with Augustine, the account is by the subject of the conversion, namely by Paul himself" (p. 152), citing as evidence Acts 22.6-15 and 26.12-18. Yet he acknowledges that the account in Acts 9.1-19 is in the third person (p. 152 n. 8). The narrative in Acts is not Paul's. And so a comparison with Augustine's own self-representation may be problematic.

Ferrari sees other similarities as, for example, the fact that both Paul and Augustine fall to the ground "immediately prior to the events" and that in both cases "there are silent witnesses to the event" (p. 153); and in addition "immediately prior to the supernatural communication in each case, there was an affecting of the eyes with Paul being blinded and with Augustine weeping copiously with tears" (p.153). This is simplistic at best.

[7] Leo C. FERRARI, "Saint Augustine on the Road to Damascus", *Augustinian Studies* 13 (1982): 151-170.

Equally questionable is the alleged similarity in both men "falling to the ground" and that both men "had to depart from the place where they had heard the voice and receive final enlightenment in another place" (p. 153). While *Acts* and the *Confessions* respectively depict Paul and Augustine responding to a voice, Paul recognizes the voice as that of Christ, while Augustine wonders from whence it comes. Augustine also states unequivocally that he understood himself to be following in the footsteps of Antony of Egypt, when he took the words "*tolle lege*" as a divine injunction. Remarkably, Ferrari is silent about the explicit reference to Antony in *Confessions* 8.12. Not once does he mention it.

Ferrari believes he can find still more evidence of Augustine's dependence on Paul's conversion story. According to Ferrari, even the words which lie behind both the divine injunction to Paul and what Augustine took as a divine word sound alike. The one says "*Saule, Saule, quare me persequeris*? The other, "*Tolle, lege, tolle, lege*." A comparison between the two phrases, Ferrari claims, shows a "peculiar assonance" (pp. 153-154). Together with the alleged similarities in the patterns of two narratives, this peculiar assonance, then "would suggest that Augustine's account of his conversion in the *Confessions* is a description which owes much to the account of the conversion of Paul, whom he so loved and admired" (p. 154). There is surprisingly little here that amounts to anything like textual evidence of Augustine's use of the Pauline narrative in Acts as a pattern for his own. Ferrari's approach is merely impressionistic.

But Ferrari remains convinced. He believes he can show that during the period when Augustine was writing the *Confessions* Augustine had become fascinated with Paul's conversion story. The evidence of Augustine's allusions to Paul's conversion during the period 397-401, for Ferrari, explains the patterning that he claims in *Confessions* 8.

After making the bold claim that Augustine uses Paul's conversion story in Acts as a model for his own, Ferrari is at pains to prove that Augustine's citations of Acts cluster around the period 397-401, just when Augustine becomes interested in Paul's narrative (p. 156). Ferrari also equivocates on what he wants to make of Augustine's knowledge of Paul's narrative during his Manichaean years.

Ferrari surmises that "as a convert with a Manichean background, Augustine may well have continued to remain suspicious of that work [Acts], at least for the first few years after his conversion" (p. 156), ostensibly because the Manichaeans held Acts in disrepute.

But Acts is not the only place one can gain some understanding of Paul's conversion. Another point worth making is that if the Manichaeans objected to the Acts of the Apostles, they also objected to the entire Old Testament, and yet Augustine sought to offer interpretations of Old Testament texts that he believed could persuade them. The reasons for his apparent silence on Acts, then, may not be as simple as Ferrari supposes. Besides, one cannot argue on the one hand that Augustine could not have known about Paul's conversion during his Manichaean days, and still insist on the other hand that the Pauline impress in Augustine's immediate post-conversion period dates from his Manichaean background. And yet Ferrari insists on both (p. 156).

Ferrari argues that the disparity between citing Paul repeatedly in the early works and Acts so few times (and only in the period after 394) also shows how Augustine was becoming more taken with the story of Paul's conversion. He points out that "beginning in 396 and extending through the succeeding five years until 401, there is to be found in Augustine's writings a most interesting cluster of references to Paul's conversion" and that the *Contra epistulam Manichaei quam vocant fundamenti* 5.6 of 396 "contains an allusion to the story of Paul's conversion as being well known: '*In eodem etiam libro* [i.e. *Acta Apostolorum de vocatione atque apostolatu Pauli vulgatissimam tenemus historiam*" (p. 158). He then points out that "again in the same year, at the end of the first book of the *De diversis questionibus ad Simplicianum*, the topic of Paul's conversion is adduced as an example of conversion through divine election of the will, which election is not in the power of man to achieve. Further, Augustine describes how Paul was laid low and transformed from a marvellous persecutor of the Church to a more marvellous preacher, by that divine voice calling him but once: '*una de super voce prostratus*' " (p. 158). And again in that same year, "another allusion to Paul's conversion is to be found in the prologue to the *De doctrina christiana*. In the fifth paragraph of that prologue, Augustine warns against the presumption of those who despise human means of instruction in God's word and expect to be caught up into the third heaven (cf. II Cor. 12.2-4) there to be instructed by Christ."

Ferrari mentions next Augustine's comments in the sixth paragraph of the prologue of *De doctrina christiana* about how Paul, though called by a divine voice, was nevertheless instructed to go to another human being, namely Cornelius, for instruction. The Damascus road experience is clearly in view here, and Augustine's comments in *Contra epistulam Manichaei quam vocant fundamenti*, *De diversis questionibus*, and *De doctrina christiana* attests to his

interest in Paul's conversion story. It is the surest evidence Ferrari has for his thesis. Yet it founders on a simple problem. Why does Augustine mention the conversion of Antony the monk of Egypt as his model (*Confessions* 8.6.14 and 8.12.29) and pattern his entire conversion scene upon Ponticianus' visit (*Confessions* 8.6.14)?

There is no question that Paul looms large in Augustine's thinking, but this is not quite the same thing as saying that Augustine was so enamored of Paul's conversion that he was quite willing to invent his own past to fit Paul's story. Ferrari, as we have already observed, takes the "divine word" which came to Paul as the inspiration for Augustine's *tolle lege* scene. And yet by his own admission, Augustine's comments in *De diversis questionibus LXXXIII* 66.6 "betrays no emotional associations of one who had supposedly undergone a remarkably similar experience to Paul's in the not too distant past" (p. 157). This is consistent throughout Augustine's early works. Not once does he claim Paul's conversion as the pattern for his own. What should be enough to dissuade Ferrari from his elaborate conjectures emerges as yet another support for his theory.

Remarkably, Ferrari takes *De diversis questionibus LXXXIII* 66.6 as proof positive that the later account is fabricated and does not reflect the conversion of the distant past in 386, because of Augustine's non-emotional commentary on the subject of Paul's conversion. But, if Paul isn't Augustine's model then there is no need for such. Nor is there need to be scandalized at the fact that he displays "no excitement about the fact that Paul too had received that communication in the most extraordinary manner which consisted of a divine voice" (p. 157).

What is more, there is no reference in any of Paul's various conversion narratives that he was inspired to convert by the reading of a book, or by someone preaching to him, whereas in the story of Antony of Egypt to which Augustine alludes there is such a basis: Antony is converted by a reading from the Gospels, Augustine is converted by reading Paul. The basic pattern cannot be overlooked without doing too much violence to Augustine's narrative. If Augustine continues to refer to the divine word which came to Paul and says little about his own personal experience in *De doctrina Christiana* and the *Contra epistulam Manichaei quam vocant fundamenti*, Ferrari ought to recognize this as the surest sign that Augustine is to be believed when he claims the story of Antony as the inspiration for his own conversion by a "divine word" in 386.

Ferrari, however, does not tire of trying to provide a rationale

for why Augustine needed to model his conversion after Paul's, even suggesting that Augustine needed this in order to dispel any suspicions about his Manichaean past. Ferrari maintains that "had Augustine been converted in the manner described in the *Confessions*, then the remarkable similarity of his conversion to that of Paul would no doubt have dramatically overcome any suspicions he may have had, at least about that conversion, so that he would have begun to allude to it early in his writings, and perhaps also to certain other passages from the Acts. But since neither of these conditions is fulfilled, all the stronger is the evidence that Paul's conversion was not of personal significance to Augustine prior to 396" (p. 159). There is almost no basis for the conclusion Ferrari adduces here.

In the critical period (397-401) during which Ferrari claims to find Augustine's conscious efforts to appropriate Paul's conversion story Augustine's comments on Paul's conversion focus on one singular detail: Paul's divine calling (pp. 159-160). If Ferrari's objective was to provide some kind of chronology that would reveal Augustine's interest in Paul's divine calling, there would be little to question. So, why Ferrari remains adamant in his conviction that Paul's conversion narrative is the model for Augustine conversion scene is difficult to understand. Ferrari's subsequent arguments are even less persuasive, making any ameliorating gestures towards salvaging his position nearly impossible.[8]

The number of allusions to Paul's conversion which Ferrari finds in Augustine's sermons, including the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, show a pattern similar to the one we have already observed. Again, on Ferrari's own reading, Augustine does not take those opportunities to comment on his own conversion as somehow following the pattern of Paul's (pp. 162-167). Ferrari is astonished that in Sermon 12 (c. 393-395) where Augustine speaks about how "God has been known to communicate with mortal man" (pp. 166), Augustine does not allude to his own conversion when he mentions Paul receiving a divine word from Heaven. "What is interesting here," Ferrari observes, "is that Augustine comes so close to the classical case of Paul's conversion, without citing it as an example" (p. 166). And then Ferrari makes his now characteristic assertion that "from this omission, it would seem that in the time period of 393-395, that particular conversion was not of particular significance to Augustine" (p. 166). Ferrari continues, claiming yet another significant fact, because when he comments on

[8] See J. J. O'DONNELL, *Augustine: Confessions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) III, 67.

hearing a voice, Augustine writes in Sermon 12.4.4 that he "believed in such voices from Heaven *by having read of them*." Ferrari believes that *legimus et credimus* stands "in contrast to the first-hand personal experience of having been the subject of just such a communication." "This latter possibility," he contends, "would have been fulfilled less than ten years previously if Augustine had really been the subject of the *tolle lege* episode exactly as described in the eighth book of the *Confessions*. That Augustine relies upon reading for knowledge of such mysterious manners of communication, contradicts yet once again, the claimed factuality of the conversion scene" (p. 166). But all of this assumes that Augustine must have his conversion scene in the background of this thoughts as he speaks to his audience in this particular sermon.

That Augustine does not mention God speaking to Paul on the road to Damascus is curious but inconclusive. For, while he cites a number of examples from scripture, Augustine's list is highly selective, though also intended to be comprehensive. There is no mention of Abraham or David, for example. Instead Augustine adopts a general reference to the "patriarchs, prophets, and apostles", a designation that just about covers most of the central characters in the scriptures. To proceed from this to the assertion that Augustine's comments imply an indifference on his part towards Paul's conversion is highly questionable, especially since Augustine had been commenting on different parts of the Pauline corpus from the time of his conversion. That Augustine does not mention that he too had received a word from God is nearly irrelevant.

Ironically, Ferrari provides much of the evidence which contradicts his claims. About Sermon 279 (c. 401), for example, Ferrari admits that it is devoted to Paul's conversion and "in this regard is unique among all the extant sermons of Augustine" (p. 167). There is, however, little in it to lend credence to what Ferrari has been arguing. He acknowledges that "it is a monument to the interest of Augustine in that [Paul's] conversion in the year 401, when he was completing the composition of the *Confessions*. However, apart from its lengthy and general preoccupation with Paul's conversion, the sermon has not been found to contain details of relevance to the present topic" (p. 167). In fact, it is far more relevant than Ferrari allows. Its irrelevance to Ferrari stems from the fact that it contradicts the grand scheme Ferrari has proposed, namely Augustine's reading of Paul and Augustine's fictionalized conversion scene as a parallel narrative to Paul's.

After sidestepping the counter-argument contained in what

Augustine says in Sermon 279 (c. 401), Ferrari turns his attention to another sermon, Sermon 89 (c. 396-7), where he finds Augustine commenting on Jesus and the cursed fig-tree of Matthew 21.19-22 and the encounter with Nathaniel under the fig-tree of John 1.45-48. Ferrari, like previous interpreters, sees some similarities between Nathaniel's experience under the fig tree and Augustine's reception of Christ under the fig tree in Milan. But Ferrari, following Courcelle and others, sees more, especially because Augustine links "Christ's promise to Nathaniel that he would see angels ascending and descending upon the Song of Man" with the words of the Son of Man to Saul/Paul "*Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris*" (p. 168). Ferrari takes this as establishing some connection between the fig-tree and Saul's conversion. In which case, when Augustine mentions falling under a certain fig-tree and then hears words which resonate with the words Saul/Paul heard, we can be confident that we have identified the inspiration for the fiction which is Augustine's conversion scene. If Ferrari could in fact show or provide any evidence of Augustine identifying his conversion experience with Paul's even in one of the many references to Paul's conversion found in Augustine's vast corpus, he might have a point. That nothing of this sort is to be found is telling. Add to this Augustine's explicit reference to the story of Antony as his model and we have every reason to believe that Ferrari's view not only lacks merit, but is so misleading as to offer no real benefit towards understanding what Augustine does in *Confessions* 8.12.29.

In his 1982 St. Augustine Lecture, Ferrari once again repeated the views contained in the two earlier essays about Augustine's conversion scene.

IV. "An Analysis of Augustine's Conversional Reading (Conf. 8.12,29)"

In his "An Analysis of Augustine's Conversional Reading (Conf. 8.12,29)"[9] Ferrari attempts to explain why Augustine chose Romans 13.13-14 from among all the other verses in Paul's letters which could have served his purposes. To say that the task Ferrari sets himself is nearly impossible to achieve would be an understatement. Ferrari begins with Galatians 5.19-21: "Now the works of the flesh are plain: fornication, impurity, licentiousness, idolatry, sorcery, enmity,

[9] Leo C. FERRARI, "An Analysis of Augustine's Conversional Reading (Conf. 8.12,29)", *Augustinian Studies* 18 (1987).

strife, jealousy, anger, selfishness, dissension, party spirit, envy, drunkenness, carousing, and the like." As Ferrari notes, "Augustine cites, or alludes to this passage on a dozen occasions in works of the relevant period. The earliest occurrence is in the *De sermone Domini in monte* of 394 where Augustine lists various sins, fairly much as above. Three other works of this and the next two years contain lists in substantial agreement with the previous one. Interestingly enough, the next four years of 396 through 399 are devoid of references to the scriptural passage" (p. 31).

Ferrari finds this last detail interesting because he wants to argue that the two verses lost their relevance just when Augustine was writing the *Confessions*, just when Augustine had become enamored of other Pauline texts. He wonders why Augustine doesn't use these verses in the earlier period from 386 to 394, "when he had only recently renounced such sins" (p. 31)? "The same expectation," Ferrari contends, "is encouraged by the dramatic events of the conversion scene with its highlighting of the sins of the flesh, not to mention their condemnation elsewhere in the eighth book" (p. 31). Since "those dramatic events are commonly accepted as describing that early conversion" Ferrari is surprised that Augustine does not refer to Galatians 5.19-21 for another eight years (p. 32). He also finds puzzling why there is a cluster of references to these verses in 394-396 and another cluster in 400-401 but none in 396-399. The lacuna, he argues, "is all the more surprising in that in these same years, Augustine was planning and writing the first books of the *Confessions*. Presumably, his preoccupation in this work with the sins of the flesh did not extend to Gal. 5,19-21" (p. 32). But isn't this a rather odd expectation?

While Ferrari acknowledges that Augustine does not always recite the list of sins found in the former completely or identically, he is nevertheless convinced that the various ways in which Augustine cites the two verses suggest a particular appeal for him. And in light of that appeal to Augustine "in the years 394 through 401, one may well ask why it was not chosen for the conversional reading, rather than Rom. 13, 13-14" (p. 32). Ferrari returns to his dramatic theory. "The lists of sins is about twice as long as that of Rom. 13,13-14" he asserts, "and so a dramatic impact of the conversion scene would have been considerably weakened by the mere reading of lengthy list of vices" (p. 32). This is an interesting tack. But it lacks merit.

Ferrari proceeds towards another rationale. He maintains that another reason for Augustine's choice of Romans 13.13-14 is that the Galatians passage is "impersonally descriptive," while the former "is

personally applicable to Augustine's particular case" (p. 33). But if that is the case, why all the anxiety about the need for Augustine to cite Galatians? Ferrari believes that Romans 13.13-14 is so apt, because "unlike Gal. 5,19-21, it is succinctly sin-negating and hortative. It briefly negates three pairs of sins and terminates in an exhortation which also points quite definitely in the new direction for Augustine: 'put on the Lord Jesus Christ and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof' " (p. 33).

Ferrari then turns to 1 Corinthians 6.9-10: "Do not be deceived; neither the immoral, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor sexual perverts, nor thieves, nor the greedy, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor robbers will inherit the kingdom of God." Ferrari observes that Augustine alludes to this verse in 394 and cites the complete list in his expositions of Galatians (394-395), Letter 29.5, and in the *De diversis questionibus LXXXIII* 76.2. Letter 29 is dated 395, and *De diversis questionibus LXXXIII* is completed in that same year. Ferrari once again expresses surprise that Augustine does not cite 1 Corinthians 6.9-10 in the years 396-399, "which corresponds exactly with the lacuna observed above in the case of Gal. 5,19-21" (p. 33). And yet Augustine uses both passages interchangeably in the *De baptismo* and the *Contra Epistolam Parmeniani* (400). Ferrari makes much of the "missing references" from the 396-399 without so much as asking what works would have contained the references if they had been made.

When Ferrrari compares 1 Corinthians 6.6-9 and Romans 13.13-14 he argues that the former would be inappropriate for Augustine's purposes because 1 Corinthians 6.9-10 "features more varieties of sexual sin," whereas Romans 13.13-14 does not (p. 33). And because the latter speaks in general terms it fit Augustine's situation better. Furthermore, besides sexual sin the only other sin they have in common is drunkenness. To his credit, Ferrari acknowledges that "considering the emphasis on sexual sins in 1 Cor 6,9-10 and also in the eighth book of the *Confessions* ... one could perhaps expect that the former would have made a good text for the conversional reading in the latter" (p. 34). He insists, however, that "a divinely directed reading from 1 Cor 6,9-10 would have had Augustine being implicitly accused of some very specific sins, mostly sexual in nature" (p. 34). He seems to think there would be no such problems with regards to Galatians 5.19-21 about sorcery, or even with the robbery mentioned in 1 Corinthians 6.9-10. Ferrari once again adverts to his "dramatic theory," saying that a list of ten sins would lose its dramatic effect. But all this is presumption.

There are other texts for Ferrari to explain. He turns to Romans 1.29-31, where Paul provides a catalogue of ungodliness. "They were filled with all manner of wickedness, evil, covetousness, malice. Full of envy, murder, strife, deceit, malignity, they are gossips, slanderers, haters of God, insolent, haughty, boastful, inventors of evil, disobedient to parents, foolish, faithless, heartless, ruthless." "For all its length," Ferrari observes, "the above list does not contain rioting, drunkenness, chambering and wantonness. Indeed, if 1 Cor. 6,9-10 concentrates on sexual sins, the above list omits them altogether" (p. 34). Ferrari now finds an entirely new reason why this list would not have found favor with Augustine: it was not "as popular" with him (p. 34).

Ferrari mentions Colossians 3.5-6 as the other Pauline text which comes close to doing all the things that Ferrari claims for his "dramatic theory". It is brief, has almost all the sins that Augustine highlights in the conversion scene, and, unlike the other passages, Augustine refers to this in works written in 397-400, the critical period Ferrari has often pointed to. So how does Ferrari explain the choice of Romans 13.13-14 over Colossians 3.5-6, when the latter also has the advantage of beginning with a command in its first sentence? Ferrari's reasoning is brilliantly confounding. He claims that "compared with Rom. 13,13-14, the list of Col. 3,5-6 has the dramatically desirable virtue of succinctness, but is neither as forcefully, nor as repetitively sin-negating as Rom. 13,13-14 with its *non ... non ... non ...* Furthermore, as the extract shows, Col. 3,5-6 ends with an ominous warning quite unconnected with the closing events of the conversion. By contrast, the exhortation of Rom. 13,13-14, to put on the Lord Jesus Christ, leads directly into those events, and indeed they are 'justified' by the conversional reading itself" (p. 35).

If this is how we should understand Augustine's craft, then much is lost. Ferrari proceeds to say that "we are left then with Rom. 13,13-14 as Paul's list of sins most suitable for the reading in the conversion scene. Rom. 13,13-14 alone has what is lacking in all the lists considered. It possesses dramatic brevity, is sin-negating in a suitably general manner, as a direct (as opposed to indirect) addressability to Augustine's particular case and leads on to the important exhortation to put on the Lord Jesus Christ" (p. 35). Certainly, putting on the Lord Jesus Christ is a fitting conclusion to the reading. Yet when that language of putting on Christ occurs in the early writings Ferrari does not seem to notice (*De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*, in particular).

After his discussion of the other possible Pauline texts which

could have served Augustine's purposes for the supposedly invented conversion scene, Ferrari turns to consider what should now be described as his "thematic analysis." Here Ferrari hopes to show that the themes that surround the conversion scene in *Confessions* 8 suggested other possibilities to Augustine which he did not take up because only Romans 13.13-14 fit the dramatic intent of his narrative.

Ferrari identifies three inter-related dualisms: flesh and spirit, old and new, mind and body. These are themes to which Augustine also returns in *Confessions* 10. Galatians 5.17 provides a starting point because Augustine cites it at *Confessions* 8.5.11 as a point of departure for describing how he understood his experiences: "In this way I understood through my own personal experience what I had read, how 'the flesh lusts against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh.' I was split between them, but more of me was in that which I approved in myself than in that which I disapproved."[10]

Now, if Ferrari's theory is to hold that Augustine cites texts relevant to the conversion scene that he is inventing only during the period 396/7-400/1, one should not expect Augustine to cite Galatians 5.22-23 in the earlier period from 386 to 396, since that would mean that the tension between flesh and spirit was something he recognized in himself even as far back as 386. But what does Ferrari find? On his own account Augustine mentions this conflict in a number of works (p. 47 n. 32): *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 2, 25, 38 (388-389); *De sermone Domini in monte* 2, 21, 81 (394); *Ep.* 29, 6 (395); *Sermo* 89, 1 (396-7); *De baptismo* 1,18,27 (400-1). These references also seem to correspond in broad outline with the use of Galatians 5.17 and I Corinthians 6.9-10, with the exception of the two citations from *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* and *De sermone Domini in monte*. Augustine's allusions to Galatians 5.22-23, then, cannot be separated from his use of Galatians 5.17 and 1 Corinthians 6.9-10.

Ferrari, however, seeks an entirely different construal. He turns to the other contrast involving the spirit and the letter (2 Corinthians 3.6), a contrast Augustine emphasizes in *Ad Simplicianum* (p. 36). Ferrari then links Augustine's use of the spirit and letter with the flesh-spirit dualism and eventually to the notion of the old and new from Romans 7.6, in the process sidestepping the use of Galatians 5.17, 22-23 and 1 Corinthians 6.9-10. All this is supposed to lead up to the notion that while the contrast between flesh and spirit resembles the one between the old and the new found in Romans 7.6, the themes that

[10] *Saint Augustine: Confessions*, translated by Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 140.

occur around the conversion scene in Book 8 of the *Confessions* are influenced by Augustine's "paulinizing" (p. 37) of his narrative.

Ferrari acknowledges the centrality of the spirit-flesh dualism for the entire narrative. But while admitting that "Augustine's preoccupation with the spirit-flesh conflict of Gal. 5.17 predates the *Confessions*," Ferrari also sees something highly significant in Augustine's first citation of Galatians 5.17. Strangely, Ferrari uses the first occurrence of Galatians 5.17 as a way of delimiting the scope of what he had just argued, namely, Augustine's use of the flesh-spirit themes found in Galatians 5.22-23 in the early works.

Ferrari's fastidiousness is rather beguiling, for he assumes that Augustine could not allude to Galatians 5.17 by citing any of the other verses from Galatians 5.18-23. For someone who makes much of the fact that Augustine's modern interpreters have been misled by interpreting Augustine as if he lived in a book and print culture,[11] Ferrari's insistence on such narrowly defined textual specificity as the only kind of evidence suggestive of significance and relevance is remarkable.

Romans 7.14-25 not only contains the contrast between the flesh and the spirit, it also underscores the very problem of the divided will to which Augustine calls attention in Book 8 of the *Confessions*. And as Ferrari himself acknowledges, Augustine alludes to this passage from very early on in his career: on Ferrari's reckoning "ten times in works of 393 or earlier" (p. 40). Moreover, Augustine continues to cite or allude to this passage in works from 394 to 401, with Ferrari acknowledging a peak in both 395 and 399 (p. 40). This is the sort of evidence that would give anyone pause in making the kind of arguments that Ferrari proposes. All this notwithstanding, Ferrari contends that the preponderance of Romans 7.14-25 "exhibits something of a random distribution" because it is attested even in the 396-401 period when Augustine was writing the *Confessions* (p. 40). To put it simply, because the evidence subverts Ferrari's theory (that it ought not be cited in the 396-401 period) its distribution must be deemed uncharacteristic and therefore random. This is a bald misrepresentation at best.

Oddly, Ferrari offers the following explanation for the "persistent appeal." "The most obvious reason for this persistent appeal would seem to derive from Augustine's years with the Manichees and their doctrine of the rebellious, evil principle in the

[11] Leo C. FERRARI, "Saint Augustine's Conversion Scene: The End of a Modern Debate?" *Studia Patristica* 22 (1989), 242-243.

body" (p. 41). Ferrari grants that the Manichaean rationale he offers to explain Augustine's use of Romans 7.14-25 could be applied to Galatians 5.17, making his argument about the absence of the latter in the early works vacuous. After all, if Romans 7.14-25 serves as a good rebuttal of Manichaean arguments why shouldn't Galatians 5.17? Ferrari does not consider why Galatians 5.17 in itself would not furnish an answer to the Manichees.

At the same time, Ferrari is willing to see in Augustine's use of Romans 7.14-25 further evidence of his theory that Augustine has adopted the Pauline conversion narrative as a way of telling his own story. In so doing Ferrari changes the parameters of his argument slightly. In the earlier essays, Ferrari insisted that the absence of Romans 13.13-14 in Augustine's works prior to the *Confessions* provided one of the clues supporting the view that the passage had only become important to Augustine at the time of writing the *Confessions*. In which case, the use of the verses in the *tolle lege* scene gives the surest indication of the alleged fabrication of that scene. Ferrari also insisted that it was only during the time of writing the *Confessions* that Augustine began to take an interest in Paul's conversion story. Now in dealing with Romans 7.14-25, which is well-attested in Augustine's works through 401 when the *Confessions* was completed, Ferrari adopts a different approach.

Ferrari argues that one reason why Romans 7.14-25 appealed to Augustine is that Paul appeared to be speaking of a personal experience, and this apparent personalization of the conflict between flesh and spirit attracted Augustine's attention: "this revelation" of Paul "baring his soul about his own inner conflict within himself ... met with a heartfelt response in Augustine who apparently was all too aware of the same conflict within himself" (p. 41). But if this is the case, and Augustine cites Romans 7.14-25 from 393 up to 401, then there is little reason to think that Augustine only became interested in these themes at the time when he was writing the *Confessions*. Moreover, if it is Paul's personal reminiscences in Romans 7.14-25 which must have resonated with Augustine, as Ferrari suggests, there might be a problem. It would mean that Augustine had always been interested in Paul's conversion from as early as 393 when he cites Romans 7.14-25 and not only when he began to write the *Confessions*, as Ferrari claims. But Ferrari leaves this avenue untouched, even as he claims, "that the Paul of Rom. 7,14-25 with his self revelations, was the original inspiration for the self-revelations of the *Confessions* in general, and of the conversion scene in particular. And so it seems, there resulted the descriptions of Augustine's conversion, a description

transparently modelled on the conversion of his great hero Paul," as he claims to have shown elsewhere in his "Saint Augustine on the Road to Damascus."[12] But if Romans 7.14-25 is the inspiration, why does Augustine select Romans 13.13-14 as the text that effected his conversion?

By now we have come to expect that Ferrari needs to discount what does not fit into the grand scheme he proposed in his 1980 article. He continues in this vein at the conclusion of this current essay. Instead of taking Augustine's use of the notion of putting off and putting on Christ in Ephesians 4.22-24 and Colossians 3.9-10 as his point of departure for understanding how Augustine appropriates this theme in his early writings, Ferrari turns surprisingly to Galatians 3.27 (for as many of you as were baptized in Christ, have put on Christ). To begin with, this is language Augustine probably could not have used prior to his baptism in 387, and so would have been inappropriate in the Cassiciacum dialogues.

In his immediate post-baptismal period we have the *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* as evidence of Augustine's use of the putting off/putting on theme. Ferrari, however, finds a way to argue that

> it would seem to be that Paul's putting on of Christ was not a significant feature of Augustine's earlier life, but rather of the time of writing the *Confessions*, and even then, apparently only after it had been brought to his attention by Faustus in 397-398. Yet, supposedly the putting on of Christ was the climax of the divinely directed conversional reading in 386. Its absence in the intervening years is all the more amazing in view of Augustine's confession that at the beginning of his conversion, he could not find a way of enjoying God until he had embraced Jesus (7,18,24). (p. 43)

It is not clear which is more confusing, the sheer unintelligibility of Ferrari's words here or his claim of being surprised at Augustine's "method." How tenable is the following upon which Ferrari ends? "One possible explanation of the absences of references to the putting on of Christ prior to the writing of the *Confessions* is that he had discovered Christ as mediator which was also a Manichean notion, but his Manichean mind had rebelled at the notion of putting on Christ, as required by Gal. 3,27. However, even this seems unlikely as an explanation, since Faustus used the figure of speech in the context noted above. Therefore, the amazing conclusion would seem to follow, that despite his protestation in the *Confessions* (7,18,24), the

[12] Leo C. FERRARI, "Saint Augustine on the Road to Damascus", *Augustinian Studies* 13 (1982): 151-170.

putting on of Christ was not of particular significance to the conversion of Augustine" (p. 43). These are the sorts of strategies Ferrari commends to Augustine's interpreters.

V. "Beyond Augustine's Conversion Scene"

In "Beyond Augustine's Conversion Scene" [13] Ferrari finally acknowledged that his argument about Augustine's use of Romans 13.13-14 is basically an argument from silence. Still, he was convinced his theories from all those previous studies stand because of all the evidence he has provided of Augustine's Pauline citations (p. 98). Ferrari assesses other Pauline texts which could have served Augustine's purposes. And he arrives at the same conclusion: Romans 13.13-14 and that alone could have served Augustine's fictive purposes. The more texts he analyzes the more astonishing the claims he has to make in defense of his views.

After reviewing Colossians 3.10, Ephesians 2.2 and Ephesians 5.8, Ferrari contends that "their very occurrences in such numbers contradict the claim that the occasion had not arisen for Augustine to quote Romans 13.13-14" (p. 99). And this, because, if Augustine had been converted by Romans 13.13-14 as he claims, "then verses of similar tone would have been suitably substituted and so explain the popularity of the above-mentioned verses. But the most frequently cited of such verses, as selected above, display a most inconvenient distribution for supporting such a claim" (100). This is untenable in the extreme.

After prosecuting his highly idiosyncratic and untenable argument all along, Ferrari now ventures to ask the question implicit in his commentary: Was Augustine simply lying about his past? And how would a claim about Augustine's fabrications stand in the face of Augustine's *De mendacio* (395) and the later *Contra Mendacium*? In attempting to answer these questions Ferrari also begins to consider other issues he seemed to have overlooked previously.

Ferrari admits that Augustine's comments at *Confessions* 3.2.2-4 about the degenerative influences of the theater is a possible objection to the notion of the *Confessions* "as a script for dramatic performance" (p. 103). This objection, Ferrari believes is "easily answered by pointing out that the theatre is there condemned for its portrayal of lust," and that "it is significant that Augustine there

[13] Leo FERRARI, "Beyond Augustine's Conversion Scene", in *Augustine: From Rhetor to Theologian*, ed. Joanne McWilliam (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1992), 97-107.

condemns theatre for promoting grief, not over real people's misfortunes, but over mere fictions" (p. 103). Ferrari believes that this does not apply to the *Confessions*: "The matter is quite otherwise in the case of the *Confessions* where the audience is invited to grieve, not over some fiction, but over the undeniable truth of Augustine's past sinfulness and his flight from God" (p. 103). Ferrari now appeals to the larger scope of Augustine's objectives and not the specifics of the conversion scene.

We gain a better sense of Ferrari's appreciation of Augustine's sensibilities when we consider what he does with Augustine's words in *Confessions* 10.3.3. This is a passage which should have received a lot of attention from Ferrari, given his contentions about Augustine's supposed fictions, because Augustine speaks to the issue of his credibility directly. Curiously, it receives a terse commentary which manages to turn Augustine's hermeneutics of *caritas* into a rationale for misrepresenting the past. This is how Ferrari states it: "noteworthy is the fact that the question of truth in the work [the *Confessions*] arises in the tenth book (10.3.3-4.6) in regard to how Augustine's audience will know that he is telling the truth. He points out there that his confession is not addressed to those who are merely curious about other people's lives, while inert about improving their own; but rather to those whose ears are opened to him by charity" (p. 103). Ferrari does not explain what exactly Augustine means by this, nor will one suspect that the tone of Ferrari's words slightly distort Augustine's point. Notice too that *Confessions* 10.3.3 makes nonsense Ferrari's questionable reading of Augustine's language about God being truth and everyone being a liar. The problem, as Augustine's identifies it in *Confessions* 10.3.3, is fundamentally one of trust.

But according to Ferrari, in the *De mendacio*, Augustine distinguishes between speaking the truth with the mouth and possessing the truth in the heart (par. 31 and 35). In which case, we are to believe that "those whose ears are opened by charity will hear and understand," even if Augustine is fabricating the details (p. 103). Furthermore, Ferrari maintains, "it is also important to notice that in the treatise *On Lying*, Augustine readily admits the legitimacy of allegory and figurative speech as expressions of truth, particularly in regard to spiritual matters, as in the case of the Bible (paras. 7-9,26 and 42)" (pp. 103-104). Ferrari, therefore, believes that "if there were any further need to justify the dramatic liberties of the conversion scene, it would be found under this category and by a special justification" (pp. 104). Ferrari moves so effortlessly from insisting on Augustine's fictions about his past to defending Augustine as

allegorist that one would not notice that he has ignored all of Augustine's strictures in *De mendacio* about lying in the service of some supposedly divine course. What is more, Augustine's comments about the validity of allegory in *De mendacio* are not different from what he says about the use of figurative language and allegorical / spiritual interpretation in *De doctrina Christiana*, for example. It is not a rationale for forgery or mendacity, but rather a plea for respecting the uses and interpretation of the metaphorical and figurative.

Interestingly, Ferrari again returns to *Confessions* 10 (10.3.3, 10.3.4 and 10.4.6) for evidence that Augustine expected his work to be "read aloud before an assembled audience" (p. 102). He goes on to repeat his contention that "this means that the text is really a script for a dramatic performance, which throws an entirely different light on the whole question about the factuality or fictionality of the conversion scene" (p. 102). Ferrari leaves off to suggest a distinction that again confounds the issues. He claims that "writing factual biography destined for the silent reading so common today a person of Augustine's scrupulous honesty would aim at what Courcelle describes as "*exactitude sténographique*" (p. 102). This assertion concedes one thing and misconstrues another. Certainly, it is something of an event, after all these articles during which he has described Augustine as a fabricator of his past, for Ferrari to describe Augustine as scrupulously honest. On what basis? Ferrari does not say. Except, having described Augustine as such, Ferrari must now furnish a reason why Augustine's practices as an author would differ from us moderns.

It is simply false to say, as Ferrari does, that as a script for dramatic performance, the presentation, to be dramatically effective, must subordinate factuality to the canons of dramatic presentation "a craft", we are told, in which Augustine "was well-schooled" (p. 102). And so "a certain romanticizing of reality becomes inevitable, whence the Courcellean mode de presentation romanesque" (p. 102).

VI. "Truth and Augustine's Conversion Scene"[14]

Finally in 1988, almost as an afterthought to what he had been proposing, and following on the essay "Beyond Augustine's Conversion Scene", Ferrari adds to his arguments in his "Truth and Augustine's Conversion Scene".[15] Up to this point, Ferrari seems to have pursued his research without paying much attention to the fact

[14] Ibid.

that Augustine mentions truth and truthfulness repeatedly throughout the *Confessions*, and sometimes describes God (and Jesus) as Truth. What Ferrari also does not appreciate, given his apparent indifference to some of the early works, is that this particular way of referring to Christ is evident in the Cassiciacum dialogues. Ferrari mentions Augustine's *De mendacio* and *Contra Mendacium*, as if the former contained Augustine's first statements about truth, truthfulness and speaking the truth. So now, Ferrari informs us about Augustine's dedication to truth, and asserts that it is "even more pointedly and pertinently evident" in the *Confessions* (p. 10), where "truth (*veritas*) and its cognates occur just over three hundred sixty times" (p. 10). Truth, truthfulness, and truth-telling are hardly incidental to Augustine's concerns as a writer of the *Confesssions*.

What is mind-boggling is that after such an obvious oversight Ferrari can claim his turn to this question as "a new approach to the much discussed topic of the truth of Augustine's conversion scene" because he is convinced that "an examination of the contexts of at least the more prominent of these references would be most germane to the subject of truth in the *Confessiones* and so to the mode of veracity of the conversion scene itself" (p. 10). A question immediately presents itself. Given Ferrari's unmistakably misleading reading of *Confessions* 10.3.3 on Augustine's hermeneutics of *caritas*, what difference could this "new" study make to establishing the "mode of veracity of the conversion scene", as Ferrari claims here?

In a page and half (pp. 11-12) of citations meant to show Augustine's understanding and use of the idea of truth in the *Confessions* we are greeted with a brief assessment of *Confessions* 10, which, Ferrari reminds us, contains the "largest cluster of references to truth" (p. 11). Ferrari claims that the "various aspects of Augustine's notion of truth in the *Confessiones* bespeak of an interiorized mystical mode of truth far removed from the empirically verifiable kind called for by the debate about the conversion scene" (p.11). And true to his posture throughout all these essays Ferrari adverts that "it follows then that he [Augustine] probably would have considered such a debate as not merely irrelevant, but probably morally culpable (p. 11)" citing *Confessions* 10.35.54-57 (p. 17 n. 36) as evidence of Augustine criticism of *curiositas*.

Not only are we to believe that Augustine "probably would have considered" the modern debate "irrelevant" he would think it

[15] Leo C. FERRARI, "Truth and Augustine's Conversion Scene", *Collectanea Augustiniana* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990), 9-19.

"probably morally culpable" as an act of vain *curiositas*. Incidentally, it is this theme of human curiosity which Ferrari falls back on that Augustine addresses in *Confessions* 10.3.3, a passage Ferrari seems not to have appreciated for its relevance for so much of what is at stake here. The problems simply do not go away. And Ferrari must account for why Augustine would consider morally culpable such curiosity about the details of his life when he is the very one who provides the narrative in the *Confessions*? For good or ill, "there remains the undeniable fact that Augustine has presented us with the scene." And so Ferrari concedes that "it is to be explained then, how the mundane events of Augustine's life can be reconciled with the exalted notion of truth" that is claimed for him "without involving lying" (p. 12).

The only avenue left for Ferrari is to propose some kind of exalted notion of allegorical signification which can obviate the incredible difficulties posed for his theories by the evidence from Augustine's early works and the *Confessions*. Notice the confounding explanation entailed in the following: "indeed, following Romans 3:4, Augustine maintains in the closing pages of the *Confessiones* that God alone is the Truth, but every man is a liar. Finally, the Scriptures are true, since God is true and being Truth itself, has set forth those holy writings. It is fitting then, that Augustine should seek to ground his own conversion in those same Scriptures by the manner in which his conversion is a thinly disguised version of the famous conversion scene of Paul" (p. 12). Does Ferrari seriously believe that Augustine presents this contrast between God as truth and all human beings as liars as a way of legitimizing human falsehoods and the fabrication of his own conversion narrative?

Ferrari returns to *De mendacio*, conflating what Augustine says about lies that were told in scripture by people who were approved by God and the use of figurative language, which Augustine also defends. Ferrari claims that "among the extenuating considerations for such lying" Augustine mentions the use of language figuratively. And because of this usage, it is suggested that "in virtue of some hidden signification, they are not altogether lies". Ferrari goes on to say that "coming as it does, just before the writing of the *Confessiones*, that manner of signification offers a convenient starting point for the subject of the truth and figurative language in regard to Augustine's paulinizing of his conversion scene" (p. 12). This is a convenient starting point only because of the kinds of arguments Ferrari has proffered to explain Augustine's craft. To end, then, on the note that "Augustine's notion of truth in the *Confessiones* transcends empirical verifiability, and so too the whole question of the factuality or the

fictionality of the conversion scene" (p. 14) borders on the jejune.

In the preceding I have tried to show how ill-conceived and untenable Ferrari's arguments about Augustine's conversion scene have been. If nothing else, the industry Ferrari has brought to the task and the minimal results it has yielded should be a cautionary tale. Far from disenchanting Augustine's readers, Ferrari's conjectures suggest how nearly impossible it is to substantiate the claim that the scene has been fabricated.

Villanova F. B. A. ASIEDU

OTIUM AND *NEGOTIUM* WITHIN THE ONE CHURCH

Epistula 48

Augustine had already been chosen as bishop of Hippo when he handed over this letter to the monk Andreas. After the death of his fellow brother Eustasius, Andreas returned to his community in Capraria, a small island in the Mediterranean Sea, to the northeast of Corsica. The letter was addressed to abbot Eudoxius and was written after 398[1]. The contents of this letter makes us presume Augustine had been consulted by the abbot to give his view on the tricky question whether monks could be obliged to perform pastoral duties when the Church needed them[2]. Augustine's letter doesn't introduce total new ideas about the relationship between active engagement in the Church and contemplation. What we can read in it is a very personal view of a Latin Father on that question. In the introduction we are confronted right away with an evocation of the commotion and the labour a bishop has to deal with. But the bishop considers himself fortunate as he can live in the peace and quiet the monks of Capraria enjoy in Christ. For Augustine this peace is strongly connected with their love in Christ[3].

> "We are all one body under one head. You can work in us and we can find rest and peace in you. For if one member suffers, all members suffer together, and if one member is honoured all members rejoice together with it (1 Cor. 12,26)."[4]

The calm of a monk's life functions adequately in Augustine's christology, which can be summarized as follows: the sublime humility and the merciful greatness of Christ should live in the spirit of the monks[5]. This attitude will cause their prayers to be more

[1] Epistula 48; CSEL 34/2, 137ff. See A. MANDOUZE, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire 1, Prospographie de l'Afrique du Nord* (303-533), Paris, Éditions du CNRS, 1982, p. 69, 361, 376 and CH. PIETRI et L. PIETRI, *id.* 2, *Prosopographie de l'Italie chrétienne (313-604)*, École française de Rome, 1999, p. 668.

[2] L. VERHEIJEN, *Saint Augustin, un moine devenu prêtre et évêque, in Nouvelle approche de la Règle de saint Augustin*, Bégrolles en Mauges, Abbaye Bellefontaine, 1980, p. 257.

[3] *Epistula* 48,1; 137: "Quando quietem uestram cogitamus, quam habetis in christo, etiam nos, quamuis in laboribus uariis asperisque uersemur, in uestra caritate requiescimus."

[4] *Ibid.*: "Unum enim corpus sub uno capite sumus, ut et uos in nobis negotiosi et nos in uobis otiosi simus, quia, si patitur unum membrum, compatiuntur omnia membra et, si glorificatur unum membrum, congaudent omnia membra."

[5] *Ibid.*: "...obsecramus per Christi altissimam humilitatem et misericordissimam celsitudinem..."

wakeful and modest than the prayer of the shepherd which always tempts to be paralysed by the darkness and the tumult of worldly activities[6]. With quotations taken from the New Testament the bishop makes allusions to the burden of his ministry that a.o. includes local jurisdiction (*iudicia saecularia*). Besides all this monks have got different duties among which prayer is the most important.

Then, Augustine tackles the subject of the pastoral care, an activity the Church can impose on everybody when there is a clear and outspoken need for it, even on the monks of the distant island[7].

> "In case our mother the Church should desire you to assume some pastoral activities (*opera uestra*) you shouldn't go into it with greedy pride, nor should you reject it because of conceited laziness, but you should obey God with all due respect"[8].

The urgent needs of the Church (*necessitates ecclesiae*) should get priority to the contemplative quiet (*otium*) of the monks. It's all about the childbirth, the labour of our Mother-church who requires us as midwives. For without professional assistance the Church is unable to give birth to new believers[9]. The shepherd then explains the kind of assistance monks can give:

> "As one has got to choose a middle course between fire and water if one doesn't want to get burned or drowned, likewise we have got to look for a way between the scorching top of arrogance and the sucking swamp of laziness. As it is written: 'Thou shalt not deter, neither to the right nor to the left.' (Dt. 17,11 – Prov. 4,27). There are people who are so afraid to be

[6] *Ibid.*: "... caligo et tumultus saecularium actionum..."

[7] Cf. A. DE VOGÜÉ, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité*, Patrimoine monastique, Première partie: le monachisme latin, t. II, Paris, Éd. Du Cerf, 1993. When Augustine speaks about deserted islands as "the favourite spots for monks who have given up the attractiveness of this world", he does so under the influence of Ambrose (Hex.) whom he heard preaching in Milan in 387. There also was some influence of Jerome (p. 241).

[8] *Epistula.* 48,2; 138: "... si qua opera uestra mater ecclesia desiderauerit, nec elatione auida suscipiatis nec blandiente desidia respuatis, sed miti corde obtemperetis deo cum mansuetudine..."

[9] Cf. A. DE VOGÜÉ, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique...* t. I, 1991. Even with Antony we find a tension between monachism and pastoral care. When forced to leave his 'inner mountain' to meet people, even very important people, Antony wants nothing more clearly than to return as soon as possible to his beloved solitude. Athanasius points out that a monk can be obliged to renounce his solitude because of brotherly love which is a service to the church, but not his ascetic lifestyle: "L'inventeur de la retraite au désert est aussi le premier à quitter le désert pour le bien des hommes qu'il a fuis." (p. 72).

pulled into the frightening heights at their right side that they fall into the depths at their left side and drown. And at the other side, there are people who for fear to be devoured by the stunning feeling of quietness, recede from the one side so that they fall into the extreme opposite: they get affected and consumed by the arrogance of success and are lost in the burning ashes and smoke. Therefore, beloved, love your contemplative way of life so much that you protect yourselves against all earthly delight. Remember there is no place on earth where the enemy can't lay a trap to prevent us from ascending to God. For the enemy of all good is afraid that we, who once were his prisoners, one day will become his judges. Let us remember that perfect peace will only come when all injustice is wiped out (Psalm 57,2) and when the righteous receive the power to judge (Psalm 94,15)." [10]

The otium of the monastic choice

In guarded terms Augustin talks about his personal life which also was an alternation of contemplation and action[11]. His conversion, or better: his return to christianity in 386 immediately got a monastic profile. Not without reason the christian aspect and the monastic aspect of Augustin's conversion have been linked together[12]. But an

[10] *Epistula* 2; 138: "Sicut autem inter ignem et aquam tenenda est uia, ut nec exuratur homo nec demergatur, sic inter apicem superbiae et uoraginem desidiae iter nostrum temperare debemus, sicut scriptum est: non declinantes neque ad dexteram neque ad sinistram. Sunt enim, qui, dum nimis timent, ne quasi in dexteram rapti extollantur, in sinistram lapsi demerguntur, et sunt rursus, qui, dum nimis se auferunt a sinistra, ne torpida uacationis mollitia sorbeantur, ex altera parte iactantiae fastu corrupti atque consumpti in fumum fauillam que uanescunt. Sic ergo, dilectissimi, diligite otium, ut uos ab omni terrena delectatione refrenetis et memineritis nullum locum esse, ubi non possit laqueos tendere, qui timet, ne reuolemus ad deum et inimicum omnium bonorum, cuius captiui fuimus, iudicemus, nullam que esse nobis perfectam requiem cogitetis, donec transeat iniquitas et in iudicium iustitia conuertatur."

[11] L. VERHEIJEN, *Saint Augustin, un moine devenu prêtre*, in *Nouvelle approche*... p. 258: "...comme si souvent (...) saint Augustin parlait en premier lieu à lui-même."

[12] ID., *Théologie de la vie monastique*, in *Nouvelle approche*... p. 33: "... il y a un lien étroit entre sa résolution de devenir chrétien baptisé et celle de devenir religieux." and p. 43: "... on peut dire que toute cette structure théologique est monastique. Dans un sens, saint Augustin a trouvé normal que tout chrétien soit religieux." And finally ID., *Spiritualité et vie monastique chez saint Augustin*, in *Nouvelle approche*... p. 93: "S'intégrer dans le corps ecclésial du Christ et préférer le bien commun aux intérêts personnels, cela concerne à ses yeux tous les Chrétiens sans exception. Saint Augustin 'baptisait' ainsi un principe de l'éthique social de l'Antiquité."

accurate reading of the story of his conversion reveals the presence of a third aspect. At the crucial moment in the garden at Milan, those who were to support the monastic project in the future, were involved in the development of Augustine's conversion. As he received the light of conversion fully it also indirectly fell on Alypius. Finally Monnica was called to join in. Augustine's conversion got a community aspect right from the beginning, which was not only decisive for the number of people involved but also for its contents[13]. This community aspect of conversion and monastic life is explicitly repeated in letter 48, but there it is developed as the totus Christus.

When in 386 the young retreatant and his friends withdrew from the world of ambitions and retired for an indefinite vacation (*uacare*)[14], first in Cassiciacum[15] and later in Thagaste, the *fuga mundi* did not literally mean saying goodbye to the world but was first and foremost an ethical concept. *Saeculum* means the world of the conceited mind which the promising and ambitious Augustine wanted to reject, not temporarily but once and for all[16]. In order to cure

[13] ID., *Nouvelle approche de la règle de saint Augustin*, t. II: *Chemin vers la vie heureuse*, Louvain, Institut Historique Augustinien, 1988, p. 54-59: "Dans le cas d'Augustin, l'éclair tomba sur Augustin et Alypius, sur Augustin frontalement, sur Alypius latéralement. (...) Ça devint même une conversion à trois. Augustin et Alypius entrèrent chez la mère d'Augustin pour la mettre au courant" (p. 55). Also the *Soliloquia* 1,13,12; PL 32, 881 reveals explicitly that Augustine doesn't opt for the solitary way. See A. ZUMKELLER, *Das Mönchtum des heiligen Augustinus*, Cassiciacum Bd. XI, Würzburg, Augustinus-Verlag, 1968, p. 50: „Bei alledem ist es für Augustinus sehr bezeichnend, dass er bewusst den Bruch mit seiner Umwelt vermied und von Anfang an ein Leben in Gemeinschaft mit Gleichgesinnten suchte." In Rome it appeared from his idealization of community life in the monastery there, that he himself was in favour of cenobitism (p. 55). In the *Praeceptum* this dimension of community-living becomes more obvious. A conversion is not an individual happening, and the monastic project as such strives towards living in community.

[14] See J. PINTARD, *Le sacerdoce de Saint Augustin*, Tours, In lumine fidei, 1960, p. 336ff., who describes the withdrawal as an evasion, founded on the otium liberale of the sciences, more in particular on philosophy. Augustine was equally attracted by the pursuit of perfection with Antony as an example. The *negotium* however would have no special attraction: it was only a duty, one had to fulfil. After his ordination Augustine continues, deep in his heart, to prefer the *otium* of study and perfection, and experiences his office rather to be a burden. At that moment he doesn't pay attention to the third possibility: the tension of the double life combining both action and contemplation will be later developed.

[15] A. CAMINO LAMELAS, *La comunidad de Casiciaco su evolución ideologico christiana* in *Revista Agustiniana* 21 (1980), 189-228, p. 193ff.

[16] L. VERHEIJEN, *Mundus et Saeculum dans les Confessions de saint Augustin*, in *Studi in onore di Alberto Pincherle, Studie e materiali di storia delle religioni*, pubblicati dalla Scuola di studi storico-religiosi del'Universitá di Roma (SMSR), 38 (1978), 665-682, p. 682: "Le moine ne quitte pas l'univers. S'il renonce au 'monde du

himself from this ambition which he himself called a tumor, he was considering to withdraw within himself, a retreat into his own deepest self (*retrahere, anachoorèsis eis heauton*)[17]. At that time this withdrawal consisted in a turn towards philosophy which would treat Augustine's soul (*curatio animi*) and cure it (*medicina animi*)[18]. The withdrawal and the thinking in Cassiciacum was supported by these ciceronean ideas[19]. The small community would strive for a moral purification[20], as was taught to them by the *Hortensius*, purification of the passions would lead to a happy life and exhort the human being to take care of his inner life, that means himself.

This return to himself made possible by leaving the world of sensory perceptions on the one hand and practising the liberal sciences (*artes liberales*) on the other hand, offered Augustine the opportunity to combine medicine with self-knowledge. The christianising of all those data happened by combining truth (*veritas*) and wisdom (*sapientia*) in Christ[21]. The wisdom which advises to observe its

péché', au 'monde' qui, de façon idolâtre, se replie sur lui-même en oubliant son créateur, le moine ne fait rien qui le caractérise en tant que tel: tous les chrétiens authentiques en font autant. C'est pourquoi le terme *mundus* est peu apte à expliquer ce que fait le moine quand il 'quitte' le monde. (...) il suit le Christ, non pas seulement dans les *intentions* de la vie du Sauveur – tout le monde doit le faire –, mais aussi dans son état de vie: sans femme ni enfants, sans se faire une 'situation', sans chercher à 'faire carrière', sans possessions. C'est donc à certains aspects de la vie qui s'écoule avec le temps, du *saeculum*, que les moines renoncent." (p. 682); see further p. 677f. Cf. also H.-I. MARROU, *L'ambivalence du temps de l'histoire chez saint Augustin*, Paris, J. Vrin, 1950, p. 43f.: "Pour Être de ce qui s'appelle véritablement, pleinement Être, *vere, summe esse*, il faut être affranchi du temps, – ou du moins de la durée telle que l'éprouve la nature présente de l'homme pécheur..."; what does not remain, what slips in time, is linked by Augustine with suffering, decay, failure, sin, aging, death. See also Cl. Lepelley, *Spes saeculi: le milieu social d'Augustin et ses ambitions séculières avant sa conversion*, in *Congresso internazionale su S. Agostino nel XVI centenario della conversione Roma*, 15-20 settembre 1986, Atti I, Roma, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1987, 99-117, p. 113f., p. 116: "... Monique rompait elle aussi avec une ambition familiale dont elle avait été, depuis un quart de siècle, l'agente résolue et efficace".

[17] A. MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin. L'aventure de la raison et de la grâce*, Paris, Études Augustiniennes, 1968, p. 200.

[18] D. DOUCET, *Le thème du médecin dans saint Augustin*, in *Augustiniana* 39 (1989), 447-461.

[19] *Tusculanes* III, 3,6 and IV, 28,60.

[20] *Soliloquia* I, 9,16-12,21; CSEL 89,24-33 and *Contra Academicos*. I, 1,1-4; CC 29,5.

[21] D. DOUCET, *Le thème du médecin...* p. 457: "... enfin la foi chrétienne vient non seulement subsumer, mais accomplir l'ensemble de ces métaphores en leur donnant une réalité véritable dans la personne du Fils."

medical prescriptions (*praecepta*) is in fact Christ who wants to initiate the souls in the marital embrace[22]. Through his incarnation Christ finally teaches the human being the secrets of nature (*praeceptio*). This divine wisdom transcends the healing by the incarnation and accomplishes it[23].

Doing so the retreatant at first only tried to realise the unity in his own soul. Later on he defended the collective meaning of the word *monachos* and he explained the word 'monk' (from *monos*) as the unity of the community, which is one of heart and soul[24]. With

[22] ID., *o.c.*, p. 460: "Le Christ en se faisant homme vient épouser les âmes qui peuvent être en quelque sorte "dotées" par la recherche philosophique. Enfin, cet acte de Verbe assumant la chair, n'est pas seulement une conversion intellectuelle, mais un salut, car la kénose du Fils guérit l'homme de son péché, par la clémence manifestée dans cet acte d'humilité. (...) Si le Christ assume le rôle médical de la philosophie, il revêt alors ses deux dimensions essentielles: il est le médecin (*medicus*) et le remède (*medicina*)."

[23] ID., *o.c.*, p. 457: "... le médecin ne représente pas seulement la sagesse humaine ou même divine, mais le Christ qui, en son incarnation, vient apporter ses soins aux hommes. Ce thème semble donc presque parfaitement structuré dès les premières oeuvres d'Augustin, mais ne prendra toute sa vigueur que dans la prédication de l'évêque." Cf. A. ZUMKELLER, *Das Mönchtum*... p. 49: „Mag Augustinus hier seine entschiedene asketische Haltung auch nur philosophisch motivieren, so zeigt doch der Nachdruck, mit dem er sich in diesen Meditationen der 'Alleingespräche' als 'Diener Gottes' (famulus Dei, servus Dei) bezeichnet, dass es ihm schon um mehr geht als nur um die Verwirklichung des philosopischen Ideals des Weisen."

[24] Zie T. J. VAN BAVEL, *De eerste christelijke commune en het religieuze leven in Tijdschrift voor Geestelijk Leven* 35 (1979), 498-524, p. 514ff. Also L. VERHEIJEN, *Spiritualité et vie monastique... Nouvelle approche*... p. 78: "(Augustin) ne pense pas encore au cœur unique de plusieurs personnes, à la 'concorde' qui règne entres elles, mais il pense au *cor simplex*, le cœur unifié" and p. 105: "Les *ascètes* sont devenus des *frères* et – mais c'est dans une autre maison, établie plus tard – les frères sont en même temps des clercs dont la vie a une dimension missionaire et "apostolique" professionelle". Augustine proclaims a cenobitic life, inspired by the Bible and a contemplative lifestyle inherited from the philosophic tradition. The *cor unum et anima una* of the first Christians is linked to the *otium* and the *contemplatio* of Greek and Roman philosophers. Neither the ordo monasterii nor the praeceptum deal with the leisure time of the *otium* or *contemplatio* except in the reference in 8,1 in the *praeceptum*. But in *epistula*. 48 the otium is linked to community life. "C'est en communauté que les 'serviteurs de Dieu' vivent à l'écart du monde pour le Seigneur seul." Solitary life is not mentioned in either of the two Rules. This typical Augustinian synthesis is different from what Evagrius traces out in Egypt at about the same time. It also differs from Cassian's exposition to a Latin audience some 25 years later. According to Cassian the anchorites consider cenobitism (the active life) as a service to contemplation which in turn is the culminating point of all monastic life. "En incluant dans son programme communautaire la vie contemplative elle-même, Augustin achève de le grandir et – peut-être sans le vouloir – le rémunit contre l'attraction de la solitude" (A. DE VOGÜÉ, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique*... t. III, 1996, p. 244s.). See

Anthony we find the opposite evolution. Community-life lead him to a life in seclusion – which made Anthony the first to make the transition from community-life to the life of the anchorites[25].

Although these first steps towards contemplative life were nothing but a vague project[26], that only later would assume its fixed outlines, the project certainly didn't appear out of the blue[27]. It was Ponticianus who had informed Augustine about the existence of christian ascetism of which Anthony had given the luminous example in his retired life. Together with Ponticianus and Antony Marius Victorinus and especially Mallius Theodorus, played an equally important role in the conceptualization of a withdrawal from public life. The latter set the example: he withdrew rather abruptly, be it temporarily, from a worldly career to live an intellectual withdrawal on a country estate[28]. Also the convents in Milan, supported by Ambrose and the monasteries in Rome which Augustine had visited

finally ID., *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique...* t. V, 1998, p. 276f. en 283, who in spite of his preference of the anachoretic life as the height of monastic life, recognizes the specific augustinian synthesis.

[25] Zie A. DE VOGÜÉ, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique...* t. I, p. 25f. Verder ID., *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique...* t. III, p. 211: "Augustin considère ici toute vie monacale, même communautaire, comme une existence "au désert". Le renoncement au monde suffit à créer celui-ci. Quant à vivre complètement seul, à la manière des ermites, cette perspective paraît étrangère à son esprit et à celui de ses auditeurs. Pour lui comme pour eux, il semble qu'il n'y ait de vie monastique qu'en communauté. L'aspiration du psalmiste au "désert" provoque cette question ironique: Et quel désert? Où que tu sois, les autres se rassembleront, chercherons le désert avec toi, désirerons (partager) ta vie, et tu ne peux refuser la compagnie de ces frères (Enarrationes in psalmos 54,9)".

[26] L. VERHEIJEN, *Une identité augustinienne*, in: *Nouvelle approche...*t. II, p. 14: "Il s'est converti à l'Église catholique, mais aussi à un projet de vie monastique, projet qu'il est allé réaliser dans son pays natal, à Thagaste d'abord et surtout à Hippone..." Cf. in *Réflexions sur les identités augustiniennes* in *Nouvelle approche...* t. II, p. 76 corrects Verheijen his own statement: "Il n'avait encore aucune idée de la forme concrète (...) s'est converti à un projet ascétique...".

[27] The very first project discussed in *Confessiones* 6,14,24; CC 27,89 stranded because of the *mulierculae*. See A. MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin, L'aventure de la raison...* p. 193, 195. See also D.E. TROUT, *Augustine at Cassiciacum:* ***otium honestum*** *and the social dimensions of conversion*, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 42 (1988) 132-146, p. 136: at the beginning of 386 Augustine declared himself openly for the *securum otium* (*conf.* 6,12,21) to be able to reflect on the items which occupied his mind. The philosophical dialogues in Cassiciacum would conceptualize and publish this life in otium. Cicero was the example, so was Plinius the younger. Christian authors of this period (Ausonius, Paulinus of Nola, Prudentius) continued to write poems and letters having the withdrawing themselves to the countryside (*otium ruris*), as main subjects.

[28] D. E. TROUT, *Augustine at Cassiciacum...* p. 35.

when returning to Northern Africa,[29] gave evidence for such a monastic tradition[30]. Prior to all this was the fact that Augustine had learned about community life with the Manicheans which he remebered with gratitude and some nostalgia. When he sang the psalms of the Catholica for the first time in Cassiciacum, he remembered the warm atmosphere he had enjoyed with the Manicheans when singing together the gnostic psalms. This warmth and friendship was in sharp contrast with the cool attitude in the church of Milan[31]. Moreover, the manichean asceticism must also have

[29] *Confessiones* 8,6,14-15; CC 27,121f. See *De moribus Manichaeorum* 20,74; CSEL 90,154f. and A. MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin, L'aventure de la raison...* p. 204 n. 3. See further R. LORENZ, *Die Anfänge des abendländischen Mönchtums im 4. Jahrhundert*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 77 (1966) 1-61, p. 39f. Augustine reshaped the inherited monachism; his report about the roman convent deals in fact with a theological programme: the fusion of monachism with paulinism. The paulinian freedom of the law which comes forth from love and the structuring of union in love has to be realized in the monastery. This interpretation of roman monastic life is of course stamped by the personality of Augustine. By his knowledge of the paulinian texts he succeeds in snatching monasticism from pelagianism which is a product of the monastic pursuit for perfection. On p. 41: we read that the combination of the monastic-ascetic pattern of life with philosophy mainly occurred in the East. Especially Clement of Alexandria excelled in it. It is possible too that Augustine who was already familiar with the combination by the Hortensius, learned more in Milan about this alexandrinic range of ideas. R. J. HALLIBURTON, *The Inclination to Retirement – the Retrait of Cassiciacum and the Monastery of Tagaste*, in *Studia Patristica* vol. V, Berlin, Akademieverlag, 1962, 327-340, points out that not only the withdrawal from public life but also the philosophical return to his own soul has profoundly influenced Augustine's decision. Withdrawal and return do not necessarily coincide. Of both phenomena there have been profane and ecclesiactical patterns which have influenced Augustine. In Thagaste there remained a predominance of the philosophical model. See finally G. M. COLOMBÁS, *El monacato primitivo I*, Madrid, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1979, p. 272ff.

[30] D. E. TROUT, *Augustine at Cassiciacum:...* p. 137: the definite withdrawal of Antony didn't find much response in the elegant Italian world; the moderate Augustine and his friends in Cassiciacum were not impressed either. From the philosophical Dialogues we know that Augustine lived a comfortable life: during such retreat there was time for prayer and reading of the Bible, but also for the classic literary analysis of poetry (Virgil).

[31] See S. POQUE, *La prière de catéchumène Augustin en septembre 386*, in *Congresso internazionale su s. Agostino nel XVI centenario della conversione, Roma, 15-20 settembre 1986* Atti II, Roma, Institutum patristicum "Augustinianum", 79-84: "Il n'a pas trouvé dans l'Église de Milan la chaleur des communautés manichéennes de Carthage et de Rome." See also A. MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin, L'aventure de la raison...* p. 191f. Finally E. FELDMANN, *Der Einfluss des Hortensius und des Manichäismus auf das Denken des jungen Augustinus von 373*, Münster, 1975, p. 664, 697 who sees in *Confessiones* 9,7, 8-11; CC 27, 137-140 a hidden allusion of Augustine to his past enthusiasm for the manichean psalms.

influenced the development of Augustine's monachism. The antropological model of happiness, wisdom and ethical strenght, passed on to him by *the Hortentius* of Cicero, lead the young Augustine to the Manicheans who respected highly the abstinence of the electi. The asceticism he wanted for his monks was surely based on philosphical grounds, but historically the *electi* have been the first incarnation of the ciceronean model[32].

Besides and together with christian asceticism[33] there was also a secular retirement[34]: people withdrew from public life and spent most of their time in search of truth. Already in that secular tradition *otium* meant creative leisure time and having the material goods (money, a house, etc.) to enable the realisation of such a project. Their stay at the estate of Verecundus indeed showed the features of a Roman *otium*[35].

[32] E. FELDMANN, *Der Einfluss des Hortensius*... p. 720, n. 66. This asceticism was of course pseudo-christian and as such a deviating archetype of his christian concept of monachism, which anyway was purified by his experience with Manicheism. According to Feldmann the influence of Manicheism on the ideal monachism of Augustine has often been underestimated.

[33] G. FOLLIET, *Le monachisme en Afrique de saint Augustin à saint Fulgence*, in *Il monachesimo occidentale*, Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 62, Roma, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1998, 291-315, p. 291: "Il convient donc de se débarasser de cette traditionelle légende présentant l'évêque Augustin comme le père ou le fondateur du monachisme africain..." When speaking about the African monachism Folliet often assumes a rather combattive attitude. Cenobitism had already come over from Egypt (p. 314f.). See also *Aux origines de l'ascétisme*...p. 43 and *Des moines euchites à Carthage en 400-401*, in Studia Patristica, Berlin, 1957, 386-399, p. 398f. Even for the unity of heart and soul, the community of goods and the ideal of the apostles, we have a previous history with Basil (*Le monachisme en Afrique de saint Augustin*... p. 313).

[34] G. MADEC, *Chez Augustin*, Paris, Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1998, p. 42s. Cf. A. DE VOGÜÉ, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique*... t. II: Paulinus of Nola recognizes that the contemplative monachism is in a way the continuation of the tradition of the "philosophes célèbres" who dedicated themselves entirely to scientific and literary activities (p. 248) Jerome christianizes Sallustius' statement (Jughurta) who made himself free from political action to write down the history of the Republic. Doing so he did more for society than he could have done as a politician. He also applies this thought to his own situation: maybe he can render a better service to the church as a learned biblicist than he could have done with manual activities. (p.254s.) In general asceticism, the essence of monastic life, looks for antecedents and motivation in the philosophical and religious tradition of paganism. After the attacks by Jovinian, Jerome defends continence and abstinence not only as writers do who are inspired by the two testaments, but also as Porphyry and other profane authors do. Furthermore Jerome also drew quite a lot from Tertullian who in his turn had largely christianized the philosophical tradition.

[35] See J.-M. ANDRÉ, *Recherches sur l'Otium romain*, Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 52, 1962, who presents an impressive survey of the tradition about *otium* and *negotium* in Roman culture (literature, politics and philosophy). Augustine walks in the footsteps of this tradtion but christianizes them at te same time.

But instead of being a purpose in itself it quickly was turned into a means: *otium* was first and foremost the inner disposition for the quietness of the soul and the peace of mind. Those are the two indispensable conditions for retirement in oneself and for the contemplation of God[36]. Yet, all the same the first project in Milan resembled strongly the philosophical aristocracy (*totalitarisme aristocratique*[37]), but the compulsory manual work of the time and the fixed hours for prayer imposed serious limits to the aristocratic *otium*.

How did Augustine consider this otium during his retreat in Thagaste? Reflecting with his friends on the true religion, Augustine had learned from Cicero that the search for happiness could be answered in several ways. For there are many objects of happiness and each of them guarantees a typical form of unification with the desired object. He himself had just left behind a few forms of happiness which in the johannean enumeration he had designed as the triple desire (*cupiditas triplex*): the human being can look for happiness in wealth and honour (*ambitio saeculi*), in knowledge and science (*curiositas*) in eroticism and in friendship (*concupiscentia carnis*)[38] The unification in those forms of happiness is fragile though and always transitory. Moreover to reach this point of peace and satisfaction such a strain is required that the toil in itself becomes cause of discord and distraction.

In *De uera religione* Augustine explains how truth can be source of rest. Truth is unity and causes the human being to be united

[36] A. MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin, L'aventure de la raison...* p. 193f. See also P. BROWN, *Augustine of Hippo*, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1967, p. 101ff.

[37] ID., *o.c.*, p. 207, n. 3. See also D. E. TROUT, *Augustine at Cassiciacum...* p. 140: what happened was that the *otium honestum* was christianized, what means that it was accepted in the tradition of christianity. In the Dialogues Augustine published the *otium liberale* of philosophy and the aristocratic tradition. At the end of his life he would speak about these Dialogues als the *christianae uitae otium* but this definition is not found in the Dialogues themselves.

[38] *De uera religione* 35,69; CC 32, 232: "Serviunt enim cupiditati triplici uel uoluptatis uel excellentiae uel spectaculi. Nego esse quemquam istorum, qui nihil colendum existimant, qui non aut carnalibus gaudiis subditus sit aut potentiam uanam foueat aut aliquo spectaculo delectatus insaniat." See 39,72-45,83; 234-242 about the *concupiscentia carnis* or *voluptas*, 45,84-49,93; 242-248 about the *superbia*, 49,94-54,106; 248-252 about the *curiositas*. Augustine searches along the traces in these vices, the way back to an ordered sensual experience, to righteous honour and to the right knowledge. This ascending movement from the triple desire is taken up later on by the convert in his *Confessiones* 10,30,41-35,54; CC 27,176-184 about the *concupiscentia carnis*, 35,54-36,58; 184-186 about the *curiositas* en 36,59-39,64; 187-190 about the *superbia*. See I. BOCHET, *Animae medicina. La libération de la triple convoitise selon le De vera religione*, Il mistero del male e la libertá possibile (IV): Ripensare Agostino, Roma, 1997.

with himself. Where is more rest to be found than in the peace of unity? Therefore any religious person should focus on God who is the only and the true unity. Longing for rest and peace is not reserved to monks or clericals but it is the desire of everybody who turns his eyes to the One: the unity. And that One can only be the divine one, the unique one who brings peace to the hearts.

> "So after all let's seek for unity, because nothing is more simple than this. It is in the simplicity of the heart we have to look for unity. 'Be still (*agite otium*), says God in Psalm 45,11 'and know that I am God.' Not the stillness or the leisure of idleness (*otium*) is meant but the leasure of reflexion (*cogitatio*). This leisure frees us (*uacare*) from space and time. Swelling phantasms do not permit us to see permanent unity. Space offers us something to love but time steals away what we love. That way in our soul crowds of phantasms are left which incite all possible desires. Thus the soul becomes restless and unhappy and it tries vainly to hold that by which it is hold captive (in turn). Yet the soul is still summoned to stillness (*otium*). It should not love the things which cannot be loved without toil. Only then the soul will become master as it will dominate instead of being hold captive. 'My yoke, says the Lord, is light'. He who is subject to that yoke, has everything else subject to himself. He will not labour anymore and what has been subdued does not resist any more. The friends of this world feel miserable; although they could be masters of this world if they were willing to be the sons of God; for God has given them the power to become his sons. (John 1,12) But the friends of this world are so afraid to be separated from its embrace that nothing is more toilsome to them than to be at rest"[39].

The parting with a promising career is still vividly present in Augustine's mind and clearly resounds in this religious-philosophical text. In the first place leisure (*otium*) refers to the liberation from the enslaving space and time which by their satisfaction never grant us the stillness of permantent unity. The satisfaction spatial beauty offers, is taken away by the flying and fleeting time.

And even when we try to keep the past beauty in our memory, the images we have stored torture us much more than they satisfy us[40]

[39] *Id.*, 35,65; 229f.

[40] See *Confessiones* 9,4,10; CCL 27,139: "... imagines eorum famelica cogitatione lambiunt". Meditation flatters the phantasms of memory in an effort to keep firm grip of them.

because they only seduce us and never satisfy us completely. Whoever succeeds in freeing himself from this seduction will not only be able to enjoy the highest unity but in addition he will master the world. For a clear understanding: rather than fleeing from the world of space and time Augustine wants to master the world as it suits a son of God. Rather than to enjoy momentary bliss he frees himself for the highest delight: true freedom. The 'vacation' (*vacare*) aimed at in the contemplation of truth is not a temporary kind of stillness but a permanent and continuous one[41].

In his first works, among which the philosophical dialogues, and also in his first correspondence (especially with Nebridius), *otium* already had this meaning of time made free for the search of truth, for the study of philosophy (*otium philosophandi*)[42] which is the most necessary and the highest activity (*necessarium ac summum*)[43]. Apart from this intellectual effort, there are still the daily chores of household on the estate (*negotia domestica*)[44]. Once Augustine had set his mind free the Soliloquy in which he wanted to learn about God and his soul revendicated his complete dedication (*totum negotium*)[45]. However impressive the dedication may be, it is continuously aimed at pure philosophy[46]. In some other place the retreatant opposes the *otium* of the search for truth against the *negotium* of the burdening office[47], which he also calls the *necessaria*[48]. In his correspondence with Nebridius Augustine mainly points at the otium of the reflexion[49] and with his friend he reflects upon deification of the human being during their leisure in Thagaste. The controversial expression *deificare in otio*[50] should not be misunderstood as if Augustine and his friends should have aimed at an egocentric sanctification of themselves[51].

[41] R. LORENZ, *Die Anfänge des abendländischen Mönchtums*... p. 28: Cyprian spoke already about the *seruae dei* who dedicate themselves freely to God and Christ (*deo et christo uacantes*). Also Basil and Rufinus spoke about *uacare*, they lead a life that is similar to that of the angels.

[42] *Contra Academicos* 2,2,4; 29,20. See 1,1,3; 5.

[43] *Id.* 3,1,1; 34.

[44] *Id.* 2,11,25; 31.

[45] *Soliloquia* 1,10,17; PL 32,878 en 1,10,17; 878. Also 1,15,27; 83: where the mind looks for its *otium* (2,14,26; 898) in the *otio transalpino* (897).

[46] *De ordine* 2,5,16; CC 29,116: the *negotium* for the *germana philosophia*. See 2,1,1; 107 and *De quantitate animae* 1,1; CSEL 89,131 where Augustine surrenders to the *otium*.

[47] *De libero arbitrio* 2,9,25; CC 29,253.

[48] *Id.* 3,21,62; 312. In his letter to Valerius, the neophyte shows himself frightened by the haughtiness of the clergy (*periculosa negotia*: *epistula* 21,3; 51 en 4; 52).

[49] *Epistula* 1, 2; CSEL 34/1, 2 en 3,4; 8 en 4,1;10 en 10,1; 23.

[50] *Id.* 10,2; 24 and *id.* 13,1; 30.

How can availability for other people be realised if no preparatory attention for God is created which can only be kept alive by a fit *otium*?[52] The imposed structure of a religious life with its community of property enables brotherly help and spiritual *communio*[53]. The leisure time of the christian life (*otium vitae christianae*) called as

[51] G. FOLLIET, *"Deificare in otio", Augustin, Epistula* 10,2 dans *Recherches Augustiniennes*, vol. II (= *Hommage au. R.P. Fulbert Cayré*), p. 225-236, p. 226: "Augustin parle en chrétien converti, mais sa description de l'ascèse à laquelle il vise, et les expressions dont il se sert, laissent soupçonner que son idéal de vie présent est beaucoup plus proche de celui du sage, tel que le présentent les philosophes néoplatoniciens, que celui de l'Evangile...", further p. 227 and p. 235f.: "...la purification, l'assimilation à Dieu par les vertus, sans le secours de la grâce, sont à ses yeux chose possible pour l'homme." Consequently Folliet asserts that the stay in Thagaste is nothing more than a continuation of the philosophic project of Cassiciacum: "La demeure d'Augustin ressemble plus à une maison de philosophes, de lettrés, qu'à un monastère..." (ID., *Aux origines de l'ascétisme et du cénobitisme africain*, in *Saint Martin et son temps*, Studia Anselmiana 46, Roma, 1961, 25- 44, p. 38). Vgl. ID., *Le monachisme en Afrique de saint Augustin à saint Fulgence*, in *Il monachesimo occidentale dalle origini alla Regula Magistri*, Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 62, Roma, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1998, 291-315, 293: "Ces '*servi Dei*' ne constituaient pas pour autant un groupement monastique organisé, comme on a trop souvent dit." and p. 295: "... ce qui sera désormais le programme de vie (*propositum*) d'Augustin et des membres du monastère épiscopal d'Hippone, la décision de se conformer au *modèle de vie* de la communauté chrétienne primitive, *programme de vie* beaucoup plus parfait que celui qui régisset le cénacle de Thagaste." See also F. VAN DER MEER, *Saint Augustin, pasteur d'âmes*, t. I, Colmar-Paris, ed. Alsatia, 1959, p. 325. Cf. G. MADEC, *Le Dieu d'Augustin*, Philosophie et Théologie, Paris, Du Cerf, 1998, p. 37: "Dans la lettre 10, 2, Augustin parle d'une *déification* dans la retraite, philosophique ou spirituelle... mais il n'a guère exploité la formule dans sa propre doctrine de la divinisation de l'homme." The author doesn't deal with the possibility of a mere philosophical sanctification.

[52] A. MANDOUZE., *Saint Augustin, L'aventure de la raison...*, p. 207.

[53] ID., *o.c.*, p. 209. See R. J. TESKE , *Augustine's Epistula X: Another Look at Deificare in otio*, in *Augustinianum*, 32 (1992) 289-299, p. 392f.: "The life which Augustine and his friends have determined to live together in Thagaste and to which Augustine invites Nebridius indicate a commitment to common life that, on te basis of other sources, one can see as the beginnings of monastic life. But apart from such other sources, one would not, on the basis of *Epistula X* alone, find much reason to suppose that Augustine is speaking of a specifically Christian way of life, much less of a form of Christian monasticism." *De uera religione* 35,65 shows clearly that Augustine strived after a christian *otium* in which the god-equal sons of God are not subdued to temporal things but are their masters. Moreover the transformation into deity is not man's work but the fruit of God's grace (293-296). G. FOLLIET, "In penetralibus mentis adorare Deum" (Augustin, Epistula 10,3) in *Sacris Erudiri* 33 (1992-1993), 125-133 continues defending the dependency of Augustine on Neoplatonism and in particurlar on Porphyry with this respect that during the Thagaste-period a biblical assimilation hasn't come up yet. Yet in Augustine's answer to Nebridius despite the neoplatonic character, a beginning has been made towards the spiritual

such by the bishop of Hippo when he looked back upon his works, is a form of life, which freed from the obligations of everyday life, was dedicated to study and reflexion[54]. Better than the calm (*in otio transalpino*) it was filled with christian truth[55].

Negotium

communio, which will become the foundation of the community concept made possible by the *caritas*. When Augustine is not able to leave his friends in Thagaste and live with Nebridius, it is not because they aren't ready yet for the individual self-sanctification by turning to themselves (see ID., *Aux origines de l'ascétisme et du cénobitisme africain...* p. 37f.); it is because they are not ready yet for the spiritual unity of the community which transcends the necessity of spatial nearness. The complaint of Nebridius about growing loneliness can only be conquered by ascending to spiritual unity which is the foundation of living together: "Tu enim potes et apud tuum mentem suaviter habitare: hi uero ut idem possint, satagitur. Eamne crebro et redeam et nunc tecum, nunc cum ipsis sim? at hoc neque simul, neque ex sententia vivere est." (*epistula* 10,1; CSEL34/1,23). Acquaintanceship with death helps too to transcend the limits of spacial nearness. That's why Augustine can conclude his letter to Nebredius as follows: "Quae cum ita sint, restare unum vides, ut tu quoque in commune consulas, quo vivamus simul" (*id.*, 10,3; 24). Already in letter 9 Augustine invited Nebridius to transcend spatial limits by returning into his soul: "Confer te ad tuum animum et illum in Deum leva, quantum potes. Ibi enim certius habes et nos non per corporeas imagines, quibus nunc in nostra recordatione uti necesse est; sed per illam cogitationem qua intellegis non loco esse nos simul" (9,1; 20). Folliet is not blind for this connection with God, see *La correspondance entre Augustin et Nébridius*, in *L'opera letteraria di Agostino tra Cassiciacum e Milano*, Augustiniana – testi e Studi, II, Palermo, Ed. Augustinus, 1987, 191-215, p. 195: "L'esprit uni à Dieu est bien le lieu idéal ou se retrouvent les amis." and further p. 197f.: "... et c'est à cette élévation que Nébridius se trouve convié par Augustin, peu après, dans l'*epistula* 13,2..." These words of Porphyry do not prevent Augustine from ascending with all of them to the unity in God. On the nature of that unity, we read in letter 10, see A. ZUMKELLER, *Das Mönchtum...* p. 59: "Was Augustinus dem Nebridius, der über seine Einsamkeit und sein Alleinsein klagt, zum Troste zu sagen weiß, gehört zum Schönsten, was er über Gemeinschaft geschrieben hat." and further p. 64ff.: "Und doch war das 'Deo servire', das Augustinus mit seinen Freunden zu verwirklichen suchte, nicht nur das Otium der Philosophen, sondern trug schon die Grundzüge klösterlichen Lebens."

[54] *De diuersis quaestionibus* 83,35,2; CC 44A,52 pleads for the vacation (*uacare*) of the mind who wants to contemplate truth. When Augustine towards the end of his life had passed his function as a bishop to Eraclius, he fervently wished to engage himself completely to the *otium* of study; no free time he wanted to be lazy, but the *negotium* of the study of the Bible, see *epistula* 213,6; CSEL 57,378. See R. LORENZ, *Die Anfänge des abendländischen Mönchtums...* p. 34: the *lectio diuina* already required by Pachomius, will be the adequate place for intellectual work in the monastic tradition (Jerome, Augustine, Cassiodorus).

[55] Cf. *Retractationes* 1,1,1; CC 57,7. and *Soliloquia* 2,26; CSEL 89,81 where the leisure time is freed from the fear of death.

Not to the right nor to the left

The sudden change in the *otium* happens in 391 when Augustine is claimed by the local congregation of Hippo to be their bishop. For Augustine it is a dramatic choice between his monastic vocation and the high office of being a bishop[56]. However, it is obvious that Augustine had prepared his answer to the challenging *necessitas ecclesiae* of Hippo in the way he had given shape to his monastic project. Already in *De Moribus Ecclessiae Catholicae* in which Augustine expressed his appreciation for the monks who were able to face the dangers of urban life instead of escaping them, the road was smootened for a link between priesthood and monachism[57]. Augustine was prepared philosophically and theologically to adopt a middle course.

The young theologian connected the quest for happiness and in

[56] A. MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin, L'aventure de la raison...* p. 212: "... il ne s'agit ni plus ni moins que de la mise en question de la communauté religieuse dont Augustin est moine par la communauté ecclésiale dont il est évêque. (...) Augustin est littéralement écartelé. (...) un homme qui ne voulut pas renoncer à sa vocation (monastique) ni se refuser aux devoirs de sa charge (épiscopale)." Cf. *Sermo* 355; PL 39,1568f. Vgl. A. ZUMKELLER, *Das Mönchtum...* p. 71: „So stark Augustinus die Spannung zwischen Priestertum und Mönchtum empfand, so fest war doch von Anfang an sein Entschluss, beides mit einander zu vereinen." and further p. 236: „Es zeigte sich bald, dass Augustinus die geistige Kraft und Weite besaß, um das hergebrachte monastische Ideal des Zönobitentums mit den priesterlichen Lebenszielen innerlich zu verbinden. Diese Verbindung sollte aber für beide, Priestertum wie Mönchtum, glücklich und fruchtbar werden." See P. BROWN, *Augustine of Hippo...* p. 135 who doesn't see the transition from the monastic tranquility to the active life of evangelization as a painful rupture. He rather suggests it is an effort to fill the emptiness that came into his life after the death of his son Adeodatus and the death of his friend Nebridius. Brown likes to overshadow the religious motives by hidden psychological influences. He does the same with the effort to profile the initially vague monastic project among the ecclesiastical structures. In his opinion this too was the result of psychological needs. For history's sake it would remain interesting to interpret the moments of silence in Augustine's argument. But this is not always possible, and this is the difficulty in Brown's text: "this double blow is one of the most significant blanks in Augustine's life". There will certainly be an entanglement between the psychological and the religious moments in Augustine's life, but Brown seems to be driven more than a bit now and then by *Entmythologisiering*.

[57] In the East Athanasius urged the desert-monks to become priests. Western countries would pursue the same course with Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine. See A. DE VOGÜÉ, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique...* t. II, Paris, p. 337. It is true that Augustine elaborated in his own way the combination of monachism and active life, but the synthesis as such would not really go back to Augustine, as asserts A. TRAPÈ in *The search for God and contemplation in Searching for God*, Rome, Pubblicazioni Agostiniane, 1981, 7-29, p. 21: "The revolution he caused consists in this: of having intuited (...) the compatibility, up to that time impossible, of the priestly

particular the difference between good and bad to the preservation or the loss of the middle course[58].The concept of a midposition for the soul is an outspoken mid- and neoplatonic heritage. The centre of the soul (*medietas*) is first and for all an ontological situation between the divine and the physical existence. But the human forces of intelligence and free will express freedom with all attendant risks. Dependent on the moral conduct of the person, the soul will either keep that central place or slide down to a lower level of existence which is not fit for its appropriate nature[59]. "In nature," Augustine writes in his letter to Caelestinus, "there is an important distinction to be made between the *summum*, the *medium* and the *infimum*." Evil cannot occur in the everlasting *summum*, neither is it present in the mortal *infimum* because real happiness can only be found in God; and in the lowest part of nature, neither happiness nor misfortune are to be found. Only in the *medium* the habitat of the human being we meet happiness and misfortune. That means that the human being is the only creature that strives for misfortune if he has an inclination towards the lowest. On the other hand he can reach out for bliss when he definitely turns towards what is the highest. Put differently and more correctly: only the human being by his faith in Christ is able to keep the middle course between the highest and the lowest.

> "Whoever believes in Christ, does not sink his affection in that which is lowest, is not proudly selfsufficient in that which is intermediate, and thus he is qualified for union and fellowship

ministry and the monastic life." See also A. ZUMKELLER, *Das Mönchtum...* p. 242: „Wenn er auch nicht der erste war, der die apostolische Tätigkeit ins klösterliche Leben einbezog, so verdankt man ihm doch die religiös-biblische Begründung des neuen Lebensideals." and p. 245: „Die apostolische Zielsetzung aber steht bei ihm nicht unvermittelt neben dieser religiösen Grundidee, sondern erscheint in gewisser Weise in sie einbezogen und von ihr getragen."

[58] G. MADEC, *La patrie et la voie*. Le Christ dans la vie et la pensée de saint Augustin, Collection "Jésus et Jésus-Christ" n° 36, Paris, 1989, p. 291: "Tous les étants sont pris entre deux pôles, l'être suprême et le non-être, au degré qui leur revient (τάζις) suivant leur forme propre (εἶδος). L'homme en son âme est, lui, un être de milieu (μέση οὐσία), situé entre le haut et le bas qui sont, pour lui, objet de choix volontaire, le haut pour son bonheur dans la plénitude ontologique (πόρος), le bas pour son malheur dans l'indigence (πενία), suivant le mythe d'Éros dans le *Banquet*."

[59] G. O'DALY, *Augustine's Philosophy of Mind*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987, p. 38. And p. 40: "Only if its choices are right will its ethical and ontological positions, so to speak, coincide: that is to say, its behaviour and moral standing will reflect its proper place in the scale of being."

with that which is the highest."[60]

In this text Augustine doesn't draw a picture of the Fall of the human being, but we know that precisely the fatal attraction to the lowest is the punishment for man's arrogance (*superbia*). At the same time that fatal inclination is responsible for the human being's incapacity of adhering in God. Yet, the human being continues to imitate God, but in his own perverted way and not as a son of God.

Also in Eden there was a centre[61], as the young exegetist notices, which was symbolised in a dual way in the story of Creation. There was the tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. To make our point we are especially interested in the tree of life.

That tree planted in the centre of the garden means the wisdom that teaches the soul that it has been placed in the centre of all creatures. On the one hand the human being has to rule every corporal creature and subject it; on the other hand wisdom must make clear that God ranks above the nature of the human being. As a result the mind may not turn to the right and presume what it is not - namely God - neither may it turn aside to the left by neglecting what it really is, because the mind is destined to be the master over all creatures beneath itself (Dt. 17,11; Prov. 4,27)[62].

This place of the human being between God and creation which

[60] *Epistula* 18,2; CSEL 34/1,45: "... Qui in Christo credit, non diligit infimum, non superbit in medio atque ita summo inhaerere fit idoneus." At this stage Augustine doesn't bring up the road of humility (*via humilitatis*) which will teach us to live free of arrogance in medio. But what else could be meant by 'faith in Christ'?

[61] Augustine doesn't deal yet with happiness as the right middle, but the context is paradise that is called the place of bliss. It's a place of quiet (*quies*) that refers to the spiritual delight (*gaudia spiritualia*) of the blessed life (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 2,9,12; CSEL 91,131f.); a bit later he speaks about the middle that the human being should not forsake.

[62] *Id.*; 132f.: "Lignum autem vitae plantatum in medio paradisi sapientiam illam significat, qua oportet ut intellegat anima in medio quodam rerum se esse ordinatam, ut quamvis subiectam sibi habeat omnem naturam corpoream, supra se tamen esse intellegat naturam dei et neque in dexteram declinet sibi arrogando, quod non est neque ad sinistram, per neglegentiam contemnendo, quod est..." In his main commentary Augustine does not any longer elaborate the central position of the tree of life; but there he associates the tree allegorically with the wisdom in Proverbs 3,18 and with Christ who refreshes the thirsty ones at the tree of life, and whose wisdom is a rock for them, etc. Cf. *De Genesi ad litteram* 8,4,8; CSEL 28/1,235s. Augustine often repeats the theme of deviation either to the right or to the left as mentioned in Deuteronomy and in the Proverbs. As far as Deuteronomy is concerned A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE gives in her *Biblia Augustiniana* no exact references where the text can be found. But she does in *Le livre des Proverbes*, Paris, 1975, p. 204s. And from those lines it gets obvious that Augustine does not quote the text of the Proverbs anymore to illustrate the Fall of Adam.

is dealt with in letter 48 is also supported by the same verses in the Bible. There too we heard the warning not to leave this middle, neither to the left nor to the right, although Augustine does not talk about the middle (*medietas*) but about the road (*via*) between the fire of excessive dedication and the water of laziness. As Adam was not allowed to lay hands on what belongs to God, likewise the monk who assumes pastoral care should not take the place of God; but just as the human being stands in the middle between the creator and the creation to be master over nature, likewise the monk should not recoil from his duty to assist the church in labour. The monks of Capraria should resist a dual temptation: on the one hand the ascent to heaven as the fire that strives to stay on the heights of arrogance and vanish there into the air. On the other hand there is the lazy descent as water does that looks for a bed in the lowest part. Conform to the arrangement of right and left thus corresponds the disposition of high and low.

In his second comment on Psalm 31 Augustine wants to clarify the deviation either to the right or to the left (Prov. 4,27) with the biblical concepts of justice and mercy: he who sins and doesn't repent but has made up his mind to continue his sinful life unpunished because it is his nature to be weak, abuses of God's mercy; however he who fears the judgement of God to such an extent that he thinks he is able to live in justice by his own means, falls into arrogance. The divine regulation summons people to stay away from the altitudes and the depths as well. If you want to ascent by your own means, you'll plunge into the ravine; if you collapsed here, you'll sink. Augustine advises: stay in the middle of the road. Let nobody be haughty far from the way, let nobody be lazy on the way (*Nemo sit superbus extra viam, nemo piger in via*)[63]. Applied to the monks of Capraria we could say: there should be no laziness which hands over the sinners to God's mercy and on the other hand there shouldn't be any over-confidence that takes conversion in one's own hand.

Somewhere else Augustine reflects on the road between the right and the left. He reflects on the fact that Christ is the road and He keeps us from deviating either to the right or to the left. With regard to the mousetrap (*muscipula*) in Psalm 90,3, the preacher says he is not afraid of the pitfalls laid by the devil on both sides of the road, because as long as we stay on the road which is Christ himself, those snares

[63] *Enarrationes in psalmos* 31 s. 2, 1; CC 38,224f.: "ne declines in dexteram aut sinistram (Prou. 4,27)" warns against both: "Ne praesumas ad regnum de iustitia tua, ne praesumas ad peccandum de misericordia Dei." One shouldn't deviate from the road. Who's on it should stay there by perseverance.

have no effect[64]. But in this comment Augustine doesn't elaborate the ideas of right or left as he does in his commentary on psalm 141 speaking about the *muscipula* in line 4. When we find ourselves on the road which is Christ, the mousetrap can't be any threat for believers because it is at the side of the road. For the unbeliever however who is beside the road, the crucified Christ is a scandal. In his arrogance he laughs at the remedy of the cross.The traps to the left and to the right consist in denying that cross when we are touched by the worldy prosperity on the right or by the earthly misfortune on the left and when we can't believe anymore that the promise is not meant for the present but for the future[65].

Only once Augustine calls that road the 'middleroad' (*via media*) between the left side of despair (*desperatio*) and the right side of presumption (*praesumptio*). Keeping the middleroad is quite difficult (*difficillimum*) unless Christ says: "I am the way, and the truth and the life." (John 14,6) To the question, "by which way?" the anwer is: "I am the way!" To the question "where to?" the answer is "I am the truth! To the question: "where shall we stay?" The answer is: "I am the life!" Let us safely stay on the road (...) In the middle of the traps you will proceed (Eccl. 9,20). The traps aren't situated on the road but beyond and aside[66]. The antipelagian tone fully resounds when Augustine quotes two verses from the Proverbs in his letter to abbot

[64] *Id.* 90 s. 1,4; CC 39,1256f.: "...circa uiam ponit, in uia non ponit. Via autem tua Christus sit, et tu non cades in muscipulam diaboli. Aberranti a uia, iam ibi est muscipula. Hinc atque hinc ponit laqueos, hinc atque inde ponit muscipulam; inter laqueos ambulas.." Do you want to walk safely? "Noli declinare in dexteram neque in sinistram; et sit tibi uia ille qui tibi factus est uia, ut perducat te ad se per se, et non timebis laqueos uenantium."

[65] *Id.* 141,9; CC 40,2051-2053: "Non eos Christus sinit ponere in uia, ne non sit qua eamus; sinit tamen eos ponere iuxta uiam, ut de uia non declinemus. (...) nec promissio te capiat, nec terror elidat." In the next verse (10; 2053) Augustine does no longer see the right and the left side as the ambushes along the road but as the direction into which we keep our eyes during the ordeal of the persecutions; someone who regards the future (*futura*) and looks down on the present (*praesentia*), looks to the right (*in dextram*) and in the light of the future he is able to endure everything. Augustine adheres firmly to the *futura*, for if someone keeps searching for humane praise during his ordeal he looks to the left and disregards God's promises.

[66] *Sermo Wilm.* 11,1 (MA 695). The image of the way equally appears in the ascending movement of contemplation and the descending movement of preaching. See M.-F, BERROUARD, *Saint Augustin et le ministère de la prédication. Le thème des anges qui montent et qui descendent*, in *Recherches Augustiniennes* II, Études Augustiniennes, Paris, 1962, 447-501, p. 481: "... en descendant pour imiter l'exemple du Christ, le prédicateur trouve, dans cette humilité même et à la suite du Christ encore, le chemin de son ascension."

Valentine of Hadrumetum (426/427) to discuss the difficult question (*difficillima questio*) of the relation between the free will and God's grace.

> "Make the roads straight for your feet. Do not swerve to the right or to the left. Turn your foot away from evil. God knows the paths on your righthand side. Those on your left hand are perverse. But God himself straightens your paths and brings them out in peace (Prov. 4, 26-27)"[67].

The first verse proves the existence of a free will which has to keep the middle between left and right. The second verse puts in evidence the necessity of God's grace. At a first reading there seems to be a contradiction between both verses, for why are men not allowed to deviate neither to the right nor to the left whereas the paths to the right are approved of and those to the left are rejected? In Psalm 1,6 and Mt. 25,15; 7,23 Augustine finds confirmation that God knows the paths to the right and disapproves of the paths to the left, for the paths of the unjust get astray. God also 'knows' the wicked but in the context of "As you are now, I have not made you." (*tales vos ego non feci*). The straight ways, the ways of the righteous and the good works have been made by God (*quae praeparavit deus ut in illis ambulemus*) (Eph. 2,10)[68]. The explanation of the first verse why no deviation to the right is allowed now becomes obvious: one shouldn't credit oneself with the good works, neither should anybody rely on personal strenght[69]. Deviating to the left is not permitted as ungrateful sinners (*ingratus*) often pretend that God's grace shines more brightly when it has the occasion to turn a bad will into a good one[70]. This is an inverted representation and a perversion that puts God's grace to the test and negates its transcending characteristic so that only the earthly desire in the sinner remains (*terrena cupiditas*).

Not to the right, nor to the left

[67] *Epistula* 215,5; CSEL 57,391s.: "Rectos cursus fac pedibus tuis et uias tuas dirige, ne declines in dexteram neque in sinistram. Auerte autem pedem tuum a uia mala. Vias enim, quae a dextris sunt, nouit deus; peruersae uero sunt, quae a sinistris sunt. Ipse autem rectos faciet cursus tuos, itinera tua in pace producet."

[68] *Id.* 6; 392v.

[69] *Id.* 7; 394: "...sibi uult adsignare non deo...". To prevent that deviation the text goes on with: "Ipse autem rectos faciet cursus tuos... non confidens in uirtute tua..." for God is strenght.

[70] *Id.* 8; 395: "...nec sic defendatis liberum arbitrium, ut ei bona opera sine dei gratia tribuatis, nec sic defendatis gratiam, ut quasi de illa securi mala opera diligatis, quod ipsa gratia dei auertat a uobis." Also in his commentary on Deuteronomy Augustine treats v. 28,14 that imposes us not to go to the right nor to the left, following the false gods. He is surprised that going to the right side is connected with false gods, for the right side is usually an object of praise. The answer comes very quickly: what is

but to the right side.

God 'knows' the ways of the just as they are the right side and represent the eternal goods they have put their minds on. Opposite to this right side (*dextera*) there is the left side (*sinistra*). Earthly happiness (*felicitas*) is often called dextera, with its money, its cattle, its fortune and children ... This earthly wealth is permitted, for it was also the part of Abraham and Jacob; but after all it is the left side because it's temporal, corporal and mortal. Nobody should flee from wealth as if it were something improper but one shouldn't take it for the right side (*dextera*). He who does so belongs to the perverted people (*maligni*) quoted in Psalm 143,8 "whose mouths speak vanity (*vanitas*) and whose right hand is a right hand of falsehood." God, the eternal whose years never end Ps. 101,28) belongs to the right side (*dextera*) and this is where our desire should be. We are allowed to make use of the left side, if only our desire is turned to the eternal of the right side (*sinistra utamur ad tempus, dexteram desideremus in aeternum*). When wealth pours into us we may not be devoted to it with our hearts (*ne apponatis cor*) because then we turn left into right[71].

In a comment on the 5th verse of Psalm 120: "The Lord is your protection; the Lord is your shade at your right hand." (*Dominus tegumentum super manum dexterae tuae*), Augustine points out that God is not only the strength of our right hand but even protects that right hand[72]. He quotes three other texts from the Bible to elucidate dextera.

a) Mt. 6,3 "Do not let your left hand know what

disapproved of is not what is on the right side but the one who deviates to the right of the way of life (*declinare*), that means who arrogates what belongs to God (*adrogare*). Then comes Prov. 4,27. God knows the good right side as he knows the ways of the just. (Psalm 1, 6). God straightens our steps with his mercy. In 3, 303f. Augustine examines the meaning of the right or left of false gods; one shouldn't look for them on the right to get happiness or on the left to avoid the damage of misfortune. This happiness can happen to the good ones as to the bad ones as well. It's vanity and that is why the right side of injustice (*dextera iniquitatis*) is not God who is the right side of justice (*dextera aequitatis*).

[71] *Enarrationes in psalmos* 143,18; CC 40, 2085f.: "Quorum os lucutum est uanitatem, et dextera eorum dextera iniquitatis."

[72] *Id.* 120,11; CC 40,1796f.: "...quamuis iam manus dexterae nostrae sit in nobis, protegit nos Deus super manum dexterae nostrae. Non nobis sufficit habere manum dexterae, nisi ille et ipsam manum dexterae protegat." Cf. *id.* 72,30; 39,1001 where Augustine refers to a special grammatical construction in v. 24 'tenuisti manum dexterae meae'. Normally one might expect to read, 'manum dexteram meam'. He founds his opinion on several quotations from the Bible when he explains that hand (*manus*) means strenght (*potestas*). So one should read: the strenght of my right hand, and this refers to God who is always with you (cf v. 23). Opposed to this there is the earthly desire (*concupiscentia terrena*) which is represented by the left hand.

your right hand is doing."
(*Nesciat sintra tua quid facit dextera tua.*)

b) Song of Songs 2,6: "O, that his left hand were under my head, and that his right hand embrace me!"
(*Sinistra eius sub capito meo, et dextera eius complectetur.*)

c) Prov. 3,16: "Long life is in his right hand, in his left hand are riches and honour."
(*Longitudo dierum et anni vitae in dextera eius; in sinistra autem eius divitiae et gloria.*)

a) He who looks for complete happiness in earthly possessions, which – as he recognizes – come from God, makes of his left hand the right hand. But earthly bliss sometimes happens to be the part of the just as it was the case with Job; but this just man didn't make right from left. Therefore his left hand could be hit, his right hand was enough to him. Thus his left hand was only help and comfort and in no way the foundation of his happiness[73].

b) Christ supports his church as a bridegroom comforts and supports his bride, with his left hand, that means with the temporal which is granted not by the devil but by God. But at the same time Christ is the Head that calls to the right. That is why the left hand should remain left under the Head to give faith a dwelling place. The right hand should have its residence above the left where Christ is. Only when the left hand is under the head, the bridegroom will embrace the bride with his right hand[74].

c) "Length of days" for us here on earth means "old age". In the land of the living that length means eternity. So the true length is the right hand; riches and honour, so dear to the human being, are the left hand. If someone gives you a cuff on the right ear because he wants to deprive you of your faith, offer him your left ear. So did Paul who claimed to be a Roman; he knew they couldn't be afraid for his right

[73] *Id.* 120,8; 1793f. "...sed Iob pro sinistra illam (felicitatem) habebat, non pro dextera; nam dexteram non habebat nisi apud Deum perpetuam et sempiternam felicitatem. ... Sinistra uero erat pro adiutorio consolationis, non ad firmamentum felicitatis. Nam felicitas eius uera atque germana Deus erat." Next is Psalm 143,15: 'Happy are the people whose God is the Lord'.

[74] *Id.* 9; 1794f.: "...supponens sinistram ad consolationem, imponens dexteram ad protectionem... supra illam sit fides tua, ubi habitat Christus."

ear because they did not believe in Christ yet. That's why he frightened them with his left ear. Augustine tells us that goodness which is of a different order shouldn't be mixed with evil; saying so he respects Mt. 6,3 ('Don't let your left hand know what your right hand is doing') which now corresponds with the Songs of Salomo 2,6: one should only do good for the sake of eternal life. Don't let the desire for the temporal life (*cupiditas vitae temporalis*) slip in by pursuing earthly reward[75]. His comment on Psalm 120 is greatly influenced by the fact that on that specific day (december 5, 412) the church celebrated the commemoration of the death of the martyr Crispina. It shouldn't surprise anybody that two years later Augustine in his comment on Psalm 137 v.7 "You stretch out your hand over the wrath of my enemies and your right hand makes me healthy". (*Super iram inimicorum meorum extendistit manum tuam et salvum me fecit dexera tua*) states that Crispina did not get her left health (*salus sinistra*); that means her temporal and corporal health (*temporalis et carnalis*) – but she did get her right health with the angels on the right side (*salus dextera cum angelis in dextera*). At that right hand of God, Christ resides in immortality. Strictly spoken God has neither a right nor a left hand but the right side of God (*dextera Dei*) is the happiness nobody has ever seen; and for that reason gets called as such. It happens only now and then that God heals the body of his saints (*salvat in sinistra*) but He always restores them on the spritual level (*semper salvat in dextera*)[76].

The 5th verse of Psalm 136: "If I forgot you Jerusalem, let my right hand forget me." (*Si oblitus tui fuero, Jerusalem, obliviscatur me dextera mea*) makes Augustine reflect again on the tension between right and left. Again both are mingled when you do the good things for the sake of human honour and when the left hand knows what the right hand does. (Mt. 6,3) The right hand in that case is not damaged, because it leaves them behind and forgets about them[77]. The citizens of Babel search for their happiness in temporal goods but they do not

[75] *Id.* 10; 1795f.: "...ut hic aliquid retribuatur, miscet se sinistra operibus dexterae."

[76] *Id.* 137,14; CC 40,1987f.: "Non illam fecit saluam (Crispina) in sinistra, sed fecit in dextera". The persecutors of Crispina were healthy as far as their body was concerned and Crispina is dead. But their health (*salus*) is to the left side (*in sinistra*), her health is to the right side (*in dextera*).

[77] *Id.* 136,15; 1973f. "...concupiscentia uitae temporalis, aut laudis humanae, aut alicuius commodi saecularis... uita aeterna manet in se; illi remanent in delectatione temporali, et faciunt sibi dexterum quod sinistrum est." Cf. *In Ioannis euangelium tractatus* 6,3; PL 35,2021 in which the right hand of Mt. 6,3 is called the pure cons-

know about real happiness. It is not because they do not want to know or want to forget, but because Jerusalem forgets about them. Not temporal happiness is the sin, but turning your left hand into your right hand is. When you enjoy earthly happiness, so the preacher says, don't boast upon it and do not approriate because then you would resemble people who eat left-handed. When you correct a guest who's eating left-handed at your table because that is an insult to the host, likewise it is an insult to eat left-handed at God's table[78]. In Jerusalem the danger of confusion does not exist any more. "There every essential need will disappear, there the highest form of happiness will emerge" [79].

Uno otioso negotiosum

Is the happiness of Jerusalem not the truth for which monks have freed themselves? Haven't they chosen their leisure (*otium*) for the sake of that city, her quiet (*quies*), her vision of peace (*visio pacis*)? Does this mean that the essential needs (*necessitas*) of the monks have been defeated or that they are dead? The monastic quiet is definitely linked to the substantial rest about which Augustine has written on various occasions. In the Bible we mainly find references in the story of creation (Gn. 1,2) and in what happened on the Sinai on the occasion of the proclamation of the Ten Commandments (Ex. 20, 8-11).

In his letter to Januarius Augustine charges the Jews because they misunderstand the rules of the sabbath and apply the exemption (vacation) to this wordly lifetime whereas it should be understood on a spiritual level[80]. On different occasions he instructs that the vacancy

cience (*pura conscientia*) and the left hand the worldly desire (*cupiditas mundi*). How do we know if earthly desire (*cupiditas saeculi*) was involved when we did something out of love for the good? Stand before God and look into your heart: what were you after? your salvation or the volatile praise of man?

[78] *Id.* 16; 1974: "...si habueritis sinistram, nolite de sinistra praesumere... Si mensae tuae iniuriam putas fieri manducante conuiua de sinistra, quomodo non fit iniuria mensae Dei, si quod dexterum est, sinistrum feceris, et quod sinistrum est, dextrum feceris?"

[79] *Id.* 17; 1975: "Morietur ibi omnis necessitas, orietur ibi summa felicitas." That we are not dealing with a strict opposition between left and right in which earthly happiness from the left side would be rejected, becomes also clear from another comment on Psalms. In it Ester proves that inhabitants of Jerusalem who have their heart turned to heaven, are at the same time excellent managers of the Babylonian state affairs (*negotia Babyloniae*). On the contrary, some people who claim to follow Moses, but whose hearts are turned to 'worldly matters', prove that heavenly state affairs (*negotia caelestia*) can be betrayed. *Enarrationes in psalmos* 51,6; CC 39,627.

which makes them free for trifles and parties has nothing to do with the promise of future rest. Those people take a rest to be able to work afterwards, says Augustine, but we work in order to be able to repose in the future. Here on earth not a real rest is at stake (*in re*); but a rest that we hope for (*in spe*)[81].

In the Old Testament people, of course, took a physical rest (*in otio corporaliter*) but this rest was only a prefiguration (*figura*) of sanctification in the quiet of the Holy Spirit[82]. It is this Spirit who poured out love in the heart of the human being (Rom. 5,5) and enabled him to act rightly, what wouldn't have been possible without the divine help. For it is God who is at work in you, enabling you both to will and to work for his good pleasure. (Phil. 2,13) Once all this is accomplished the soul will be able to rest in the satisfaction of the seventh day which is nothing else but the rest of God Himself. "Liberate yourself and see that I am God." (*Vacate et videte quoniam ego sum Deus.*" (Psalm 45,11) When God rests after He made the good things (Gn. 1,31;2,2) then He also rests after the excellent work He accomplished in us. And we enjoy in Him the eternal rest which He grants us[83]. God does not rest after His work because he needs that rest. This idea does not apply to God (*carnalis cogitatio*). The main point is the rest 'after' the good deeds which He accomplished in us. So in order to be able to rest, the good deeds have to be done first. The human being shouldn't strive for a corporal but for a spiritual exemption that consists in the tranquility of the heart (*tranquillitas cordis*) and the serenity of a good conscience (*serenitas bonae conscientiae*). He who does not sin, definitely knows the sabbath and performs no menial labour (Lv. 22,7) because he is no slave to sin (John 8,34). As the seventh day explicitely mentions the Ghost so in other places in the Bible the number seven refers to the Holy Ghost. Isaiah mentions the seven gifts along which wisdom descends on the human being and then lifts him up to bring him to the wisdom of the Ghost[84]. With good reason the Ghost is told to be the pledge for the

[80] *Epistula* 55,3,5; CSEL 34/2,174f.

[81] *Sermo* 9,3; CC 41,110f.: the Jews honour the sabbath, but to them it is a kind of corporal relaxation (*carnali otio*) filled with trifles (*nugae*) and dancing. "Tu autem ad hoc uis requiescere ut labores, cum ad hoc debeas laborare ut requiescas." Cf. *Enarrationes in psalmos* 91,2; CC 39,1280: they celebrate the sabbath *otio corporaliter languido et fluxo et luxurioso*.

[82] *Epistula* 55,10,18; CSEL 34/2,188.

[83] *Id.* 10,19.12,22; 190.192f. See *Confessiones* 12; CC 27,217ff. and *De Genesi ad litteram* 4; CSEL 28/1,93ff.

promise made to us. (2 Cor. 1,22). Through it we are growing peaceful in our Lord and our God, gentle, patient to be once in Him who is the house of our rest (*sabbatum sabbatorum*)[85]. When the prescribed rest on the sabbath is the third of the three first commandments, which are related to God only and not to the neighbour, then this means that in all the good things we do our attention (*intentio*) should exclusively be directed to the future and eternal rest. For the sake of those good deeds, only the third of the commandments should be observed not literally but in a metaphorical sense (*figurate*)[86]. One could wonder if the remaining seven commandments, which regulate our relation with the neighbour, aren't inspired by this third commandment which is in fact a transition to the activities expressed in the remaining commandments. From there they steer us to the eternal rest in God's goodness.

Thanks to the Ghost who lives in us there is this growing rest in our heart. It enables us by doing good works to get ready for the eternal sabbath (*sabbatum sabbatorum*), which shall be free from labour and burden.Through Christ's suffering there is already in this present life a transition (*transitum*) to the quiet which is no lazy sluggishness (*desidiosa segnitia*) but an unutterable calm of an effective action (*tranquilitas actionis otiosae*). At the end of our lives, with all the works finished (*opera*), we shall take a rest in order to rejoice in the action (*actio*) of the future life. But this action which is effective in the praise of God, has nothing to do with the labour of the limbs or the pressure of worries of all kind. This activity doens't ensue the labour because the rest will be without end and continue in the activity which is itself part of the rest[87]. Here already on earth people don't work any longer for love of this world (*saeculum*) but for the

[84] *Sermo* 270,5; PL 38,1242f.: "... insinuata est nobis quies post bona omnia opera nostra, sicut insinuata est Dei quies post omnia bona opera sua..." Lev. 22,7: *Omne opus servile non facietis* and John 8,34: *Omnis qui facit peccatum, servus est peccati.* Isaiah 11,2 with the seven gifts: *Implebit eum Spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, consilii et fortitudinis, scientiae et pietatis, Spiritus timoris Dei.* The spritual grace which descends upon us, starts with the wisdom and ends with the fear; vice versa we rise from down to high and start from fear to end at wisdom; the beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord (Psalm 110,10). The sanctification by the Spirit of God in the *uacatio* of the heart, as we can read in Isaiah 66,2: my Spirit is on the humble and contrite in spirit, on him who trembles at my word. Cf. *Enarrationes in psalmos* 91,2; CC 39,1280. The *uacatio* should be free of the bad works and not of the good ones as the Jews pretend: "...si homo christianus in sabbato cordis sui, id est, in uacatione et tranquillitate et serenitate conscientiae suae non perturbatus." See also s. 8,6; CC 41,84f.

[85] *Sermo* 9,6; CC 41,118-120.

[86] *Epistula* 55,11,20-12,22; 190-192f.

[87] *Id.* 55,9,17; 187f.: "...permanet in actione quod ad quietem pertinet, nec in opere laborare nec in cogitatione fluctuare..."

sake of the eternal rest which is God[88]. There will be a different kind of effort (*negotium*): that of the Alleluia or the praise of God (*laudare Deum*). There will be the dwelling-place of the happy, because in them lives God who is everything in all of them. There nobody will carry the burden of the activity to satisfy the primary needs (*opera necessitatis*) as there are plowing, sowing and doing business. Nobody will have to concentrate on the works of charity either (*opera misericordiae*) like feeding the hungry, dressing the naked, because the first necessities (*necessitas*) will be dead and no longer misery (*miseria*) will exist any more. In that house everybody will be happy because of the relaxation through the Unique who will never cause boredom as earthly pleasures do (*uno otioso negotioso*)[89]. Some people hate that kind of relaxation (*otium*) in the house of God and want his house to become a place of business (*domus negotiationis*) (Mt 21,13), that means that they only want to boast upon their own realisations. They are not willing to learn from Psalm 45,11 teaching them that God works in them and lifts them up out of their occupations. They are the hardworking merchants (*negotiatores actuosi*) who, as becomes clear in the word *negotium*, deny the *otium*[90].

Not yet *necessitas mortua* for the monks

[88] *Sermo* 9,13; CC 41,133.

[89] *Enarrationes in psalmos* 86,9; CC 39,1206f.: "Habitabimur et habitabimus; subicientur illi omnia, ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus. ... Hoc uno beati otioso negotioso. ...mortua necessitate, peribunt opera necessitatis..." Often Augustine refers to the happy one's in God's house (Ps 83,5) Cf. *Id.* 148,8; CC 40,2170: blessed are those whose activity it is to praise the Lord (*laudare Deum*), who don't have to work to satisfy corporal needs (*opera necessitatis*) as there are plowing, sowing ... They also are protected from the works of injustice (*opera iniquitatis*) like robery, looting, adultery... The works of mercy (*opera misericordiae*) are no longer neccessary: breaking bread, dressing the naked... Cf also *id.* 147,3; 2141: "...illius uitae negotium otiosum... non fluctuabit negotium nostrum, otiosum negotium plenum solius dulcedinis, nulla interpellatum molestia, nulla fatigatione sauciatum, nulla nube perturbatum. Our duty will be one of loving and praising (*amare et laudare; laudare in amore, amare in laudibus*). See further 6; 2143f. For the *opera necessitatis* and the *opera misericordiae*. Also *id.* 110,1; 1622: "Beati qui habitant in domo tua... (ps. 83,5), hoc erit otiosorum negotium, hoc opus uacantium, hoc actio quietorum, haec cura securorum." See finally s. 255,1,1; PL 38,1186.

[90] *Id.* 70, s. 1,18; 955f.: "Negotiatio et in graeca lingua ab actu dicitur, et in latina a negato otio; sed siue ab actu, siue a negato otio, discutiatur quid sit. (...) Haec requies contra negotiatores praedicatur, haec requies contra eos qui oderunt otium praedicatur, agendo et iactando se de operibus suis, ut non requiescant in Deo, et tanto longius a gratia resiliant, quanto magis de suis operibus extolluntur." In 19; 956-958 Augustine points out how close the Pelagians come to the Jews and their litteral interpretation (*littera*) of the Law.

The monks of Capraria are not incited to engage in manual labour; obviously there are different forms of negotium. In *De opere monachorum* Augustine makes a plea to convince the *servi Dei* of the primary needs which are inevitable (*necessaria*) in this life. Relying on a literal reading of Mt. 6,25-34 (Look at the birds of the air and the flowers of the field) they refused to occupy themselves with corporal and temporal needs (*indigentia*). The quotation of Paul in 2 Thess. 3,10 (Anyone unwilling to work should not eat) should only be applied to spiritual nourishment. (Supported as they were by 1 Cor. 3,5 -10: I planted, Apollo watered, but God gave the growth...) and should be understood as "spiritual works" (*opera spiritualia*), which nourishes by the reading of the word of God and by prayers. This nourishment fosters the development of other people[91]. For the sake of the gospel and its gratuitous character, Augustine defends the corporal works (*opera corporalia*): the preaching of the gospel shouldn't involve one single material advantage. The monks concerned are not willing to assume pastoral duties; they do want to feed themselves spiritually on the gospel and they expect the others to take care of their corporal nourishment. Augustine points out that only the apostles and the ministers of God (*ministri Dei*) are allowed to live from the gospel, because the bread they eat is free as the grace they preach is free of charge too (*gratuita gratia*)[92]. Their reward should be the equivalent of what people owe them. The ministers are soldiers (*miles*) who are paid by the people of God (*provinciales*) a stipendium on the corporal level (*carnalia*) after they themselves have sown on the spritual field (*uerbum, ministerium sacramenti*). Saint Paul renounced this legitimate reward by working for his living, which makes him similar to the Samaritan who promises the publican to repay whatever is spent (Luke 10, 35). If Paul wants to spend more of his own wages (*stipendium*) for the Church, that means: if he intends to fight for her he does so to take away every possible suspicion of taking profit from

[91] *De opere monachorum* 1,2; CSEL 41,532-534. See A. SÁNCHEZ CARAZO, *La comunidad en el "De opere monachorum"*, in *La comunidad en San Agustín*, Marcilla 1984.

[92] *Id.* 7,8; 544: "... ex euangelio uiuentes panem gratuitum manducarent ab eis, quibus gratuitam gratiam praedicabant." Augustine takes an example from the holy community life (*sancta communio vitae*) in Jerusalem. See 16,17,560 ff: the abundance (*abundantia*) which some enjoy, should take away the shortage of others (preachers ...) the latter are able to share their spritual profits with those who experience a spiritual shortage, so that a kind of equality (*aequalitas*) is the result. The preachers should use the gifts sacredly (*sancte uti*); that means they should only be used to meet the essential needs and not to feed their laziness (*non ad pascendam pigritiam*).

the gospel[93]. Why does Paul suffer with the weak? (*in Christo conpatiens infirmis* ...1 Cor. 9,15). Out of charity he wanted to weaken himself (*infirmaretur*) with the weak, who indeed could suspect the preachers of the gospel to do so for the sake of profit (*mercimoniorum nundinas*)[94].

Which advantage has the minister of God (*seruus dei*) to abandon his former activities in the world and to convert himself to the spiritual life of the military service (*militia*) if he still has to do with the efforts (*negotio*) of manual labour or craftsmanship? The example of Paul, who followed the Lord, should be an answer. (Phil. 2,16) The monks too should weaken themselves with the weak in order not to be suspected of taking profit and living in idleness.

Somebody who was rich before and now is not hindered by any physical weakness to perform manual duties, would indeed lose his wisdom of Christ if he wasn't cured from the tumour of his arrogance when cut from his abundance and reduced to humility by the not too big essential physical needs (*modica necessaria*) of this life.The latter is as a matter of fact the obvious reason why he has to work skillfully.

Somebody who was poor before should notice that he is no longer preoccupied with the increase of his private possessions (*res priuata*), but on the contrary becomes concentrated on the love for community life (*caritas uitae communis*) where people live in oneness of heart and soul, no longer selfcentered anymore, but focused on the interests of Jesus Christ (Phil. 2,21). He who realizes things with his own hands, doesn't consider them to be his own, but knows they belong to the community; also when someone is in need it is the same community which will provide the things he needs (*de communi suppleat*). Augustine here repeats Paul's words "as having nothing and yet possessing everything" (*quasi nihil habentes et omnia possidentes*, 2 Cor. 6,10)[95]. Their example is not only in their own profit but also the weak take profit from it: they can see now that the monastic leisure time (*otium*) is not after an easy way of earning their living; on the contrary it is on the lookout for God's kingdom along the narrow and

[93] *Id.* 539-541 en 8,9; 544v.

[94] *Id.* 10,11; 549: "somptuosum euangelium... quasi uendere" and 11,12; 550f.: "... portans utique eorum infirmitatem in compassionis similitudine..."

[95] *Id.* 25,32; 577. See also 27,35; 585: in our military service we are not preoccupied with tomorrow, because we have not to prove ourselves to Him because of temporal goods which only have a tomorrow, but because of the eternal goods which belong to an eternal present (*semper hodiernus*). As a result it is perfectly possible to rejoice in Him and at the same time to avoid being entangled in everyday affairs (*negotia saecularia*) (2 Tim. 2,4).

difficult way of the life they have chosen (*propositum*). In this way the weak do not run the risk of being suffocated by the stench of evil monks; on the contrary they will rather recover by the perfume of the good monks. The monks themselves will escape from the traps (*insidia, laquei*) of the enemy who intends to destroy the odour of sanctity[96]. In his turn Augustine will not withdraw from his task as a secular magistrate (*iudicia saecularia*) which is one of his main preoccupations besides his ecclesiastical duties (*ecclesiasticae curae*). There is no workless rest free from work for himself nor for his monks, the bishop concludes, for we take the small road of labour and fatigue, but the yoke is soft and the burden light through the hope we have that He'll call us to the rest[97].

With manual labour Augustine wants to protect the loved relaxation against the schemes of the enemy. Likewise he will encourage the monks of Capraria not to lose their otium because of an earthly benefit (*terrena delectatio*) that refuses to meet with the essential needs of the Church (*necessitas ecclesiae*). In fact there is no perfect rest yet; there is only hope here[98]. We may presume the monks of Capraria had no problems with working for their basic needs (*opera neccesitatis*) nor with the works of charity (*opera miseriae*) to which they could only partly oblige themselves; as it happened, by giving alms to the poor. But apart from the works of mercy and the secular administration of justice the Church was responsible for at that time, there was also the necessity of preaching God's word. Augustine urges his monks not to resist this effort (*negotium*) and this because of the two lives in the totus Christus which he has referred to in the beginning of his letter[99].

Augustine had discussed these *duae uitae in Christo* before, at

[96] *Id.* 28,36; 585s. In 30,38; 589 Augustine points out that the error about the workless rest in the monastery applies to the weak (*infirmiores*), their being set free (*uacatio*) is too easy and is wrongly called sanctity. Compare with the odour of Christ in *Praeceptum* 8,1 (L. Verheijen, I, 437).

[97] *Id.* 29,37; 586-589.

[98] This eschatological perspective of monastic life was already exposed by Cassian. See R. A. MARKUS, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, Cambridge, 1990, p. 175f.: "And what the Church could not be in the world, that the monastery could not be in the Church. There was no place for a spiritual elite in the body of the faithful, any more than for a Christian elite in the late Roman world. The monastery could not embody a utopia for the Church, or for Roman society, to aspire to: no social group could be that (...) The monastery was no less subject to this necessity than any other society; but it was a permanent reminder of the eschatological City. (...) The distance between the heavenly Jerusalem and any historical society was infinite."

[99] A similar phrasing is found with Cassian, in which action and contemplation are two moments of one unity. See R. A. MARKUS, *The End of Ancient Christiani-*

first elaborately in *Contra Faustum*, then more concisely in *De consensu Euangelistarum*[100]. Both lives are symbolised in Leah and Rachel: the first is devoted to the labour (*laborans*), the second beholds the Principle (*uisum principium*) or beholds the Word through which she sees the Principle (*verbum ex quo videtur principium*). Leah represents the action of the human and mortal life in which we work hard because of our belief, while we remain uncertain about the result of our efforts.This is what explains the weak eyes of Leah. (Wisd. 9,14). "The thoughts of the mortals are hesitating, our expectations uncertain". Rachel represents the hope (*spes*) for the eternal contemplation (*contemplatio*) of God, which shall be the splendid intelligence of the Truth. This explains why Rachel is so goodlooking. As Jacob we love Rachel, but first we have to practise the seven prescripts of the Decalogue, in the works of justice (*iustitia*) which are a real pain (*labor actionum et passionum*) and which nobody can love for their own sake; people only tolerate them (*tolerantia laboris*) because through them they get access to the delight of wisdom. When Jacob has learnt after seven years that the work of justice comes first and precedes the delight of the insight in truth, when he finally wants to embrace Rachel, Laban, whose name means purification from sins (*dealbatio*) tells him that another seven years are waiting for him to make him poor in spirit, meek, sad, hungry and thirsty for

ty...
p. 194f.: "Monastic contemplation was the process of acquiring what would be imparted to others in the active life of teaching outside. (...) Reading and teaching – especially the Bible – came to be attached to the idea of the monastic life, exemplifying its contemplative and active aspects; and reading and teaching integrated the monastic with the clerical ideal."

[100] In *De consensu euangelistarum* I,5,8; CSEL 43,7f. Augustine writes about the two powers of the human soul (*uirtutes*), represented by Leah and Rachel: "...una activa, altera contemplativa; illa que itur, ista qua pervenitur; illa qua laboratur, ut cor mundetur ad videndum Deum; ista quae vacatur et videtur Deus: illa est in praeceptis exercendae vitae hujus temporalis, ista in doctrina vitae illius sempiternae. Ac per hoc illa operatur, ista requiescit; quia illa est in purgatione peccatorum, ista in lumine purgatorum. Ac per hoc in hac vita mortali illa est in opere bonae conversationis; ista vero magis in fide, et apud perpaucos per speculum in aenigmate, et ex parte in aliqua visione incommutabilis veritatis. Hae duae virtutes in duabus uxoribus Jacob figuratae intelliguntur..." See F. CAYRÉ, *La contemplation augustinienne*, Paris, 1954, p. 37: "le mot *vie* (...) répond le mieux à la pensée complexe exprimée par *virtus*." One can distinguish between the power of contemplation in heaven and the powers of action here on earth, which joins the four moral *virtutes* (*prudentia, justitia, temperantia, fortitudo*) in one active *virtus*: "Multae virtutes, sed hic necessariae; et ab his virtutibus imus in virtutem. Quam virtutem? Christum, Dei virtutem, et Dei sapientiam. (...) Ergo ab his virtutibus hujus actionis ibimus in virtutem illius contemplationis, qua

righteousness, merciful, pure in heart, peaceloving (Mt. 5,3 ff.). At night in his bed and thinking of Rachel he embraced Leah, who represents the labour (*labor*) of the just and who gives birth to many children for the Kingdom of God. Rachel however remains infertile, as she is not willing to adapt the leisure time (*otium*) to the habits of weak people who in their distress ask for understanding. However, the otium wants to give birth to children too and teach the others from its wisdom. Therefore Rachel will prefer to appeal to images and similarities which evoke the divine rather than giving up her assignment to teach. She proposes Jacob to take her slave[101], but at the same time she wants to get some of Leah's fertility and she tries to get hold of some of Leah's mandrakes (*mandragora*). They will provide her with fame (*fama bona*) and reputation (*fama popularis*) and attract the good people outside the church who could assist the human race with their advice. In this way the active and effective working people (*actuosi et negotiosi*) testify of Rachel's life through the mandrakes of Leah's son[102]. But Leah gets annoyed at the fact that quite intelligent people who are perfectly fit for the administration and the rule of ecclesiastical affairs stick to their leisure time (*otium*), to study and teach. Doing so they keep themselves far from the inconvenience of every action (*actio*) while they only pursue recognition (*gloria popularis*) with their life filled with zealous study. Leah protests and asks, "Isn't it enough for you to have taken my husband away that you now are greedy for the mandrakes of my son?" [103] Rachel shows herself yielding towards her sister and allows her husband to sleep with Leah that night. Those who had freed themselves for science can get more experienced by learning from the temptations and worries in the service of the commmunity. Equipped that way they can provide the doctrine of wisdom (*doctrina sapientiae*) with an excellent reputation necessary to stimulate those who are still learning. But it is obvious

[101] *Contra Faustum* 22,52; CC 25/1, 645-647 and 54; 648-650. In other places Augustine is inspired by Job 39,30 where the eagle ('his eyes spy the prey: they see it from far away, and its young ones suck up the blood') is the image of the preacher who at the one side feels torn apart by the desire to contemplate things from above through the extasis of the mind and who at the other side longs to guard the things on earth from below. This is the measure that's the best adapted to human occupations. This expectation makes the contemplative fly up high in the sky to eternal life while the result of the preaching is unsure because of human weakness and doubt. See M.-F. BERROUARD, *Saint Augustin et le ministère de la prédication...* p. 457f.

[102] *Id.* 56; 652: "...uitae propter studium conquirendae et contemplandae ueritatis otiosae..."

[103] *Id.* 57; 653.

that they will have to be forced to take up that responsibility as Leah did with Jacob returning from the field, when she said to him: "You must come into me, for I have hired you with my son's mandrakes" (Gen. 30,16). So, no fame is favourable to any doctrine (*doctrina*) without helpful labour (*labor officiosus*)[104]. Augustine does not refrain from stressing the prophetic effect of those Scriptural passages. People all over the world, so he says, quit their worldly career (*spes saeculi*) to dedicate themselves to the search for truth. But rather unexpectedly they are claimed by the church in need (*ecclesiastica necessitas*). Labour is assigned to them as if Leah were saying: "You shall come into me..." They share the mystery of God in a pure way (*caste*) to give birth to the children of faith in the dark of this world. They were taken away from the chosen way of their contemplative life (*professio*) to the mercy with the people, as Jacob who didn't reject Leah that night so that Rachel would be able to eat sweet-scenting and exquisite apples. Rachel too, by the mercy of God, brings forth a child herself, but unexpectedly. For it seldom happens that there is a sound, though only partial, apprehension, without flesly ideas, of the Word from which the Principle is seen (*uerbum ex quo videtur principium*, cf. John 1,1)[105].

So Augustine seems to reprimand those who want to get rid of every strain (*negotium*), which does not mean that he disapproves of their zeal for wisdom. He surely wants to set things right: first there is the faith that strenghtens the good deeds (the seven commandments, *uirtus laboriosa*). Only then this faith will reach its goal and rest (third commandment) in the glorious wisdom (*luminosa sapientia*). Once that wisdom is reached in this world one can enjoy the splendour of

[104] G. FOLLIET, *"Otiosa dignitas"* in *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 17 (1971), 59-67, p. 63 recognizes in the good reputation (*fama*) of the doctrine a remembrance of Cicero's *dignitas* which leaders need to succeed in their assignment. This popular fame reflects on the people who, on account of their profession, are dedicated to the *otium*. It's among them that men will be chosen who will be useful for the organization of the state and the church. Augustine himself chooses for the double life of the mixed way: "Le loisir dont le but est la recherche de la vérité demeure, aux yeux de l'Évêque d'Hippone, l'idéal auquel doit revenir dans toute la mesurue du possible l'homme d'action. Bien que favorable à la vie mixte, Augustin ne cache pas les difficultés de sa réussite..." (p. 65) Living a double life is extremely difficult for the bishop.

[105] *Id.* 58; 653s.: "...ut hanc curam suscipiant, ui coguntur... uenire omnes ex operibus saeculi et ire in otium cognoscendae et contemplandae ueritatis tamquam in amplexum Rachel..." Cf. M.F. BERROUARD, *Saint Augustin et le ministère de la prédication...* p. 483: "... c'est le même contemplatif, en tout cas, qui s'attache à saisir les deux états du Verbe et qui (...) pénètre d'autant plus la profondeur du mystère de son incarnation qu'il comprend mieux sa puissance et sa gloire."

the intellect together with the effective justice (*laboriosa justitia*)[106].

In his opus magnum *The City of God* Augustine pleads in favour of this mixed way. Against the background of the two cities closely intertwined as long as we are on the road as pilgrims, the earthly city and the city of God, Augustine develops three possible ways of life: the relaxed leisure time, the tense time of work and effort and the mixture of both[107]. All three only make use of the earthly city, Babel, because this city can never be the final destination of a christian believer. It is striking that none of the three patterns of life can completely get rid of this earthly city because on account of his mortal existence, the human being has to rely on Babel for the sake of his physical needs. The first pattern of life, focused on knowledge and the search for truth, aims mainly at the city of God. Therefore it has only a limited interest in the earthly city. The second pattern will have to appeal frequently on the earthly city because those people want to work in the service of those who anyway are quite dependent on this city. The third pattern, which combines the preceding two, moves on the axe where both cities get in touch with each other[108]. From the way Augustine describes that combined way of life, and apart from the fact that he himself had chosen for it, it becomes clear that in fact this combined form is after all the most obvious. The bishop points out that the contemplative people are not to lead a lazy and selfish life because for them there is the duty to inform people who have no time for study available, about what they have learned. Those who are

[106] *Id.* 53; 647s.

[107] G. FOLLIET, *"Otiosa dignitas"*... p. 66 thinks that the 'combined life' is the alternation of *actio* and *otium* in one and the same life. This mingling is clearly not a fusion of both. Augustine however has a preference for the otium which nobody can disregard because it conditions the action: "c'est à lui qu'il faut revenir lorsque le devoir de charité ne s'impose plus." Absolute harmony between *otium* and *negotium* can't possibly be found in this world. Beyond this world the works of mercy cease, but does this mean that then also the work of love ceases so that the tension between both continues to exist in eternal life too? Already Plato wished to combine *actio* and *contemplatio* in one life. How could philosophical views florish without being applied in a righteous state? And how could action progress without the return to the study in seclusion? See A. J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Contemplation et vie contemplative selon Platon*, Bibliothèque de Philosophie II, Paris, J. Vrin, 1950, p. 373ff. These three formes of life are common knowlegde in Antiquity (see G. J. P. O'DALY, *Actio – contemplatio*, in *Augustinus-Lexikon*, Basel, Schwabe, 1986-1994, vol. I, p. 58f.), Varro was the nearest source consulted by Augustine (see L. VERHEIJEN, *Actio – contemplatio*, in *Augustinus-Lexikon*... p. 62).

[108] *De ciuitate Dei.* 19,19; CC 48,686: "Ex tribus uero illis uitae generibus, otioso, actuoso et ex utroque composito, quamuis salva fide quisque possit in quolibet eorum uitam ducere et ad sempiterna praemia peruenire..."

leading an active life, on the other hand, shouldn't be presumptuous either because of the power of their profession, but they should be at the service of their citizens. At the same time they shouldn't abandon completely the study and the quiet enjoyment of truth because they might collapse under the burden of their office[109]. How else can we avoid the dangers on the contemplative and the active way of life than by steering a middle course between the two? Moreover the combined way of life corresponds to the complex relation, in fact the mixture, between the earthly and the celestial city[110]. The effort on which the active way of life is based, called negotium, corresponds not only to the necessities (*necessitas*) of the mortal life in the temporal city, but also to the necessity of preaching. The latter often makes use of the earthly city and its culture to prepare the people of God for the celestial city. When the preacher does not keep his eyes on the otium of the celestial peace, he risks to be taken in by the temporary character of earthly peace[111].

According to Augustine the simultaneity of both forms is possible and apparently inevitable. Wasn't he himself taken away rather abruptly from his cherished otium? In *Contra Faustum* he says he is afraid not to be able anymore to contemplate truth in a pure way because in his active life (*negotium*) images and representations are to be used which are borrowed from the physical order (*carnale*).The answer to that fear is however expressed with determination: Leah has rights. The purity of the doctrine (*doctrina sapientiae*) is the aim, but it shouldn't take the first place. The strenght of the intellect should equally be in service of the management and the administration of the goods of the church. Here Leah has rights too, be it finally in the interest of Rachel. After the seven years of the decalogue there are still the seven years of the Sermon on the Mount. The world is not bad but we still have a long way to go.

In letter 48 the monks are not in the first place afraid of losing the pure study or the pure truth; they are especially frightened by the arrogance and laziness which stain the ideal[112]. In his comment on the gospel of saint John Augustine examines the reason some monks utter

[109] *Id.*; 687: "Quam sarcinam si nullus inponit, percipiendae atque intuendae uacandum est ueritati; si autem inponitur, suscipienda est est propter caritatis necessitatem; sed nec sic omni modo ueritatis delectatio deserenda est, ne subtrahatur illa suavitas et opprimat ista necessitas."

[110] *Id.* 19,26; 696f.: "... quamdiu permixtae sunt ambae ciuitates, utimur et nos pace Babylonis; ex qua ita per fidem populus Dei liberatur, ut apud hanc interim peregrinetur."

[111] *Id.* 19,27-28; 697-699.

to reject the ministry of preaching. The risk of daily contamination with pride is not only probable, it even is inevitable. The pure in the church often quote the line from the Song of Songs, "I have bathed my feet; how could I soil them?" (5,3) to escape from the stain of arrogance. But how can they meet Christ when He knocks at the door and says: "Open to me, my sister, my love, my dove, my perfect one, for my head is wet with dew, my locks with the drops of the night." (5,2), without treading on the ground again and soiling their feet? There is a link of blood between the Head and the limbs of Christ's body; an inadequate supply of blood chills the limbs. Why wouldn't the limbs, still warm with passion, the contemplation, help restore the supply of blood to the chilled limbs of the Totus Christus? The head addresses the limbs: "You have been set free (*uacas*) and you keep the frontdoor locked for me; you apply yourself to the rest (*otium*) of a few, while increasing iniquity chills the love of many..." The night represents the iniquity, the dew and the drops are those who bring chillness into the head, which is the reason why God is no longer loved. The cold christians can be compared to the hair; they are tolerated in the visible sacraments but these christians don't feel anymore the inner life of the church because of their numb sensus interior. The bridegroom awakens the resting saints (*otiosus*), the contemplatives, from their rest (*quies*) and he cries out to them: "Open to me, sister through my blood, nearest through my approaching (*de accesu meo proxima mea*), dove through my spirit, perfect one who has learnt more fully through the rest (*otium*), open me, preach me. How shall I come in if there is no one to open the door? How will they hear when there is no one to preach?" [113]

The monks feel safer when they can listen to the word of God rather than to preach it themselves, because in doing so they believe to stay humble. But he who preaches, scarcely escapes from a certain ostentation (*iactantia*) which soils the feet[114]. To those who listen and learn in this way, who lead a life full of rest (*vita quieta*) made possible by the sweet and wholesome study, the Church may say: "I

[112] Cf. ARTAMENDI P., *Acción y contemplación. Una carta de San Agustin a los monjes de la isla de Cabrera*, in *Augustinus*, 25 (1980), 23-27.

[113] *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus* 56,5; CC 36,468f. and 57,4; 471. Cf. BERROUARD M.-F., *Saint Augustin et le ministère de la prédication...* p. 404: through Christ the preachers go from the Christ in his head to the Christ in his limbs because He condescended to become the way which links heaven and earth, the mysterious ladder which Jacob saw in his dream.

[114] *Id.* 57,2; 470ff. Augustine draws an ironical portrait of the monks who would prefer to bring back the deceased apostles to do the preaching, rather than quitting their *otium* of the fine studies (*bonorum studiorum*) and having to carry the burden of painful efforts (*laboriosum molestias actionum*).

am asleep and my heart stays awake" (Song of the Songs 5,2). We can understand this saying only in this way: hearing in order to rest (*quiescere*). My *otium* is not there to feed laziness but to get an insight in wisdom. "I am asleep and my heart stays awake," I am set free (*uaco*) and I see you are the Lord (Ps 45,14)"[115]. Augustine comforts the frightened monks and asks who has not done anything wrong in the abundance of iniquity? It is better to get up and open the door for Christ. He himself shall wash their feet and forgive them. Augustine too roots up the earth to open the door for Christ. He too feels he gets dirty feet each time a reprimand brings him into confusion or whenever praising words make him feel puffed up[116]. To conclude he tells the monks that it is better for a preacher to fall into the arrogance of praise than to withhold wisdom from the people[117].

Supposed the monks are allowed to stay away from pastoral care there is still the work of sanctifying themselves. Augustine does not call this *negotium* but *actio* (*alacriter agitis et inpigre operamini*), which is as demanding as the ministry of a preacher. But in the third paragraph of letter 48, the text suddenly shifts to another dimension in the relation of action and contemplation. The two patterns of life not only appear in the one Totus Christus, but both the active and the contemplative moment are the poles of one and the same christian action[118]. This action is not only meant for the monk who exercises in sanctification but it is meant for every christian[119], who is neither to be burnt in the fire of arrogance nor to be drowned in the swamp of laziness. By keeping the eyes on the Lord the christian action shall not

[115] *Id.* 57,3; 470f.: "... ego requiesco a negotiosis actibus, et animus meus diuinis se intendit affectibus." Cf. Enarrationes in psalmos 4,9; PL 36,82: "*In pace, in idipsum obdormiam et somnum capiam* (v. 9). Recte enim speratur a talibus omnimoda mentis abalienatio a mortalibus rebus et miseriarum saeculi hujus oblivio, quae nomine obdormitionis et somni decenter et prophetice significatur, ubi summa pax nullo tumulto interpellari potest." and Confessiones 9,4,11; CC 27,139f.: "...tu es id ipsum ualde, qui non mutaris, et in te requies obliuescens laborum omnium, quoniam nullus alius tecum nec ad alia multa adispiscenda, quae non sunt quod tu, sed *tu, domine, singulariter in spe constituisti me*."

[116] *Id.* 57,6; 472.

[117] *Id.* 58,3; 473. Also 57,2; 470.

[118] Zie A. ZUMKELLER, *Das Mönchtum*... p. 241: "... ist gerade bei unserem Kirchenvater spürbar, wie die neuen christlichen Gedankengänge das der griechischen Philosophie entlehnte Begriffspaar contemplatio und actio zu sprengen drohen; denn auch die Beschaulichkeit ist für Augustinus ein Tun, höchstes Tun des Menschen vor Gott, wie umgekehrt in der Aktion die Kontemplation fortdauern soll."

[119] A. MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin. L'aventure de la raison*... p. 239: "Ce qu'il désire faire entendre partout autour de lui, c'est que l'idéal de perfection pour lequel il milite n'est en principe interdit à personne et qu'on ne saurait d'avance le refuser sous le prétexte fallacieux de ne pas se sentir invinciblement attiré par une vocation du type de celle d'Antoine."

deviate neither to the right nor to the left[120]. The christian action should keep the correct track and not deviate to the left, that means the lazy resignation, nor to the right where the trap of hectic haughtiness is set.

The christian action for the monk as for the bishop as well is in any case the work of the holy Ghost who brings about all in all (*operatur*). Doing so is always directed towards the God of peace (the right hand) who however is still coming.

> " 'Keeping the eyes always toward the Lord' is the action of the right way for all of us 'as He will pluck our feet out of the net' (Psalm 25,15). This action does not burn up in pastoral activities, nor does it get chilled in quiet contemplation. It will not accept to be speeded up neither will it be washed-out. It is not too energetic, neither is it shy. It does not rush into things, but it is not powerless either. So, act like this, and the Lord of the peace will be with you (Phil. 4,9)".[121a]

In the preceeding paragraph the bishop had exhorted the monks to resist to the tricks of the enemy. Now he shows them, in a carefully worked out programme, which effort is needed to realise that resistance and he adds that it demands as much hard work as the fieldwork in the church. For that matter the monastic programme is continuously spoken about in words which underline the doings and dealings of the monastic enterprise[121]. On the right the fallen angel will seduce by putting that we can realise everything by our own strength, on the left there is the thought that we are not capable of doing anything[122]. On the right there is the risk of over-confidence which burns up in the passion of extravagance. On the left we may not allow ourselves to drift away on the lake of rest, the sleep of self-satisfaction. Excess is harmful, because it leads us to rely completely

[120] Cf. *De agone christiano* 28; CSEL 41, 128s.: "... dextera patris est beatitudo perpetua quae sanctis promittitur, sicut sinistra ejus rectissime dicitur miseria perpetua quae impiis datur..." and 31; 133: "...non audire quod dextrum est, id est, domini gloriam per catholicam ecclesiam latissime peruagatam, sed audire sinistrum humanae inflationis errorem.."

[121a] *Epistula* 48,3; 139: "Ipsa est enim actio recti itineris, quae oculos semper habet ad dominum, quoniam ipse euellet de laqueo pedes. Tallis actio nec frigitur negotio nec frigida est otio nec turbulenta nec marcida est nec audax nec fugax nec praeceps nec iacens. Haec agite et deus pacis erit uobis cum."

[121] *Actio, agere, operari.*

[122] It seems as if the Pelagians with their exaltation of the self-governing will, are on the right and the Manicheans on the left, for the latter don't see any power anymore in human nature as it is paralysed by evil.

on ourselves and leaves no place for trust, neither in the neighbour nor in the Creator. The two forms of life in the church are exposed to both seductions; both should keep the middle between the extremes and go straightforward, with only the purpose in mind.

But Augustine offers something more than a mere description of the art of walking the right way of life that keeps the middle between two extremes. He intends to bring together the active and the passive element of the extremes in one and the same attitude, in such a way that the relaxation of the contemplation will come in the middle of the turmoil of all efforts. The action of the right way of life exists in making it possible to experience the rest of the relaxation right in the centre of agitation. For, in the absence of rest, overstrain is likely to develop.In reality relaxation should direct the effort; if not, the latter will lose direction and destination. And is not aimlessness precisely the characteristic of overstrain? Exhausted people lie down listlessly and aimlessly and lacking resilience. They resemble the broken spring of an alarm which was wound up too much and is now feeble for lack of the right tension, and without orientation. The rest (*otium*) is not the absence of tension; in that case there would be no action anymore, but inside the action (*negotium*) relaxation is the conditio sine qua non for every productive effort[123].

This effort should be made by the monk who wants to heal his soul of arrogance and wants to become perfect in a relaxed way. This same effort should also be made by the bishop who's concerned about his flock but who knows for sure the divine Shepherd keeps watch over them too. He who is assigned to the pastoral care should know that efforts which make the healthy limbs grasp for the sick ones will not persist without the relaxation (*otium*) which is the healing strenght of the inspiring Spirit. Not the shepherds heal but the Spirit of Christ of whom they are the instruments. Not the abundance of work is the cause of overstrain, but exaggerated expectations about what has to be done. Ministers who help those who are in need of both material and spriritual food, should take care to put themselves first in the rest (*otium*) of the contemplation where we hear Christ say:

> "There is only one person who speaks and this is Christ (...) If we are his limbs, his voice will be ours (...) Christ preaches

[123] A similar tension Augustine had already understood in his letter to Nebridius: "cur tanto euenit crebrius, quanto quisque in mentis penetralibus adorat Deum? Cur in actu etiam humano plerumque ista tranquillitas manet, si ex illo adyto ad agendum quisque procedat?" (*epistula* 10,3; CSEL 34/1,24) See A. ZUMKELLER, *Das Mönchtum*... p. 60.

himself in those who already belong to Him so that others who are not yet limbs of Him can be brought to Him" [124].

The concerned bishop is not the only one to be confronted with the ambiguity of *otium* and *negotium*; the entire Church is confronted with the tension of a double life[125]: there is Rachel with in her eyes the shining light of the contemplation, and there is Leah who thanks to her work gives birth to children (*voluptuosa et laboriosa*). Rachel is the symbol of contemplative life while Leah represents the diligent preacher with all the powerful effects of this profession but also with the risks and difficulties, and with the advantages for those who can reap the benefits of his work. In *Contra Faustum*, Augustine had already spoken about Leah who, because of the incertitude she lived in, had no sparkling eyes (Gen 29,17) and about Rachel and her right insight[126]. And then there is Mary, the one who listens; she is also a symbol of the contemplating church, whereas Martha who serves and is distracted by her tasks, represents the active church. When the industrious Martha protests, Jesus does not minimize her task, but He makes clear to her that He prefers the better part Mary has chosen: the contemplation. Martha who is overbusy preparing a meal for Jesus, is the symbol of the active church engaged in feeding the hungry and clothing the naked. Mary on the contrary, who has liberated herself from these chores, is the symbol of the contemplating church whose members feed themselves with Jesus' word[127]. Mary has clearly chosen the better part which will not be taken away from her and which will last forever in the other world, whereas the part of Martha will be

[124] *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 74,4 ; CC 39,1027.

[125] Compare with the interesting conference by M. PELLEGRINO, *Saint Augustin, a-t-il réalisé l'unité de sa vie...* In it he refrains from discussing the tension in Augustine's double life (being a human being in search for truth and a bishop concerned about his people) from the point of view *otium / negotium*.

[126] See note 101ff.

[127] *Sermo* 103,2,3; PL 38,613: "... Suscepit eum Martha, sicut solunt suscipi peregrini." and *id.* 3; 614: "Martha Dominum pascere disponens et praeparans, circa multum ministerium occupabatur: Maria soror ejus pasci a Domino magis elegit. (...) et vacans audiebat verbum ejus. Auris fidelissima audierat: 'Vacate, et videte, quoniam ego sum Dominus'. Illa turbabatur, ista epulabatur: illa multa disponebat, ista unum aspiciebat. (...) Maria causam suam tanquam otiosa judici maluit committere, nec in respondendo voluit laborare." Cf. *Id.* 104,1,1; 616: "Intenta erat Martha quomodo pasceret Dominum: intenta Maria quomodo pasceretur a Domino." Cf. *id.* 179,3,3; 967f.: "... sedebat ad pedes Domini, et otiosa verbum ejus audiebat." and 5,5-6,6; 968f.: "Pars vero Mariae non transit. (...) De isto fonte, de isto herreo justitiae sancta Maria sedens ad pedes Domini, quasdam esuriens micas accipiebat. Tantum enim Dominus tunc dabat quantum illa capiebat. Totum autem tantum quantum in illa sua futura mensa daturus est..." and *id.* 255,6,6; 1189: "Maria ergo sedebat, hoc est vacabat, et audiebat, et laudabat: Martha vero circa plurimum ministerium occupata erat.

taken away when the needs of the body have vanished[128]. In both women we are given the symbol of a twofold life, simultaneous and inseparable, active and undisturbed, not boisterous nor lazy. Both lives are fed by the same source. In Martha we see the image of the present world, in Mary the image of future things. In what Martha realised we are now; in what Mary did we hope to get. So, let us do the good in this life to possess it fully in the later one[129]. It reminds us also of John resting at Jesus' breast and Peter soiling his feet in the action[130].

The monks of Capraria can help Augustine to rest in the One as

(...) Unum verum: multa non erunt necessaria. Antequam perveniamus ad unum, multis indigemus. Unum nos extendat, ne multa distendant et abrumpant ab uno." See finally *De trinitate* 1,10,20; CC 50,56: "Hujus gaudii similitudinem praesignabat Maria sedens ad pedes Domini, et intenta in uerbum ejus; quieta scilicet ab omni actione, et intenta in ueritatem secundum quemdam modum, cujus capax est ista uita, quo tamen praefiguraret illud quod futurum est in aeternum. Martha quippe sorore sua in necessitatis actione conversante, quamuis bona et utili, tamen, cum requiem sucesserit, transitura ipsa requiescebat in uerbo Domini."

[128] *Id.* 103,4,5; 615: "Multa sunt, diversa sunt, quia carnalia sunt, quia temporalia sunt: etsi bona sunt, transitoria sunt. (...) A te auferetur aliquando onus necessitatis: aeterna est dulcedo veritatis. Non auferetur ab ea quod elegit. Non aufertur, sed tamen augetur. In hac autem vita augetur, in alia vita perficeretur, numquam auferetur." Cf. *id.* 104,2,3; 617: "...unde meliorem? Quia tu circa multa, illa circa unum. Praeponitur unum multis. Non enim a multis unum, sed multa ab uno. Multa sunt quae facta sunt, unus est qui fecit. (...) Attendamus igitur occupationes nostras circa multa. Necessarium est ministerium corpora refecturis. Quare hoc? Quia esuritur, quia sititur. Misericordia miseris necessaria est. (...) Transit labor multitudinis, et remanet charitas unitatis. Cf. *Sermo* 169,14,17; 925: "... quod tu elegisti, transit. (...) Erit tempus ubi nemo esuriat, nemo sitiat, nemo dormiat. Ergo cura tua auferetur a te. 'Maria meliorem elegit partem, quae non auferetur ab ea' 'Non auferetur': contemplari elegit, verbo vivere elegit. (...) Modo ista vivebat de Verbo, sed sonante verbo. Erit vita de Verbo, nullo sonante verbo. Ipsum Verbum vita est." Cf. *id.* 179,4,4; 968: "Cum enim transierit ipsa necessitas, nullum erit ministerium necessitatis. Auferetur labor, sed reddetur merces." and *id.* 255,2,2; 1186: "Magnum opus, sed transitorium. Numquid esurire et sitire semper erit? Quando inhaerebimus purissimae illi et perfectissimae bonitati, non erit quare servire necessitati." Cf. *De bono coniugali* 8,8; PL 40,380.

[129] *Id.* 104,3,4; 618: "...in duabus feminis duae vitae, ambae innocentes, ambae laudabiles: sed una laboriosa, altera otiosa: nulla facinorosa, nulla desidiosa. Ambae innocentes, ambae, inquam, laudabiles: sed una laboriosa, altera otiosa: nulla facinorosa, quam cavere debet laboriosa; nulla desidiosa, quam cavere debet otiosa. Erant ergo in illa domo istae duae vitae, et ipse fons vitae. In Martha erat imago praesentium, in Maria futurorum. Quod agebat Martha, ibi sumus: quod agebat Maria, hoc speramus. Hoc agamus bene, ut illud habeamus plene." See further *id.* 255,2,2; PL 38, 1186: "Istam partem suauissimam sibi Maria elegerat, quae uacabat, discebat, laudabat: Martha uero soror ejus, circa plurima fuerat occupata. Equidem agebat rem necessariam, sed non permansuram: agebat rem uiae, nondum patriae: agebat rem perigrinationis, nondum possessionis." and 5,6; 1188: "Duae sunt uitae: una pertinens ad delectationem, altera pertinens ad necessitatem. Quae ad necessitatem, laboriosa est: quae ad delectationem, uoluptuosa est.". Also see *sermo Guelf.* 29,6-7; Miscellanea Agostiniana I, 548f.: "Non est ista beatitudo laborantium. *Vacate et uidete*: quid? *quoniam ego sum Dominus*. Magna uisio, felix contemplatio. (...) Si vis in eis implere

Mary did, because their prayer is not disturbed or weakened by the darkness and the turmoil of secular occupations. He has to go a thousand steps and another thousand with those the Lord has entrusted him (Mt. 5,11). But in enjoying the One the bishop will be able to bear the weight (*sarcina*) of the ministry[131] aware as he is that "we only shall see the Unique when we have kept peace among each other" [132]. Augustine again goes ahead with the striking inversion: the true unity with God, which is the aim of contemplation, can only be reached in the unity of peace, which is nothing less than what a minister is after[133]. And he adds: "by loving your neighbour you purify your eyes to see God." [134]

In the conclusion of this letter Augustine anwers once more that the absolute truth of contemplation is not to be reached on earth.

officium Marthae, adsit modestia, adsit misericordia: modestia in temperando, misericordia in erogando. Transit labor, et veniet requies; sed ad requiem non nisi per laborem. Transit navis, et venit in patriam; sed ad requiem non nisi per navem. Navigamus enim, si attendamus fluctus tempestatesque huius saeculi. Nec dubito quod idea non mergimur, quia crucis ligno portamur. *Explicit tractatus de Marhta et Maria significantibus duas vitas*." See A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, *Les deux vies, Marthe et Marie*, in *Saint Augustin et la Bible* sous la direction de A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, Bible de tous les temps 3, Paris, Beauchesne, 1986, 411-425, p. 414: "Il est remarquable, d'ailleurs, qu'en tous ces textes saint Augustin oppose les deux vies beaucoup plus sur le plan ecclésial, communautaire que sur le plan individuel." Nevertheless the author stresses the fact that the personal experiences of Augustine are the historical background for the origin of the texts quoted before: "Ce n'est peut-être pas un effet du hasard si une partie des textes que nous étudions ici ont été ecrit par Augustin à l'époque de son ordination et de son élévation à l'épiscopat." (p. 424) Why shouldn't these texts refer equally convincingly to the double life of Augustine as *epistula* 48 and *Contra Faustum* suggest?

[130] *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus* 124,5; PL 35,1974: "Duas itaque uitas sibi diuinitus praedicatas et commendatas nouit ecclesia, quarum est una in fide, altera in specie (...) una in labore, altera in requie; una in uia, altera in patria; una in opere actionis, altera in mercede contemplationis (...) Ista significata est per apostolum Petrum, illa per Joannem." See further *id.* 101,5; 1895: "Hunc totius laboris sui fructum ecclesia nunc parturit desiderando, tunc est paritura cernendo (...) ad istum fructum contemplationis cuncta officia referuntur actionis."

[131] A. MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin. L'aventure de la raison...* p. 219, n. 4: "sans cesse soutenu et entretenu l'action de l'évêque. Exigé tout d'abord par la recherche de la vérité, l'exercice de l'otium lui avait fait contracter un 'gout de la vérité' capable de surmonter toutes les aigreurs de la *sarcina episcopatus*."

[132] *Sermo* 23,17.18; PL,162.

[133] A. MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin. L'aventure de la raison...* p. 239: "C'est la réalisation de nouvelles 'communautés apostoliques' qui est bien l'idée fixe de l'apostolat augustinien, et le moyen d'illustrer l'idée, ce sont ces communautés au nom symboliques, ces communautés 'monastiques' dont les membres – à commencer par lui-même – avaient dû subir l'épreuve du temps pour se rendre compte que leur mission était précisément de porter ce témoignage."

[134] *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus* 7,8; CC 36,174.

"I hope you will not think I am imposing myself upon you because I wanted to communicate all this with you in a letter. I have reminded you of all this not because you were failing; but I have written because I hoped you would recommend me to God when doing your duty and moreover you'd do it while remembering my exhortation. Then already before, the fragrance of Christ (2 Cor. 2,15), which was spread by your holy lives, has reached us. And so did your brothers Eustasius and Andreas who came to see us. Eustasius has gone before us to the land where no heavy waves break the rest. And he does not regret Capraria because he no longer wants to wear a garment of goats'hair" [135].

The fragrance Augustine is referring to reminds us undoubtedly of the fragrance of contemplative life praised by Augustine in his Rule by way of conclusion. The deceased Eustatius already enjoys fully that contemplative rest as no monk is able to on this earth, because here his rest is fragile and because, he still can get confused by the waves of the sea in spite of the solid ground of the island. More than once Augustine saw in the sea the image of the restless stream of time in which everybody without exception has to live. The contemplation of eternal truth provides, right in the commotion of time, a steady base for our feet, even when the seduction of compelling time continues to exist. On this earth the monk still has to protect himself with a garment of goats' hair. Abstinence will help him to resist the seductive streaming of time which is felt first in the own body. Eustasius has put on a new garment that can no longer be affected by the pounding sea.

Conclusion

The combination of active and contemplative life, sometimes

[135] *Epistula* 48,4; 139f.: "Nec importunum me existimet caritas uestra, quia uobis cum loqui uel per epistulam uolui. Non enim hoc uos monui, quod uos non arbitror facere; sed credidi me non parum commendari deo a uobis, si ea, quae munere illius facitis, cum adlocutionis nostrae memoria faciatis. Nam et ante iam fama et nunc fratres, qui uenerunt a uobis, Eustasius et Andreas bonum Christi odorem de uestra sancta conuersatione ad nos adtulerunt. Quorum Eustasius in eam requiem praecessit, quae nullis fluctibus sicut insula tunditur, nec Caprariam desiderat, quia nec cilicio iam quaerit indui."

called the Augustinian way of life, is the inevitable conclusion of the view Augustine has developed on Christ and the church. When the monks of Capraria have to feel allied inside the *Totus Christus* with every other limb of the corpus which is unlimited in space and time, then as good christians they can't but hasten to help the church in need. If they don't do so they won't belong to the body anymore. How could it be that healthy limbs are not concerned about the fate of the sick? But after all the healing power of their pastoral care is not their merit but it is entitled to the Head.

Augustine's call to assume without further delay the nursing of the sick limbs is an opportunity to circumscribe both the pastoral care and contemplation. If the rest of leisure should be first and chiefly an exercise in hearing and listening, the same goes for the active engagement in pastoral care. Here the same receptive attitude will be needed if the engagement shouldn't be cut off from the source of life that inspires it. The contemplatives as well as the pastors represent each in their own way, the two moments of that one life in the church. Even if it is true that they themselves do not completely succeed in bringing action and contemplation into harmony with each other inside the straight way of life. By tracing out that middle way between the two extremes in which the seducer wants to catch us, Augustine shows how the wide vision of the church in her complementary forms of life, is reflected in the soul of every christian[136]. In his heart the human being is driven forward by the fertile tension of both action and contemplation, of effort and relaxation. There too can be felt that the soul has no impetus anymore without the Head in which it rests and contemplates.

In letter 48 Augustine didn't raise the question of the *negotium otiosum*, but the *otium* is already effective in the *negotium* through the

[136] Cf. R. HOLTE, *Béatitude et sagesse*, Paris, Études Augustiniennes, 1962, p. 386: "...Chez Augustin la notion classique de la vie contemplative est soumise à une refonte et à une réinterprétation qui l'élargissent considérablement: grâce et charité en deviennent les mots-cléfs, en sorte qu'elle exprime la relation fondamentale du chrétien avec Dieu. (...) Augustin peut parler de la vie active et de la vie contemplative comme de deux vies, que chaque chrétien a à vivre: l'une appartient exclusivement à la vie terrestre, l'autre n'est parfaite que dans l'éternité."

good deeds which are the work of the Spirit who descended upon us. The *negotium otiosorum*[137] will look quite differently: Leah will have reached a new destination, or more correctly, she has reached her final destination in Rachel. The two lives of the one Christ are reconciled in the *negotium otiosum*. Surprisingly Augustine, diligent and engaged as he was, does never mention the *otium negotiosum*. This rest that exists in enjoying God, can't be reached here[138]. An *otium actuosum* is the rest of the resurrected existence in which the original rest is restored (*re-quies*)[139]. This rest is the everlasting day on which the praise of God "will be the occupation of him who no longer has occupations, this is the work of him who is at rest from all work, this is the activity of him who exists in quietness, this is the preoccupation of him who lives without preoccupation"[140].

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[137] *Contra Faustum* 15,11; CSEL 25/1,438: " 'Beati, qui habitant in domo tua; in saecula saeculorum laudabunt te'. Finita quippe omni indigentia et nouissima inimica morte destructa perpetua dei laus erit otiosorum negotium..." See further *Enarrationes in psalmos* 86,9; CC 39,1206: "Ibi totum negotium nostrum non erit, nisi laudare Deum, et frui Deo... 'Beati qui habitant in domo tua: in saecula saeculorum laudabunt te'. Hoc uno beati otioso negotio...", *id.* 110,1; 39,1621: " 'Beati qui habitant in domo tua: in saecula saeculorum laudabunt te', hoc erit otiosorum negotium", *id.* 147,3; 40,2141: "...otiosum negotium plenum solius dulcedinis (...) Negotium nostrum quod erit? Laudare Deum amare et laudare; laudare in amore, amare in laudibus. 'Beati qui habitant in domo tua: in saecula saeculorum laudabunt te.' ", *Sermonum fragmenta P.-P. Verbraken, Revue Bénédictine* 84 (1974), 261: "Hoc negotium, otium est. Otiosum negotium, quid? Laudare Dominum." Cf. noot.

[138] Zie G. FOLLIET, *"Otiosa dignitas"*... p. 66, in which he uses *otiosum negotium* and *otium negotiosum* as alternative concepts for the heavenly dwelling. In Folliet's quotation however *otium negotiosum* is not found.

[139] B. COLOT, *Otium et quies dans les Confessions d'Augustin*, in *Bulletin de l'association Guillaume Budé* 1994, 169-186, p. 180: "*L'otium* n'est plus seulement le contraire d'une *iners uacatio*, il est un véritable *otium actuosum*, une expérience mixte, mêlée." and p. 185: "Le repos absolu, *quies* ou *requies*, n'est pas accessible: il ne pourra l'être qu'après la mort, dans la vie éternelle. La forme de *requies* qui peut en revanche s'exprimer doit être rattaché au sentiment de la foi chrétienne elle-même, qui se vit comme l'expérience d'un retour, reprenant le passé de manière à l'instaurer en quelque sorte dans le sentiment de la quiétude originelle. Le sentiment de la vie originelle dans les *Confessions* comme esquisse de la vie éternelle."

[140] *Enarrationes in psalmos* 110,1; CC 39,1621: "Hoc erit otiosorum negotium, hoc opus uacantium, haec actio quietorum, haec cura securorum."

LES DIVERSES INTERPRÉTATIONS PATRISTIQUES DES QUATRE VIVANTS D'EZÉCHIEL 1,10 ET DE L'APOCALYPSE 4,6-7 JUSQU'AU XIIe SIÈCLE.

Introduction

Les symboles des quatre évangélistes ne concernent pas directement l'exégèse biblique. En revanche, ils sont bien connus dans l'art chrétien, qui est le reflet de la pensée théologique. Henri Leclercq, dans son article du *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, a effectué un important travail sur ce sujet dans le domaine des arts anciens et de la liturgie.[1] Cependant à la suite des études récentes sur les symboles des quatre évangélistes, la question soulevée n'a pas beaucoup progressé, quoique plusieurs auteurs s'en soient préoccupés occasionnellement.[2] Au cours de cette étude, nous analyserons les symboles des quatre évangélistes dans la perspective christologique et ecclésiologique en suivant le progrès de la théologie patristique qui trouvera son achèvement au Moyen Age. Au-delà de l'interprétation allégorique nous chercherons le sens mystique de ces symboles, tant l'attribution des quatre vivants aux quatre évangélistes dans l'Eglise ancienne a, semble-t-il, joué un rôle important dans la reconnaissance de la canonicité de l'Evangile, coïncidant avec le temps de la formation du canon des livres inspirés du *Nouveau Testament*: hypothèse acceptable nous paraît-il. Les Eglises d'Orient et d'Occident par leur participation se sont accordées pour établir le canon qui renvoyait avant tout au choix des quatre Evangiles parmi beaucoup d'autres (*Lc* 1,1), choix influencé par la pensée juive; en effet à l'époque même d'Irénée de Lyon, d'Hippolyte de Rome et d'Origène, la liste des évangélistes ou le catalogue des quatre Evangiles faisait encore apparaître plusieurs difficultés. Mais le IIe siècle apparaît bien comme décisif pour approuver l'authenticité de

[1] Henri Leclercq, *Evangélistes* (*Symboles des*), in: *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* V, Paris 1922, 845-852.

[2] Vincenzo Recchia, *Le Omelie di Gregorio Magno su Ezechiele* (1-5), Quaderni di «Vetera Christianorum» 8, Adriatica Editrice, Bari 1974, 99-144; Walter Schmithals, *Evangelium*, in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* X, Berlin 1982, 570-626; Ramón Trevijano, Carlo Carletti, *Evangelisti*. I. Nei Padri, II. Iconografia, in: *Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane* I, Casale Monferrato 1983, 1314-1316; Lellia Cracco Ruggini, *Gregorio Magno, Agostino e i quattro Vangeli*, in: *Augustinianum* 25 (1985) 1-2, 255-263; Martine Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio. Premier exégète latin* I, Collection des Etudes Augustiniennes. Antiquité 139, Paris 1993, 71-73.

l'Evangile surtout avec l'autorité des Eglises de Rome, d'Afrique et de Syrie.

Toujours est-il que dans le cadre de nos recherches, nous tenterons de présenter des interprétations des Pères et de leurs successeurs au Moyen Age en soulignant les méthodes selon lesquelles ils ont procédé à cette répartition. Car les Pères ont, en leur temps, remarqué que l'ordre de la rédaction des évangiles n'était pas le même que celui dans lequel ils avaient été prêchés. Par exemple, faisant mention du canon du *Nouveau Testament*, Rufin d'Aquilée[3] et Augustin d'Hippone[4] énumèrent les quatre Evangiles dans l'ordre suivant: Matthieu, Marc, Luc, Jean.[5]

1. – La description d'Ezéchiel

Les symboles des quatre évangélistes, que l'art chrétien a souvent utilisés, ont été tirés du *Livre d'Ezéchiel* 1,10 et 10,14 et de l'*Apocalypse* 4,6-7[6]. Dans la tradition patristique, les quatre Evangiles canoniques furent liés aux quatre anges du *Livre d'Ezéchiel* et aux quatre vivants de l'*Apocalypse*. Ezéchiel décrit une vision prophétique du «char de Yahvé» avec les quatre vivants tétramorphes dans un ordre précis: une face d'homme, une face de lion, une face de taureau et une face d'aigle. La description d'Ezéchiel commence par l'homme: "*Quant à la forme de leurs faces, ils avaient une face d'homme, et tous les quatre avaient une face de lion à droite, et tous les quatre avaient une face de taureau à gauche, et tous les quatre avaient une face d'aigle* (*Ez* 1,10)."[7] Cela permet à Ezéchiel de reprendre ce thème en précisant que sous le nom de chérubins il est question d'êtres étranges à quadruple ressemblance de taureau, de lion, d'aigle et d'homme: "*Chacun avait quatre faces: la première était la face du chérubin, la seconde une face humaine, la troisième une face de lion et la quatrième une face d'aigle* (*Ez* 10,14)".[8] En outre Sirac ou

[3] Rufinus Aquileiensis, *Expositio Symboli* 35, CCL 20, 171: "Noui uero quattuor Euangelia: Mathaei Marci Lucae Iohannis."

[4] Sanctus Augustinus, *De doctrina christiana* II 8, 13, BA 11, 254-255, CCL 32, 40: "Noui autem quattuor librorum euangelio: secundum Matthaeum, secundum Marcum, secundum Lucam, secundum Iohannem [...]."

[5] Cf. Anonymus, *Fragmentum Muratorianum*, PL 3, 173-181; *Breviarium Hipponense* 36a-b, CCL 149, 43; *Canones in causa Apiarii* 29, CCL 149, 125-126.

[6] Cf. *L'Apocalypse de Jean. Traditions exégétiques et iconographiques IIIe – XIIIe siècles*, Librairie Droz, Genève 1979, 320-324.

[7] Cf. Ernst Vogt, *Untersuchungen zum Buch Ezechiel*, in : *Analecta Biblica* 95, Biblical Institute Press, Rome 1981, 83-85.

[8] Cf. Ernst Vogt, *Untersuchungen zum Buch Ezechiel*, in : *Analecta Biblica* 95, Biblical Institute Press, Rome 1981, 77-81.

l'Ecclésiastique dans une galerie de portraits des personnages célèbres en Israël, présentant ce prophète écrit: "*C'est Ezéchiel qui vit une vision de gloire que Dieu lui montra sur le char des chérubins* ...(*Si* 49,8)." En effet l'*Ecriture Sainte* ne relate pas exceptionnellement que Dieu se manifeste, entouré des anges, mais c'est fréquemment qu'un cortège angélique accompagne la présence divine dans les visions vétérotestamentaires. Le prophète Isaïe ressentit de l'effroi à l'apparition du Tout-Puissant *assis sur un trône grandiose et surélevé*, adoré ici par les Séraphins (*Is* 6,1-3).



Fig. 1 : Schéma d'après Ezéchiel

Pour mieux comprendre la vision d'Ezéchiel il nous semble utile de scruter les sources bibliques et les sources païennes. Curieuse coïncidence que celle devançant les visions d'Ezéchiel attentif aux deux chérubins de l'arche de l'alliance (*Ex* 25,18-22*; Ex* 37,7-9*; Nb* 7,89*; 1 R* 8,6-7*;* 2 *Ch* 5,7-8). N'oublions pas non plus que David donna à son fils Salomon qui domina tous les rois à l'ouest de l'Euphrate pendant plus qu'un quart de siècle, le modèle du char divin (1 *Ch* 28,18*; cf. Ez* 10,1-9.14-20). Or à peu près quatre siècles après Salomon, Ezéchiel eut la vision du Temple futur de Jérusalem: ornementation intérieure de ce Temple qui répondait exactement au Temple réél de Salomon, ne serait-ce que par des chérubins sculptés, *chaque chérubin* ayant *deux faces*: *une face d'homme... et une face de lion* (*Ez* 41,18-20). En outre les bases roulantes de Salomon présentaient *sur les traverses du châssis*, (...) *des lions, des taureaux et des chérubins* (1 *R* 7,29).

Reconnaissons que cette description du prophète conserve un caractère symbolique, tant y sont mêlés des traits mythologiques d'Orient: par exemple les chérubins sont en Orient des sphinx ailés encadrant le trône divin ou royal, autre exemple encore, le palais royal de la ville de Kalhu (connue dans la Bible sous le nom de Calah; actuellement Nimrud en Iraq) aux entrées monumentales protégées

par de gigantesques lions et taureaux de pierre de l'époque médio-assyrienne vers la première moitié du IXe siècle av. J.-C.[9] Détail supplémentaire à Babylone s'élevait une des Sept Merveilles du Monde, les remparts dont l'une des portes, la Porte d'Ishtar était décorée par des silhouettes de taureaux et de dragons, lesquels étaient reliés à des éléments de serpents, de lions et d'aigles.[10] Or cette construction datée de l'époque du règne de Nabuchodonozor II (604-562) qui assiégeant Jérusalem la fit tomber en mars 597 et déporta les Juifs à Babylone, n'a-t-elle pas inspiré parmi les déportés le prêtre Ezéchiel, témoin au bord du fleuve Kebar de visions divines, du moins d'après le récit biblique, source de ses prédications à partir de 593.[11] Que dire de la salle du trône où se dressaient des statues représentant en particulier des taureaux, des lions et des aigles!

2. – La description de l'*Apocalypse*

Remarquons d'abord que la rédaction de l'*Apocalypse* précède, selon les Pères de l'Eglise dont Victorin de Poetovio, celle de l'*Evangile*[12]: Jean en effet, dans son *Apocalypse*, décrit aussi une vision des quatre vivants, mais selon un ordre différent de celui d'Ezéchiel. La vision prophétique de l'*Apocalypse* commence par le lion. Ces quatre êtres animés sont les anges qui gardent l'univers créé, adorant et louant Dieu transcendant (*Ap* 4,9*; Ap* 7,11*; Ap* 19,4), de telle sorte que le Christ est au centre du monde angélique qui dès la création et tout au long de l'histoire du salut, annonce ce salut et sert le dessein divin de sa réalisation. Le Verbe est vraiment artisan de l'univers, le centre de la nouvelle création et de *l'univers nouveau* (*Ap* 21,5) de telle sorte que la relation entre le Créateur et les créatures signifie sans contradiction transcendence de Dieu et présence intime au cœur de ses créatures. A sa manière également l'art chrétien s'opposait à l'hérésie arienne en représentant le Christ en majesté trônant parmi les anges. N'oublions pas non plus de rapprocher les quatre vivants (*Ap* 4,6.8*; Ap* 5,6.8.14*; Ap* 6,1.6*; Ap* 7,11*; Ap* 14,3*; Ap* 15,7*; Ap* 19,4), symbolisant le monde créé, des animaux apocalyptiques d'Ezéchiel; bien mieux les deux visions ont un point

[9] Michael Roaf, *Atlas de la Mesopotamie et du Proche-Orient*, Brepols 1991, 162-163.

[10] Michael Roaf, *Atlas de la Mesopotamie et du Proche-Orient*, Brepols 1991, 192-193.

[11] Cf. Pierre Briant, *Histoire de l'Empire Perse. De Cyrus à Alexandre*, Fayard, Paris 1996, 56.

[12] Victorinus Poetovionensis, *Commentarii in Apocalypsim Ioannis* 11, 1, SCh 423, 92-93: "Nam et euangelium postea conscripsit."

commun en plaçant un aigle en quatrième position.

L'auteur de l'*Apocalypse* dans une grandiose liturgie céleste ne manque pas de dépeindre le trône de Dieu: "Au milieu du trône et autour de lui, se tiennent *quatre Vivants, constellés d'yeux* par-devant et par-derrière. *Le premier* Vivant est comme *un lion*; *le deuxième* Vivant est comme *un jeune taureau*; *le troisième* Vivant est comme *un visage d'homme*; *le quatrième* Vivant est comme *un aigle* en plein vol (*Ap* 4,6-7)." Cette vision d'êtres célestes est enracinée dans le contexte christologique et ecclésiologique, où *une porte était ouverte au ciel* (*Ap* 4,1) concernant le Christ (*Jn* 10,9), tandis que le ciel se rapporte à l'Eglise.[13] Avec Victorin de Poetovio nous ne pouvons pas ne pas en déduire que cette porte ouverte est le symbole d'une manifestation, celle de la prédication du *Nouveau Testament*.[14] Les anges ne révéleraient-ils pas les mystères de la Nouvelle Alliance? Démonstration à produire dans nos recherches ultérieures.

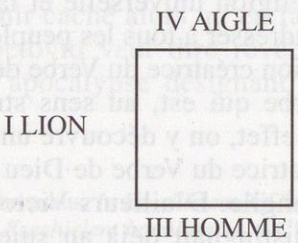

Fig. 2 : Schéma d'après l'*Apocalypse*

Toutes les deux sont des visions prophétiques qui concernent le mystère de Dieu, le Créateur du monde et surtout le mystère du Verbe, la Sagesse créatrice, car Dieu n'a rien créé sans connaissance ou encore Dieu a tout fait par connaissance, d'après la formule lapidaire d'Augustin: "[...] pour nous, ce monde ne pourrait être connu, s'il n'existait; pour Dieu, s'il n'était connu, il ne pourrait exister."[15] La position des quatre vivants autour de leur Créateur n'ont de regard que

[13] Cf. Traugott Holtz, *Die Christologie der Apokalypse des Johannes*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin 1962.

[14] Victorinus Poetovionensis, *Commentarii in Apocalypsim Ioannis* 4, 1, SCh 423, 64-65: "Quando apertum ostenditur, clausum fuisse ante hominibus manifestum est."

[15] Sanctus Augustinus, *De ciuitate Dei* XI 10, 3, BA 35, 68-69: "[...] quod iste mundus nobis notus esse non posset, nisi esset ; Deo autem nisi notus esset, esse non posset."

pour les quatre coins du monde comme s'ils étaient responsables de leur annoncer un message et de leur garantir le salut. Pourquoi le nombre de quatre sinon parce qu'il suggère la totalité ou même l'universalité d'un espace, les quatre points cardinaux. Ces quatre vivants ne sont-ils pas alors le symbole de toute la création rendant hommage à son Créateur; c'est donc sans difficulté que nous retrouvons leur sillage dans la diffusion de l'Evangile aux quatre coins du monde nord, sud, est, ouest convoquant tous les peuples: *Et l'on viendra du levant et du couchant, du nord et du midi, prendre place au festin dans le Royaume de Dieu* (*Lc* 13,29*; Mt* 8,11*; cf. Ps* 107 (106),3). D'où le commentaire d'Augustin: "C'est ainsi que l'univers entier est appelé à la foi, des quatre points du monde, par la grâce de la Trinité. En multipliant ce nombre quatre par trois, nous obtenons le nombre douze consacré par les douze apôtres, et qui est le symbole du salut qui est accordé au monde entier, dans ses quatre parties, par la grâce de la Trinité." [16] Comment dès lors ne pas considérer le christianisme comme une religion universelle et la prédication de l'Evangile comme devant s'adresser à tous les peuples. A travers ces visions nous passons de l'action créatrice du Verbe de Dieu à l'action fondamentale du même Verbe qui est, au sens strict, l'Evangile, enseigné ultérieurement. En effet, on y découvre une analogie entre l'universalité de l'œuvre créatrice du Verbe de Dieu et l'universalité de la proclamation de l'Evangile. D'ailleurs Victorin de Poetovio devançant Saint Augustin distinguait déjà au sujet de l'Evangile "l'action (*actio*) du Seigneur et son enseignement (*doctrina*)".[17] C'est pourquoi le langage des deux visions que nous appellerons prophétiques et eschatologiques, est fortement symbolique parce qu'il concerne les mystères du Verbe de Dieu. Mais le livre de l'*Apocalypse* ne demeure pas silencieux en dénonçant l'existence et la présence des quatre Anges destructeurs *debout aux quatre coins de la terre* (*Ap* 7, 1-2*; cf. Ap* 20,8) *prêts pour l'heure et le jour et le mois et l'année, afin d'exterminer le tiers des hommes* (*Ap* 9,14-15) conformement aux annonces eschatologiques de la proximité de la fin des Temps (*Cf. Mt* 24,36*; Mc* 13,32).

[16] Sanctus Augustinus, *Sermo* 203, 3, 3, PL 38, 1036: "Sic totus orbis ex partibus quatuor Trinitatis gratia vocatur in fidem. Secundum quem numerum, cum quatuor ter ducuntur, duodenarius numerus apostolicus consecratus est; tanquam universi orbis salutem ex quatuor mundi partibus, in Trinitatis gratiam praefigurans." Cf. Sanctus Augustinus, *Enarratio in Psalmum* 86, 4, CCL 39, 1201.

[17] Victorinus Poetovionensis, *Commentarii in Apocalypsim Ioannis* 4, 7, SCh 423, 72-73.

3. – Les commentaires de la description d'*Ezéchiel*

Le *Livre d'Ezéchiel* commenté par plusieurs écrivains chrétiens anciens dans leurs homélies et dans leurs commentaires continus fut l'objet d'une analyse attentive spécialement en ce qui concerne l'unité des deux Testaments, en recourant généralement à l'interprétation allégorique. Relevons parmi ces auteurs Hippolyte de Rome (au début du IIIe siècle)[18], Origène[19], Grégoire de Nazianze[20], Jérôme de Stridon[21], Cyrille d'Alexandrie[22], Hésychius de Jérusalem[23], Théodoret, évêque de Cyr en Syrie euphratésienne[24], Grégoire le Grand[25], Raban Maur[26], Išodad de Merv, évêque de Hedatta[27], Rupert de Deutz[28], André de Saint Victor[29] et Richard de Saint Victor[30]. Cherchons alors les emprunts littéraux des plus anciens auteurs.

4. – Les commentaires de la description de l'*Apocalypse*

L'*Apocalypse* au cours d'une lecture initiale semble dérober son sens, le maintenir caché alors qu'en fait le mot "apocalypse" selon Victorin de Poetovio veut dire révélation (*apocalypsis reuelatio dicitur*).[31] Une apocalypse désignant l'action de retirer un voile,

[18] Hippolytus Romanus, *In Ezechielem*, GCS 1, 2, 183-194.

[19] Origenes, *In Ezechielem homiliae* 14, GCS 33, 319-454, PG 13, 665-768, SCh 352; Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Translatio homiliarum Origenis in Ezechielem* (Homiliae 14 in Ezechielem), PL 25, 691-786. Cf. Origenes, *Hexapla. In Ezechielem monitum*, PG 16, 2399-2690.

[20] Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Significatio in Ezechielem*, PG 36, 665-670.

[21] Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri* I-XIV, CCL 75, PL 25, 15-490.

[22] Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Fragmenta in Ezechielem*, PG 70, 1457-1460.

[23] Hesychius Hierosolymitanus, *Fragmenta in Ezechielem*, PG 93, 1385-1388.

[24] Theodoretus Cyrensis, *Explanatio in Ezechielem libri* I-XVI, PG 81, 807-1256.

[25] Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem prophetam*, CCL 142, PL 76, 785-1072, PLS 4, 1526-1535, SCh 327, SCh 360.

[26] Rabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in Ezechielem libri viginti*, PL 110, 495-1084.

[27] *Commentaire d'Išodad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament* V. *Ezéchiel*, édité par Ceslas Van den Eynde, CSCO 328. Scriptores Syri 146, 43-100, CSCO 329. Scriptores Syri 147, 49-116.

[28] Rupertus Tuitiensis, *Commentariorum in Ezechielem prophetam libri* I-II, CCCM 23, 1643-1737; PL 167, 1419-1498.

[29] Andreas de Sancto Victore, *Expositio in Ezechielem*, CCCM 53E. Cf. Rainer Berndt, André de Saint-Victor († 1175). *Exégète et théologien, Bibliotheca Victorina* 2, Brepols, Paris-Turnhout 1991, 134-142.

[30] Richardus a Sancto Victore, *In visionem Ezechielis*, PL 196, 527-600.

[31] Victorinus Poetovionensis, *Commentarii in Apocalypsim Ioannis* 5, 2, SCh 423, 76-77.

signifie dévoilement ou révélation pour dévoiler, ici l'«Evangile éternel (*Ap* 14,6)», la vision constante de «*la face de Dieu le Père qui est aux cieux* (*Mt* 18,10*; Ap* 22,4)». En revenant à la pensée d'Origène distinguant, à partir de *He* 10,1, l'*Ancien Testament* qui livre l'ombre des vraies réalités – *l'ombre des biens à venir* –, l'Evangile des apôtres qui en donne l'image et qui correspond à la vision à travers un miroir en énigme et l'Evangile éternel qui les fait connaître parfaitement, face à face[32], on s'aperçoit combien à l'evidence la pensée d'Origène fut influencée par Saint Paul: *Car nous voyons, à présent, dans un miroir, en énigme, mais alors ce sera face à face. A présent, je connais d'une manière partielle; mais alors je connaîtrai comme je suis connu* (1 *Co* 13,12*; cf.* 2 *Co* 3,13-18). Autrement dit, Origène nous propose une double vision de l'Evangile, l'Evangile tempore: *Cette Bonne Nouvelle du Royaume sera proclamée dans le monde entier, en témoignage à la face de toutes les nations. Et alors viendra la fin* (*Mt* 24,14) et l'Evangile éternel: c'est-à-dire la vision constante de *la face de Dieu le Père qui est aux cieux* (*Mt* 18,10*; Ap* 22,4). Qu'est donc l'*Apocalypse*, sinon l'«*Evangile éternel*» conçu évidemment dans le contexte eschatologique? En effet l'*Apocalypse* renvoie aussi bien à l'Eglise visible qu'à l'Eglise invisible, Eglise unie au Christ jusqu'à la fin des temps.

La révision des commentaires de l'*Apocalypse* par divers écrivains chrétiens à partir des Pères de l'Eglise et des écrivains chrétiens anciens jusqu'aux théologiens du Moyen Age offre des quatre vivants une récapitulation de la vision d'*Ezéchiel*, tant est manifeste la correspondance des symboles de l'*Apocalypse* et des symboles prophètiques d'*Ezéchiel*. L'exégèse allégorique de l'*Apocalypse* fut finalement l'occasion d'abondantes études celles de Victorin de Poetovio[33], Tychonius[34], le Pseudo-Ambroise[35], Jérôme de Stridon[36], Césaire d'Arles[37], Apringus de Beja[38], Cassiodore[39],

[32] Origenes, *De principiis* IV 3, 13, GCS 22, 343-344, SCh 268, 390-393.

[33] Victorinus Poetovionensis, *Commentarii in Apocalypsim Ioannis*, SCh 423, 45-123; PL 5, 317-344; PLS 1, 102-172.

[34] Tichonius Afer, *Commentarius in Apocalypsim*, PLS 1, 622-652.

[35] Pseudo Ambrosius, *Expositio super septem visiones libri Apocalypsis*, PL 17, 765-970.

[36] Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Commentariorum in Apocalypsim*, PL 29, 851-872, PLS 1, 103-172.

[37] Caesarius Arelatensis, *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, PL 35, 2417-2452; Césaire d'ARLES, *Commentaire de l'Apocalypse*, traduit par dom Joël Courreau, Desclée de Brouwer *«Les Pères dans la foi»*, Paris 1989, 35-159.

[38] Apringius Pacensis, *Tractatus in Apocalipsim*, Scriptores Ecclesiastici Hispano-Latini Veteris et Medii Aevi X-XI, edidit et in integrum restituit P.A.C. Vega, Typis Augustinianis Monasterii Escurialensis 1941; PLS 4, 1222-1248.

[39] Cassiodorus, *Complexiones in Apocalypsis Ioannis*, PL 70, 1405-1418.

Primasius, évêque d'Hadrumète[40], Ecumenius[41], le Pseudo-Isidore de Séville[42], André de Césarée[43], Bède le Vénérable[44], Ambroise Autpert[45], Beatus de Liébana[46], Alcuin[47], Anselme de Laon[48], Bruno d'Asti[49], Rupert de Deutz[50], Richard de Saint Victor[51], Denys bar Salibi[52]. N'en déduisons pas qu'il s'agit d'une simple énumération où les auteurs cités s'ignoraient; au contraire cette liste d'auteurs loin d'être une pure juxtaposition signifie relation continuelle entre ceux-ci qui ne cessaient de se lire, de s'inspirer réciproquement et même d'opérer des emprunts. Mais l'attention de l'exégèse des quatre vivants de l'*Apocalypse* à souligner son sens eschatologique, ne réduit en rien le souci d'interprétation christologique liée concrètement à la situation historique. Quant à l'Eglise d'Ethiopie elle n'est pas non plus restée étrangère à l'interprétation de l'*Apocalypse*[53] dont elle relève davantage l'importance des symboles que le discours purement théologique d'où les études de Roger W. Cowley.[54]

[40] Primasius Hadrumetinus, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin libri* I-V, CCL 92, PL 68, 793-936, PLS 4, 1208-1221.

[41] Anonymi ex Oecumenio, *In Apocalypsin*, PG 119, 721-726; cf. John C. LAMOREAUX, *The provenance of Ecumenius' Commentary on the Apocalypse*, in : *Vigiliae Christianae* 52 (1998) 1, 88-108.

[42] Pseudo Isidorius Hispalensis, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, PLS 4, 1850-1863.

[43] Andreas Caesariensis, *Commentarii in Apocalypsin*, PG 106, 216-457; 1387-1394.

[44] Beda Venerabilis, *Explanatio Apocalypsis libri* I-III, PL 93, 129-206.

[45] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Expositionis in Apocalypsim libri* I-X, CCCM 27, CCCM 27A.

[46] Beatus Liebanensis, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* I-XII, vol. I-II, *Scriptores Graeci et Latini Consilio Academiae Lyncorum Editi*, Romae 1985.

[47] Alcuinus (Flaccus Albinus), *Commentariorum in Apocalypsin libri* I-V, PL 100, 1087-1156.

[48] Anselmus (Scholasticus) Laudunensis, *Enarrationes in Apocalypsin*, PL 162, 1499-1586.

[49] Bruno Astensis, *Commentaria in Apocalypsim libri* I-VII, PL 165, 605-736.

[50] Rupertus Tuitiensis, *Commentaria in Apocalypsim libri* I-XII, PL 169, 827-1214.

[51] Richardus a Sancto Victore, *In Apocalypsin Joannis libri* I-VII, PL 196, 683-888.

[52] Dionysius Bar Salībī, *In Apocalypsim, Actus et Epistulas Catholicas*, ed. J. Sedlacek, CSCO 53, 3-28, CSCO 60. Scriptores Syri 101, 1-22.

[53] *Die Äthiopische Übersetzung der Johannes-Apokalypse*, herausgegeben von Josef Hofmann, CSCO 281. Scriptores Aethiopici 55, CSCO 282. Scriptores Aethiopici 56.

[54] Cf. Roger W. Cowley, *The Tradtional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1983.

I – Du Tétragramme aux quatre Evangiles

Avant tout développement exégètique du vocable du Tétragramme proposons d'abord une définition de nature théologique. Les quatre consonnes qui le composent YHWH (yud, he, waw, he) désignent l'unité de Dieu, Etre ineffable ou indicible. Le sujet du Tetra-gram-ma-ton a été largement traité par Gustav Adolf Deissmann[55], Max Reisel[56], Jean Kinyongo[57], R.J. Zwi Werblowsky et Geoffrey Wigoder[58] et, sans revenir sur ces analyses, affirmons au moins que le Tétragramme est une révélation du nom de Dieu (*Ex* 3,14).

Voici notre hypothèse que nous formulons d'abord d'une manière interrogative: n'y a-t-il pas une correspondance ou encore une corrélation entre le Tétragramme et les quatre Evangiles? Nous nous trouvons devant le mystère de la Révélation qui demande d'être proclamé. Le Tétragramme est la Révélation de Dieu et l'Evangile est la Révélation de son Verbe: véritable parallélisme entre les quatre lettres et les quatre Evangiles. Comment alors ne pas reconnaître la très grande profondeur d'une pensée théologique fût-elle cachée. Sans minimiser l'influence de la culture païenne affirmons que l'origine juive pèse très sérieusement sur la rédaction des quatre Evangiles. En scrutant les écrits de Clément d'Alexandrie[59], d'Origène[60], d'Hilaire de Poitiers[61], de Jérôme de Stridon, on recueille des explications éclairantes: le Tétragramme est la révélation des quatre lettres de Dieu et l'Evangile est une révélation du Verbe de Dieu écrit en quatre versions. Quant à Jérôme de Stridon, il insiste sur l'incapacité de l'homme à désigner Dieu par un vocable qui le limiterait

[55] *Griechische Transskriptionen des Tetragrammaton* in: Gustav Adolf Deissmann, *Bibelstudien. Beiträge, zumeist aus den Papyri und Inschriften, zur Geschichte der Sprache, des Schrifttums und der Religion des hellenistischen Judentums und des Urchristentums*, N. G. Elwertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Marburg 1895, 1-20.

[56] Max Reisel, *The mysterious name of Y.H.W.H.; the Tetragrammaton in connection with the names of Ehyeh ašer Ehyeh - Hūhā- and Šem Hammephôraš, in: Studia Semitica Neerlandica* 2, Van Gorcum, Assen 1957.

[57] Jean Kinyongo, *Origine et signification du nom divin Yahvé à la lumière de récents travaux et de traditions sémitico-bibliques* (Ex 3, 13-15 et 6, 2-8), Bonner Biblische Beiträge 35, Peter Hanstein Verlag GMBH, Bonn 1970.

[58] *God (Names of)* in : R. J. Zwi Werblowsky, Geoffrey Wigoder, *The Oxford dictionary of the Jewish Religion*, Oxford University Press, New York 1997, 277-278.

[59] Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* V 6 (34, 4-6), GCS 52 (15), 348, PG 9, 57-60.

[60] Origenes, *Selecta in Psalmus* 2, 1-2, PG 12, 1103-1104.

[61] Hilarius Pictaviensis, *Tractatus super Psalmos* 2, 18, CCL 61, 48-49: "Non itaque ad demutationem Deus mobilis est neque ad aliud et ex alio transferendus incertae ipse inconstantisque naturae est, manet ut est, quippe qui dixerit: Ego sum qui sum."

nécessairement alors que Dieu est l'être sans limites par excellence.[62] A l'occasion de l'explication du Tétragramme, Cassiodore propose une réflexion philosophique sur la nature ineffable de Dieu. C'est le mot d'eccéité, c'est-à-dire l'existence par excellence qui convient le mieux à Dieu: en effet il n'a besoin de rien, il est transcendant, immuable, il ne connaît ni le passé, ni l'avenir, car son être est présence éternelle, ce qu'exprime l'essence de la Trinité indivisible ou encore la célèbre définition "Je suis celui qui suis" (*Ego sum qui sum*).[63]

Le nombre quatre en symbolisant la domination de ce qui est divin sur la temporalité et sur le monde matériel accuse davantage la distinction entre l'Incréé et le créé. Il est en effet remarquable que Héric d'Auxerre décompose le nombre douze en quatre et en trois signifiant par là que ce nombre trois fait allusion au Créateur à cause de la Trinité et que le nombre quatre désigne la création puisque celle-ci comprend quatre éléments, ou quatre saisons dans l'année, ou encore quatre parties de l'univers, l'ensemble renvoyant aussi aux quatre évangiles.[64]

N'oublions pas avec Victorin de Poetovio l'existence des quatre parties du monde, ce nombre quatre faisant penser à un attelage de

[62] Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Ad Marcellam de decem nominibus, quibus apud Hebraeos Deus uocatur. Epistula* 25, 3, CSEL 54, 219: "Nonum tetragrammum, quod ἀνεφώνητον, id est ineffabile, putauerunt et his litteris scribitur: iod, he, uau, he."

[63] Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum. Praefatio* 15, CCL 97, 21: "Quid breuius dicam, frequenter etiam una syllaba ineffabilem Domini naturam demonstrat, ut est illud: *Qui est misit me*." Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalmum* 49, 7, CCL 97, 444: "Illud uero sum, proprium diuinitatis est uerbum, quod tempore non mutatur, sed semper adest atque aeternum manet [...]." Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalmum* 76, 15, CCL 98, 705: "*Esse* enim ipsi proprie conuenit, qui ut sit, nullius adiutorio continetur; sed naturae suae potentia semper magnus, semper excelsus, semper incommutabilis perseuerat." Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalmum* 80, 11, CCL 98, 753: "Primum quod Deus noster immutabilis atque aeternus est, qui de se dixit: *Ego sum qui sum*." Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalmum* 89, 2, CCL 98, 822-823: "*Tu es* competenter dicitur Deo, quia non habet praeteritum nec futurum; sic enim et ipsi Moysi dictum est: *Dices filiis Israel: ego sum qui sum; et qui est, misit me ad uos*. Vnde merito uir sanctus posuit, *tu es*, quod ab ipso se audisse meminerat. Sed hoc ad Patrem, hoc ad Filium, hoc ad Spiritum sanctum pertinere non dubium est. Essentia enim indiuiduae Trinitatis, quae ab eo quod est, esse ueraciter et proprie dicitur, praesentia semper habet, quae inter nos aut praeterita dicimus aut futura." Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalmum* 104, 1, CCL 98, 942: "Nonum Tetragrammun, quod ineffabile nuncupatur."

[64] Heiricus Autissiodorensis, *Homilia* I 18, CCCM 116, 149: "Duodecimus namque numerus constat ex quaternario et ternario; ternarius uero numerus refertur ad creatorem propter sanctam trinitatem, quaternarius autem ad creaturam propter quatuor uidelicet elementa quibus omnis constat creatura, siue propter quatuor tempora anni, seu propter quadripertitum orbem, uel etiam propter quatuor euangelia."

quatre bêtes.[65] Tout est réminiscence du nombre quatre les éléments du monde, feu, eau, ciel, terre, le mouvement planétaire du soleil et de la lune en quatre temps. Au delà de ces considérations cosmologiques Victorin de Poetovio passe au plan théologique en citant les quatre animaux devant le trône de Dieu, les quatre évangiles, les quatre fleuves du paradis, les quatre générations de la généalogie du Christ.[66]

Selon Chromace d'Aquilée le nombre quatre des évangiles se manifeste déjà dans la Loi et les Prophètes, par exemple les quatre fleuves issus d'une même source ou le pectoral d'un prêtre garni de douze pierres serties disposées sur quatre rangs (*Ex* 28,15-21), ou encore la mer de bronze édifiée par Salomon, qui reposait sur douze boeufs (par groupes de trois sur quatre rangées) regardant vers les quatre directions (1 *R* 7,25), symbole des douze apôtres qui devaient partir dans les quatre coins du monde pour ouvrir à toutes les nations l'accès à l'eau qui donne la vie.[67] C'est la même réflexion que livre Rupert de Deutz à propos de la mer de bronze avec les douze bœufs, symbole des douze apôtres.[68]

[65] Victorinus Poetoviensis, *Commentarii in Apocalypsim Ioannis* 14, 4, SCh 423, 112-113: "[...] per omnes mundi quattuor partes. Quaternitas est enim conquaternata, sicut in quattuor faciebus quadriformibus et rotis." Cf. Gregorius I Papa, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem* I (Homilia 3, 7), SCh 327, 126-129: "Possunt hoc in loco quatuor partes regiones quatuor mundi accipi, scilicet Oriens, Occidens, Meridies, et Septentrio, quia sanctorum praedicatio auctore Deo in cunctis mundi partibus est egressa."

[66] Victorinus Poetoviensis, *De fabrica mundi* 3, CSEL 49, 4; SCh 423, 140-141: "Mundus itaque iste ex quattuor elementis constat: igne aqua caelo terra; haec igitur quattuor elementa tetradem faciunt. Sol quoque et luna per anni spatium quattuor tempora efficiunt: ueris aestatis autumni hiemis, et haec tempora tetradem faciunt. Et ut ex ea re longius enarrem, ecce quattuor animalia ante thronum Dei – quattuor euangelia –, quattuor flumina in paradiso fluentia; quattuor generationes populorum: ad Adam usque ad Noe, a Noe usque ad Abraham, ab Abraham usque ad Moysen, a Moyse usue ad Christum Dominum filium Dei. Et quattuor animalia: hominis uituli leonis aquilae; et quattuor flumina: Fison Geon Tigris et Eufrates."

[67] Chromatius Aquileiensis, *Tractatus in Mathaeum* 1-59. *Prologus* 4, CCL 9A, 186: "Quattuor ergo euangeliorum et typus et numerus manifeste in lege ac prophetis ostensus est, ut in quattuor fluminibus quae de Eden uno fonte manerunt, uel in quattuor ordinibus lapidum quos Aaron in ueste sacerdotali intextos supra pectus gestabat, uel in quadripertito ordine duodecim uitulorum quos Salomon sub mari areo in templo constituit." Ex 28, 15-21; 1 R 7, 23-26.

[68] Rupertus Tuitiensis, *In Libros Regum* III 23, CCCM 22, 1325; PL 167, 1168: "Et stabant super duodecim boues, e quibus tres respiciebant ad aquilonem, et tres ad occidentem, et tres ad meridiem, et tres ad orientem, et mare super eos desuper erat, quorum posteriora uniuersa intrinsecus latibabant. Qui sunt isti duodecim boues, super quos mare positum est, nisi duodecim apostoli, quibus recens in morte Christi consecratum baptismi sacramentum traditum est."

Les vertus comme des pierres précieuses ne peuvent-elle pas se rassembler sur le bien par excellence, la vérité, ce que nous découvrons chez Jérôme de Stridon, cette vérité si bien traduite par la langue grecque ce qui n'est pas caché ce qui est donc appelé à être mis en lumière: véritable réminiscence du platonisme.[69]

Expliquant allégoriquement déjà la notion du chiffre quatre, Ambroise de Milan parle de l'Evangile en quatre livres, complet et achevé, du sens mystique des quatre vivants et aussi des quatre parties de ce monde d'où les fils de l'Eglise ont été rassemblés pour répandre le royaume de Dieu, en venant de l'est, de l'ouest, du nord et du midi, d'où l'Eglise a surgi des quatre parties de l'univers.[70] Selon lui, le fleuve qui sortait d'Eden se divise en quatre parties indiquant les quatre vertus cardinales, la prudence, la force, la tempérance et la justice, qui sont également décryptées dans l'allégorie des quatre vivants.[71] Pensée qui fait son chemin chez Augustin d'Hippone[72], chez Jean Chrysostome, un des grands noms de l'école exégétique

[69] Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Epistula* 64, 20, CSEL 54, 611: "hoc autem rationale duplex, apertum et absconditum, simplex et mysticum, duodecim in se lapides habens et quattuor ordines, quas quattuor puto esse uirtutes : prudentiam, fortitudinem, iustitiam, temperantiam, quae sibi haerent inuicem et, dum mutuo miscentur, duodenarium numerum efficiunt, uel quattuor euangelia, quae in Apocalypsi describuntur plena oculis et domini luce radiantia mundum inluminant, in uno quattuor et in quattuor singula ; unde et δήλωσις et ἀλήθεια, id est doctrina et ueritas."

[70] Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *De Abraham* II 9, CSEL 32, 1, 619-620: "in quattuor libris plenum euangelium atque perfectum est. quattuor animalia mystica sunt, mundi quoque istius quattuor partes, ex quibus congregati filii ecclesiae regnum Christi sacratissimum propagarunt uenientes ab oriente atque occidente, septentrione ac meridie. quadrupertito igitur latere sancta surrexit ecclesia."

[71] Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *Explanatio Psalmi* 35, 21, CSEL 64, 64: "hic est forsitan torrens uoluptatis, quem in Genesi legimus fontem qui adluit paradisum et diuiditur in quattuor flumina, quae circumeunt totam terram. ex hoc etiam fonte uirtutes profluunt spiritales, prudentia temperantia fortitudo iustitia." Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *Explanatio Psalmi* 45, 12, CSEL 64, 337-338: "est et fluuius qui de Eden exit et circuit uniuersam terram, uerbum dei quo paradisum intellegibilis inrigatur et omnis anima uocatur ad gratiam Christi dicente ipso dei uerbo: si quis sitit, ueniat ad me et bibat. cui ego dedero aquam, flumina de uentre eius fluent aquae uiuae. Ex illo enim unico uerbo dei quattuor fluuiorum prudentiae et fortitudinis, temperantiae quoque et iustitiae fluenta manarunt." Jn 7, 37-38; Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *De paradiso* 3, 14, CSEL 32, 1, 272-274; Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *De paradiso* 3, 18, CSEL 32, 1, 277; Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *De uirginitate* 114, PL 16, 295: "[...] Latini vero prudentiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam, atque justitiam." Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *De Abraham* II 54, CSEL 32, 1, 607, PL 14, 480.

[72] Sanctus Augustinus, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II 10, 13, PL 34, 203: "Flumen autem quod procedebat ex Eden [...] dividitur in quatuor partes, et quattuor virtutes significat, prudentiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam, justitiam."

d'Antioche[73] au Moyen Age chez Isidore de Séville[74] et chez Christian de Stavelot[75].

Dès les premiers siècles du christianisme la pensée chrétienne avec Clément d'Alexandrie[76] choisit parmi toutes les vertus déjà célébrées par la pensée philosophique quatre d'entre elles en particulier enracinées dans l'être même de Dieu. Au Moyen Age, Pierre Damien n'est pas non plus resté étranger au thème de *quatuor uirtutes*.[77] L'allégorie des quatre vivants, de l'avis de Rupert de Deutz, livre aussi un sens moral, en désignant les quatre vertus cardinales, la prudence, la tempérance, la force, la justice.[78] Selon lui, l'évidence des vertus n'appartient pas seulement à l'écriture des évangiles, mais à la capacité de chaque croyant de reproduire fidèlement.

1. – Le tétramorphe

Méthode d'Olympe dans son traité *Sur la résurrection*[79] et Eusèbe de Césarée dans la *Préparation évangélique*[80] décrivent le tétramorphe, ce qui signifie celui qui a quatre formes ou aspects, selon

[73] Iohannes Chrysostomus, *De incomprehensibili dei natura. Homilia* 3, PG 48, 724, SCh 28bis, 212-213.

[74] Isidorus Hispalensis, *In libros ueteris ac noui Testamenti prooemia. De quatuor Evangeliis* 86, PL 83, 175: "Evangeliorum praedicatio, quamvis quadrifaria sit, una est tamen, quia ex uno eodemque ore Divinitatis processit. Haec sunt enim quatuor flumina, de uno paradisi fonte manantia, quae quadrupli unione decurrunt, ac per totum mundum coelestis praedicationis ministrant fluenta, gratiae ac fidei virorem infundunt."

[75] Christianus Druthmarus, *Expositio in Matthaeum Evangelistam* 1, PL 106, 1265: "Etiam apud paganos iste quaternarius numerus sacratus fuit, quia in omni parte solidus stat: seu propter quatuor virtutes, prudentiam, temperantiam, fortitudinem atque iustitiam."

[76] Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* II 18 (96, 2), GCS 52 (15), 165; PG 8, 1037. 1039; SCh 38, 107.

[77] Petrus Damianus, *Epistola* 5, PL 144, 265. Cf. Gregorius I Papa, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem* I (*Homilia* 3, 8), SCh 327, 128-129: "Possumus etiam per quatuor partes principales quatuor uirtutes accipere, ex quibus reliquae uirtutes oriuntur, uidelicet prudentiam, fortitudinem, iustitiam atque temperantiam."

[78] Rupertus Tuitiensis, *In Ezechielem* I 7, CCCM 23, 1651-1652; PL 167, 1428: "Nec uero soli euangelistae, sed et quique fidelium singuli pro modulo suo facies istas imitari possunt, sectando cum fide prudentiam, temperantiam, fortitudinem, iustitiam. Christianum quippe prudentem esse, id est hominis Christi faciem habere, temperantem esse crucifigendo carnem suam cum uitiis et concupiscentiis, id plane faciem est habere uituli: fortem esse in aduersis, id est faciem leonis; iustitiam tenere, id est faciem habere aquilae uolantis."

[79] Methodius Olympius, *De resurrectione* II 10, 4-6, GCS 27, 351-352.

[80] Eusebius Caesariensis, *Praeparatio euangelica* XII 46, GCS 43,2, 134-136, SCh 307, 160-165.

l'ordre d'*Ezéchiel*: homme, lion, taureau, aigle. A la fin du IVe siècle, Filastre, évêque de Brescia, en polémiquant avec les hérétiques, décrit aussi le tétramorphe (*De quattuor animalibus*) mais selon l'ordre de l'*Apocalypse*: lion (*leo*), taureau (*vitulus*), homme (*homo*), aigle (*aquila*).[81] En outre Filastre de Brescia proclame que les hérétiques appelés *proclianitae et hermeonitae* ont enseigné des erreurs concernant les *quattuor animalia* de la vision d'Ezéchiel; selon lui ils ont reconnu dans le lion le royaume des Parthes, dans le taureau celui d'Egypte et dans l'aigle celui de Rome.[82] Les hérésies florissantes à l'époque drainaient plus ou moins des souvenirs de philosophies païennes refusant l'idée d'un Dieu créateur et accordant au monde une réalité coéternelle à Dieu. Pas davantage question d'évoquer un Sauveur assis à la droite du Père.[83] Ces hérésies consistaient alors à

[81] Filastrius Brixiensis, *Diversarum hereseon liber* 139 (111), 2-5, CCL 9, 303-304: "Sed quia uisio est et prophetarum diuino spiritu praedicata, hic sanctorum populorum quattuor diuersae uirtutes diuersaque certamina nuntiabantur aduentura saeculo in diuersis doctrinis ac uirtutibus, in diuersitate sublimitatis eminentiae; quod leonis, uituli, hominis et aquilae quorum diuersae doctrinae ac merita fulgentia praecurrebant, primum in patriarchis regalis auctoritas, in prophetis deinde scientiae caelestis fecunditas, in sacerdotibus labor fortis pertinax concertatio cerneretur: in apostolis uolatus sublimis in caelum et eminens dignitas monstraretur, ut, quae formarum ante diuersitas nuntiabant, diuersarum quippe uirtutum caelestia merita in Christi praesentia manifestarentur in saeculo, ab eo quippe concessa domino saluatore. Nam in leone regnum fortitudinis, in uitulo labor exsuperans, in homine passio indesinens, in aquila uolatus sublimis agnoscitur, certantium scilicet atque migrantium [...]." Filastrius Brixiensis, *Diversarum hereseon liber* 155 (127), 11, CCL 9, 320: "Cherubim autem et Seraphin quadriformia, id est leonis, uituli, hominis et aquilae, diuersa sunt sanctorum pariter uirtutumque certamina fortiora praecellendae eorum dignitatis, patriarcharum quippe et prophetarum, sacerdotum atque apostolorum itidem cum martyribus sociata, ut, in quibus [...]."

[82] Filastrius Brixiensis, *Diversarum hereseon liber* 56 (28), 1, CCL 9, 240-241: "Alii sunt discipuli horum, qui Proclianitae uocantur et Hermeonitae. Addunt etiam diuersos errores, docentes, quod in Ezechiel propheta scriptum est, inquit, de quattuor animalibus, quod leonem regem esse Parthorum, uitulum Aegyptiorum, aquilam Romanorum, hominem uero piissimorum tenere similitudinem arbitrantur."

[83] Consultons au sujet des hérétiques appelés *Proclianitae et Hermeonitae* Saint Augustin cf. Sanctus Augustinus, *De haeresibus* 59, CCL 46, 328; PL 42, 41-42: "Seleuciani sunt uel Hermiani, ab auctoribus Seleuco uel Hermia, qui elementorum materiam, de qua factus est mundus, non a deo factam dicunt, sed deo coaeternam. Nec animam deo tribuunt creatori, sed creatores esse animarum angelos uolunt de igni et spiritu. Malum autem asserunt esse aliquando a deo, aliquando a materia. Negant saluatorem in carne sedere ad dexteram patris, sed ea se exuisse perhibent, eamque in sole posuisse, accipientes occasionem de psalmo ubi legitur: *In sole posuit tabernaculum suum* (*Ps* 18, 6). Negant etiam uisibilem paradisum, baptismum in aqua non accipiunt, resurrectionem non putant futuram, sed cotidie fieri in generatione filiorum." et Sanctus Augustinus, *De haeresibus* 60, CCL 46, 328; PL 42, 42: "Proclianitae secuti sunt istos, et addiderunt Christum non in carne venisse."

transposer dans le langage géographique les symboles des quatre vivants qui n'avaient qu'un sens spirituel. Soulignons par ailleurs qu'Išodad de Merv, évêque de Hedatta vers 850, écrivain syriaque relevait ces traditions: "[...] par les quatre animaux et visages, les quatre régions du monde et les quatre saisons de l'année et les quatre éléments, – certains disent: et encore les quatre rois des Babyloniens, des Mèdes, des Perses et des Grecs [...]."[84]

En tous cas les écrivains anciens ne présentent pas la succession des quatre êtres vivants dans le même ordre. Par exemple Hippolyte de Rome (*In Ezechielem* 1,5-10) présente un ordre qui n'est ni celui d'*Ezéchiel* ni celui de l'*Apocalypse*, taureau, lion, homme, aigle.[85] Cet ordre choisi par Hippolyte le fut aussi par le Pseudo-Grégoire d'Elvire qui décrivait mysticum uehiculum avec les quatre vivants.[86] Tandis que la description inspirée du prophète Ezéchiel propose, chez Cyrille de Jérusalem dans une de ses catéchèses, l'ordre suivant, homme, lion, aigle, bœuf[87] repris plus tard par le Pseudo-Théophile d'Antioche[88].

Victorin de Poetovio en revenant au thème du tétramorphe en exprime le sens, les quatre ne font qu'un (*omnia quattuor unum sunt*)[89] et Jérôme de Stridon tient le même langage par cette saisissante formule *in uno quattuor et in quattuor singula*.[90] Pour Rupert de Deutz il est impossible de dissocier la vision des quatre vivants de l'avènement du Christ, Fils de Dieu[91], si l'on consent à considérer

[84] *Commentaire d'Išodad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament* V. *Ezéchiel* 1, 3, édité par Ceslas Van den Eynde, CSCO 328. Scriptores Syri 146, 46, CSCO 329. Scriptores Syri 147, 52.

[85] Hippolytus Romanus, *In Ezechielem* 1, 5-10, GCS 1, 2, 183.

[86] Gregorius Iliberritanus, *De Salomone* 5, 12, CCL 69, 255: "Haec est aquila, quam Ezechiel propheta in illam quadriformem sedem et cherubim uidisse se retulit inter animalia, quae mysticum uehiculum rotis iuncta portabant; unum enim animal simile uituli, aliud leonis, tertium hominis, quartum aquilae, sicut in Apocalypsi Ioannes se uidisse conscripsit [...]."

[87] Cyrillus Herosylmitanus, *Catechesis* 9, 3, PG 33, 639-642; Cyrille de Jérusalem, *Les Catéchèses baptismales et mystagogiques*, traduction de Jean Bouvet, Migne «Les Pères dans la foi» 53-54, Paris 1993, 130.

[88] Ps.-Theophilus Antiochenus, *Commentarius in quattuor Euangelia, liber* I, PLS 3, 1283.

[89] Victorinus Poetoviensis, *Commentarii in Apocalypsim Ioannis* 6, 1, SCh 423, 80-81.

[90] Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Epistula* 64, 20, CSEL 54, 611.

[91] Rupertus Tuitiensis, *In Ezechielem* I 3, CCCM 23, 1645; PL 167, 1423: "Itaque uisiones istae Dei, reuelationes sunt aduentus Christi Filii Dei, qui rectissime in isto propheta, alibi unum animal dicitur, alibi quatuor animalia, uidelicet propter quatuor necessaria nobis Euangelii sui sacramenta, quae postmodum singula propriis speciebus agnoscenda sunt."

chaque vivant en particulier comme l'expression des mystères révélés dans son Evangile, l'Incarnation, la Passion, la Résurrection et l'Ascension.[92]

En commentant les quatre vivants, Origène illustrait plutôt l'hellénisme chrétien par un emprunt à Platon, celui du thème de l'âme tripartite: "Voyons donc si cela n'indique pas l'âme tripartite, encore objet de discussion pour les doctrines d'autres auteurs, et si, à l'âme tripartite, ne préside pas une autre quatrième partie, la force. Quelle est la tripartition de l'âme? Par «homme» est indiqué ce qui d'elle est rationnel, par «lion» l'irascible, par «taureau» le concupiscible. Mais «l'esprit», qui préside pour assister, n'est pas à droite comme l'homme ou le lion, n'est pas à gauche comme «le taureau», mais il se tient «au-dessus» de toutes les trois «faces». Car «l'aigle» est nommé dans un autre passage, pour indiquer par le mot aigle l'esprit qui préside l'âme, je veux dire l'esprit de l'homme qui est en lui."[93] Nous voilà devant une explication bien connue au IVe siècle par le Pseudo-Macaire[94] et Jérôme de Stridon[95], de même que pour Grégoire de Nazianze les quatre vivants de la vision prophétique d'Ezéchiel représentent la faculté rationnelle (l'homme), l'irascibilité (le lion), la concupiscence (le taureau) et la conscience (l'aigle).[96] La vision prophétique d'Ezéchiel, comme celle de l'*Apocalypse*, décrit quatre êtres avec leur qualité respective, la noblesse du lion, la force du taureau, la sagesse de l'homme, l'envol de l'aigle, en même temps qu'elle rappelle les animaux étranges qui gardaient les palais de Babylone. Mais que faut-il entendre par l'envol de l'aigle sinon la résurrection comme le propose Liselotte Wehrhahn-Stach éclairée par les Pères de l'Eglise.[97] En effet le Pseudo-Grégoire d'Elvire découvre dans l'aigle le Christ qui après sa résurrection, en revenant vers le Père

[92] Rupertus Tuitiensis, *In Ezechielem* I 3, CCCM 23, 1646; PL 167, 1423: "Prima est incarnatio uel natiuitas eiusdem hominis Iesu Christi Filii Dei; secunda, passio; tertia, resurrectio; quarta ascensio, uel sessio ad dexteram Patris."

[93] Origenes, *In Ezechielem homilia* 1, 16, GCS 33, 339-340, SCh 352, 94-95. Cf. Origenes, *In Ezechielem homilia* 11, 3, GCS 33, 427-429, SCh 352, 362-365.

[94] Ps.-Macarius (Symeon), *Homilia* 1, 1-3. *Allegorica interpretatio visionis apud Ezechielem descriptae*, PG 34, 449-454.

[95] Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri* XIV (I 6-8a), CCL 75, 11-12: "Plerique, iuxta Platonem, rationale animae et irascentiuum et concupiscentiuum [...]."

[96] Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Significatio in Ezechielem*, PG 36, 665-666: "Existimamus per hominem, vim rationalem intelligi; per leonem, irascibilem; per vitulum, concupiscibilem; per aquilam, conscientiam, quae reliquis immineat [...]."

[97] Liselotte Wehrhahn-Stach, *Aquila-Resurrectio*, in: Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft, Berlin 21 (1967) 3-4, 105-127.

ramène avec lui sa "proie", c'est-à-dire l'homme.[98] En effet l'aigle, symbole de la sagesse de Dieu, exprime l'espérance de la résurrection, tout en étant le symbole de la force et de la persévérance (*Is* 40,31).[99] Le lion *criant dans le désert* est aussi le symbole du Christ qui appelle les morts à la résurrection; et selon Manfred Lurker il devient à la fois le symbole de la vie, de la mort et de la résurrection. Nous ajouterons qu'il est dans le monde biblique le symbole des descendants de Juda (*Gn* 49,9; *Ap* 5,5). C'est donc une évidence que l'homme, le taureau, le lion, l'aigle sont les symboles du Christ incarné, mort, ressuscité et remontant en gloire vers son Père.[100] Grégoire le Grand découvre alors dans ce quadruple visage les principaux mystères du Christ[101], occasion de considérer le chrétien parfait (*perfectus*) sur la voie du Christ comme une imitation de ce qui est secrètement contenu dans les images de l'homme, du bœuf, du lion et de l'aigle, tant il est vrai que les élus sont conformés aux mystères du Christ.[102]

2. – L'Evangile quadriforme

Commençons par préciser qu'en parlant de l'Evangile quadriforme les Pères de l'Eglise comprennent les Evangiles écrits qui occupent une place sans égale dans l'Eglise, cette même Eglise qui retint le chiffre quatre pour désigner le nombre des évangiles canoniques. D'après le témoignage d'Eusèbe de Césarée, au temps d'Origène, l'Eglise avait déjà reconnu les quatre Evangiles: Matthieu, Marc, Luc, Jean.[103] Origène par exemple tente de préciser l'ordre selon lequel les quatre Evangiles auraient été rédigés ou connus.[104] Toutefois on trouve chez lui deux listes des évangélistes distinctes: Matthieu,

[98] Gregorius Iliberritanus, *De Salomone* 5, 11-12, CCL 69, 254-255: "Aquilam in hoc loco Christum dominum nostrum debemus accipere, qui post uenerandum resurrectionem, qua docuit humanum genus in uitam redire posse post mortem, uelut aquila reuolauit ad patrem, praedam secum referens, id est hominem, quem rapuerat de faucibus inimici."

[99] Othmar Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World. Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms*, translated by Timothy J. Hallett, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, Indiana 1997, 85-89.

[100] Manfred Lurker, *Wörterbuch biblischer Bilder und Symbole*, Kösel, München 1990: Adler 26-28; Löwe 229-232; Stier und Kuh 363-365.

[101] Gregorius I Papa, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem* I (*Homilia* 4, 1), SCh 327, 150-151.

[102] Gregorius I Papa, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem* I (*Homilia* 4, 2), SCh 327, 150-151: "Omnis etenim electus atque in uia Dei perfectus, et homo, et uitulus, et leo simul et aquila est."

[103] Eusebius Caesariensis, *Historia ecclesiastica* VI 25, 4-6, GCS 9, 1, 245-246, SCh 41, 126-127.

[104] Origenes, *Commentarii in Iohannem* VI 32, (17) 162, GCS 10, 141, PG 14, 255-256, SCh 157, 250-251.

Marc, Luc, Jean[105] ou Matthieu, Marc, Jean et Luc[106]. Mais dans ces mêmes écrits, on ne découvre aucun rapprochement entre les quatre êtres vivants et les quatre évangélistes.

Toujours est-il que depuis Irénée de Lyon, la tradition chrétienne voit dans les quatre vivants les quatre évangélistes, et que ce même Irénée de Lyon, dans son œuvre *Contre les hérésies*, évoque un seul Evangile à quadruple forme.[107] Peut-être qu'à l'écoute d'Irénée de Lyon, Grégoire le Grand voit dans les vivants aux quatre visages l'Evangile un et quadriforme.[108]

La lecture messianique du livre de la *Genèse* est l'occasion pour Hippolyte de Rome de rappeler l'image des *quatre fleuves* liés à la réalité de l'Evangile quadriforme, dans son commentaire sur le prophète Daniel écrit vers l'an 202: "Il coule dans ce jardin un fleuve d'une eau intarissable. *Quatre fleuves* (*Gn* 2,10) en découlent, arrosant toute la terre. Il en est de même dans l'Eglise: le Christ, qui est le fleuve, est annoncé dans le monde entier par le quadruple évangile."[109] L'allégorie des *quatre fleuves* nous est encore donnée au IIIe siècle, par Cyprien de Carthage: "L'Eglise, à l'instar du paradis, renferme à l'intérieur de ses murs des arbres fruitiers. [...]. Ces arbres, elle les arrose de quatre fleuves, c'est-à-dire des quatre évangiles par lesquels elle répand les flots célestes de la grâce du baptême."[110] Comme les quatre fleuves irriguent le jardin d'Eden les quatre évangélistes répandent la Révélation jusqu'aux limites du monde.

Pour apprécier à sa juste valeur l'Evangile quadriforme ne faut-il pas relire le *Commentaire de l'Apocalypse* écrit vers 258-260 par Victorin de Poetovio (Pettau; actuellement Ptuj en Slovénie), premier évêque connu du Norique, dont la méthode exégétique, semble-t-il, est celle d'un disciple spirituel d'Origène. En effet cet écrivain chrétien compare la prédication de l'Evangile à un fleuve qui sort d'Eden et se

[105] Origenes, *Commentarii in Iohannem* I 4, (6) 21-22, GCS 10, 7-8, PG 14, 29-32, SCh 120bis, 66-69.

[106] Origenes, *In Lucam homilia* 1, 1, GCS 49, 3-4, SCh 87, 98-101.

[107] Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Aduersus haereses* III 11, 8, SCh 211, 162-171.

[108] Gregorius I Papa, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem* I (*Homilia* 3, 1), SCh 327, 118-121.

[109] Hippolytus Romanus, *Commentarii in Danielem* 1, 17, GCS 1, 29; SCh 14, 105.

[110] Cyprianus Carthaginensis, *Epistula* 73, 10, 3, CCL 3C, 540-541: "Ecclesia paradisi instar exprimens arbores frugiferas intra muros suos intus inclusit, ex quibus quae non facit fructum bonum exciditur et in ignem mittitur. Has arbores rigat quattuor fluminibus id est euangeliis quattuor, quibus baptismi gratiam salutari et caelesti inundatione largitur." Saint Cyprien, *Correspondance* II (40-81), texte établi et traduit par le chanoine Bayard, Société d'Edition «Les Belles Lettres», Paris 1961, 268.

divise pour former quatre bras ou *quatre fleuves* (*Gn* 2,10) signifiant les quatre Evangiles ou les quatre évangélistes. Par ailleurs Marcel Richard[111] et Martine Dulaey[112] précisent qu'il s'agit d'un emprunt non à Irénée, mais à Hippolyte. "Ainsi donc, ces annonces de l'Evangile, bien qu'au nombre quatre, sont une annonce unique, car elles procèdent d'une bouche unique, tout comme le fleuve du paradis, issu d'une source unique, se divise en quatre bras." [113] Si la *Genèse* se présente comme le livre du commencement et des promesses, l'*Apocalypse* s'annonce comme la fin de la Genèse et le livre de l'achèvement, caractère qui leur vaut à l'un comme à l'autre le titre des livres prophétiques. Si l'Evangile peut apparaître dans l'Ecriture en trois temps l'Evangile de l'*Ancien Testament*, l'Evangile des apôtres et l'Evangile eschatologique, décryptons dès livres de la *Genèse* à l'*Apocalypse* l'œuvre du Christ parvenue à l'accomplissement du dessein salvifique de Dieu. D'ailleurs si dans l'interprétation spirituelle d'Augustin d'Hippone le paradis c'est l'Eglise, il est tout à fait plausible que les quatre fleuves du paradis soient les quatre évangiles[114]. C'est pourquoi Augustin fidèle au thème de l'unité de l'Evangile peut se permettre de parler d'un unique Evangile en quatre livres.[115] A la suite de l'évêque d'Hippone, Grégoire le Grand et Isidore de Séville s'accordent pour parler d'un seul Evangile, mais le premier évoque les quatre livres d'un Evangile[116] et le second d'une seule prédication de l'Evangile en quatre parties.[117] Toujours avec Grégoire le Grand, réapparaît l'image des *quatre fleuves* symbolisant les quatre Evangiles, dont la source est

[111] Marcel Richard, *Les difficultés d'une édition du Commentaire de Saint Hippolyte sur Daniel*, in: *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 2, Paris 1972, 1-10.

[112] Martine Dulaey, *Commentaire sur l'Apocalypse* 4, 4, in: SCh 423, 171.

[113] Victorinus Poetoviensis, *Commentarii in Apocalypsim Ioannis* 4, 4, SCh 423, 68-69: "<Hae> ergo praedicationes quamuis quattuor sint, una tamen praedicatio est, quia de uno ore processit, sicut fluuius in paradiso de uno fonte in quattuor partes diuisus est."

[114] Sanctus Augustinus, *De ciuitate dei* XIII 21, BA 35, 312-313: "[...] quattuor autem paradisi flumina quattuor euangelia [...]."

[115] Sanctus Augustinus, *Tractatus in Iohannis Euangelium* 36, 1, BA 73A, 174-175, CCL 36, 323: "In quattuor euangeliis, uel potius quator libris unius euangelii [...]."

[116] Gregorius I Papa (Magnus), *Registrum Epistularum* I 24, CCL 140, 32: " [...] sancti euangelii quattuor libros [...]." Gregorius I Papa, *Registrum Epistularum* III 10, CCL 140, 158: "[...] quattuor libros sacri euangelii [...]."

[117] Isidorus Hispalensis, *In libros ueteris ac noui Testamenti prooemia. De quatuor Evangeliis* 86, PL 83, 175: "Evangeliorum praedicatio, quamvis quadrifaria sit, una est tamen, quia ex uno eodemque ore Divinitatis processit. Haec sunt enim quatuor flumina, de uno paradisi fonte manantia, quae quadrupli unione decurrunt, ac per totum mundum coelestis praedicationis ministrant fluenta, gratiae ac fidei virorem infundunt."

le rocher de l'Horeb (*Ex* 17,6; *Dt* 8,15; *Ps* 95 [94],8-9; *Nb* 20,8-11; 1 *Co* 10,4) désignant le Christ, rappel paulinien (1 *Co* 10,4): *ce rocher, c'était le Christ* (*Petra autem erat Christum*).[118] D'où l'interprétation des Pères se souvenant des paroles du Christ: *Si quelqu'un a soif, qu'il vienne à moi, et qu'il boive* (*Jn* 7,37). Poursuivant la métaphore, mieux que d'eau c'est d'huile dont il est question quand Grégoire mentionne les quatre livres de l'Evangile (de Matthieu, de Marc, de Luc et de Jean). Et plus tard chez Isidore de Séville, nous retrouvons l'affirmation que la prédication de l'Evangile procède d'une seule et même bouche, celle de Dieu (*Evangeliorum praedicatio... ex uno eodemque ore Divinitatis processit*).[119] Ainsi y a-t-il une seule prédication de l'Evangile quadriforme. Quoiqu'il existe quatre rédactions de l'Evangile celui-ci n'en conserve pas moins son unicité. L'unité théologique n'est absolument pas compromise par la pluralité des expressions littéraires.

Au Moyen Age Christian de Stavelot prolonge le symbolisme du nombre quatre attribué aux fleuves et aux évangiles en découvrant dans le nom d'Adam quatre lettres indiquant les quatre directions du monde Est, Ouest, Nord, Sud.[120] Pareillement au XIe siècle Pierre Damien compare l'Eglise à un jardin irrigué par la doctrine répandue comme un fleuve par les quatre évangélistes.[121] Ou encore le sang du Christ s'échappant de ses cinq plaies, comparable aux fleuves du paradis, est seul capable, à cause de la plénitude du Christ, de purifier

[118] Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob* XIX 15, 24, CCL 143A, 975-976: "*Et patra fundebat mihi riuos olei.* Quia petrae nomine Christus accipitur, praedicator egregius fatetur, dicens: *Petra autem erat Christus.* Quae uidelicet petra nunc ad usum sanctae Ecclesiae olei riuos fundit, quia in ea loquens Dominus, praedicamenta unctionis intimae emanat. De hac petra olei riuus exiit, liber Matthaei, liber Marci, liber Lucae, liber Ioannis. In diuersis huius mundi partibus quot praedicamenta edidit, tot petra haec per ora apostolorum omnium riuos fudit. Totiens adhuc de petra hac olei riuus funditur, quotiens sancto Spiritu ungendis mentibus auditorum ea quae in libris ueteribus de Christo dicta sunt explanantur." Ez 32, 14: "Alors je calmerai leurs eaux, je ferai couler leurs fleuves comme de l'huile, oracle du Seigneur Dieu." 1 Co 10, 4.

[119] Isidorus Hispalensis, *In libros ueteris ac noui Testamenti prooemia. De quatuor Evangeliis* 86, PL 83, 175.

[120] Christianus Druthmarus, *Expositio in Matthaeum Evangelistam* 1, PL 106, 1265: "Sicut ista quatuor flumina irrigant omnem mundum, sic quatuor Evangelia irrigant omnem Ecclesiam. [...] Homo ex quatuor litteris compositum nomen habet, quae principia sunt in quatuor climatibus mundi. In Graeca lingua *a, alpha, anathole*, id est oriens; *d, delta, dysis*, id est occidens. Item *a, atron* [*arcton*], id est septentrio; *m, imsimbrio* [*mesembria*], id est, meridies."

[121] Petrus Damianus, *Sermo* 14. *De Sancto Marco Evangelista* 1, 1, CCCM 57, 63; PL 144, 572: "Christus itaque, sapientia Patris, qui de paradiso per mysterium assumptae humanitatis exiuit, hortum suum, id est sanctam Ecclesiam, per quattuor euangelistas tamquam per totidem caelestis doctrinae fluuios irrigauit."

les ignominies du genre humain.[122]

Quant au Pseudo-Théophile d'Antioche par l'Evangile quadriforme, il manifeste l'existence du Christ.[123] Avec Zénon de Vérone, dans la seconde moitié du IVe siècle, les évangiles sont annoncés de tous côtés, quatre prédications proclamant le salut du monde.[124]

Dans l'une de ses *Homélies sur Ezéchiel*, le pape Grégoire le Grand commentant les quatre visages, souligne la concordance des quatre évangélistes en même temps que l'unité des Evangiles. Cette unité est d'autant plus précieuse à souligner qu'elle a une valeur apologétique démontrant la vérité de l'Evangile. "Chacun avait quatre visages: si l'on cherche la pensée de Matthieu sur l'incarnation du Seigneur, c'est évidemment celle de Marc, de Luc et de Jean. Si l'on cherche celle de Jean, c'est sans aucun doute celle de Luc, de Marc et de Matthieu; et la pensée de Marc, celle de Matthieu, de Jean et de Luc; et la pensée de Luc, celle de Jean, de Matthieu et de Marc. Ainsi, chacun avait quatre visages, parce que la connaissance de foi, par laquelle ils sont connus de Dieu, est en chacun ce qu'elle est à la fois dans les quatre. Tout ce que l'on trouve en l'un, on le reconnaît avec raison dans tous les quatre à la fois."[125] Nous retrouvons exactement le même passage au IXe siècle emprunté à Grégoire le Grand par Raban Maur.[126] A la suite de Grégoire le Grand, Pierre Damien ne manque

[122] Petrus Damianus, *Sermo* 51, 13, CCCM 57, 328-329: "Porro autem sicut in paradiso, quattuor fluminibus ex uno ore procedentibus, quinque fluenta sunt quae totius mundi latitudinem irrigant, sic de pardiso dominici corporis quinquepartitus cruor effulsit, qui uidelicet humani generis inquinamenta purgauit, quamquam per illos paradisi gurgites, qui ex unius fontis origine prodeunt, luce clarius beati euangelistae signentur, qui nimirum quicquid Deus (scribere impulit), de Christi plenitudine profluxerunt."

[123] Ps.-Theophilus Antiochenus, *Commentarius in quattuor Euangelia. Prologus*, ed. Th. Zahn, PLS 3, 1283: "Quatuor evangelia quatuor animalibus figurata Iesum Christum demonstrant."

[124] Zenonis Veronensis, *Tractatus* II 12 (II 9). *De Natiuitate Domini et Maiestate* 2, 4, CCL 22, 186: "Hic, inquam, quem *duodecim* radiorum, id est apostolorum duodecim, *corona* circumdat, que per ambitum totius orbis non muta *quattuor animalia*, sed salutiferis praedicationibus quattuor circumferunt euangelia."

[125] Gregorius I Papa, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem* I (*Homilia* 3, 1), CCL 142, 33, SCh 327, 118-121: "Quatuor ergo facies uni sunt, quia si requiras quid Matthaeus de incarnatione Domini sentiat, hoc nimirum sentit quod Marcus, Lucas et Iohannes. Si quaeras quid Iohannes sentiat, hoc procul dubio quod Lucas, Marcus et Matthaeus. Si quaeras quid Marcus, hoc quod Matthaeus, Iohannes et Lucas. Si quaeras quid Lucas, hoc quod Iohannes, Matthaeus et Marcus sentit. Quatuor ergo facies uni sunt, quia notitia fidei, qua cognoscuntur a Deo, ipsa est in uno, quae est simul in quatuor. Quicquid enim in uno inueneris, hoc in omnibus simul quatuor recte cognoscis."

pas d'affirmer: "Tous les saints évangélistes témoignent d'une seule autorité, d'une seule foi, et en rien, ils ne diffèrent dans la composition exprimant la plus pure vérité." [127]

Pour conclure sur cet Evangile quadriforme combien est précieuse cette référence de Denys bar Salībī, écrivain syriaque: si chaque vivant est doté de quatre faces c'est pour mieux faire apparaître le caractère quadriforme de l'Evangile quoiqu'il soit un.[128]

II – Des quatre vivants aux quatre évangélistes

D'un seul Evangile proclamé les quatre évangélistes ont proposé quatre récits respectivement fidèles à la Parole entendue. En outre, ce qui nous paraît important c'est l'application des symboles de ces visions prophétiques aux évangélistes: le «char de Dieu» avec les quatre vivants est devenu le char du Verbe de Dieu remplacé allégoriquement par l'Evangile dont les quatre vivants représentent les quatre évangélistes. Comment ne pas considérer dès lors l'Evangile comme un don divin destiné à tous les hommes? C'est ce qu'a parfaitement compris l'Eglise en son début lorsqu'elle proclamait le caractère surnaturel de l'Evangile, c'est-à-dire pour elle son origine divine. N'est-ce pas suivre la pensée même de Victorin de Poetovio qui n'hésite pas à découvrir les deux Testaments sur le trône de Dieu.[129] Allons jusqu'au bout de son intuition, Victorin de Poetovio conclut que *les quatre animaux* symbolisent les quatre évangiles.[130] Selon le pape Grégoire le Grand les quatre vivants désignent les saints évangélistes.[131] A un autre endroit Grégoire expose comment les vivants représentent soit le Rédempteur soit ses quatre évangélistes.[132]

[126] Rabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in Ezechielem* I, PL 110, 510.

[127] Petrus Damianus, *Sermo* 49, 4, CCCM 57, 310: "Omnes tamen sancti euangelistae unius auctoritatis, unius sunt fidei, nec in aliquo dispares in texenda sincerissimae linea ueritatis."

[128] Dionysius Bar Salībī, *In Apocalypsim* 4, 6, ed. J. Sedlacek, CSCO 53, 9, CSCO 60. Scriptores Syri 101, 6: "*Quattuor animalia plena oculis*; h.e. unicuique animali quattuor facies (sunt); quia cum unum sit evangelium, quadriforme videtur."

[129] Victorinus Poetovionensis, *Commentarii in Apocalypsim Ioannis* 4, 2, SCh 423, 64-65: "[...] haec duo testamenta posita esse usque ad consummationem orbis super tribunal Dei exinde manifestabatur [...]."

[130] Victorinus Poetovionensis, *Commentarii in Apocalypsim Ioannis* 4, 3, SCh 423, 66-67: "<Quattuor animalia> quattuor sunt euangelia."

[131] Gregorius I Papa, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem* I (Homilia 2, 15), CCL 142, 26, SCh 327, 104-105: "[...] quia quatuor haec animalia, sancti scilicet euangelistae [...]." Gregorius I Papa, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem* I (Homilia 4, 1), CCL 142, 47, SCh 327, 148-149.

Réponse identique chez Césaire d'Arles au VIe siècle, dans son *Exposé sur l'Apocalypse, "Et au milieu du trône il y avait quatre Vivants*, c'est-à-dire les évangiles au milieu de l'Eglise (*in medio Ecclesiae Evangelistae*)."[133] Deux siècles plus tard même déclaration de Beatus de Liébana, dans son *Commentaire sur l'Apocalypse*: *"in medio ecclesiae euanguelia"* [134] dont la pensée reprend celle d'Apringus de Beja[135], exégète du VIe siècle *"Quattuor animalia quattuor euangelistarum est forma."* [136] Dans la mesure où le terme même de forma signifie représentation ou idée on peut l'attribuer aussi bien aux évangélistes qu'aux Evangiles, excellente illustration de métonymie, les évangélistes ayant le pouvoir causal dont les Evangiles sont les effets. Ne manquant pas à la tradition patristique Raban Maur également ne peut s'empêcher de déclarer: "Que peut-on en effet désigner à travers les quatre vivants sinon les quatre évangélistes"[137]. Nous retrouvons la même conception chez Bruno d'Asti.[138]

Suivant une vision prophétique du «char de Yahvé» avec les quatre vivants tétramorphes selon l'ordre d'Ezéchiel quoique changé, le lion, le bœuf, l'aigle, l'homme, Išodad de Merv, exégète important de la tradition syriaque de décrire: "D'autres expliquent le char (comme étant) le porteur du mystère des (faits) concernant le Christ. *Les quatre animaux*, disent-ils, (représentent) les quatre évangélistes, et le conducteur est le Christ [...]."[139]

[132] Gregorius I Papa, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem* I (Homilia 5, 1), CCL 142, 57, SCh 327, 170-171: "In ea locutione quae ad uos, fratres carissimi, nudiustertius facta est qualiter ostensa animalia uel Redemptorem nostrum, uel quatuor eius euangelistas atque perfectos omnes significent, dictum est."

[133] Caesarius Arelatensis, *Expositio in Apocalypsim. Homilia* 3, PL 35, 2422: "Et in medio throni quatuor animalia: id est, in medio Ecclesiae Evangelistae." Césaire d'Arles, *Commentaire de l'Apocalypse*, traduit par dom Joël Courreau, Desclée de Brouwer *«Les Pères dans la foi»*, Paris 1989, 52: *"Et au milieu du trône il y avait quatre Vivants*, c'est-à-dire les évangiles au milieu de l'Eglise."

[134] Beatus Liebanensis, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* III 282, vol. I, *Scriptores Graeci et Latini*, Romae 1985, 468.

[135] Apringius Pacensis, *Tractatus in Apocalipsim* 4, 6, Scriptores Ecclesiastici Hispano-Latini Veteris et Medii Aevi X-XI, edidit et in integrum restituit P.A.C. Vega, Typis Augustinianis Monasterii Escurialensis 1941, 28: "Quatuor animalia quatuor Evangelistarum est forma".

[136] Beatus Liebanensis, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* III 278, vol. I, *Scriptores Graeci et Latini*, Romae 1985, 462: "Quattuor animalia quattuor euangelistarum est forma."

[137] Rabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in Ezechielem* I 1, PL 110, 505: "Quid enim per quatuor animalia, nisi quatuor Evangelistae signantur."

[138] Bruno Astensis, *Commentaria in Apocalypsim libri* II 4, PL 165, 628: "Haec enim quatuor animalia, quatuor evangelistae sunt."

Dans cette étude, nous procéderons à l'examen des commentaires du *Livre d'Ezéchiel* et de l'*Apocalypse*. Nous y chercherons le sens allégorique de la vision prophétique d'Ezéchiel et de l'*Apocalypse*, sans quitter le contexte théologique et ecclésial. Nous essaierons d'abord d'analyser la vision prophétique d'Ezéchiel décrite par Epiphane de Constantina, Jérôme de Stridon, Apponius, Eucher de Lyon, Grégoire le Grand et ensuite celle de l'*Apocalypse* commentée par Irénée de Lyon, Victorin de Poetovio, Ambroise de Milan, Chromace d'Aquilée. En premier lieu dans quelle chronologie s'inscrivent les quatre Evangiles? Le premier est-il de Saint Matthieu, le second de Saint Marc, le troisième de Saint Luc et le quatrième de Saint Jean? Question devant trouver des solutions convaincantes.

Avant tout commentaire faisons quelques remarques de portée méthodologique: car il nous paraît nécessaire de distinguer entre l'ordre et l'attribution; autre chose est l'ordre des quatre vivants selon les deux visions ou l'ordre des quatre évangélistes et autre chose est l'attribution des quatre vivants aux quatre évangélistes. Quel est d'abord l'ordre des quatre vivants soit d'après la vision d'Ezéchiel soit d'après la description de l'*Apocalypse*? Quel est l'ordre des quatre évangélistes ou de leur Evangile? Il s'agit ici de l'ordre de prêcher l'Evangile et l'ordre d'écrire l'Evangile. Quelle est la méthode d'attribution des quatre vivants aux quatre évangélistes? Quelle est la motivation dans l'attribution?

1. – L'attribution selon Epiphane et Jérôme

1.1. – Epiphane, évêque de Constantina

En 392, dans son *Traité des poids et des mesures*, Epiphane, évêque de Constantina, l'ancienne Salamine, insiste plus que les autres sur la signification du chiffre quatre dont l'interprétation se trouve dans le commentaire de l'urne d'or ou de l'arche, monument commémoratif de l'alliance. Ajoutons qu'abritant les tables de la Loi, elle est ainsi la demeure de Yahvé, l'auteur même de la Loi (*Nb* 10, 35-36). "Car dans l'arche furent déposés les quatre livres: la Genèse, l'Exode, le Lévitique et les Nombres. Cependant, le Deutéronome fut écrit trente-huit ans après la sortie d'Egypte des enfants d'Israël, et il fut donné l'ordre de le déposer dans l'arche sur le côté, afin qu'il soit réuni aux quatre autres livres, afin que la recherche ne soit pas sans

[139] *Commentaire d'Išodad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament* V. *Ezéchiel* 1, 3, édité par Ceslas Van den Eynde, CSCO 328. Scriptores Syri 146, 46, CSCO 329. Scriptores Syri 147, 53.

clarté selon le comput du chiffre quatre. Car il y a quatre fleuves qui sortent de l'Eden, quatre extrémités du monde, quatre changements de saison de l'année, quatre veilles de la nuit, et quatre heures de la prière du jour, quatre xestes dans l'urne de la manne. Quatre Vivants avec quatre formes sont debout, qui annoncent l'avènement du Christ: la forme de l'homme pour l'un, parce que, à Bethléem, Jésus Christ est né homme, comme l'annonce l'évangéliste Matthieu; la forme du lion pour un autre, comme Marc le proclame venu du Jourdain comme le lion royal, comme il est écrit quelque part «Le Seigneur est monté du Jourdain comme un lion (Cf. *Jr* 49,19)»; la forme du taureau chez un autre parce que Luc proclame, non seulement lui, mais les autres évangélistes aussi, qu'au temps marqué jusqu'à la neuvième heure, il a été sacrifié sur la croix comme le taureau pour le monde; la forme de l'aigle pour le dernier, parce que Jean proclame le Verbe qui est descendu du ciel et s'est fait chair et est parti au ciel comme l'aigle pour une résurrection complète, envolé avec la divinité. Et c'est cela que nous avons raconté à propos de l'urne dans laquelle se trouvait la manne qui est le pain du ciel."[140] Pour Epiphane loin de considérer les quatre vivants de la vision d'*Ezéchiel*, comme une leçon du seul *Ancien Testament*, il importe de les rapprocher des passages du *Nouveau Testament*, peut-être pour retenir l'unité des deux Testaments pour montrer qu'il n'y a pas de césure entre eux ou de hiatus ou de discontinuité: c'est la même Révélation qui, commencée dans l'*Ancien Testament*, se poursuit, s'amplifie et s'achève dans le *Nouveau*.

En parlant des quatre animaux ou des quatre vivants, Epiphane de Salamine tente de relever des réminiscences vétéro et novotestamentaires. Déjà la pensée juive permettait de voir en l'homme le symbole de la parole, dans le lion le symbole de la fidélité *Juda est un jeune lion* (*Gn* 49,9); *seule la maison de Juda se rallia à David* (2 S 2,10); *la maison de Juda ira vers la maison d'Israël* (*Jr* 3,18) et *le lion de la tribu de Juda* dans Ap 5,5, dans le taureau celui de sacrifice, dans l'aigle celui de la victoire. Or, ces quatre vivants sont bien conçus par la tradition juive comme les symboles des quatre principes de vie. En effet, suivant l'ordre de la vision prophétique d'Ezéchiel, Epiphane relate les mystères du Christ récapitulés par les figures emblématiques de chaque évangéliste et il énumère les quatre vivants en les répartissant aux quatre évangélistes selon la succession

[140] Epiphanius Constantiensis, *De mensuris et ponderibus* 35, in: *Les versions géorgiennes d'Epiphane de Chypre. Traité des poids et des mesures*, 35 *Exégèse de l'urne d'or*, CSCO 460, 29-30, CSCO 461, 40-41; Dt 2, 14; Ex 16, 33; Ez 1, 8-10; Jr 49, 19; Lc 23, 44. Cf. PG 43, 237-293.

suivante: Matthieu, comme auteur du premier évangile, précédant Marc, Luc et Jean. Pour Epiphane les quatre vivants annoncent non seulement l'Incarnation du Fils de Dieu, mais symbolisent aussi les quatre mystères de Sa vie, Incarnation, Passion et Mort, Résurrection et Ascension. Quant à l'ordre des quatre évangélistes c'est à Origène qu'il le doit.

homme	lion	taureau	aigle (Ez 1,10; Eusèbe de Césarée)
Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean (Origène)

1.2. – Jérôme de Stridon

C'est à l'époque de la chute récente de Rome que Jérôme de Stridon écrivit son commentaire d'Ezéchiel (vers 410). Le savant exégète revient sur la vision prophétique d'Ezéchiel à plusieurs reprises, en reprenant l'ordre de cette vision: la face d'un homme désigne Matthieu, la face d'un lion désigne Marc, la face d'un jeune taureau préfigure l'évangéliste Luc et la face d'un aigle celle de l'évangéliste Jean.[141]

homme	lion	taureau	aigle (Ez 1,10; Eusèbe de Césarée)
Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean (Origène)

Mais dans le commentaire de l'*Evangile de Marc* attribué à Jérôme de Stridon, probablement écrit par le Pseudo-Chrysostome, l'ordre des évangélistes (Matthieu, Luc, Jean, Marc) n'est pas le même que celui adopté généralement par Jérôme: "Cet être vivant qui apparaît dans l'Apocalypse de Saint Jean et qu'Ezéchiel, dans son introduction, nous décrit comme «tétramorphe», doté à la fois d'une face humaine, d'une face de taureau, d'une face de lion, d'une face

[141] Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Commentarii in Euangelium Matthaei libri* IV. *Prologus* 5-6, CCL 77, 3-4, PL 26, 19, SCh 242, 64-67. Cf. Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri* XIV (I 6-8a), CCL 75, 11: "Quidem quattuor euangelia, quos nos quoque in prooemio Commentariorum Matthaei secuti sumus, horum animalium putant nominibus designari: Matthaei, quod quasi hominem descripserit: *Liber generationis Iesu Christi, filii Dauid, filii Abraham*; leonis ad Marcum referunt: *Initium euangelii Iesu Christi, filii Dei. Sicut scriptum est in Esaia propheta: Vox clamantis in deserto: Parate uiam Domini, rectas facite semitas eius*; uituli ad Lucae euangelium, quod a Zachariae incipit sacerdotio; aquilae ad Ioannis exordium, qui ad excelsum euolans coepit: I*n principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum*: super quo quid nobis uideretur, in supradicto opere diximus; pleniusque in Apocalypsi Ioannis horum animantium species ac nomina referuntur ad quattuor euangelia: quibus quomodo possit omnium animalium descriptio coaptari, tentabimus suo loco dicere."

d'aigle, symbolise respectivement Matthieu – la face humaine, Luc – la face de jeune taureau, et Jean – la face d'aigle; quant à Marc, il apparaît à travers le lion dans le désert."[142] Il est très probable en effet que l'auteur de ce texte soit un certain Irlandais nommé Cummineus et il n'est pas non plus invraisemblable que ce personnage, après un voyage à Rome en 632, ait adressé à l'abbé Segene d'Iona une lettre sur les dates irlandaise et romaine des Pâques.[143] Peut-être l'auteur de ce commentaire a-t-il voulu mettre au premier rang les évangiles relatant la généalogie du Christ.

Matthieu	Luc	Jean	Marc (généalogies)
homme	taureau	aigle	lion

Dans son ouvrage *Aduersus Iouinianum*, Jérôme de Stridon présente les évangélistes dans l'ordre suivant, Matthieu, Luc, Marc et Jean, et il aboutit à l'ordre des quatre vivants correspondant à celui de Victorin de Poetovio, homme, taureau, lion, aigle.

Matthieu	Luc	Marc	Jean (généalogies)
homme	taureau	lion	aigle (Victorin de Poetovio)

Pourquoi Jérôme a-t-il placé Luc tout de suite après Matthieu en changeant l'ordre de la description d'Ezéchiel? Peut-être les deux Evangiles qui, évoquant la généalogie humaine du Christ, royale chez *Matthieu* et sacerdotale chez Luc, ont-t-ils joué un rôle important dans l'attribution des symboles aux quatre évangélistes. Considération plus importante encore que celle de l'exposition de Clément d'Alexandrie qui dans ses *Hypotyposes* relate la tradition des anciens presbytres concernant l'ordre chronologique des Evangiles: en effet, selon cette tradition du moins, la rédaction des deux Evangiles de Matthieu et de

[142] Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Tractatus in Marci Euangelium* 1 (1, 1-12), CCL 78, 451, PLS 2, 125-126: "Animal illud, quod in Iohannis Apocalypsi et Iezechielis uidetur principio tetramorfon, quod habebat faciem hominis, et faciem uituli, et faciem leonis, et faciem aquilae, in praesenti quoque loco significat: in Matthaeo faciem hominis, in Luca uituli, in Iohanne aquilae; in Marco leonem in heremo personat." Jérôme et Jean Chrysostome, *L'Evangile selon Marc*, homélies traduites par Marie-Hélène Stébé et Marie-Odile Goudet, Desclée de Brouwer «*Les Pères dans la foi*» 32, Paris 1986, 27.

[143] Bernhard Bischoff, *Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter*, in: *Sacris Erudiri* 6 (1954) 201. Cf. Franz Brunhölzl, *Histoire de la littérature latine du Moyen Age*, I – *De Cassiodore à la fin de la renaissance carolingienne*, 1 – *L'Époque mérovingienne* (traduit de l'allemand par Henri Rochais), Brepols, Louvain 1990, 191.

Luc qui rappellent la généalogie humaine du Christ, précède celles de Marc et de Jean. C'est d'ailleurs Eusèbe de Césarée qui nous transmet cette information de Clément d'Alexandrie.[144] Faut-il découvrir dans cet ordre chronologique la justification d'un autre ordre celui des destinateurs à évangéliser, d'abord les croyants venus du judaïsme recevant l'Evangile de Matthieu, ensuite les croyants venus du paganisme recevant celui de Luc? Car le premier avait pour but de faire connaître le caractère royal du Christ et le second son caractère sacerdotal. C'est pourquoi l'autorité de Jérôme a définitivement fixé le visage d'homme pour Matthieu à cause de la généalogie humaine du Christ, le lion pour Marc à cause de la voix de Jean-Baptiste qui crie dans le désert, le taureau pour Luc à cause du sacrifice de Zacharie et l'aigle pour Jean, en raison de l'élévation sublime du prologue.[145] Ce n'est pas par hasard si Jérôme avait accordé à Jean le privilège de trois titres, d'apôtre, d'évangéliste et de prophète.[146] Enfin selon l'ordre d'Ezéchiel, l'attribution respective des quatre vivants aux quatre évangélistes donne en conséquence l'ordre des quatre Evangiles, tel qu'il se trouve dans le canon du *Nouveau Testament*.

Toutefois si l'ordre est différent, l'attribution demeure identique. Pour Jérôme de Stridon et Epiphane de Constantina, Matthieu est figuré par la face humaine, Marc par le lion, Luc par le jeune taureau et Jean par l'aigle. On découvre la même attribution

[144] Eusebius Caesariensis, *Historia ecclesiastica* VI 14, 5-7, GCS 9, 1, 235, SCh 41, 107.

[145] Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Commentarii in Hiezechielem* I 1, 6-8a, CCL 75, 11.

[146] Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Aduersus Iouinianum* I 26, PL 23, 247-248: "Ut autem sciamus Joannem tunc puerum, manifestissime docent Ecclesiasticae historiae, quod usque ad Trajani vixerit imperium, id est, post passionem Domini sexagesimo octavo anno dormierit: quod et nos in libro de Illustribus Viris breviter perstrinximus. Petrus Apostolus est; et Joannes Apostolus: Joannes et Apostolus et Evangelista, et Propheta. Apostolus, quia scripsit ad Ecclesias ut magister: Evangelista, qui librum Evangelii condidit, quod excepto Matthaeo, alii ex duodecim Apostoli non fecerunt. Propheta: vidit enim in Pathmos insula, in qua fuerat a Domitiano principe ob Domini martyrium relegatus, Apocalypsim infinita futurorum mysteria continentem. Refert autem Tertullianus, quod Romae missus in ferventis olei dolium, purior et vegetior exiverit, quam intraverit. Sed et ipsum eius Evangelium multum distat a caeteris Matthaeus quasi de homine incipit scribere: *Liber generationis Jesu Christi, filii David, filii Abraham*: Lucas a sacerdotio Zachariae: Marcus a prophetia Malachiae prophetae, et Isaiae. Primus habet faciem hominis, propter genealogiam; secundus faciem vituli, propter sacerdotium; tertius faciem leonis, propter vocem clamantis in deserto: Parate viam Domini, rectas facite semitas eius (Is 40, 3; Lc 3, 4). Joannes vero noster, quasi aquila ad superna volat, et ad ipsum Patrem pervenit, dicens: *In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum et Deus erat Verbum.*" Cf. Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Epistula* 51, 5, CSEL 54, 403: "[...] Iohannes apostolus et euangelista [...]"

dans l'ouvrage *Expositio in Canticum Canticorum d'Apponius*, écrivain chrétien peu connu, qui fut écrit probablement entre 405 – 415.[147]

Apponius

homme	lion	taureau	aigle (Ez 1,10; Eusèbe de Césarée, Jérôme de Stridon, Chromace d'Aquilée)
Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean (Origène)

Plus tard, chez Eucher, évêque de Lyon[148], chez Apringus de Béja et chez le Pseudo-Théophile d'Antioche[149], nous retrouvons la ligne tracée par Jérôme de Stridon tout au moins en ce qui concerne l'attribution.

Eucher de Lyon

Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean (Origène)
homme	lion	taureau	aigle (Ez 1,10; Eusèbe de Césarée, Jérôme, Chromace d'Aquilée)

le Pseudo Théophile d'Antioche

[147] Apponius, *Expositio in Canticum Canticorum* VII 28, CCL 19, 166-167: "Hominis namque facies in Mattheo humanitatis eius natiuitatem narrante; leonis potentia in Marco qui, ut leonis, uocem in deserto clamantis inchoando euangelium inducit; uitulis uero immolatus pro totius mundi peccato in Luca qui Zachariam ponentem incensum in altare in tempore sacrificii uespertini euangelii sui initium sumit; aquila in Iohanne qui hominum mentes a sensu iudaico, ut aquila praedam <de> deiectis terrenisque ad caelum leuauit dum quaerentibus eius originem qui susceptum hominem ad caelum portauit, ostendit dicendo: *In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum*; et, ne ultra curiositas humana progrederetur quaerendo, ait: *Hoc erat in principio apud Deum.*"

[148] Eucherius Lugdunensis, *Instructionum libri duo ad Salonium. De quaestionibus difficilioribus Noui Testamenti. De euangelio Matthaei* I 1, CSEL 31, 105-106: "Matthaeus hominis optinet formam, quia a natiuitate hominis dicens: liber generationis Iesu Christi filii Dauid, filii Abraham. Marcus leonis specie praefiguratur, eo quod ut leo ingenti intulit uoce: uox clamantis in deserto: parate uiam domini. Lucas adnuntiatur in uitulo, quod a sacrificiis uel a sacerdotio sumat exordium scribens: fuit in diebus Herodis regis Iudaeae sacerdos quidam nomine Zaccharias. Iohannes aquila praenotatur, quia spiritu euolans ad superna tamquam de sublimi profert dicens: in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum."

[149] Ps.-Theophilus Antiochenus, *Commentarius in quattuor Euangelia*, liber I, PLS 3, 1283.

Matthieu	Marc	Jean	Luc (Origène, *In Lucam homilia* 1,1)
homme	lion	aigle	taureau (Cyrille de Jérusalem)

Le Pseudo-Théophile d'Antioche conserve l'ordre des quatre évangélistes selon Origène et l'ordre des quatre vivants selon Cyrille de Jérusalem.

1.3. – Grégoire le Grand

Les études de Vincenzo Recchia[150] en présentant une exégèse assez raffinée parce que linguistique des Homélies sur Ezéchiel de Grégoire le Grand ne peuvent pas s'abstenir d'aborder la question des quatre vivants. De plus elles mettent en évidence l'influence philosophique qui a imprégné l'exégèse de Grégoire. Dans l'une de ses *Homélies sur Ezéchiel*, réservée à des auditeurs plus avertis, le pape Grégoire le Grand suit la même interprétation qui s'appuyait sur le commencement de chaque Evangile: "Que les quatre Vivants désignent les saints évangélistes, le début même de chaque livre évangélique en est une preuve. Commençant par une généalogie humaine, Matthieu a droit d'être signifié par l'homme; commençant par un cri dans le désert, Marc l'est avec justesse par le lion; ouvrant son récit par un sacrifice, Luc l'est convenablement par le jeune bœuf; commençant par la divinité du Verbe, Jean mérite de l'être par l'aigle, car lorsqu'il dit: «Au commencement était le Verbe, et le Verbe était auprès de Dieu, et le Verbe était Dieu (*Jn* 1,1)», quand il dirige son regard vers l'essence même de la Divinité, il fixe bien des yeux le soleil à la façon de l'aigle. Mais comme les élus sont tous membres de notre Rédempteur, et notre Rédempteur la tête de tous les élus, rien n'empêche que, ses membres étant désignés sous des figures, il le soit lui-même ainsi, en tous. Car, Fils unique de Dieu, il s'est lui-même fait véritablement homme; dans son sacrifice pour notre rédemption, il a daigné mourir comme le jeune bœuf; par la vigueur de sa force, il s'est relevé comme le lion. On rapporte aussi que le lion dort les yeux ouverts: dans la mort même, dont son humanité l'a rendu capable, notre Rédempteur a veillé, demeurant immortel par sa divinité. Montant aux cieux après sa résurrection, il s'est élevé au monde d'en haut, comme l'aigle. Il est donc tout pour nous à la fois, devenu homme en naissant, jeune boeuf en mourant, lion en ressuscitant, aigle

[150] Vincenzo Recchia, *Le Omelie di Gregorio Magno su Ezechiele* (1-5), Quaderni di «Vetera Christianorum» 8, Adriatica Editrice, Bari 1974, 99-104. 131-144.

en montant aux cieux." [151]

Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean (Origène)
homme	lion	taureau	aigle (Ez 1,10; Eusèbe de Césarée, Jérôme, Apponius, Eucher de Lyon, Chromace d'Aquilée)

Grégoire le Grand rappelle les quatre mystères du Christ en liaison avec les quatre vivants, l'Incarnation (l'homme), la Passion et la Mort (le jeune bœuf), la Résurrection (le lion) et l'Ascension (l'aigle). En effet Grégoire le Grand s'est surtout servi du commentaire de Jérôme sur Ezéchiel, mais sans le suivre servilement et sans le nommer[152] et un peu plus tard Isidore de Séville propose la même interprétation.[153] Comment ne pas relever déjà le sérieux d'un discours théologique, la gravité d'une christologie tellement sous-

[151] Gregorius I Papa (Magnus), *Homiliae in Hiezechielem* I (*Homilia* 4, 1), CCL 142, 47, SCh 327, 148-149: "Quod enim quatuor haec pennata animalia sanctos quatuor euangelistas designent, ipsa uniuscuiusque libri euangelici exordia testantur. Nam quia ab humana generatione coepit, iure per hominem Matthaeus; quia per clamorem in deserto, recte per leonem Marcus; quia a sacrificio exorsus est, bene per uitulum Lucas; quia uero a diuinitate Verbi coepit, digne per aquilam significatur Iohannes, qui dicens: *In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum*, dum in ipsam Diuinitatis substantiam intendit, quasi more aquilae oculos in solem fixit. Sed quia electi omnes membra sunt Redemptoris nostri, ipse autem Redemptor noster caput est omnium electorum, per hoc quod membra eius figurata sunt, nihil obstat si etiam in his omnibus et ipse signetur. Ipse enim unigenitus Dei Filius ueraciter factus est homo, ipse in sacrificio nostrae redemptionis dignatus est mori ut uitulus, ipse per uirtutem suae fortitudinis surrexit ut leo. Leo etiam apertis oculis dormire perhibetur, quia in ipsa morte in qua ex humanitate Redemptor noster dormire potuit, ex diuinitate sua immortalis permanendo uigilauit. Ipse etiam post resurrectionem suam ascendens ad caelos, in superioribus est eleuatus ut aquila. Totum ergo simul nobis est, qui et nascendo homo, et moriendo uitulus, et resurgendo leo, et ad caelos ascendendo aquila factus est."

[152] Cf. Franz Brunhölzl, *Histoire de la littérature latine du Moyen Age*, I – *De Cassiodore à la fin de la renaissance carolingienne*, 1 – *L'Époque mérovingienne* (traduit de l'allemand par Henri Rochais), Brepols, Louvain 1990, 60.

[153] Isidorus Hispalensis, *In libros ueteris ac noui Testamenti prooemia. De quatuor Evangeliis* 87-88, PL 83, 175: "Haec est illa in Zacharia quadriga Domini, in qua per omnem orbem evectus leoni jugo colla sibi cunctarum gentium subjicit. Hi sunt etiam, et quos sub quatuor animalium specie visio prophetalis descripsit, id est, hominis, leonis, bovis et aquilae. Namque primus, scilicet Matthaeus, ut homo, ordinem humanae nativitatis designat. Secundus, scilicet Marcus, ad instar rugientis leonis statim in principio sui divinae potestatis fortitudinem intonat. Tertius, scilicet Lucas, victimam sacerdotis praemittens, quasi vituli mortem insinuat. Quartus, scilicet Joannes, more aquilae aspectans coelum, terram avidus transvolat, atque nativitatem verbi occulta mysterii intelligentia penetrat; sed ex his tria illa animalia, quae in terra gradiuntur, actualem vitam sequentes, ea tantummodo persecuti sunt quae homo Christus in terris temporaliter gessit. Quartum autem animal contemplationis acie coelestia inspicit, et pauca operum, plurima divinitatis sacramenta digessit."

jacente aux images allégoriques?

Isidore de Séville

Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean (Origène)
homme	lion	taureau	aigle (Ez 1,10; Eusèbe de Césarée, Jérôme, Apponius, Eucher de Lyon, Chromace d'Aquilée, Grégoire le Grand)

Pareillement dans son commentaire des quatre vivants, l'anglo-saxon Alcuin insiste sur l'ordre des animaux: selon lui, la vision prophétique d'Ezéchiel, en commençant par l'homme, évoque le mystère de l'Incarnation et l'*Apocalypse*, en commençant par le lion, souligne la primauté de la Résurrection. Tout en acceptant l'opinion de Jérôme de Stridon sur l'attribution des quatre vivants aux évangélistes, qu'il a connue par l'œuvre de Grégoire le Grand[154], ses explications sont des compilations, selon l'usage dans les exposés scientifiques de son temps.[155]

Alcuin
Commentariorum in Apocalypsin III 4 (vers. 7)

Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean (Origène)
homme	lion	taureau	aigle (Ez 1,10; Eusèbe de Césarée, Jérôme, Apponius, Eucher de Lyon, Chromace d'Aquilée, Grégoire le Grand, Isidore de Séville)

Au VIIIe siècle, Ambroise Autpert, abbé de Saint-Vincent du

[154] Alcuinus (Flaccus Albinus), *Commentariorum in Apocalypsin* III 4 (vers. 7), PL 100, 1118: "Quaerendum est quare Joannes primum animal leoni simile dixerit, cum Ezechiel hominis speciem primo animali inesse perhibeat. Igitur aut ordo historicus mutatus est, quem mystica Scripturarum eloquia non semper servant; vel quia non propter nativitatem, autem passionem crediderunt in Christum homines, sed propter resurrectionem, quae in leone figuratur, ejus speciem primam posuit. Denique quia ab humana generatione coepit, recte per hominem Matthaeus; quia a clamore in deserto, recte per leonem Marcus; quia a sacrificio exorsus, bene per vitulum Lucas; qui vero a divinitate coepit, digne per aquilam Joannes."

[155] Cf. Franz Brunhölzl, *Histoire de la littérature latine du Moyen Age*, I – *De Cassiodore à la fin de la renaissance carolingienne*, 2 – *L'Époque carolingienne* (traduit de l'allemand par Henri Rochais), Brepols, Louvain 1991, 35.

Volturne en Italie, reprend l'interprétation de Jérôme de Stridon où Matthieu est figuré par la face humaine, Marc par le lion, Luc par le jeune taureau et Jean par l'aigle. Son *Commentaire sur l'Apocalypse* en dix livres, composé entre 758 et 767, demeure une compilation de littérature patristique[156], tant l'auteur prête attention à l'ordre précis des quatre êtres vivants, selon le *Livre d'Ezéchiel*. Le Fils de Dieu s'est fait homme, il s'est donné en sacrifice et il est mort comme un taureau, il est ressuscité comme un lion et il est élevé au ciel comme l'aigle.[157]

Ambroise Autpert
Expositionis in Apocalypsim III (4, 7)

Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean (Origène)
homme	lion	taureau	aigle (Ez 1,10; Eusèbe de Césarée, Jérôme, Apponius, Eucher de Lyon, Chromace d'Aquilée, Grégoire le Grand, Isidore de Séville)

Même découverte au VIIIe siècle chez Beatus de Liébana[158], au IXe siècle chez Raban Maur[159], Walafrid Strabon[160] et Christian de Stavelot[161], au XIe siècle chez Pierre Damien[162], et au XIIe siècle chez

[156] Cf. Franz Brunhölzl, *Histoire de la littérature latine du Moyen Age*, I – *De Cassiodore à la fin de la renaissance carolingienne*, 1 – *L'Époque mérovingienne* (traduit de l'allemand par Henri Rochais), Brepols, Louvain 1990, 69.

[157] Ambrosius Autpertus, *Expositionis in Apocalypsim* III (4, 7), CCCM 27, 220-221: "Primum itaque sciendum nobis est, quia mystica Scripturarum eloquia non semper seruant ordinem historicum. Quod si facerent, non iam mystica, sed tantum historica essent. Denique si ad conscriptionem Euangeliorum recurrimus, Hiezechiel quidem Propheta animalia describens, ordinem seruauit, qui Matheo humanam faciem inesse designans, primum de humanitate Christi exorsum fuisse, Marco autem leonis formam tribuens, secundum a clamore in deserto coepisse, Lucae uero uituli speciem adsignans, tertium a sacerdotio inchoasse, Iohanni quoque aquilae similitudinem aptans, quartum a diuinitate Verbi initium sumpsisse monstrauit. Sed si ad dispensationem Redemptoris nostri quam eadem animalia peractam declarant nec ipse ordinem tenuit, qui secundo loco leonem posuit, cum idem Redemptor noster, natus ut homo, prius fuerit ut uitulus immolatus, quam ut leo a mortuis suscitatus." Ambrosius Autpertus, *Expositionis in Apocalypsim libri* III (4, 7), CCCM 27, 222.

[158] Beatus Liebanensis, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* III 278-283, vol. I, *Scriptores Graeci et Latini*, Romae 1985, 462-470.

[159] Rabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in Ezechielem* I, PL 110, 508; Rabanus Maurus, *De laudibus Sanctae Crucis* I. Figura 15. *De quatuor euangelistis et Agno, in crucis specie constitutis*, PL 107, 207-210.

[160] Walafridus Strabus, *Incipit Expositio quatuor Evangeliorum*, PL 114, 864.

Bruno d'Asti et Richard de Saint Victor[163]: l'attribution des quatre vivants aux quatre évangélistes d'après Jérôme de Stridon, qui veut que Matthieu soit figuré par la face humaine, Marc par le lion, Luc par le jeune taureau et Jean par l'aigle, n'est pas oubliée, au point d'influencer le Moyen Age dont la vie spirituelle se nourrissait de ces quatre mystères du Christ: Incarnation, Passion, Résurrection et Ascension ce qui explique le développement allégorique des quatre vivants en art.

Raban Maur
Commentaria in Ezechielem I

Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean (Origène)
homme	lion	taureau	aigle (Ez 1,10; Eusèbe de Césarée, Jérôme, Apponius, Eucher de Lyon, Chromace d'Aquilée, Grégoire le Grand, Isidore de Séville, Ambroise Autpert, Alcuin)

Walafrid Strabon

Matthieu	Luc	Marc	Jean (généalogies; Hippolyte de Rome, *Interpretatio Cantici Canticorum* 8,6)
homme	taureau	lion	aigle (Victorin de Poetovio)

C'est encore Victorin de Poetovio qui est à l'origine de l'ordre des quatre vivants choisi par Walafrid Strabon, mais c'est Hippolyte de Rome qui lui inspire l'ordre des quatre évangélistes, parmi lesquels

[161] Christianus Druthmarus, *Expositio in Matthaeum Evangelistam* 1, PL 106, 1264-1265: "Figurae istorum animalium etiam Domino conveniunt, qui homo factus est nascendo, vitulos moriendo: leo factus est resurgendo, aquila exstitit ascendendo."

[162] Petrus Damianus, *Sermo* 49, 5, CCCM 57, 310-311: "Quos profecto nonnulli catholicorum patrum hoc ordine discreuerunt, ut quia ab humana generatione coepit, iure per hominem Matheus ; quia uero a clamore in deserto, recte per leonem Marcum; quia a sacrificio exorsus est, bene per uitulum Lucas; quia a diuinitate Verbi coepit, digne Iohannes uideatur per aquilam designari, qui nimirum dicens: *In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum*, dum in ipsam substantiam diuinitatis intendit, quasi more aquilae oculos in solem fixit."

[163] Richardus a Sancto Victore, *In Apocalypsin Joannis* II 2. *De quatuor animalibus*, PL 196, 749-754 (750): "Primum animal Marcus, secundum Lucas, tertium Matthaeus, quartum Joannes."

il distingue les deux apôtres et les deux disciples.[164]

Christian de Stavelot

Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean (Origène)
homme	lion	taureau	aigle (Ez 1,10; Eusèbe de Césarée, Jérôme, Apponius, Eucher de Lyon, Chromace d'Aquilée, Grégoire le Grand, Isidore de Séville, Ambroise Autpert, Alcuin, Raban Maur)

Pierre Damien

homme	lion	taureau	aigle (Ez 1,10; Eusèbe de Césarée, Jérôme, Apponius, Eucher de Lyon, Chromace d'Aquilée, Grégoire le Grand, Isidore de Séville, Ambroise Autpert, Alcuin, Raban Maur, Christian de Stavelot)
Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean (Origène)

Pierre Damien est sensible à l'ordre chronologique de l'élection des apôtres: s'il était réservé à Matthieu et à Jean de tenir les places extrêmes, à Marc et à Luc il revenait d'être le moyen terme dans le catalogue des évangélistes, non pas qu'ils ne méritassent pas le terme d'apôtre mais enseignés l'un par Pierre et l'autre par Paul, ils appartenaient cependant à la première génération des apôtres.[165] C'est sur les deux premiers apôtres que reposait la construction de l'Église comme si Dieu véritable architecte prévoyait le poids de cet immense édifice spirituel.[166] En suivant l'ordre de la vision d'Ezéchiel, Pierre

[164] Walafridus Strabus, *Incipit Expositio quatuor Evangeliorum*, PL 114, 864: "[...] cur quatuor evangelistae, non per quatuor apostolos scribuntur, nisi per duos discipulos et duos apostolos [...]."

[165] Petrus Damianus, *Sermo* 49, 4, CCCM 57, 310: "Matheus itaque primum optinet locum, Iohannes ultimum. [...] Marcus autem et Lucas, qui euangelici catalogi meditullium sortiuntur, non quidem sunt apostoli, uerumtamen praecipuorum apostolorum, alter Petri alter Pauli, relationibus sunt edocti."

Damien découvre Marc à la seconde place, celle du lion.[167] Il ajoute à cette découverte celle d'un monde dont toutes les parties reçoivent la prédication des quatre évangélistes.[168]

1.4. – Apringus de Béja

Apringus de Pax Iulia (Béja, Baixo Alemtejo portugais) vivant dans la première moitié du sixième siècle, sous le règne de Theudis, qui gouverna les Wisigoths d'Espagne de 531 à 548 est un auteur d'un *Commentaire de l'Apocalypse*. L'ordre des quatre vivants adopté par Apringus est celui de l'Apocalypse retenu déjà par Irénée de Lyon et Hippolyte. Quant à l'attribution des quatre vivants aux quatre évangélistes il s'en rapporte à Epiphane et à Jérôme, ce qui provoque le changement dans l'ordre des quatre évangélistes.[169] L'étude d'Apringus de Béja a trouvé par ailleurs des continuateurs en Beatus de Liébana, en Bruno d'Asti et en Richard de Saint Victor. Signalons également que les études de Roger W. Cowley[170] démontrent que dans l'Église orthodoxe d'Ethiopie c'est Marc qui est premier dans l'ordre des quatre évangélistes; et ces mêmes études ne nous autorisent-elles pas à conclure que l'ordre et l'attribution sont les mêmes que chez Apringus de Béja? Quant à l'Église d'Ethiopie[171] elle se fonde sur la vision de l'Apocalypse tout en conservant la tradition recueillie aussi

[166] Petrus Damianus, *Sermo* 49, 4, CCCM 57, 309: "Et notandum quia summus architectus, uidelicet omnipotens Deus, dum huius spiritalis mundi, hoc est sanctae uniuersalis ecclesiae, <fabricam> super quattuor euangelistas quasi super columnas totidem construit, duas priores et egregias altrinsecus ordinat, quibus scilicet omne surgentis machinae pondus incumbat."

[167] Petrus Damianus, *Sermo* 14. *In festiuitate sancti Marci Euangelistae* 1,1, CCCM 57, 64: "Inter quae uidelicet animalia beatus Marcus secundo loco positus inuenitur, qui leonis faciem habere describitur."

[168] Petrus Damianus, *Sermo* 14. *In festiuitate sancti Marci Euangelistae* 1,12, CCCM 57, 71: "Cui quattuor circuli aurei per quattuor angulos iubentur adiungi, quia in eo quod per quattuor mundi partes dilatata tenditur, procul dubio quattuor sancti euangelii libris accincta praedicatur."

[169] Apringius Pacensis, *Tractatus in Apocalipsim* 4, 7, Scriptores Ecclesiastici Hispano-Latini Veteris et Medii Aevi X-XI, edidit et in integrum restituit P.A.C. Vega, Typis Augustinianis Monasterii Escurialensis 1941, 28-29. Cf. Apringius de Béja, *Son Commentaire de l'Apocalypse écrit sous Theudis, Roi des Wisigoths (531–548). Publié pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit unique de l'Université de Copenhague par Dom Marius Férotin*, Libraire Alphonse Picard, Paris 1900, 28-30.

[170] Roger W. Cowley, *The Tradtional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Churc*h, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1983, 221.

[171] *Die Äthiopische Übersetzung der Johannes-Apokalypse*, herausgegeben von Josef Hofmann, CSCO 281. Scriptores Aethiopici 55, 34, CSCO 282. Scriptores Aethiopici 56, 30-31.

par Epiphane et Jérôme dans l'attribution des quatre vivants aux quatre évangélistes.

lion	taureau	homme	aigle	(Ap 4,6-7; Irénée, Hippolyte, Filastre de Brescia; Scriptores Aethiopici, CSCO 281, 34, CSCO 282, 30-31)
Marc	Luc	Matthieu	Jean	

Beatus de Liébana

lion	taureau	homme	aigle	(Ap 4,6-7; Irénée, Hippolyte, Filastre de Brescia, Apringus de Beja, Scriptores Aethiopici CSCO 281, 34, CSCO 282, 30-31)
Marc	Luc	Matthieu	Jean	(Apringus de Beja)

Le commentaire de Beatus a reçu une très grande autorité en Espagne du XIe au XIIe siècle.[172] Comme Apringus de Beja, Beatus de Liébana, Bruno d'Asti, Richard de Saint Victor s'appuient sur la vision de l'*Apocalypse*. Il demeure qu'on peut s'interroger sur la formulation de Beatus de Liébana parlant de Marc comme étant le premier in ministerio: s'agit-il alors du service de la parole *in ministerio maiores nostri primum Marcum posuerunt*?[173] La pensée de Beatus reproduit l'ordre de l'Apocalypse accordant à Marc la première place devançant Luc, Matthieu et Jean[174], mais c'est à Matthieu qu'appartient la primauté dans le service de l'écriture (*primus scripsit*).[175] Toutefois nous possédons l'ordre de quatre vivants cité par Beatus de Liébana soit selon Ezéchiel soit selon l'*Apocalypse*. Quant à l'ordre des quatre vivants selon Ezéchiel il correspond à l'ordre des quatre évangélistes d'après Origène sans que l'attribution ait été modifiée.[176]

homme	lion	taureau	aigle	(Ez 1,10; Eusèbe de Césarée,

[172] *Beatus de Liébana. "L'Apocalypse de Jean. Splendeur de l'enluminure espagnole du XIe siècle."* Traduit de l'espagnole par Valérie Mailloux, Catleya Editions, Paris 1998.

[173] Beatus Liebanensis, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* III 278, vol. I, *Scriptores Graeci et Latini*, Romae 1985, 462.

[174] Beatus Liebanensis, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* III 278-280, vol. I, *Scriptores Graeci et Latini*, Romae 1985, 462-466.

[175] Beatus Liebanensis, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* III 278, vol. I, *Scriptores Graeci et Latini*, Romae 1985, 462.

[176] Beatus Liebanensis, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* III 285, vol. I, *Scriptores Graeci et Latini*, Romae 1985, 474.

Jérôme, Apponius,
Eucher de Lyon,
Chromace d'Aquilée,
Grégoire le Grand)

Matthieu Marc Luc Jean (Origène)

Ce n'est pas sans importance que les études d'Ives Christe aient insisté sur l'exégèse de Beatus si riche d'interprétation spirituelle.[177] N'est-t-il pas possible de vérifier la vaste érudition de Beatus et sa prodigieuse capacité de synthèse? Nous répondons affirmativement. En effet, Bruno d'Asti dans son commentaire de l'Apocalypse demeure dans la mouvance d'Apringus ou de Beatus.[178]

Bruno d'Asti
Commentaria in Apocalypsim libri II 4

lion taureau homme aigle (Ap 4,6-7; Irénée, Hippolyte,
Filastre de Brescia,
Apringus de Beja,
Beatus de Liébana,
Scriptores Aethiopici CSCO
281, 34, CSCO 282, 30-31)

Marc Luc Matthieu Jean (Apringus de Beja)

Enfin Richard de Saint Victor bien que fidèle à Apringus est influencé par le commentaire de Beatus en répétant l'attribution connue par Epiphane de Salamine et Jérôme de Stridon.

Richard de Saint Victor
In Apocalypsin Joannis II 2

Marc Luc Matthieu Jean (Apringus de Beja)
lion taureau homme aigle (Ap 4,6-7; Irénée,
Hippolyte,
Filastre de Brescia,
Apringus de Beja,
Beatus de Liébana,
Bruno d'Asti,
Scriptores Aethiopici
CSCO 281,34, CSCO
282,30-31)

Tableau 1 – L'attribution selon Epiphane de Salamine et Jérôme de

[177] Ives Christe, *Beatus et la tradition latine des commentaires sur l'Apocalypse*, in: *Actas del Simposio para el estudio de los codices del «Commentario al Apocalipsis» de Beato de Liebana*, T. 1, Joyas Bibliograficas, Madrid 1978, 53-68.

[178] Bruno Astensis, *Commentaria in Apocalypsim libri* II 4, PL 165, 627-628.

Stridon.

	Homme	Lion	Taureau	Aigle
Epiphane de Salamine	Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean
Jérôme de Stridon	Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean
Ambroise de Milan	Matthieu		Luc	
Apponius	Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean
Eucher de Lyon	Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean
Apringus de Beja	Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean
Grégoire le Grand	Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean
Ps. Théophile d'Antioche	Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean
Isidore de Séville	Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean
Ambroise Autpert	Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean
Beatus de Liébana	Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean
Alcuin	Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean
Raban Maur	Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean
Walafrid Strabon	Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean
Christian de Stavelot	Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean
Pierre Damien	Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean
Bruno d'Asti	Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean
Richard de Saint Victor	Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean

2. – L'attribution selon Irénée de Lyon

2.1. – Irénée de Lyon

La plus ancienne mention connue de l'ordre des évangélistes est celle d'Irénée de Lyon: Jean, Luc, Matthieu, Marc[179] ou Pierre, Jean, Matthieu, Paul[180]. En reprenant l'ordre de la vision des quatre vivants de l'*Apocalypse de Jean*, qui commence par lion, taureau, homme et aigle, Irénée de Lyon les a attribués à Jean, Luc, Matthieu et Marc, tandis qu'il réservait la première place à Jean, se situant dans la filiation directe de l'évangéliste qui eut une influence particulière sur son œuvre.

D'après la description d'Irénée, le Verbe, d'abord présenté dans

[179] Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Aduersus haereses* III 11, 8, SCh 211, 162-171.

[180] Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Aduersus haereses* III 21, 3, SCh 211, 408-409: "Etenim apostoli, cum sint his omnibus uetustiores, consonant praedictae interpretationi, et interpretatio consonat apostolorum traditioni. Etenim Petrus et Iohannes et Matthaeus et Paulus et reliqui deinceps et horum adsectatores prophetica omnia ita adnuntiauerunt quemadmodum seniorum interpretatio continet."

sa préexistence éternelle, dans son éternelle intimité avec le Père, engendré *ab aeterno* se distingue cependant de lui. En effet, avant l'Incarnation, le Verbe éternel siège sur les Chérubins et Irénée de Lyon se fondant sur la vision prophétique de l'*Apocalypse* proclame l'universalité de l'œuvre créatrice du Verbe éternel de Dieu. Après l'Incarnation avec le Verbe survient l'Evangile et, le jour même de son Incarnation, Il a donné aux hommes un Evangile à quadruple forme, idée qui parmi toutes mérite d'être soulignée dont rend compte son œuvre *Contre les hérésies*. D'où l'insistance d'Irénée de présenter l'Evangile comme un don céleste auquel on accède par les quatre évangélistes: "[...] le Verbe, Artisan de l'univers, qui siège sur les Chérubins et maintient toutes choses, lorsqu'il s'est manifesté aux hommes, nous a donné un Evangile à quadruple forme, encore que maintenu par un unique Esprit. [...]. Car les Chérubins ont une quadruple figure, et leurs figures sont les images de l'activité du Fils de Dieu. «Le premier de ces vivants, est-il dit, est semblable à un lion», ce qui caractérise la puissance, la prééminence et la royauté du Fils de Dieu; «le second est semblable à un jeune taureau», ce qui manifeste sa fonction de sacrificateur et de prêtre; «le troisième a un visage pareil à celui d'un homme», ce qui évoque clairement sa venue humaine; «le quatrième est semblable à un aigle qui vole», ce qui indique le don de l'Esprit volant sur l'Église. Les évangélistes seront donc, eux aussi, en accord avec ces vivants sur lesquels siège le Christ Jésus. Ainsi l'Evangile selon Jean raconte sa génération prééminente, puissante et glorieuse, qu'il tient du Père, en disant: «Au commencement était le Verbe, et le Verbe était auprès de Dieu, et le Verbe était Dieu (*Jn* 1,1)» et «Toutes choses ont été faites par son entremise, et sans lui rien n'a été fait (*Jn* 1,3).» Là réside la hardiesse de cet Evangile. L'Evangile selon Luc, étant de caractère sacerdotal, commence par le prêtre Zacharie offrant à Dieu le sacrifice de l'encens, alors que se prépare le Veau gras qui serait immolé pour le recouvrement du fils cadet. Quant à Matthieu, il raconte sa génération humaine, en disant: «Livre de la génération de Jésus-Christ, fils de David, fils d'Abraham (*Mt* 1,1)» et encore «La génération du Christ arriva ainsi.» Cet Evangile est bien à forme humaine, et c'est pourquoi, tout au long de celui-ci, le Seigneur demeure un homme d'humilité et de douceur. Marc enfin commence par l'Esprit prophétique survenant d'en haut sur les hommes, en disant: «Commencement de l'Evangile, selon qu'il est écrit dans le prophète Isaïe (*Mc* 1,1-2).» Il montre ainsi une image ailée de l'Evangile, et c'est pourquoi il annonce son message en raccourci et par touches rapides, car tel est le caractère prophétique. [...]. En somme, telle se

présente l'activité du Fils de Dieu, telle est aussi la forme des vivants, et telle la forme de ces vivants, tel aussi le caractère de l'Evangile: quadruple forme des vivants, quadruple forme de l'Evangile, quadruple forme de l'activité du Seigneur. Et c'est pourquoi quatre alliances furent données à l'humanité: la première, avant le déluge, au temps d'Adam; la seconde, après le déluge, au temps de Noé; la troisième, qui est le don de la Loi, au temps de Moïse; la quatrième enfin, qui renouvelle l'homme et récapitule tout en elle, celle qui, par l'Evangile, élève les hommes et leur fait prendre leur envol vers le royaume céleste." [181] Ce qui est très important pour Irénée de Lyon c'est d'une part le commencement de chaque évangile donnant la tonalité d'un message et d'autre part c'est le rappel de passages vétérotestamentaires et novotestamentaires dans ses analyses. S'inspirant des images de l'*Ancien Testament*, Irénée peut se permettre de rappeler que Dieu siège sur les chérubins (1 *S* 4,4; 2 *S* 6,2; 2 *R* 19,15; 1 *Ch* 13,6; *Ps* 80,2; *Ps* 99,1; *Ez* 11,22; *Dn* 3,55; *He* 9,5), souvenir de l'arche d'alliance symbolisant le trône divin. D'après Isaïe, le Dieu qui siège sur les chérubins est le seul Dieu de tous les royaumes de la terre et le Créateur du ciel et de la terre (*Is* 37,16). C'est pourquoi il faut encore affirmer que l'image du Christ siégeant sur les Chérubins signifie que de l'Incarnation à l'Ascension, la vie du Verbe incarné est accompagnée de l'adoration et du service des anges. En effet quel mystère de la vie du Christ qu'il s'agisse de l'Incarnation, de l'Agonie (*Mt* 26,53; *Lc* 22,43), de la Résurrection et même de l'Ascension n'a pas connu la présence des anges? Augustin sensible à leur intervention dans les temps forts de la vie du Christ en propose une explication philosophique et théologique: étant des êtres spirituels, ne leur revient-il pas de connaître avec plus de certitude les choses temporelles et changeantes, parce qu'ils en perçoivent les causes dans le Verbe de Dieu par qui le monde a été fait.[182] La connaturalité garantit la connaissance causale.

Jean	Luc	Matthieu	Marc
lion	taureau	homme	aigle (Ap 4,6-7; Irénée, Hippolyte, Filastre de Brescia, Apringus de Beja, Scriptores Aethiopici CSCO 281,34,

[181] Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Aduersus haereses* III 11, 8, SCh 211, 162-171.
[182] Sanctus Augustinus, *De ciuitate Dei* IX 22, BA 34, 408-409.

CSCO 282, 30-31)

Pour résumer la pensée d'Irénée, Jean est figuré par un lion, Luc par un jeune taureau, Matthieu par un visage d'homme, Marc par un aigle. Le choix concret de l'attribution des allégories des quatre vivants aux quatre évangélistes est chez Irénée de Lyon comme chez Jérôme de Stridon justifié par la citation des premières phrases de chaque Evangile. L'argumentation biblique était donc décisive, puisque les citations de l'Evangile explicitaient l'accomplissement des témoignages de l'*Ancien Testament*. L'idée générale d'Irénée ou sa thèse est d'affirmer le passage des quatre vivants aux quatre évangélistes. Il soutient que les Evangiles ne peuvent être ni plus ni moins de quatre et il leur assigne les caractères des quatre vivants qui à leur tour renvoient à la quadruple façon d'agir du Logos éternel: le lion symbolise l'office royal et le pouvoir effectif du Fils de Dieu, le taureau représente son caractère sacrificiel et sacerdotal, la figure d'homme est l'image de sa venue dans la nature humaine, l'aigle qui vole rappelle le don de l'Esprit qui descend sur l'Église. Plus précis encore Irénée de Lyon souligne la relation entre la quadruple forme de l'Evangile et la quadruple forme de l'activité du Seigneur: activité souveraine ou royale, sacerdotale et sacrificielle, humaine et *pneumatique*. C'est ici que l'exégèse christologique d'Irénée de Lyon explicite la relation entre la quadruple forme de l'activité du Seigneur et les grands mystères du Christ, Incarnation, Passion et Mort, Résurrection et Ascension, envoi de l'Esprit Saint. La nature des quatre vivants manifeste le plan immuable de Dieu, le dessein de Dieu et son œuvre de salut accompli dans le Christ, œuvre de salut opérée par toutes les activités du Fils de Dieu. Donc les évangélistes sont en accord avec ces quatre vivants. Plus convaincantes encore deviennent les prophéties au sujet de la personne du Christ, lorsqu'on considère le symbolisme des quatre vivants où on décrypte un Messie, prêtre et victime dont le règne éternel est le commencement de l'Église universelle.

Dans la première moitié du Ve siècle, la pensée d'Irénée de Lyon trouvera son achèvement chez Théodoret de Cyr, un des répresentants de l'école exégétique d'Antioche qui attribuera au Christ le titre de Roi (lion), de Prêtre (taureau) et de Prophète (aigle).[183] Suivant l'ordre de la vision prophétique de l'Apocalypse, Irénée décrit les mystères du Christ, non seulement propres à chaque évangéliste, mais également les mystères du Christ proclamés dans l'Evangile comme la réalisation des quatre vivants dans le Christ. Irénée va

[183] Theodoretus Cyrensis, *Explanatio in Ezechielem libri* I 1, PG 81, 825-826.

encore plus loin, en décryptant la quadruple forme des vivants, la quadruple forme de l'Evangile et la quadruple forme de l'activité du Seigneur, puisqu'il mentionne les quatre alliances de Dieu avec l'humanité correspondant au temps d'Adam, de Noé, de Moïse et du Christ, occasion de rappeler que le Christ par l'Evangile renouvelle la vie de l'homme et le dirige vers le royaume céleste. L'Evangile, source du message eschatologique du Christ, ainsi compris, exprime l'alliance instituée par le Christ et cela dès le jour du baptême. Pour Irénée de Lyon on ne peut pas séparer ce qui est enseigné dans l'Evangile, les mystères du Christ, de ce qui est vécu lors du baptême, mort et résurrection avec le Christ et dans le Christ.[184] Chez Luc le récit du Baptême de Jésus précède celui de sa généalogie, tant le baptême inaugure le commencement de toute vie, de telle sorte que l'Evangile de la vie est le baptême lié à l'enseignement. A Irénée de Lyon nous devons lui reconnaître l'initiative de mettre en valeur les généalogies humaines du Christ dans l'attribution des symboles aux quatre évangélistes.

2.2. – Victorin de Poetovio

Sans aucun doute, pour Victorin de Poetovio, premier exégète latin, les quatre vivants devant le trône de Dieu cités selon l'ordre de l'*Apocalypse*: homme, veau, lion, aigle représentent les quatre Evangiles.[185] Le lion, emblème de celui qui s'est appliqué surtout à faire ressortir la divinité du Christ dans le mystère de la résurrection[186] est l'effigie de Jean qui a commencé son Evangile en disant: *le Verbe était Dieu* (*Jn* 1,1). Matthieu développe la génération humaine du Christ qui a pris chair de la Vierge Marie, en énumérant les générations d'Abraham à David et de David à Joseph. D'où dans la pensée de Victorin de Poetovio, l'effigie de l'homme attribuée à Matthieu qui parle tant de l'humanité du Christ. Pour ce qui est de Luc qui commence son Evangile par le prêtre Zacharie, auquel l'ange apparut quand il remplissait devant Dieu les fonctions sacerdotales, l'effigie du veau lui est accordée si l'on veut bien se rappeler que, dans l'*Ancien Testament*, le veau était immolé en sacrifice, en holocauste

[184] Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Aduersus haereses* III 22, 4, SCh 211, 442-443.

[185] Victorinus Poetovionensis, *De fabrica mundi* 3, CSEL 49, 4; SCh 423, 140-141: "[...] ecce quattuor animalia ante thronum dei, quattuor euangelia. [...] et quattuor animalia: hominis uituli leonis aquilae."

[186] Victorinus Poetovionensis, *Commentarii in Apocalypsim Ioannis* 5, 2, SCh 423, 76-77: "[...] qui tamquam leo confregit mortem et quae de se praenuntiata fuerant repleuit <et hominem liberauit>, id est carnem de morte, et accepit possessionem substantiae morientis, id est membrorum humanorum."

pour le péché (Cf. *Lv* 9,2-3; *Lv* 9,8; 2 *S* 6,13; *Is* 1,11; *Mi* 6,6). A Marc revient l'effigie de l'aigle, son Evangile commençant par la citation de la prophétie d'Isaïe (*Is* 40,3).[187] En résumé, c'est donc le début de chaque Evangile qui détermine l'interprétation allégorique, sans omettre les quatre mystères du Christ proclamés dans ces Evangiles, Incarnation, Mort et Résurrection, et Ascension.

Victorin de Poetovio
Commentarii in Apocalypsim 4,4

lion	homme	taureau	aigle
Jean	Matthieu	Luc	Marc

En lisant le texte du commentaire de l'*Apocalypse* de Victorin de Poetovio l'obligation nous est faite de mettre en tête les apôtres Jean et Matthieu et en seconde position les disciples des apôtres Luc et Marc. Mais une autre obligation s'impose de relever une variante dans son exposé *De fabrica mundi*.

De fabrica mundi 3

homme	taureau	lion	aigle

[187] Victorinus Poetovionensis, *Commentarii in Apocalypsim Ioannis* 4, 4, PLS 1, 122-124; SCh 423, 66-69: "Simile leoni animal euangelium est cata Iohannem, quod, cum omnes euangelistae hominem factum Christum praedicauerunt, ille autem illum antequam descenderet et carnem sumeret deum praedicauit dicendo: *deus erat uerbum* (Jn 1,1) et quoniam tamquam leo fremens exclamauit, leonis uultum sustinet praedicatio eius. hominis Matheus enititur enuntiare nobis genus Mariae, unde carnem accepit Christus. ergo dum enumerat ad Abraham usque ad Dauid et ab Dauid usque ad Ioseph, tamquam de homine locutus est; ideo praedicatio eius effigiem hominus accepit. Lucas quoque (a) sacerdotio Zachariae offerentis hostiam pro populo et apparente sibi angelo dum enumerat, propter sacerdotium et hostiam ipsa conscriptio uituli tulit imaginem. Marcus interpres Petri ea quae in munere docebat commemoratus conscripsit sed non ordine, et incipit prophetiae uerbo per Esaiam praenuntiato. incipiunt ergo sic dicendo, Iohannes: *in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* (Jn 1,1) – haec facies leonis –; Matheus autem: *liber generationis Iesu Christi filii dei filii Dauid filii Abrahae* (Mt 1,1) – haec facies hominis –; Lucas autem sic: *fuit sacerdos nomine Zacharias de uice Abia (et) mulier illi erat de filiabus Aaron* (Lc 1,5) – haec est imago uituli –; Marcus incipit sic: *initium euangelii Iesu Christi sicut scriptum est in Esaia* (Mc 1,1 = Is 40,3); aduolante spiritu coeptum est, ideo uolantis aquilae habet et effigiem. non solum autem spiritus propheticus sed et ipsum uerbum dei patris omnipotentis, qui est filius ipsius, dominus noster Iesus Christus, feret easdem imagines in tempore aduentus sui ad nos. et cum praedicatus esset *tamquam leo et tamquam catulus leonis* (Gn 49,9), propter salutem hominum homo factus est ad mortem deuincendam et uniuersos liberandos; quod se ipsum obtulerit hostiam deo patri pro nobis, uitulus dictus est; et quod morte deuicta ascenderit in caelis extendens alas suas et protegens plebem suam, aquila uolans nominatus est. (hae) ergo praedicationes quamuis quattuor sint, una tamen praedicatio est, quia de uno ore processit, sicut fluuius in paradiso de uno fonte in quattuor partes diuisus est." Cf. *Recensio Hieronymi una cum posteriorum additamentis* 4, 4, CSEL 49,50-54.

Cet ordre des quatre vivants chez Victorin de Poetovio soulève éventuellement des solutions théologiques: en suivant l'attribution acceptée par Irénée de Lyon il propose les quatre mystères du Christ conformément au déroulement de sa vie, Incarnation (homme), Passion (taureau), Résurrection (lion) et Ascension (aigle). En nous éloignant de la réponse de Martine Dulaey nous pensons que Victorin s'inspire davantage de l'évêque de Lyon que d'Hippolyte de Rome.[188]

2.3. – Ambroise de Milan

Parmi ceux qui se sont préoccupés des symboles des quatre évangélistes, Ambroise de Milan paraît être le premier à mettre en doute l'interprétation d'Irénée de Lyon d'où son interprétation partielle: en effet s'il a exprimé sa position en face de Matthieu (homme) et Luc (taureau), il est resté réservé en revanche quant à Marc et à Jean.[189] Ambroise de Milan, comme Irénée de Lyon, valorise la généalogie humaine du Christ dans l'Evangile de Matthieu et de Luc, ce qui permet l'attribution des symboles à ces deux évangélistes. Il demeure donc l'intermédiaire entre Irénée de Lyon et Jérôme de Stridon. Cependant, son explication de la vision prophétique de l'*Apocalypse* est bien marquée par l'exégèse christologique d'Irénée de Lyon: "Beaucoup cependant pensent que c'est Notre Seigneur qui, dans les quatre évangiles, est figuré par les symboles des quatre animaux. C'est Lui l'homme, Lui le lion, Lui le taureau, Lui l'aigle: l'homme, puisqu'Il est né de Marie; le lion, parce qu'Il est fort; le taureau, parce qu'Il est victime; l'aigle, parce qu'Il est résurrection."[190]

[188] Cf. Martine Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio. Premier exégète latin* I-II, *Collection des Etudes Augustiniennes. Antiquité* 139-140, Paris 1993.

[189] Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam. Prologus* 7, CCL 14, 5, SCh 45bis, 44; Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *De uirginitate* 112-114, PL 16, 295-296; Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *De uirginitate* 113, PL 16, 295: "Hic quoque animam describi accepimus, cujus quatuor animalia, quatuor affectiones sunt: sed non ita, ut illae quas supra descripsimus; adhuc enim illae erudiuntur animae, processumque accipiunt: hic jam perfecta describitur. Denique illae invitantur ad coelum, haec in coelo est cum Dei verbo. Habet autem quatuor affectiones, id est, similitudini hominis leonis, vituli, et aquilae comparandas. Quas formas pro librorum Evangeliorum proprietate accepimus figuratas. Et ideo hic quoque in homine rationabilis, in leone impetibilis, in vitulo concupiscibilis, in aquila visibilis per figuras animalium species affectionis expressa est."

[190] Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam. Prologus* 8, CCL 14, 5-6, SCh 45bis, 44-45: "Plerique tamen putant ipsum dominum nostrum in quattuor euangelii libris quattuor formis animalium figurari, quod idem homo, idem leo, idem uitulus, idem aquila: homo, quia natus ex Maria est, leo, quia fortis est, uitulus, quia hostia est, aquila, quia resurrectio est."

En fait Ambroise de Milan relate les trois mystères du Christ: l'Incarnation, la Mort et la Résurrection dont le lion symbolise sa puissance.

2.4. – Chromace d'Aquilée

Si l'ordre des quatre vivants chez Irénée de Lyon et chez Chromace d'Aquilée est différent, l'un s'inspirant de la vision de *l'Apocalypse de Jean*, l'autre de la vision prophétique d'Ezéchiel, l'attribution des quatre vivants aux quatre évangélistes reste la même chez tous deux. Cette attribution des quatre vivants aux évangélistes formulée par Irénée de Lyon a d'ailleurs influencé Victorin de Poetovio et Chromace d'Aquilée qui en particulier reconnaît dans l'image de l'homme Matthieu[191], dans le lion Jean[192], dans le jeune taureau Luc[193], dans l'aigle Marc[194]. Précisons encore que l'évêque d'Aquilée dans l'ordre des évangélistes mentionne en premier lieu les apôtres Matthieu et Jean et ensuite les disciples des apôtres Luc et Marc.

Chromace d'Aquilée

homme lion taureau aigle (Ez 1,10; Eusèbe de Césarée,

[191] Chromatius Aquileiensis, *Tractatus in Mathaeum* 1-59. *Prologus* 5, CCL 9A, 187: "Vultus hominis intellegitur euangelium secundum Mathaeum, hominis ideo quia a corporea natiuitate Domini initium facere coepit dicendo: *Liber generationis Iesu Christi, filii Dauid, filii Abraham*, et cetera. Per quae originem humanae eius natiuitatis enuntiat. Ob hoc ergo in uultu hominis ostensus est."

[192] Chromatius Aquileiensis, *Tractatus in Mathaeum. Prologus* 5, CCL 9A, 187: "Vultus autem leonis intellegitur euangelium secundum Iohannem, quia cum alii euangelistae Christum Deum nostrum iuxta assumptionem carnis hominem factum est ex uirgine natum dixerint, hic statim in exordio sermonis sui intemporalem ac diuinam eius natiuitatem manifestauit dicendo: *In principio erat Verbum et Verbum erat apud Deum et Deus erat Verbum*, et cetera."

[193] Chromatius Aquileiensis, *Tractatus in Mathaeum. Prologus* 7, CCL 9A, 188-189: "In uultu autem uituli euangelium secundum Lucam esse cognoscitur, quia iuxta legem scribit, denique a Zachariae sacerdotio coepit dicendo: *Fuit in diebus Herodis regis Iudaeae sacerdos quidam nomine Zacharias de uice Abia et uxor illi filiabus Aaron*, et cetera. Idcirco autem in persona uituli demonstratus est, quia lex iuxta quam scribit inter cetera sacrificia, ad typum futurae ueritatis, uitulum pro peccatis populi offerri praeceperat. Vnde non immerito hic solus euangelista uituli illius saginati fecit mentionem, qui pro salute ac reditu perditi filii in gaudium exultantis patris occiditur, quia ideo commemorauit sanctus Lucas ut secundum praecedentem figuram legis Dominum ac Saluatorem nostrum passum pro peccatis humani generis declararet."

[194] Chromatius Aquileiensis, *Tractatus in Mathaeum. Prologus* 7, CCL 9A, 189: "Vultus uero aquilae uolantis intellegitur euangelium secundum Marcum, qui a prophetico testimonio coepit dicendo: *Initium euangelii Iesu Christi Filii Dei, sicut scriptum est in Esaïa: Ecce mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam. Vox clamantis in deserto: Parate uias Domini, rectas facite semitas Dei nostri.*"

Jérôme, Apponius,
Eucher de Lyon,
Chromace d'Aquilée,
Grégoire le Grand)

Matthieu Jean Luc Marc

Toutefois l'évêque d'Aquilée, pasteur et prédicateur, présente les quatre évangélistes dans l'ordre successif de la rédaction Matthieu, Marc, Luc, Jean, déjà établi par Origène.[195]

2.5. – Césaire d'Arles

Au VIe siècle, dans son *Exposé sur l'Apocalypse*, Césaire d'Arles décrit le symbolisme des quatre vivants en avançant l'interprétation ecclésiologique et pastorale: l'Eglise comprise comme l'accomplissement total du Christ (*Ep* 1,23). En effet "Dans le premier animal semblable à un lion, on montre la force de l'Église, dans le veau, la passion du Christ. Par le troisième animal, qui est semblable à un homme, l'humilité de l'Église est représentée: parce qu'elle ne se flatte en rien dans un sentiment d'orgueil, bien qu'elle possède l'adoption des fils. Le quatrième animal représente l'Église: *semblable à un aigle*, c'est-à-dire volant librement et élevée au-dessus de la terre par deux ailes comme soulevée par les gouvernails des deux Testaments ou des deux commandements. Car lorsque l'évangéliste Jean vit que le mystère quadriforme de ces quatre animaux s'était réalisé dans le Christ, et qu'il l'eut vu naissant comme un homme, souffrant comme un veau, régnant comme un lion, il le vit alors remontant au ciel comme un aigle." [196] Dans ce passage dont Césaire commente la vision des quatre vivants, on peut encore retrouver la symbolique des quatre Evangiles et l'unité des deux Testaments. Mais en rapportant les récits de l'*Apocalypse* au Christ et à l'Église, Césaire ajoute une tonalité ecclésiologique, puisque les quatre animaux symbolisent les mystères du Christ, l'Incarnation, la Passion, la Royauté, l'Ascension, en même temps que ceux de l'Église.

[195] Chromatius Aquileiensis, *Tractatus in Mathaeum. Prologus* 1, CCL 9A, 185.

[196] Caesarius Arelatensis, *Expositio in Apocalypsim. Homilia* 3, PL 35,2422-2423: "In animali primo simili leoni, fortitudo Ecclesiae ostenditur. In vitulo, passio Christi. In tertio animali, quod est velut homo, humilitas Ecclesiae significatur: quia nihil sibi blanditur ut superbum sapiat, quamvis adoptionem filiorum teneat. [...]. Nam et Joannes evangelista cum de istis animalibus introspexisset in Christo completum esse quadriforme mysterium, et vidisset hominem nascentem, vitulum patientem, et leonem regnantem, tunc vidit et aquilam ad coelestia remeantem." Césaire d'Arles, *Commentaire de l'Apocalypse*, traduit par dom Joël Courreau, Desclée de Brouwer «*Les Pères dans la foi*», Paris 1989, 52-53.

Tableau 2 – L'attribution selon Irénée de Lyon.

	Lion	Taureau	Homme	Aigle
Irénée de Lyon	Jean	Luc	Matthieu	Marc
Victorin de Poetovio	Jean	Luc	Matthieu	Marc
Ambroise de Milan		Luc	Matthieu	
Chromace d'Aquilée	Jean	Luc	Matthieu	Marc

III – Des quatre évangélistes aux quatre patriarcats

La question soulevée, il faut l'avouer, n'est pas sans intérêt pour cette étude. En traitant ce sujet très complexe, nous craignons de rencontrer des difficultés insolubles: en effet plus on l'abordait, moins c'était clair, moins on l'abordait plus c'était clair. Au-delà de l'attribution des tétramorphes des visions prophétiques d'*Ezéchiel* ou de l'*Apocalypse* aux quatre évangélistes, l'ordre de ceux-ci semble en liaison avec l'apostolicité et la primauté des Eglises de Rome, d'Antioche, d'Alexandrie et d'Ephèse: n'a-t-on pas vu apparaître dans l'Église une théorie des quatre patriarcats fondés sur les quatre évangélistes? Plusieurs fois, soit chez les Pères soit chez les théologiens du Moyen Age apparaît la question des quatre patriarcats très liée à ces visions. C'est que Beatus de Liébana n'est pas non plus resté silencieux au sujet de ces patriarcats dans son commentaire sur l'Apocalypse: *In omne orbe terrarum tres sedes sunt patriarcharum, id est, Roma, Antiochia et Alexandria.*[197] En effet Michel van Esbroeck a effectué une étude sur ce sujet.[198] A l'origine, les quatre patriarcats sont le fruit d'une symbolique exprimant l'universalité de l'Église, car on a toujours cherché à lier l'origine apostolique des Églises à la rédaction des Evangiles. Il y avait seulement quatre patriarches selon les quatre évangélistes: Luc à Rome, Matthieu à Antioche, Marc à Alexandrie et Jean à Ephèse (le siège d'Ephèse fut transféré à Constantinople), Luc étant l'évangéliste qui accompagna Paul à Rome. Tout d'abord les Eglises fondées par les apôtres pouvant servir d'appui pour l'enseignement correcte de la foi et témoignant de la vérité assurent la succession ininterrompue des évêques dans ces églises et garantissent la vérité de leur doctrine. D'où le caractère apostolique de toutes les églises fondées par les apôtres en personne,

[197] Beatus Liebanensis, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin. Prologus* II 195, vol. I, *Scriptores Graeci et Latini Consilio Academiae Lyncorum Editi*, Romae 1985, 195.

[198] Michel van Esbroeck, *Primauté, Patriarcats, Catholicossats, Autocéphalies en Orient*, in: Michele Maccarrone, *Il primato de vescovo di Roma nel primo millennio. Ricerche e testimonianze. Atti de Symposium Storico-Teologico Roma*, 9-13 Ottobre 1989, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 1991, 493-521.

d'où aussi le caractère inséparable de l'Église, à la fois historique et eschatologique, et de l'Evangile, cet Evangile écrit au sein de l'Église. Bref l'Église par les évangélistes enseigne le mystère du Christ. Tertullien montre dans une parfaite continuité la dépendance du dépôt de la foi confié à l'Église par la médiation des apôtres, avant d'être confié aux apôtres par la médiation du Christ qui lui-même avait reçu de son Père la mission de le transmettre à l'humanité: "[...] ce que les Églises ont reçu des apôtres, les apôtres du Christ, le Christ de Dieu."[199]

On est alors autorisé à parler d'une carte nouvelle de la géographie chrétienne à partir de l'organisation de l'Église. L'Église de Rome, doublement apostolique (Pierre et Paul), se voit attribuer par Irénée la fonction concrète d'être en Occident le centre privilégié de référence pour l'unité ecclésiale, à laquelle s'ajoute l'influence de la mentalité politico-juridique romaine sur la doctrine du primat de la papauté. En effet, l'autorité doctrinale de Rome vient bien de son apostolicité. Toutefois au IIIe siècle l'Eglise réserve à Antioche une place éminente avec Rome et Alexandrie, sans méconnaître Ephèse qui apparaît aussi comme l'une des grandes métropoles de la chrétienté. Mais à la fin du IVe siècle, le pape Sirice s'appuyant sur l'expression paulinienne la «sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum (2 *Co* 11,28)» exprime sa certitude d'exercer un primat sur les Églises, comme vicaire de Pierre d'où son *souci de toutes les Églises* de l'Empire romain.[200] A sa suite Innocent Ier se présentera comme le vigoureux défenseur du primat de l'évêque de Rome revendiquant en plus la conformité de toutes les Églises occidentales à la *consuetudo* de l'Église de Pierre. Enfin à cette époque le canon du *Nouveau Testament* déjà établi reçoit le témoignage de Rufin d'Aquilée et d'Augustin d'Hippone, canon dont l'ordre des quatre Evangiles est également précisé.

Retenons cependant que le problème de la symbolique des quatre évangélistes, exprimant l'universalité de l'Evangile en relation avec celui de l'apostolicité et de la primauté des quatre patriarcats, ne compromet en rien l'universalité de l'Eglise appelée à être répandue sur toute la terre: un seul Evangile, une seule Eglise, expression même de l'unité de l'Eglise. Ceci dit il n'en est pas moins vrai que les deux écoles exégétiques d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche conservent chacune leur particularité, la première privilégiant l'exégèse allégorique, la seconde l'exégèse littérale.

[199] Tertullianus, *De praescriptione haereticorum* 21, 4, CCL 1, 202-203, SCh 46, 114-115: "[...] quod ecclesiae ab apostolis, apostoli a Christo, Christus a Deo accepit."

[200] Siricius, Epistula 1, 7, 8, PL 13, 1138.

En acceptant la relation des quatre évangélistes avec les quatre patriarcats et les symboles des quatre vivants, selon l'ordre d'*Ezéchiel* ou de l'*Apocalypse*, attribués aux quatre évangélistes, nous pouvons décrypter les raisons justifiant les différents ordres des quatre évangélistes ou des quatre vivants. Dans l'ordre des évangélistes proposé par Irénée de Lyon, Jean, Luc, Matthieu, Marc, pouvons-nous voir la priorité du patriarcat d'Ephèse sur ceux de Rome, d'Antioche et d'Alexandrie? La description du prophète Ezéchiel donnée par Cyrille de Jérusalem dans une de ses catéchèses est la suivante: homme, lion, aigle, bœuf.[201] Pourquoi Cyrille de Jérusalem a-t-il changé l'ordre des quatre vivants proposé par le prophète Ezéchiel plaçant l'aigle avant le bœuf? Peut-être par cet ordre nouveau Cyrille de Jérusalem et à sa suite le Pseudo-Théophile d'Antioche ont-ils voulu exprimer la primauté de l'Église d'Antioche sur celles d'Ephèse, d'Alexandrie et de Rome? Faut-il aussi admettre la possibilité d'une erreur de copiste entraînant d'éventuelles hypothèses de travail? Mais, si on met de côté l'erreur du copiste, la thèse de Cyrille paraît être acceptable. D'autres hypothèses lui font également donner la priorité aux deux apôtres et évangélistes, Matthieu et Jean par rapport à Marc et Luc, disciples des apôtres. Quant à Ambroise de Milan, ne demeure-t-il pas silencieux au sujet de Marc et de Jean, puisque la question de la primauté des patriarcats avait déjà été agitée? La théorie des quatre patriarcats restant liée aux quatre évangélistes, eux-mêmes désignés par la symbolique des quatre vivants soit d'après la vision d'*Ezéchiel*, soit d'après celle de l'*Apocalypse*, sera toujours dominée par la primauté de l'un des patriarcats, surtout dans les premiers siècles. Toujours est-il que l'origine des quatre patriarcats avait été marquée non seulement par la présence des apôtres mais aussi par celle d'un livre de l'Evangile qui symbolisait la Tradition des apôtres et donnait au patriarcat l'importance de l'apostolicité. En résumé chaque patriarcat transmettait respectivement l'enseignement des apôtres concernant les mystères du Christ.

1. – Hippolyte de Rome

Hippolyte, prêtre de l'Église de Rome au début du IIIe siècle ou écrivain oriental du milieu du IIIe siècle, dans son commentaire *In Ezechielem* présente les quatre vivants dans l'ordre suivant: taureau, lion, homme, aigle[202] par lequel il précise l'ordre des évangélistes:

[201] Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus, *Catechesis* 9, 3, PG 33, 639-642; Cyrille de Jérusalem, *Les Catéchèses baptismales et mystagogiques*, traduction de Jean Bouvet, Migne «*Les Pères dans la foi*» 53-54, Paris 1993, 130.

[202] Hippolytus, *In Ezechielem* 1, 5-10, GCS 1, 2, 183.

Luc, Matthieu, Marc, Jean. Toutefois des difficultés dans les textes d'Hippolyte ne sont pas à écarter.[203] Dans son commentaire sur Ezéchiel, Hippolyte en effet ne tient pas compte de l'ordre proposé par le prophète. Ce qui est à retenir cependant dans son ordre c'est le choix de privilégier en première position Luc et Matthieu, qui relatent la généalogie du Christ.

In Ezechielem 1, 5-10

taureau	lion	homme	aigle
Luc	Matthieu	Marc	Jean (généalogies)

Dans la mesure où, au temps d'Hippolyte de Rome, la question de la primauté des quatre patriarcats soulève des problématiques, on peut supposer qu'Hippolyte, non sans raison, a précisé l'ordre des évangélistes, plaçant Luc en tête pour donner la primauté à l'Église de Rome, tandis que suivent les églises d'Antioche, d'Alexandrie et d'Ephèse. Peut-être Hippolyte a-t-il voulu exprimer ainsi l'idée de la primauté de Rome sur les autres Églises. Si notre hypothèse est correcte en démontrant le trajet qui va dès quatre vivants aux quatre évangélistes et dès quatre évangélistes aux quatre patriarcats, nous pouvons alors supposer qu'Hippolyte se déclare en faveur de la primauté romaine. En effet Hippolyte, comme Ignace d'Antioche et Irénée, manifeste pour l'Église de Rome une vénération plus profonde que pour toute autre Église apostolique.

Quant à son *Traité sur le Cantique des cantiques* qui redonne l'ordre des quatre vivants selon l'Apocalypse, l'attribution des quatre vivants aux évangélistes qui y est mentionnée est la même que celle contenue dans son ouvrage sur Ezéchiel; mais l'ordre des évangélistes diffère puisque Matthieu précède Luc.[204]

Interpretatio Cantici Canticorum 8, 6

lion	vigne	homme	aigle (Ap 4,6-7; Irénée)
Matthieu	Luc	Marc	Jean (généalogies)

[203] Marcel Richard, *Les difficultés d'une édition du Commentaire de Saint Hippolyte sur Daniel*, in : *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 2, Paris 1972, 1-10.

[204] Hippolytus, *Interpretatio Cantici Canticorum* 8, 6, (*Traités d'Hippolyte, Sur David et Goliath, sur le Cantique des cantiques et sur l'Antéchrist*, version géorgienne traduite par Gérard Garitte), CSCO 263, Scriptores Iberici 15, p. 48, CSCO 264, Scriptores Iberici 16, p. 34: "Nunc autem magnopere pulchri currus etiam sunt, qui multis-modis effecti fuerunt; quia erat apud eos leo et palmes vinea et homo et aquila. O novi varia forma evangelii, cum iustis ad-currus subiuncta! Quia erat leo huic sicut rex a Matthaeo evangelista praedicatus; et erat palmes sicut vinea pontificis (litt. sacerdotium magistri) a Luca praedicatus; et erat ei homo sicut passus per Marcum edictus; et erat ei aquila etiam sicut verbum per beatum Iohannem ad-caelum volans-emissa. Per hoc mysterium (litt. consilium) praedicationis mysterium (litt. consilium) scitum factum est."

Hippolyte commente le *Cantique* 1,9 où l'on parle d'un char, image de l'Evangile, char à quatre aspects, celui d'un lion, celui d'un taureau (selon la version slave; le géorgien parle ici de vigne), celui d'un homme et celui d'un aigle. Précisons que le taureau ou la vigne préfigure le Rédempteur annoncé par Luc.[205]

2. – Augustin d'Hippone

Dans son œuvre *De l'accord des Evangélistes*, Augustin d'Hippone aborde deux fois la relation entre les quatre évangélistes et les quatre vivants, dans le premier livre et dans le livre quatre. Dans le livre premier, il explique d'où sont venues les différentes opinions. Les uns s'appuyaient sur le commencement de chaque Evangile (Irénée de Lyon, Victorin de Poetovio), les autres plutôt sur le contenu des Evangiles. Il nous paraît probable qu'Augustin a connu l'interprétation provenant d'Hippolyte de Rome dans son commentaire *In Ezechielem*. Cependant si l'évêque d'Hippone partage avec Hippolyte (Luc, Matthieu, Marc, Jean) son attribution des quatre vivants aux évangélistes, il les présente néanmoins dans un ordre différent, ordre des quatre évangélistes que lui inspire Origène, tandis que l'ordre des quatre vivants lui est livré par le commentaire sur l'*Apocalypse* de Victorin de Poetovio.

Augustin d'Hippone

Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean (Origène)
lion	homme	taureau	aigle (Victorin de Poetovio, *Commentarii in Apocalypsim* 4,4)

Dans le premier livre, l'évêque d'Hippone a consacré de très longs développements à ce problème: "Parmi les interprètes qui ont vu dans les quatre animaux de l'Apocalypse une figure des quatre évangélistes, ceux qui croient que le lion représente Matthieu, l'homme, Marc, le bœuf, Luc, l'aigle, Jean, me paraissent plus près de la vérité que ceux qui pensent que Matthieu est figuré par l'homme, Marc par l'aigle, Jean par le lion. Ils ont voulu fonder leur opinion sur le commencement de chaque évangile plutôt que sur le dessein général des évangélistes qui devait surtout attirer leur attention (*de principiis enim librorum quandam coniecturam capere uoluerunt, non de tota intentione euangelistarum, quae magis fuerat perscrutanda*). Il est bien plus conforme à la raison de voir dans le lion l'emblème de

[205] Pierre Prigent, *Hippolyte, commentateur de l'Apocalypse*, in : *Theologische Zeitschrift* 28 (1972), 6, 399-400.

celui qui s'est appliqué surtout à faire ressortir la royauté du Christ. Aussi, dans l'Apocalypse, l'image du lion nous est-elle présentée conjointement avec la tribu dépositaire de la puissance royale dans ces paroles: *Le lion de la tribu de Juda a obtenu la victoire* (*Ap* 5,5). Nous lisons encore dans Matthieu que les Mages vinrent d'Orient pour chercher et adorer le roi dont une étoile leur avait appris la naissance et que le roi Hérode trembla devant ce roi au berceau et qu'il mit à mort une multitude innombrable d'enfants pour l'envelopper dans ce massacre. Quant à Luc, il est figuré par le boeuf qui était la principale victime immolée par les prêtres, tous en conviennent. En effet, il commence son récit par le prêtre Zacharie, c'est lui qui nous apprend la parenté de Marie et d'Elisabeth et qui nous montre l'accomplissement des premiers mystères du sacerdoce dans la personne du Christ, et si l'on veut examiner attentivement beaucoup d'autres endroits, on verra que Luc s'est appliqué surtout à considérer le Christ comme prêtre. Marc, qui ne s'est proposé ni de raconter l'origine royale du Christ, ni sa descendance, ni sa parenté ou sa consécration sacerdotale, mais qui paraît avoir voulu raconter ce que le Christ a fait comme homme, nous est représenté sous la figure d'un homme dans le tableau symbolique des quatre animaux. Or, ces trois animaux, le lion, l'homme, le bœuf, ont pour séjour la terre qu'ils foulent aux pieds ; aussi, les trois évangélistes, dont ils sont l'emblème, ont-ils eu pour but principal de rapporter les actions de la vie mortelle du Sauveur ou les préceptes qui doivent diriger les hommes dans le cours de cette vie périssable et mortelle. Mais pour Jean, semblable à l'aigle, il prend son vol au-dessus des nuages de la faiblesse humaine et contemple d'un œil pénétrant et assuré la lumière de l'immuable vérité." [206] Pareillement le Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite, dans son ouvrage *La*

[206] Sanctus Augustinus, *De consensu euangelistarum* I 6, 9, CSEL 43, 9-10: "Vnde mihi uidentur qui ex apocalypsi illa quattuor animalia ad intellegendos quattuor euangelistas interpretati sunt probabilius aliquid adtendisse illi, qui leonem in Mattheo, hominem in Marco, uitulum in Luca, aquilam in Iohanne intellexerunt, quam illi, qui hominem Mattheo, aquilam Marco, leonem Iohanni tribuerunt. de principiis enim librorum quandam coniecturam capere uoluerunt, non de tota intentione euangelistarum, quae magis fuerat perscrutanda. multo enim congruentius ille qui regiam Christi personam maxime commendauit per leonem significatus accipitur. unde et in apocalypsi cum ipsa tribu regia leo commemoratus est, ubi dictum est: uicit leo de tribu Iuda. secundum Mattheum enim et magi narrantur uenisse ab oriente ad regem quaerendum et adorandum, qui eis per stellam natus apparuit, et ipse rex Herodes regem formidat infantem adque, ut eum possit occidere, tot paruulos necat. quod autem per uitulum Lucas significatus sit propter maximam uictimam sacerdotis, neutri dubitauerunt. ibi enim a sacerdote Zacharia incipit sermo narrantis, ibi cognatio Mariae et Elisabeth commemoratur, ibi sacramenta primi sacerdotii in infante Christo impleta narrantur, et quaecumque alia possunt diligenter aduerti, quibus appareat

Hiérarchie céleste, au cours d'une description des images animales, décerne à l'aigle le caractère royal et la force ascensionnelle.[207] Le Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite en néo-platonicien refuse une rupture entre le divin et l'humain pour disposer une série d'intermédiaires, des symboles qui indiquent aux hommes leur origine et leur destinée divine. Aussi les quatre vivants autorisent-ils un discours significatif puisque chacun révèle des traits divins du Verbe.

Toujours pour Augustin, dont la connaissance de l'œuvre de Victorin de Poetovio demeure une hypothèse, Matthieu insistait déjà sur la relation emblématique du lion et du Christ, le premier manifestant un caractère royal, le second la puissance divine. L'inspiration augustinienne à l'évidence est donc une réminiscence novotestamentaire de l'*Apocalypse* 5,5 où le Christ est désigné comme *le lion de la tribu de Juda*. D'ailleurs Victorin de Poetovio devançant Saint Augustin dit que pour sa victoire sur la mort, le Christ est appelé lion.[208]

Quoiqu'Augustin partage l'interprétation commune pour Luc (le jeune taureau ou le bœuf), quoiqu'il s'accorde avec Jérôme et Ambroise à propos de Jean (l'aigle)[209], en ce qui concerne Matthieu (le lion) et Marc (l'homme), il offre une position personnelle. Mais de toute façon, son interprétation rejoint celle d'Hippolyte, de telle sorte qu'on se trouve devant deux interprétations, celle d'Hippolyte de Rome et d'Augustin privilégiant le dessein général des évangiles d'une part et celle d'Irénée de Lyon favorisant le commencement de chaque évangile pour justifier la méthode d'attribution respective d'autre part.

Dans le livre quatre Augustin soulève une nouvelle question qu'il va examiner à fond. Les trois évangélistes Matthieu, Marc et

Lucas intentionem circa personam sacerdotis habuisse. Marcus ergo, qui neque stirpem regiam neque sacerdotalem uel cognationem uel consecrationem narrare uoluit et tamen in eis uersatus ostenditur, quae homo Christus operatus est, tantum hominis figura in illis quattuor animalibus significatus uidetur. haec autem animalia tria, siue leo siue homo siue uitulis, in terra gradiuntur, unde isti tres euangelistae in his maxime occupati sunt, quae Christus in carne operatus est et quae praecepta mortalis uitae exercendae carnem portantibus tradidit. at uero Iohannes supra nubila infirmitatis humanae uelut aquila uolat et lucem incommutabilis ueritatis acutissimis adque firmissimis oculis cordis intuetur." Mt 2,1-12; Lc 1,5. 36; Lc 2,23.

[207] Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, *De coelesti hierarchia* 15, 7-8, PG 3, 335-338, SCh 58, 184-188.

[208] Victorinus Poetovionensis, *Commentarii in Apocalypsim Ioannis* 5, 2, SCh 423, 74-75: "Ad deuincendam enim mortem leo dictus est [...]."

[209] Cf. Sanctus Augustinus, *Sermo* 135, 7, 8, PL 38, 750: "Videte quanta transenderet, ut perveniret ad Verbum. Talis ac tantus, qui volavit sicut aquila super nubes, qui mentis serenitate cernebat [...]."

Luc, dans leurs récits, s'attachaient plutôt à l'humanité du Christ, Jean à la divinité du Christ. "Or, il paraît certain que Matthieu, Marc et Luc, voient surtout l'humanité de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ, selon laquelle il est à la fois prêtre et roi. Voilà pourquoi Marc qui, dans le mystère des quatre animaux, nous est représenté sous l'emblème d'un homme, nous apparaît plutôt comme le compagnon de Matthieu, parce qu'il s'étend plus longuement avec lui, sur la dignité royale de Notre Seigneur, dignité qui ne marche jamais sans cortège, comme je l'ai dit dans le premier livre, ou, ce qui est plus vraisemblable, cet évangéliste marche en compagnie de Matthieu et de Luc. En effet, bien que, pour la plupart des faits, son récit ait beaucoup d'analogie avec celui de Matthieu, sur quelques autres points il en a beaucoup plus avec celui de Luc, preuve évidente que le Christ homme est figuré par Marc, qui se rapproche à la fois de ces deux évangélistes, réunit en lui les deux caractères du lion et du boeuf, c'est-à-dire la dignité royale dont parle Matthieu et la dignité sacerdotale décrite par Luc. Jean, au contraire, s'est proposé surtout de parler de la divinité du Christ, de son égalité avec son Père, de nous le représenter comme le Verbe qui est Dieu, et qui est en Dieu, comme le Verbe fait chair, pour habiter parmi nous et qui ne fait qu'un avec son Père. Semblable à l'aigle, il reste dans la sphère des plus sublimes enseignements du Sauveur, et ne descend que rarement sur la terre. Il déclare connaître parfaitement la Mère du Christ, cependant il ne dit rien de sa naissance, comme Matthieu et Luc; il ne parle de son baptême, raconté par les trois autres évangélistes, que pour relever avec la sublimité qui lui est naturelle le témoignage de Jean et il les quitte ensuite pour se rendre d'un seul trait aux noces de Cana, en Galilée. Là il déclare, il est vrai, que Marie est sa Mère, cependant Jésus lui fait cette réponse: *Femme, qu'y a-t-il de commun entre moi et toi*? Il ne renie point celle qui lui a donné son corps, mais, au moment de changer l'eau en vin, il veut faire ressortir sa divinité qui avait créé sa mère, loin d'avoir été créée dans son sein."[210] D'après Augustin, la dignité royale du Christ est

[210] Sanctus Augustinus, *De consensu euangelistarum* IV 10, 11, CSEL 43, 406-407: "Iohannes est reliquus, qui iam non restat cui conferatur. quidquid enim singuli dixerunt, quae ab aliis non dicta sunt, difficile est, ut habeant aliquam repugnantiae quaestionem. ac per hoc liquido constat tres istos, Mattheum scilicet. Marcum et Lucam, maxime circa humanitatem domini nostri Iesu Christi esse uersatos, secundum quam et rex et sacerdos est. et ideo Marcus, qui in illo mysterio quattuor animalium hominis uidetur demonstrare personam, uel Matthei magis comes uidetur, quia cum illo plura dicit propter regiam personam, quae incomitata esse non solet, quod in primo libro commemoraui, uel, quod probabilius intellegitur, cum amobus incedit. nam quamuis Mattheo in pluribus, tamen in aliis nonnullis Lucae magis congruit, ut hoc ipso demonstretur ad leonem et ad uitulum, hoc est et ad regalem, quam Mat-

particulièrement mise en lumière dans l'*Evangile de Matthieu*; c'est pourquoi il préfère lui attribuer l'emblème du lion, tandis que le caractère sacerdotal du Christ est souligné dans l'Evangile de Luc dont l'emblème est le taureau.[211]

De toute façon Augustin d'Hippone n'ignore pas que ces textes scripturaires d'*Ezéchiel* et de l'*Apocalypse* ont reçu des interprétations différentes. "Dans le prophète Ezéchiel comme dans l'*Apocalypse* de Jean, qui est aussi l'auteur d'un Evangile, est évoqué un animal à quatre formes, qui a quatre faces, celle d'un homme, celle d'un jeune taureau, celle d'un lion, celle d'un aigle. Ceux qui ont expliqué avant nous les mystères des saintes Ecritures ont vu, pour la plupart, dans cet animal ou plutôt dans ces animaux, les quatre évangélistes. Le lion est l'emblème du roi, parce que le lion paraît être d'une certaine manière le roi des animaux en raison de sa puissance et de sa force redoutable: cette forme a été attribuée à Matthieu parce que, dans la généalogie du Seigneur, il a déroulé la série des rois pour montrer comment le Seigneur était, par son ascendance royale, de la race du roi David. A Luc, qui commence son Evangile par le sacerdoce du prêtre Zacharie en rappelant le souvenir du père de Jean-Baptiste, a été assigné le jeune taureau, parce que le jeune taureau était la principale victime dans le sacrifice des prêtres. C'est à juste titre que le Christ homme a été attribué à Marc, puisqu'il ne dit rien de la puissance royale et qu'il ne commence pas par parler de la dignité sacerdotale, mais qu'il commence avec le Christ Homme. Tous les trois ne se sont presque pas éloignés du terrestre, c'est-à-dire de ce que notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ a accompli sur la terre. Reste l'aigle. C'est Jean, le prédicateur des vérités les plus hautes, celui qui contemple fixement la

theus, et ad sacerdotalem, quam Lucas insinuat personam, id quod Christus homo est, pertinere, quam figuram Marcus gerit pertinens ad utrumque. diuinitas uero Christi, qua aequalis est patri, secundum quod uerbum est et deus apud deum et uerbum caro factus est, ut habitaret in nobis, secundum quod ipse et pater unum sunt, a Iohanne maxime commendanda suscepta est, qui sicut aquila in his quae Christus sublimius locutus est inmoratur nec in terram quodammodo nisi raro descendit. denique quamuis matrem Christi se nosse plane testetur, tamen nec in eius natiuitate cum Mattheo et Luca aliquid dicit nec eius baptismum cum tribus commemorat, sed tantum modo ibi testimonium Iohannis alte sublimiterque commendans relictis eis pergit cum illo ad nuptias in Canam Galilaeae, ubi, quamuis ipse euangelista matrem eius fuisse commemoret, ille tamen dicit: quid mihi et tibi est, mulier? non repellens, de qua suscepit carnem, sed suam tunc maxime insinuans diuinitatem aquam conuersurus in uinum, quae diuinitas illam etiam feminam fecerat, non in illa facta erat." Cf. Ap 4,6.7; Jn 1,1.14; Jn 10,30; Jn 1,15-36; Jn 2,1-11; Jn 2,4; Jn 2,12-25.

[211] Sanctus Augustinus, *De diuersis quaestionibus* 83, (61, 2), BA 10, 194-199.

[212] Sanctus Augustinus, *Tractatus in Iohannis Euangelium* 36, 5, BA 73A, 190-

Lumière intérieure et éternelle."[212]

Au VIe siècle, Primasius, évêque d'Hadrumète[213], au VIIIe siècle, Bède le Vénérable[214] et au IXe siècle, Héric (Heiric) d'Auxerre[215] ont accepté l'attribution d'Augustin d'Hippone sur les quatre évangélistes, Matthieu – le lion, Marc – l'homme, Luc – le taureau, Jean – l'aigle, sans oublier cependant qu'à l'époque de Bède le Vénérable, l'interprétation de Jérôme de Stridon était très répandue.[216]

193, CCL 36, 327: "Et apud Ezechielem prophetam et in Apocalypsi ipsius Iohannis, cuius est hoc euangelium, commemoratur animal quadruplex, habens quatuor personas, hominis, uituli, leonis, aquilae. Qui ante nos scripturarum sanctarum mysteria tractauerunt plerique in hoc animali, uel potius in his animalibus quatuor euangelistas intellexerunt. Leonem pro rege positum, quoniam uidetur leo rex esse quodammodo bestiarum, propter potentiam et terribilem fortitudinem. Haec persona tributa est Matthaeo, quia in generationibus Domini regiam seriem prosecutus est, quemadmodum esset Dominus per stirpem regiam de semine Dauid regis. Lucas autem quoniam coepit a sacerdotio Zachariae sacerdotis, faciens mentionem patris Iohannis Baptistae, uitulo deputatus est, quia magna uictima uitulus erat in sacrificio sacerdotum. Marco homo Christus merito assignatus est, quia neque de regia potestate aliquid dixit, neque de sacerdotali coepit, sed tantum ab homine Christo exorsus est. Hi omnes prope de terrenis, id est de iis quae in terra gessit Dominus noster Iesus Christus, non recesserunt; de diuinitate eius perpauca locuti sunt, tamquam in terra cum illo ambulantes. Restat aquila: ipse est Iohannes, sublimium praedicator et lucis internae atque aeternae fixis oculis contemplator." Ez 1,5-10; Ap 4,6-7.

[213] Primasius Hadrumetinus, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* I 4, CCL 92, 53, PL 68, 817: "Hunc denique ordinem beatus etiam Augustinus suadet ad sequendum, Mattheo leonis, Marco hominis personam assignans, qui proprie humana uidetur in Christo gesta narrasse. Tertium uituli, quae Lucae congruit propter uituli saginati hostiam singularem, porro autem Iohanni rectius aquilae significatio deputatur, qui uerbi dei celsitudinem et perspicaciter uidere, et ueraciter meruit praedicare."

[214] Beda Venerabilis, *Explanatio Apocalypsis* I 4, PL 93, 144: "Beatus autem Augustinus juxta ordinem libri istius Matthaeum in leone dicit intelligi [...] Lucam in vitulo [...] Facies vero hominis Marcum significat [...] Aquila autem Joannes est [...]."

[215] Heiricus Autissiodorensis, *In die sancto Natalis Domini. Homilia* I 10, CCCM 116, 81-82: "Ceteri enim euangelistae, Matheus uidelicet, Marcus et Lucas, quasi animalia per terram cum domino ambulantes, humanam natiuitatem eius atque infantiam, et ea quae secundum carnem gessit describunt eumque ex tempore natum ostendunt. Beatus uero Iohannes omnia terrena et humana transgrediens, omnem etiam spiritalem et angelicam naturam transcendens, et in reuerberatis oculis mentis diuinam et ineffabilem eius generationem qua aequalis est patri describens dicit : *In principio erat uerbum*, ac si aliis uerbis dicerit: in patre erat filius." Heiricus Autissiodorensis, *Homilia* I 18, CCCM 116, 149: "[...] Lucas euangelista in uitulo [...]."

[216] Beda Venerabilis, *In Lucae evangelium expositio. Prologus*, CCL 120, 6: "Intimandum sane tuae sanctitati credidi quia mouet quosdam quare in expositione apocalipsis ubi ad quattuor animalia uentum est noua interpretatione Matheum in leone Marcum in homine designatum dixeris cum non nulli contra Matheum homini quia quasi de domino scribere incipiat Marcum leoni in quo uox in deserto rugientis audiatur assignent rogoque in hoc opere plenius quid tibi de his uerius uideatur insinues."

Primasius
Commentarius in Apocalypsin I 4

Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean (Origène)
lion	homme	taureau	aigle (Victorin de Poetovio, *Commentarii in Apocalypsim* 4,4)

Bref, Primasius n'hésite pas à suivre fidèlement Augustin, qu'il s'agisse de l'ordre ou de l'attribution.

Bède le Vénérable
Explanatio Apocalypsis I 4

Matthieu	Luc	Marc	Jean (généalogies; Hippolyte de Rome *Interpretatio Cantici Canticorum* 8,6)
lion	taureau	homme	aigle (Ap 4,6-7; Irénée, Hippolyte, Filastre de Brescia, Apringus de Beja, Scriptores Aethiopici CSCO 281,34, CSCO 282,30-31)

Quant à Bède le Vénérable sa fidélité à l'évêque d'Hippone est partielle: en effet si l'attribution est celle d'Hippolyte et celle d'Augustin, l'ordre des évangélistes et l'ordre des quatre vivants est celui du *Traité sur le Cantique des cantiques* d'Hippolyte. Dans le cas d'Héric d'Auxerre on regrette une ombre dans la mention de l'attribution. Par contre toute clarté est faite sur l'ordre des évangélistes issu d'Origène, et sur celui des quatre vivants reçu de l'*Apocalypse*.

Héric d'Auxerre

lion	taureau	homme	aigle (Ap 4,6-7; Irénée, Hippolyte, Filastre de Brescia, Apringus de Beja; Scriptores Aethiopici CSCO 281,34, CSCO 282,30-31)
Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean (Origène)

3. – Rupert de Deutz

Au début du XIIe siècle, dans les quatre faces, celle d'un homme, d'un jeune taureau, d'un lion, d'un aigle, Rupert de Deutz découvre les quatre mystères du Christ, Incarnation, Passion, Résurrection et Ascension. Rupert de Deutz fait de plus une synthèse entre les quatre vivants du *Livre d'Ezéchiel* et les offrandes des Mages.[217] Une face d'homme qui symbolise le mystère de l'Incarnation a été adorée par les Mages à qui ils ont offert les dons mystiques. La myrrhe est associée à la face de taureau qui préfigure le mystère de la Passion, l'or à celle du lion qui fait connaître à l'avance la gloire de la Résurrection, l'encens, qui marque l'Ascension, à celle de l'aigle.

Rupert de Deutz connaît les interprétations de Jérôme et d'Augustin unanimes dans leur application des symboles à Luc et à Jean, mais il y a divergence entre eux quand il s'agit de Matthieu et de Marc.[218] Jérôme attribue la face d'un homme à Matthieu et la face d'un lion à Marc, à l'inverse d'Augustin qui attribue la face d'un homme à Marc et la face d'un lion à Matthieu.[219] Que deviennent alors les

[217] Rupertus Tuitiensis, *De gloria et honore Filii hominis. Super Mattheum* II (2, 11), CCCM 29, 39: "Quattuor istas facies quattuor constat esse sacramenta, quae nescire non licet homini christianae professionis, scilicet incarnationem, passionem, resurrectionem atque ascensionem eiusdem Iesu Christi, quarum circa inspectionem facierum tota uersatur intentio praesentis opusculi. Faciem unam ex his, uidelicet faciem hominis praesentem inuenerunt, quam et procidentes adoraverunt, ceteras mysticis muneribus mirabiliter praesignauerunt. Myrrha faciem uituli, id est sacramentum passionis, qua ipse sacrificandus atque mixtura myrrhae et aloes condiendum erat in sepultura corpus eius. Auro faciem leonis, id est gloriam resurrectionis per quam caro, quam ex nobis mortalem susceperat, tantum meliorata est, quanto aurum puluere seu limo terrae pulchrius atque pretiosius est. Thure faciem aquilae uolantis, id est sublimitatem ascensionis et consessionem ad dextram Patris, ex qua dato hominibus Spiritu sancto cognitus est, quod Deus sit idem Filius Dei, cui sacrificium incensi legitimum iure debeat offerri, aeque ut Patri et sancto Spiritui." Cf. Rupertus Tuitiensis, *Commentaria in Apocalypsim* III 4, PL 169, 918.

[218] Rupertus Tuitiensis, *Commentaria in Apocalypsim* III 4, PL 169, 914: "Nam in Evangelio Christus prius homo est, per naturam; deinde vitulus, per passionem; deinde leo, per resurrectionem; deinde aquila volans, per ascensionem. [...]. Et de Luca quidem et Joanne omnium una est sententia, quod ille scilicet Lucas vituli; hic autem scilicet Joannes, aquilae volantis facie merito figuretur. De Matthaeo autem et Marco diversa sententia est; aliis, quorum beatus Hieronymus unus et praecipuus est, Matthaeum in homine, et Marcum in leone: aliis, quorum beatus Augustinus maximus vel notissimus est, Matthaeum in leone, et Marcum suscipientibus in homine." Rupertus Tuitiensis, *Commentariorum in quatuor evangelistarum* 28, CCCM 23, 1820; PL 167, 1568.

[219] Rupertus Tuitiensis, *In Ezechielem* I 7, CCCM 23, 1651-1652; PL 167, 1428: "Denique in Matthaeo facies hominis, in Marco facies leonis, in Luca facies uituli, in

divergences chez Rupert: dans son étude sur Ezéchiel Rupert après avoir présenté l'ordre des quatre évangélistes selon Origène, choisit l'ordre des quatre vivants tantôt selon la vision d'Ezéchiel, tantôt selon le commentaire de l'*Apocalypse* de Victorin repris par Augustin.

In Ezechielem I 7

Matthieu	Marc	Luc	Jean (Origène)
homme	lion	taureau	aigle (Ez 1,10; Eusèbe de Césarée, Jérôme, Apponius, Eucher de Lyon, Chromace d'Aquilée, Grégoire le Grand, Isidore de Séville, Ambroise Autpert, Alcuin, Raban Maur, Christian de Stavelot, Pierre Damien)
lion	homme	taureau	aigle (Victorin de Poetovio, *Commentarii in Apocalypsim* 4,4, Augustin d'Hippone)

Cependant dans son commentaire de l'Apocalypse, Rupert de Deutz présente les quatre vivants selon l'ordre de Victorin de Poetovio, mais d'autre part il accorde la possibilité de choisir entre la proposition de Jérôme et celle d'Augustin, lorsqu'il est question de l'attribution, c'est-à-dire encore entre l'ordre des quatre évangélistes selon Hippolyte de Rome ou celui d' Apringus de Beja.[220]

Joanne facies agnoscitur aquilae uolantis. Hoc paene cunctis notum est, licet de Matthaeo et Marco diuersa dixerint magni doctores. Aliis in Matthaeo faciem hominis, et in Marco faciem leonis, atque aliis econtra in Matthaeo faciem leonis et in Marco faciem suscipientibus hominis. Nec uero soli euangelistae, sed et quique fidelium singuli pro modulo suo facies istas imitari possunt, sectando cum fide prudentiam, temperantiam, fortitudinem, iustitiam. Christianum quippe prudentem esse, id est hominis Christi faciem habere, temperantem esse crucifigendo carnem suam cum uitiis et concupiscentiis, id plane faciem est habere uituli: fortem esse in aduersis, id est faciem leonis; iustitiam tenere, id est faciem habere aquilae uolantis."

[220] Rupertus Tuitiensis, *Commentaria in Apocalypsim* III 4, PL 169, 914: "Nam in Evangelio Christus prius homo est, per naturam; deinde vitulus, per passionem; deinde leo, per resurrectionem; deinde aquila volans, per ascensionem. [...]. Et de Luca quidem et Joanne omnium una est sententia, quod ille scilicet Lucas vituli; hic autem scilicet Joannes, aquilae volantis facie merito figuretur. De Matthaeo autem et Marco diversa sententia est; aliis, quorum beatus Hieronymus unus et praecipuus est, Mat-

Commentaria in Apocalypsim III 4

Matthieu?	Luc	Marc?	Jean (généalogies; Hippolyte de Rome, *Interpretatio Cantici Canticorum* 8,6)
Marc?	Luc	Matthieu?	Jean (Apringus de Beja)
homme	taureau	lion	aigle (Victorin de Poetovio)

Finalement entre 1158 – 1163, dans son *Liber Vite Meritorum* Sainte Hildegarde décrivant la vision prophétique d'Ezéchiel décrypte la face d'homme comme la piété de Dieu (*pietas Dei*), la face de lion comme la vertu de Dieu (*virtus Dei*), la face de taureau le sacrifice (*sacrificium*) et la face d'aigle la science de Dieu (*scientia Dei*).[221]

4. – Denys bar Salībī

En dernier lieu avec Denys bar Salībī († 1171) sans hésitation nous retrouvons l'ordre et l'attribution tels qu'Hippolyte de Rome les a conçus.[222] Ces sont du moins les études de Pierre Prigent qui

thaeum in homine, et Marcum in leone: aliis, quorum beatus Augustinus maximus vel notissimus est, Matthaeum in leone, et Marcum suscipientibus in homine." Rupertus Tuitiensis, *Commentariorum in quatuor evangelistarum* 28, CCCM 23, 1820; PL 167, 1568.

[221] Hildegardis Bingensis, *Liber Vite Meritorum* 1, 17, CCCM 90, 20-21: "Nam opus operis Dei homo est, et hoc opus a Deo est. Facies enim hominis pietatem Dei designat, per quam homo sensibilitatem habet; et facies leonis uirtutem Dei, in qua Deus rationalitatem homini dedit; et hoc a dextris, quoniam pietas et uirtus Dei per comprehensionem magnitudinis bonorum operum uelut alas diuinarum inspirationem extendunt. Sed facies bouis sacrificium quod Deus est denuntiat, in quo demonstrauit homini Deo sacrificare: et hoc etiam a sinistris est, quoniam in sacrificio quidam defectus est, ubi unum datur et aliquid relinquitur, sicut etiam qui uoluntatem suam Deo offert interdum celestia, interdum terrestria meditatur. Nam in sacrificio Deus hominem ad se trahit; et etiam homini inspirat, ut se ipsum Deo sacrificium faciat. Facies autem aquile scientiam Dei prefigurat, que homini scientiam dat et possibilitatem scientie, secundum quod ipsi placet. Que super alias uirtutes est, quoniam in homine terribilis est, et homini uita est; et uita illa non deficit, sed undique spirat et undique uidet, ac in homine ut stelle in firmamento apparet." Sainte Hildegarde (1098-1179).

[222] Dionysius Bar Salībī, *In Apocalypsim* 4, 7, ed. J. Sedlacek, CSCO 53, 9, CSCO 60. Scriptores Syri 101, 6: "*Animal primum simile leoni*; h.e. per hoc regnum et principatum ostendit leonis qui e tribu Iudae ortus est; hoc ostendit Matthaeus. *Animal secundum simile vitulo*; h.e. taurus gloriam eximiam Christi significat; quod narrat Lucas. *Animal tertium habet faciem hominis*; h.e. passibilitatem Filii et humilem habitum filii hominis quem inter homines monstravit; quod narrat Marcus. *Et animal quartum figura aquilae volantis*; i.e. aquilam mysterium spiritale et tremendum Verbi indicat et eius potentiam sese extendere in caelos docet; id praedicat Iohannes."

montrent comment le commentaire syriaque de l'*Apocalypse*[223] écrit par Denys bar Salībī contient plusieurs emprunts littéraux et passages inspirés d'Hippolyte.[224]

Denys bar Salībī

lion	taureau	homme	aigle (Ap 4,6-7; Irénée, Hippolyte, Filastre de Brescia, Apringus de Beja; Scriptores Aethiopici CSCO 281,34, CSCO 282,30-31)
Matthieu	Luc	Marc	Jean (généalogies; Hippolyte de Rome *Interpretatio Cantici Canticorum* 8,6)

Tableau 3 – Hippolyte de Rome et Augustin d'Hippone.

	Matthieu	**Marc**	**Luc**	**Jean**
Hippolyte de Rome	lion	Homme	taureau	aigle
Augustin d'Hippone	lion	Homme	taureau	aigle
Primasius d'Hadrumète	lion	Homme	taureau	aigle
Bède le Vénérable	lion	Homme	taureau	aigle
Héric d'Auxerre	lion	Homme	taureau	aigle
Denys bar Salībī	lion	Homme	taureau	aigle

Conclusion

En conclusion de notre analyse, nous pouvons établir les trois séries de classifications proposées par Irénée de Lyon, par Epiphane de Salamine et Jérôme de Stridon, et par Hippolyte de Rome et Augustin d'Hippone, en des tableaux composés dans l'ordre chronologique. La lecture de ceux-ci conduit à déduire que tous sont d'accord pour l'attribution du taureau à l'évangéliste Luc. Sans nier les divergences des écrivains anciens dans leur application des

[223] Dionysius Bar Salībī, *In Apocalypsim, Actus et Epistulas Catholicas*, ed. J. Sedlacek, CSCO 53, 3-28, CSCO 60. Scriptores Syri 101,1-22.

[224] Cf. Pierre Prigent, *Hippolyte, commentateur de l'Apocalypse*, in : *Theologische Zeitschrift* 28 (1972), 6, 391-412.

symboles aux quatre évangélistes, la plus grande demeure quand il s'agit de Marc. L'emblème de Marc, pour Irénée de Lyon, Victorin de Poetovio et Chromace d'Aquilée, c'est l'aigle, pour Epiphane de Salamine et Jérôme, c'est le lion, pour Hippolyte de Rome et Augustin, l'homme. Mais Ambroise de Milan hésite entre l'interprétation d'Irénée de Lyon et celle d'Epiphane de Salamine et de Jérôme de Stridon. Faut-il supposer l'existence d'une discussion soulevée sur Marc et Jean à cette époque? Que dire du silence d'Ambroise de Milan n'exprimant pas son opinion au sujet de Marc et de Jean à cause de la divergence entre Irénée de Lyon et Epiphane de Salamine? En effet Irénée de Lyon attribue les symboles aux évangélistes selon l'ordre de vision des quatre vivants de l'*Apocalypse de Jean*: lion à Jean, taureau à Luc, homme à Matthieu et aigle à Marc, tandis qu'Epiphane de Salamine et Jérôme de Strident les appliquent suivant l'ordre de la vision prophétique d'Ezéchiel: une face d'homme à Matthieu, une face de lion à Marc, une face de taureau à Luc et une face d'aigle à Jean. Quant à l'interprétation particulière d'Augustin, elle n'a pas suscité beaucoup d'échos alors que nous constatons bien l'audience largement répandue de l'interprétation de Jérôme au Moyen Age.

Les plus anciennes mentions de l'ordre des évangélistes sont celles d'Irénée de Lyon, d'Hippolyte de Rome et d'Origène. L'ordre proposé par Irénée de Lyon est le suivant: Jean, Luc, Matthieu, Marc[225] ou Pierre, Jean, Matthieu, Paul[226], celui d'Hippolyte de Rome: Luc, Matthieu, Marc, Jean.[227]

Epiphane de Salamine, Rufin d'Aquilée[228], Chromace d'Aquilée[229], Jérôme de Stridon[230], Augustin d'Hippone[231], Grégoire le

[225] Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Aduersus haereses* III 11,8, SCh 211,162-171.

[226] Cf. Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Aduersus haereses* III 21,3, SCh 211,408-409.

[227] Hippolytus Romanus, *In Ezechielem* 1,5-10, GCS 1,2,183.

[228] Rufinus Aquileiensis, *Expositio Symboli* 35, CCL 20,171: "Noui uero quattuor Euangelia: Mathaei Marci Lucae Iohannis."

[229] Chromatius Aquileiensis, *Tractatus in Mathaeum* 1-59. *Prologus* 1-2, CCL 9A, 185-186: "Sunt autem conscriptores euangelii, quia in quattuor libris diuiditur: Mathaeus, Marcus, Lucas et Iohannes, qui olim ad huius diuini operis officium per sanctum Spiritum praefigurati fuerant et praedestinati, sicut beatus Lucas retulit: *Quoniam multi quidem conati sunt ordinare narrationem rerum quae in nobis impleta est.*" Lc 1,1.

[230] Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Commentarii in Euangelium Matthaei libri* IV. *Prologus* 5-6, CCL 77,3-4, PL 26,19, SCh 242,64-67; Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri* XIV (I 6-8a), CCL 75,11.

[231] Sanctus Augustinus, *De doctrina christiana* II 8,13, BA 11,254-255, CCL 32,40; Sanctus Augustinus, *De consensu euangelistarum* I 2,3, CSEL 43,3-4.

Grand[232] précisent l'ordre selon lequel les quatre Evangiles ont été écrits: Matthieu, Marc, Luc et Jean. En outre, Augustin d'Hippone présente l'ordre dans lequel les évangélistes ont connu et prêché l'Evangile: Matthieu, Jean, Marc, Luc.[233] Il y eut un temps où l'Evangile ne fut que prêché; c'est l'Evangile oral, celui des apôtres, témoins autorisés et qualifiés. Puis il y eut un deuxième temps où l'Evangile ne fut plus seulement prêché mais écrit; c'est l'Evangile écrit par les apôtres et les disciples, qui donnaient la catéchèse des apôtres. Saint Augustin de plus signale que l'ordre selon lequel les évangélistes ont écrit l'Evangile (*ordo scribendi*) n'est pas le même que l'ordre dans lequel ils ont connu et prêché l'Evangile (*ordo cognoscendi adque praedicandi*). Les Evangiles en effet ont été écrits, dans l'ordre suivant: Matthieu, Marc, Luc et Jean, mais l'Evangile a été prêché d'abord par les apôtres (Matthieu, Jean et autres) et ensuite par les disciples des apôtres (Marc et Luc). "Voici donc ces quatre évangélistes très connus par tout l'univers, au nombre de quatre peut être à cause des quatre parties du monde, qui déclarèrent en quelque sorte que l'Église s'est répandue à travers la totalité de la terre à cause du mystère même de leur nombre et qui sont tenus avoir écrir en cet ordre: d'abord Matthieu, puis Marc, ensuite Luc et enfin Jean. D'où cette disposition qui leur fut réservée, à l'un de connaître et de prêcher, à un autre d'écrire. En effet les premiers à le connaître et à le prêcher, furent ceux qui ayant suivi le Seigneur au cours de son Incarnation, l'entendirent parler et le virent agir, et ils furent envoyés évangéliser sur l'ordre des paroles du Christ; mais en ce qui concerne la rédaction de l'Evangile qu'on doit croire avoir été divinement inspiré, du nombre de ceux que le Seigneur avait choisis avant sa Passion, il en a deux qui tiennent le premier et le dernier rang, l'un le premier Matthieu et l'autre le dernier Jean, de telle sorte que les deux autres qui n'étaient pas de ce nombre, mais qui cependant avaient suivi le Christ parlant parmi eux, comme des fils qu'on doit favoriser alors qu'ils occupent une place médiane, soient assurés des deux côtés par les premiers."[234]

[232] Gregorius I Papa, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem* I (Homilia 3, 1), CCL 142, 33, SCh 327, 118-121: "Quatuor ergo facies uni sunt, quia si requiras quid Matthaeus de incarnatione Domini sentiat, hoc nimirum sentit quod Marcus, Lucas et Iohannes."

[233] Cf. Sanctus Augustinus, *Sermo* 239, 1, 1, PL 38, 1127: "Marcus autem meruit istam dispensationem, cum in numero illorum duodecim non fuisset, quemadmodum et Lucas. Nam cum sint quatuor Evangelistae, Matthaeus, Joannes, Marcus et Lucas; duo sunt ex illis duodecim Apostolis, id est, Matthaeus et Joannes."

[234] Sanctus Augustinus, *De consensu euangelistarum* I 2, 3, CSEL 43, 3-4: "Isti igitur quattuor euangelistae uniuerso terrarum orbe notissimi, et ob hoc fortasse quattuor, quoniam quattuor sunt partes orbis terrae, per cuius uniuersitatem Christi eccle-

La révision des commentaires du *Livre d'Ezéchiel* et de l'*Apocalypse* par divers écrivains chrétiens à partir des Pères de l'Église et des écrivains chrétiens anciens jusqu'aux théologiens du Moyen Age nous ont conduits à la conclusion suivante: la littérature latine du Moyen Age constitue la continuation immédiate de la littérature de l'époque patristique. En effet les théologiens médiévaux n'ont pas évité les emprunts à l'ancienne littérature, mais les symboles des quatre évangélistes étaient seulement l'illustration de la pensée théologique, tandis que pour les Pères de l'Église les symboles des quatre vivants ne renvoyaient pas seulement aux quatre évangélistes, mais aux caractéres propres de chaque Evangile, de telle sorte qu'on glissait du symbole à l'allégorie; celle-ci par ailleurs comportait un sens mystique. Les écrivains chrétiens qui rencontrent ces textes dans leurs explications sont généralement d'accord pour appliquer ce symbolisme aux quatre évangélistes. Avec Irénée de Lyon apparaît une interprétation des quatre Evangiles, qui a cherché l'unité du texte évangélique dans le Christ et la diversité dans l'expression personnelle des évangélistes d'où la formule l'Evangile quadriforme. Le commencement de chaque Evangile est différent, les récits sont présentés selon les moyens et les possibilités des évangélistes, mais la finalité est la même chez tous les quatre, transmettre la vérité de la Résurrection du Christ. Les quatre livres de l'Evangile comportent les quatre mystères du Christ: Incarnation, Passion, Résurrection et Ascension (*Mc* 16,19; *Lc* 24,50-51), ce qui autorise, au Moyen Age, les théologiens à repèrer dans les quatre vivants le symbole des réalités célestes liées au mystère de la Rédemption, d'où un sens anagogique, c'est-à-dire eschatologique qui va du récit de la *Genèse* à la promesse et à l'accomplissement du Royaume de Dieu. Le *Livre d'Ezéchiel* en particulier comprenant une vision prophétique du «char de Yahvé» avec les quatre vivants tétramorphes annonce clairement l'avènement du Christ, bien mieux les quatre mystères de sa vie. Par

siam dilatari ipso sui numeri sacramento quodammodo declararunt, hoc ordine scripsisse perhibentur: primus Mattheus, deinde Marcus, tertio Lucas, ultimo Iohannes. unde alius eis fuit ordo cognoscendi adque praedicandi, alius autem scribendi. ad cognoscendum quippe adque praedicandum primi utique fuerunt qui secuti dominum in carne praesentem dicentem audierunt facientemque uiderunt adque ex eius ore ad euangelizandum missi sunt. sed in conscribendo euangelio, quod diuinitus ordinatum esse credendum est, ex numero eorum, quos ante passionem dominus elegit, primum adque ultimum locum duo tenuerunt, primum Mattheus, ultimum Iohannes, ut reliqui duo, qui ex illo numero non erant, sed tamen Christum in illis loquentem secuti erant, tamquam filii amplectendi ac per hoc in loco medio constituti utroque ab eis latere munirentur."

voie de conséquence cette vision prophétise l'Evangile quadriforme qui révèle tous les mystères du Christ et de l'Eglise. Il incombe donc à l'Eglise traversant tous les temps de porter le message de salut à tous les peuples, de s'avancer vers l'éternité, vers la vie de l'au-delà où elle trouvera son accomplissement, l' «*Evangile éternel*». Dans l'allégorie des quatre vivants est donc dévoilée la prophétie de l'accomplissement eschatologique.

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Artikel trägt die Überschrift: *Die verschiedenen patristischen Interpretationen der vier Lebewesen nach Ezechiel 1,10 und der Apokalypse 4,6-7 bis zum 12. Jahrhundert.* In der patristischen Traditon waren die vier kanonischen Evangelien mit den vier Engeln des Buches Ezechiel und mit den vier Lebewesen der *Apokalypse* verbunden.

Das Buch Ezechiel wurde von mehreren antiken christlichen Schriftstellern kommentiert: Hippolyt von Rom, Origines, Gregor von Nazianz, Hieronimus von Stridon, Cyrill von Alexandrien, Hesychius von Jerusalem, Theodoret von Cyr, Gregor der Große, Raban Maurus, Rupert von Deutz, André und Richard von Sankt Viktor. Die *Apokalypse* wurde von Victorinus von Poetovio, Tychonius, Ambrosius von Mailand, Hieronimus von Stridon, Cesar von Arles, Cassiodorus, Apringius von Pace, Primasius von Hadrumentum, Pseudo-Isidor von Sevilla, Andreas von Cesarea, Beda Venerabilis, Ambrosius Autpertus, Alkuin, Anselm von Laon, Bruno von Asti, Rupert von Deutz und Richard von Sankt Viktor kommentiert.

Diese Studie präsentiert die verschiedenen Zuordnungsweisen der vier Lebewesen nach *Ezechiel* bzw. der *Apokalypse* an die vier Evangelisten.

Nach der Reihenfolge in der Apokalypse: Löwe, Stier, Mensch, Adler teilen Irenäus von Lyon, Viktorin von Poetovio, Ambrosius von Mailand und Chromatius von Aquila den Löwen Johannes, den Stier Lukas, den Mensch Matthäus und den Adler Markus zu.

Nach der Reihenfolge im Buch Ezechiel teilt man Matthäus den Mensch, Markus den Löwen, Lukas den Stier und Johannes den Adler zu. Unter anderen sind Epiphanius von Salamina, Hieronimus von Stridon, Ambrosius von Mailand, Apponius, Eucher von Lyon, Gregor der Große, Isidor von Sevilla, Alkuin, Raban Maurus und Richard von Sankt Viktor, träger dieser Tradition.

Es gibt eine dritte Tradition, derzufolge die vier Lebewesen weder im Hinblick auf das Buch Ezechiel, noch hinsichtlich der

Apokalypse gedeutet werden: Stier, Löwe, Mensch, Adler teilt sie (in derselben Reihenfolge) Lukas, Matthäus, Markus und Johannes zu. Hippolyt von Rom wollte dadurch nur die Theorie der vier Patriarchate: Rom, Antiochia, Alexandria und Ephesus präsentieren. Vor allem wollte er hiermit die Vorrangstellung Roms unterstreichen. Die Zuteilung nach Hippolyt wurde von Augustinus von Hippon, Primasius von Hadrumentum, Beda Venerabilis und Héric von Auxerre akzeptiert.

In den Symbolen der vier Lebewesen haben die Kirchenväter nicht nur die vier Evangelisten symbolisiert gesehen, sondern auch eine Kurzcharakteristik der vier Evangelien. Die beiden Evangelisten, die die menschliche Genealogie Christi bringen, Matthäus präsentiert sie als königlichen, Lukas als priesterlichen Stammbaum, haben eine wichtige Rolle bei der Zuteilung der Symbole an die vier Evangelisten gespielt.

In der Tat, die vier Evangelien-Bücher akzentuieren jeweils mit unterschiedlicher Gewichtung das vielfältige Geheimnis Christi von Inkarnation, Leiden und Tod, Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt.

Paris Piotr PACIOREK

THE AUGUSTINIAN COMMUNITY AT PARIS IN THE EARLY 14th CENTURY

In his *La Formation des professeurs* Eelcko Ypma called attention to a document recorded in a register of Philip VI that listed the names of thirty-four members of the Grand Couvent des Augustins at Paris in 1326.[1] It was one of two documents Ypma used to establish the size of the membership of the Paris convent in the early fourteenth century, the other document being the convent's letter of adhesion to Philip IV's call for a council against Boniface VIII in June 1303, which listed the names of thirty-eight members of the community.[2] The approximate numerical similarity of the two lists of members led Ypma to the conclusion that the total resident community at the Paris convent in the early fourteenth century numbered around forty.

Neither of these documents, in all probability, listed all those resident at the Augustinian convent in the years indicated. The 1303 document listed only those who adhered to the position of Philip the Fair, which may or may not have been the total number of friars in residence. Because of the unique survival of an initial list from the Franciscan convent at Paris in 1303 naming both adherents and nonadherents, we know that the majority of Franciscans at Paris refused to adhere, and those names were not mentioned in the final letter of adhesion for Cordeliers.[3] Although similar double documentation does not exist for the other mendicant convents, Antoine Dondaine suspected that the names listed in the letter of adhesion for the Dominicans at St. Jacques also represented a minority of residents in that community.[4] Yet in the Augustinian case, the document of 1326, which seems devoid of any political or religious context that would have caused some residents not to be

[1] E. Ypma, *La Formation des professeurs chez les ermites de Saint-Augustin de 1256 à 1354* (Paris, 1956), pp.72-73.

[2] The circumstance that occasioned the 1303 document was misidentified in Ypma, *La Formation des professeurs*, p.72, as the process against Marguerite Porette.

[3] See E. Longpré, *Le B. Jean Duns Scot. Pour le Saint Siège et contre le gallicanisme (25-28 Juin 1303)*, *La France Franciscaine*, 11 (1928), 137-62; and for a corrected edition of the documents, W. J. Courtenay, *The Parisian Franciscan Community in 1303*, in *Franciscan Studies*, 53 (1993), 155-73; see also COURTENAY, "Between Pope and King: The Parisian Letters of Adhesion of 1303", *Speculum*, 71 (1996), 577-605.

[4] A. Dondaine, *Documents pour l'histoire de la province de France. L'Appel au concile (1303)*, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 22 (1952), 381-439, esp. 383-90, 403-12.

listed, appears to support the 1303 figure as being the total resident community at the Augustinian convent. And that, in turn, would mean that, unlike the Franciscans (and probably unlike the Dominicans), the Augustinians at Paris fully supported Philip the Fair in his campaign against Boniface VIII.

This last issue alone is significant enough to political and ecclesiastical historians to merit a re-examination of the documents involved. Moreover, the question of the size and composition (geographically and academically) of the Paris Augustinian convent is of equal importance to historians of the religious orders (especially the Augustinian order) as well as those concerned with the University of Paris. Yet whether those listed in the documents of 1303 and 1326 represent the total resident community at Grands Augustins in those respective years depends on establishing from other evidence a normative picture of the Paris convent against which the two documents in question can be interpreted. Thus the two documents, the events to which they relate, and some new evidence they contain will be discussed in sequence after the normative model is established.

Grands Augustins in the early fourteenth century

The Paris convent of the Hermit Friars of St. Augustine by the late thirteenth century, as was true for the other mendicant convents, provided residence for three different groups or constituencies. One group was composed of those for whom Paris was their home convent, i.e., those who had professed there or had been transferred there. A second group were those who had been chosen by the prior general and the order to go to Paris to complete the university requirements for the baccalaureate and doctorate in theology. The third group comprised those younger students in the lectorate program who had been sent to Paris by their provinces to study theology for five years and thus prepare themselves for positions as lectors in the schools of their province or region. Some of those might be chosen later to return to Paris for the university degree; the majority, however, would not.

Most of those in the first group (the "permanent" membership) would have come from Paris and the surrounding region, but it is difficult to conjecture their size beyond what one can perceive from the two documents under consideration. The second group would normally have numbered between six and ten, being composed of those appointed to read the *Sentences* (which included a preparatory year of residence before the actual year of lecturing), those who had read and were awaiting promotion to the doctorate (the *baccalaurii*

formati), and the regent master who was fulfilling the one-year teaching and administrative requirements of that office, or had just completed regency but had not yet left Paris. This group may also have included those lecturing on the Bible who had not yet been appointed to read the *Sentences*. Since the Augustinian order had no quota system that rotated the selection for university degrees among candidates from the French province and from the other provinces, as did the Dominicans and Franciscans, there was no formula that dictated geographical or regional distribution at this level. The importance of the Italian provinces of the order, however, gave Italian friars an advantage in the selection process.[5] And while the geographical distribution within this group varied from year to year according to the quality of candidates and probably the internal politics and personal preference of the leadership of the order, the size of the group varied little because it was set by the requirements of the university that allowed only one candidate a year at each level within the eight-year theological program from *biblicus* through *magister*.

The third group, those involved in preparation for the lectorate, merit special attention, for they may have been the largest single group and certainly the most geographically diverse. By the late thirteenth century each province was required to pay one gold florin per year for the support of the Paris *studium*, in return for which they were permitted to send one student there for theological study towards the lectorate.[6] Because the convent was located within and was supported by the province of France, that province was permitted to have two such students at one time.[7] Provinces usually sent an additional student at their own expense, in part because friars were forbidden to travel alone.[8] As the order expanded in the early fourteenth century, the number of openings for each province was raised to two, while the

[5] More than half the approximately 400 convents founded by 1300 were in Italy, while the province of Germany had 88 houses, England and Ireland 25 houses, France and Provence (two separate provinces by 1295) 24 houses, and Spain and Portugal 16 houses. For further information on the number and size of the Augustinian provinces see David Gutiérrez, *The Augustinians in the Middle Ages, 1256-1356* (Villanova, 1984), pp. 43-48.

[6] *Analecta Augustiniana*, II (1907), 230, 371-373.

[7] Gutiérrez, *The Augustinians*, p. 44; YPMA, *La Formation des professeurs*, pp. 32-33.

[8] Provincial chapter of Rome in 1273 (*Anal. Aug.*, II, 230): "Item frater Jacobus de Orto tunc electus fuit ut iret ad studium Parisius, qui successit in gratia studii praedicti fratri Pauluctio ... Item fr. Orlandinus de Perusio fuit ibidem electus quod iret ad studium Parisius ... et quod haberet provisionem integre et expensarum quinque annorum ..."

province of France was permitted three (1318), which was further increased to six (1321).[9] This means that while the geographical distribution among the various provinces would have remained relatively stable, the actual number of students preparing for the lectorate at Paris may well have doubled between 1303 and 1326.

If the seventeen Augustinian provinces in 1303 were taking full advantage of their quota for study at Paris, there should have been between thirty and forty students (two per province) in the lectorate program alone, with an additional eight or so advanced students and a master in the university program, and the "permanent" convent members. While the latter two groups should have remained numerically stable between 1303 and 1326, the students in the lectorate program should have grown to between forty and sixty by 1326. This estimate, of course, is based only on statutory opportunity, and it is possible that provinces sometimes did not even fill their quota, let alone send additional students at their own expense. How does that picture compare to the evidence from our two documents?

The Letter of Adhesion of 1303

In nomine Domini, amen. Anno ejusdem millesimo trecentesimo tercio, indictione prima, vicesima quinta die mensis Junii, pontificatus domini Bonifacii pape octavi anno nono. Tenore presentis instrumenti publici, noverint universi quod, in presencia mei notarii et testium subscriptorum, ad hoc specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum, fratres Petrus de Veris, supprior fratrum conventus domus de ordine Sancti Augustini Parisiensis, Radulphus de Anglia, Laurencius de Bullis, Robertus de Padavilla, Robertus de Monsterolio supra mare, Nicolaus de Estammara, Bartholomeus de Lauduno, Petrus de Maquilinia, Renaldus de Caldana, Martinus de Bononia, Guillelmus de Altifago, Guillelmus de Acayo, Michael de Gisorcio, Johannes de Sancto Claro, Petrus de Dullendio, Richardus de Manerio, Johannes de Attrebato, Nicolaus de Fiscanno, Franchiscus de Metis, Petrus de Abbatisvilla, Thomas Lesbaudi, Guillelmus Leferon, Galterus de Anglia, Franchiscus de Narnia, Martinus de Horlandia, Aymericus de Tholosa, Petrus de Provincia.

Item, die vicesima sexta dicti mensis, fratres Petrus de Senis, Johannes de Montefalco, Bertollus de Florencia, Paulus de

[9] Ypma, *La Formation des professeurs*, pp. 32-33.

> Castelleto, Alexander de Ungaria, magister in theologia, Arnaldus de Tholosa, magister in theologia, Johannes de Augia, Gregorius de Senis, Johannes de Pisis, Matheus de regno Scicilie, et Galvanus de Ferreria, ejusdem ordinis, et conventus, in capitulo ejusdem loci hora tertia congregati,... Actum Parisius, in capitulo domus predictorum fratrum Augustinorum, anno, indictione, diebus, mense, et pontificatu supradictis ....[10]

The letter of adhesion for the Augustinian convent was the result of a two-day inquiry in which all friars resident at the convent were given the choice between supporting the king's call for a council to examine the charges against Pope Boniface VIII or leaving the realm of France within a few days. The royal commission was the same as that which had visited the Franciscan convent on June 24 or early on June 25, namely Mathieu de Trie and Jean de Montigny, both high-ranking royal officers, and masters Jean de Forêt, canon of Bayeux, Thomas de Forêt, and Dreux de Remiremont, all royal clerks. On the first day of the inquiry, June 25, twenty-seven members of the convent declared their adherence to the royal *appellatio*. Of the twenty-one whose region of origin can be determined with reasonable certainty, there were thirteen from the province of France, two from the province of Aquitaine and Provence, two from England, three from all the Italian provinces together, and one from Holland, which lay within the province of Germany.[11] On the following day eleven more friars added their names to the list of adherents: eight of them from Italy, one possibly from Germany, and the incoming and outgoing regent masters (one of them from Hungary and the other from Provence).[12]

When compared to the letters of adhesion from the Franciscan and Dominican convents, the percentage of adherents from outside the

[10] Paris, Arch. Nat., J. 480, no. 64; edited by Georges Picot, *Documents relatifs aux Etats-Généraux et assemblées réunis sous Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1901), pp. 379-380.

[11] The French group comprised Robert de Montreil-sur-mer, Barthélemy de Laon, Pierre de Malines, Guillaume d'Auffay, Michel de Gisor, Jean de St. Clair, Pierre de Doullens, Jean d'Arras, Nicolas de Fécamp, François de Metz, Pierre d'Abbeville, Thomas Lesbaudi, and Guillaume Leferon. Those from southern France were Aymeric de Toulouse and Pierre de Provence; from England, Ralph and Walter (de Anglia); from Italy, Renaldo di Caldana, Martino di Bologna, and Francesco di Narnia; and from Holland, a brother Maarten.

[12] The Italian group comprised Pietro di Siena, Giovanni di Montefalco, Bertolo di Firenze, Paolo di Castelleto, Gregorio di Siena, Giovanni di Pisa, Matteo di Sicilia, and Galvano di Ferrara. The two masters were Alexander de Ungaria and Arnaud de Toulouse. The possible German was Johannes de Augua (Au?).

realm of France is much higher for the Augustinian convent than for the other two mendicant convents, which may reflect a strong desire on the part of the Augustinians to retain the good will of the king. The Augustinian community at Paris was largely foreign, heavily Italian, and historically dependent on royal patronage. The property that they occupied had been given to the Augustinians in 1295 by Philip the Fair. The fact that one of the most vocal supporters of Boniface VIII, Giles of Rome, was not only an important prelate in his role as archbishop of Bourges but was the leading theologian of the Augustinian order, made their position (and future) in Paris even more precarious. The previous owners of their property, the Friars of the Sack, had been forced out of Paris by the king, and it was not in the long-term interests of the Augustinian friars to risk a repetition.

What we find in looking at the list of names on the letter of adhesion is that many of them are French, as one would expect, and that several of the provinces represented appear to have filled their quota for the lectorate program: eight friars from the province of France outside the Paris area (we may assume a few of these were involved in the university program); two from England; two from Provence (plus a regent master who was part of the university program); two from Siena; two from Romagna; and probably two from Germany. If those provinces were fulfilling their quotas, we may assume that most of the other provinces were as well. This means that some students involved in the lectorate and university programs from the provinces of Tuscany, Pisa, Rome, Spoleto, Sicily, and Hungary refused to adhere. Even more telling, we find no students from the provinces of Umbria, Marche, Lombardy, Venice, Spain, or Catalonia. Some names we know to have been at the Augustinian convent at the time are missing, such as the German, Henry of Friemar, and the Italian, Gregory of Lucca. And while the name of the subprior of the convent appears on the list, the name of the prior is missing.

We also know, through comparison with the initial list and subsequent "official" letter of adhesion from the Franciscan convent, that in the second, or final copy (to which the above letter is the Augustinian equivalent), the names of office holders present at the convent were placed at the top of the list, with title. Thus, while the first part of the document lists the subprior and the second part includes the names of the two regent masters, the absence of any bachelors of theology, of which there should have been four or five, is telling.

Several conclusions emerge from this analysis. First, the Augustinian convent did not support the royal position against

Boniface VIII en masse, but split, as did the other mendicant houses. At the same time, the portion of those choosing exile over adhesion was probably smaller than for either the Dominican or Franciscan convents. Second, it would appear that many provinces, probably most, were sponsoring two students at Paris, one at the expense of the order and one at the expense of the province, and thus more than fulfilling their quota. The same would appear to hold true for the province of France. Third, the total resident community at Grands Augustins in 1303, before the departure of the nonadherents, was probably closer to sixty.

The Procuration of 1326

Tenor autem dicte procurationis sive litterarum sigillatarum sigillo prepositure Parisiensis, de quibus supra fit mentio, talis est:

A touz ceus qui ces presentes lettres verront, Hugues de Crusy, garde de la prevosté de Paris, salut. Sachent tuit, que par devant Gile de Dynant et Pierre de Lieuviller, notayres jurez establiz de par nostre seigneur le roy ou Chestellet de Paris, aus quiex nous adiotons foy pleniere en cest cas, et en greneur et quant aus choses qui s'ensuivent oir, et a nous raporter commis et deputez de par nous et en lieu de nous, furent present par devant religieus hommes et honestes, frere Rogier de Lavel [*or* Lanel], prieur de la maison de freres de Saint Augustin de Paris; frere Denis de Bourc, mestre en divinité; frere Albart de Pade, frere Andrieu de Perruches, frere Jaques de Apens, frere Jehan de Mes, frere Nichole de Vinesch [*or* Wiesch], frere Thomas d'Argentuel touz bachalers en divinité; frere G. de Paris, frere Jehan de Bourges, frere Bernart de Orbeint, frere Andrieu de Florence, frere Angle du Chestel, freres Alides de Seras [*or* Feras], frere Guillaume de Grece, frere François de Isterant, frere Henri de Treves, frere Guillaume de Limos, frere Michiel de Treves, frere Bertrant dou Bordel, frere Bernart de Fuac [*or* Fuat], frere Fouché de Auchon [*or* Authon], frere Pierre d'Alait, frere Robert de Paris, frere Huguelin d'Escoube, frere Denis de Col, frere Jehan de Honguerie, frere Jehan de Magonce, frere Thomas de Honguerie, frere Nichole de Teram, frere Bartholomieu de Pade, frere Regnaut de Bresse, frere N. de St. Denis, et frere Jehan de Migaudel, touz freres et du convent de la dite maison de saint Augustin de Paris. ... Ce fu fait le

mercredi après la Saint Sauveur, vint et huit jourz de may, l'an de grâce mil ccc vint et sis.[13]

In this document, drafted and notarized on May 28,1326, the prior and members of the Augustinian convent at Paris granted power of attorney to Jehan Migaudel on behalf of the convent to handle all legal and financial matters concerned with their income and property. Migaudel is referred to in the document as a friar and a member of the community who was probably exempted from the part of his vows that prohibited participation in such matters.

This document was imbedded in a legal opinion of title, required by buyers, confirming the right of the convent to sell one of its sources of income, and recorded in a royal register.[14] The entire document, as it appears in the register, was composed in January 1329 in which is contained a series of earlier documents relating to the acquisition and eventual alienation or sale of a right to income derived from the prevoté of Amiens.[15] The income, in the amount of 30 livres annually, came from the goods of Henri Taperel, prevôt of Paris, who was hanged on 25 July 1320 for having unjustly condemned several persons to death, and whose bodies were buried at the convent. In October 1320, a chaplaincy for the repose of their souls was established there. Then, in December 1328, the proctor of the convent, brother Jehan Migaudel, sold the income to two citizens of Amiens for a one-time payment of 720 livres paris., the convent having previously received from the king in December 1320 the right to sell it, should the need arise.

Fascinating as the full case and the issues it raises are for the handling of property and income given to support masses for the dead in late medieval society, our immediate concern is only with the letter granting to Jehan Migaudel the power to dispose of such property on behalf of the convent. In addition to his name and that of the prior, the document lists thirty-two other members of the community, which, as we have seen, has been viewed as the full list of convent residents at that time.

[13] Paris, Arch. Nat., Registre JJ/65b, ff. 63v-64v (no. 208); calendared in *Registres du Trésor des Chartes*, vol. III: *Règne de Philippe de Valois*, pt. 1 (Paris, 1978), p. 62 (no. 499); full text edited in J. Viard, *Documents parisiens de règne de Philippe VI de Valois (1328-1350)*, vol. I (Paris, 1899), pp. 38-43.

[14] Paris, Arch. Nat., JJ/65b, ff. 63v-64v. The presence of the document in a royal register resulted from the fact that the bequest from which the income was derived had gone to the Augustinian convent through a decision of a royal court.

[15] The document of January 1329 was witnessed by the prior of the convent, Jean de Verdun.

The issue, of course, is whether all residents in the convent would be recorded in such a transaction, or whether there was a distinction among the residents between those considered members of the convent for legal purposes and those who were simply resident in the convent.[16] It would have been unusual for students in the lectorate program, sent to the Paris convent by their provincial priors and chapters, to have been considered legal members of the community for purposes of property transactions. Who, then, were the members of the convent who gave their power-of-attorney to Migaudel? The first names on the list represent the administrative and academic leadership of the convent, arranged hierarchically. First named is Rogier de Lavel, who in that year was prior of the convent, followed by the regent master. Then there are the names of six bachelors of theology in alphabetical order, a category that would include the bachelor reading the *Sentences* in that year, along with those who had completed that task and were, as *baccalaurii formati*, awaiting promotion to the magisterium. The other twenty-six names on the list are mostly French, with two Italians (from Florence, Padua, and Teram), three Germans (from Trier and Mainz), two Hungarian friars, and one from Greece. Clearly those appointed by the order to pursue university study and degrees, that is the upper level of those who were at Paris for academic reasons, were considered legal members of the community for purposes of property matters. In fact, their listing in the document immediately after the prior and before those for whom Paris may have been their home convent, shows the importance of academic rank in the minds of the community. The presence in the list of several friars from outside the province of France and below the level of bachelor of theology can be explained by assuming they were either involved in pre-sentential lectures on the Bible, or were in their preparatory year before lecturing on the *Sentences*. Even by the "enrollment" levels in the lectorate program in 1303, without taking into consideration the increase in the quota by 1326, the number of names from outside the province of France is unacceptably low for the entire resident community of the convent.

The list of names that are recorded in the 1326 document are also of interest in their own right. Behind the orthography of the

[16] For an excellent description of the administrative structure and composition of the Paris convent at the middle of the fourteenth century, see Pascale Farago-Bermon, *L'Assentiment et son objet dans le Commentaire des Sentences de Grégoire de Rimini (1300-1358)*, thèse de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, 2000, pp. 49-62, esp. planche I.

scribe, who was copying from an original document in which the names may have been in an abbreviated form, recorded verbally, or as individual signatures, the sequence runs as follows:

Named friars at Grands Augustins, May 1326:

1. Rogier de Lavel, or Lanel, prior
2. Denis de Bourc, MTh
3. Albart de Pade, BTh
4. Andrien de Peruches, BTh
5. Ja[c]ques de Apens, BTh
6. Jehan de Me[ti]s, BTh
7. Nichole de Vinesch, or Wiesch, BTh
8. Thomas d'Argentuel, BTh
9. G. de Paris
10. Jehan de Bourges
11. Bernart de Orbeint
12. Andrien de Florence
13. Angle du Chestel
14. Alides de Seras, or Feras
15. Guillaume de Grece
16. François de Isterant
17. Henri de Treves
18. Guillaume? de Limos, or Lunos
19. Michiel de Treves
20. Bertrant dou Bordel
21. Bernart de Fuac
22. Fouche de Auchon, or Authon
23. Pierre Dalait
24. Robert de Paris
25. Huguelin Descoube, or Desconbe
26. Denis de Col
27. Jehan de Honguerie
28. Jehan de Magonce
29. Thomas de Honguerie
30. Nichole de Teram
31. Bartolomieu de Pade
32. Regnaut de Bresse
33. N. de St. Denis
34. Jehan de Migaudel

Some of the names in the 1326 document are garbled. Thus, behind Denis de Bourc we should identify Dionysius de Borgo San

Sepulchro, whose regency has been dated to around 1323, but whom this document identifies as regent master in 1325-26. Among the group of bachelors of theology in that same academic year we find Albert of Padua, Andreas of Perugia, James of Pamiers (Appamiis), John of Metz, Nicolas of Vich?, and Thomas of Argenteuil. This information corrects the biographical accounts of several of these bachelors. Albert of Padua incepted in theology after 1326, not "around 1323" as is usually stated. Andreas de Perugia was a few years away from his inception and regency (by 1329). And James of Pamiers read the *Sentences* at Paris in or before 1325-26, not "around 1328".[17]

What is of equal interest are the names of those who do not appear in this document. Gerard of Siena, who was regent master at the Augustinian convent in 1329-30 was either not in residence in 1326 or had not yet been sent to Paris for his baccalaureate. Michael de Massa, whose term as bachelor of the *Sentences* was placed around 1325, is nowhere to be found in this list. In his case, as I have argued elsewhere, his baccalaureate should be placed later, after 1326.[18]

If, behind some of the poorly transcribed names at the head of the list, we are able to discern Augustinian theologians known to us from other documentation, further work on this list as well as that of 1303 may help to uncover additional useful biographical information on other members of the order in the early fourteenth century.

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[17] For earlier biographical sketches of these figures, see D. Trapp, *Augustinian Theology of the 14th Century*, *Augustiniana*, 6 (1956), 146-274; A. Zumkeller, *Die Augustinerschule des Mittelalters: Vertreter und Philosophisch-Theologische Lehre*, *Analecta Augustiniana*, 27 (1964), 167-262, transl. into English in *Theology and History of the Augustinian School in the Middle Ages*, ed. John E. Rotelle (Villanova, PA, 1996), pp. 11-79.

[18] Courtenay, *The Quaestiones in Sententias of Michael de Massa, OESA. A Redating*, *Augustiniana*, 45 (1995), 191-207.

PARALLELS IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY HAGIOGRAPHY: JOHN CAPGRAVE'S LIFE OF ST. KATHARINE OF ALEXANDRIA AND VINCENT FERRER'S CATALAN SERMON ON SANTA CATERINA

John Capgrave (1393-1464) finished writing his *Life of Katharine of Alexandria* by 1445.[1] This lengthy Middle English compilation, written in poetry, contains a vast amount of material on Catherine's life which Capgrave included in five books. Recent studies have attempted to ascertain his sources, a task complicated by the author's revelation that he consulted an incomplete English version by a priest named Arrek, whose translation of Catherine's life from the Greek of Athanasius to Latin Capgrave also used (*Life*, Prolog., p. 21: 197-210).

Vincent Ferrer's (1350-1419) Catalan sermon on Catherine of Alexandria[2] is structured and combines the language of the common people with speculative theological doctrine ("moltes bones doctrines speculatives") [very good speculative doctrines] (*Sermons*, 6,129). In this analysis of his sermon, we found that St. Vincent deviated from his preferred sources, including the *Legenda Aurea* (*LA*), and relied on other sources, including an unspecified work that appears to be similar to one used by John Capgrave.

Both Capgrave and Ferrer structured their hagiographical accounts of Catherine. Capgrave chose to divide his poem into five parts, or books, preceeded by a prologue, perhaps because he intended it to form part of an "edifying or devotional exercise and to be read in sections to a gathered assembly."[3] His divisions reflect a chronological sequence: 1. Catherine's birth to her coronation; 2. the marriage parliament; 3. her conversation and marriage to Christ; 4. the so-called second debate (i. e, Catherine's debate with fifty philosophers); 5. Catherine's and the philosophers' martyrdom.

[1] We chose to cite the recent edition: John Capgrave, *The Life of Saint Katherine*, ed. Karen A. Winstead (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999), which in the text we refer to as *Life*.

[2] Ferrer's sermon on Catherine appears in his *Sermons*, ed. Gret Schib (Barcelona: Barcino, 1988), 6, 129-40. Hereafter referred to as *Sermons*.

[3] Jane C. Fredeman, "Style and Characterization in John Capgrave's *Life of St. Katherine*", *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 62 (1980), 355.

St. Vincent followed a common procedure in his hagiographic homilies by applying a biblical passage to the saint's life. Given the tradition of Catherine's erudition and reputation as patroness of students of philosophy, Ferrer chose to unite her learning with the passage in Matthew 13,52: "every scribe who becomes a disciple of the kingdom of heaven is like a householder who brings out from his storeroom things both old and new (*Sermons*, 6,129)." He goes on to interpret this passage in these terms: the old law (Old Testament) of Moses was but a "figura" (image/foreboding) of the new law (New Testament) of Christ, the Messiah. The Dominican then insists on the sole validity of biblical knowledge. Referring to the "old and new fruits stored for my Beloved" (Song of Songs, 7), he specifies that these fruits do not contain the ideas of Aristotle, Plato, or Dante (*Sermons*, 6,130).[4]

Having explained the "tema" of his sermon, St. Vincent can now elaborate the "materia" [i. e., the life of Catherine (*Sermons*, 6,130)]. As with his other hagiographic sermons, the details of the saint's life are subordinated to the doctrine St. Vincent teaches. He introduces a tripartite division to describe Catherine's subtle disputations: 1. secretly domestic; 2. publicly philosophic; 3. forcefully tyrannical. The choice of these three narrative details caused St. Vincent to eliminate salient parts of legends found in traditional accounts of Catherine's life and contained in the Greek and Latin versions, and to a lesser extent, the *LA*.

Using traditional information from Catherine's life, St. Vincent first had to convince the faithful of her esteemed qualities. To do so he briefly mentioned her "quatre excel.lències" [four excellences]: 1. high lineage, 2. physical beauty, 3. knowledge, and 4. wealth (*Sermons*, 6,131).

Despite differences in genre and the length of both works, we believe that Capgrave and Ferrer used similar sources or manuscripts based on the same sources. Their lives of Catherine also differ from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century accounts because their audience differed from those addressed in the previous centuries (i. e., religious orders, clergymen, and the aristocracy). Their use of dialogue and fifteenth-century social reference also give their compositions on Catherine's life a more modern tone and sense.

In St. Vincent's sermon, Catherine's mother, upon the Emperor's request, pleads with her daughter to marry the Emperor's

[4] Both Capgrave (*Life*, 4, 1324-1350) and Ferrer insist that they shun classical philosophers and, in the case of the Spaniard, Dante. In Ferrer's sermons, this attitude becomes a motif.

son. The ensuing conversation, which I believe St. Vincent created to captivate his lay audience, reflects the colloquial language of late medieval Valencia:

Mother: "Daughter, I know you'll be very happy. You know the Emperor wants you to be his son's wife. It's a great honor to be the Emperor's daughter-in-law."

Catherine: "Mother, for the good and future of my kingdom, I would gladly consent to it, but first I must see this husband, so that I'll know if he is handsome or ugly, learned or a fool."

Mother: "Oh, daughter, it has never been the custom to first see the Emperor's sons, for people always believed the royal ambassadors."

Catherine: "Mother, didn't you say he chose me because of my good name? Well, then, am I to buy a cat in a sack? Matrimony doesn't last only a day. And I have no idea if the man is a leper or blind, or if his breath stinks?"

Mother: "Oh, daughter, there is no need for you to go to Rome or for him to come here."

Catherine: "Oh, mother, am I to believe the words of others? I'd rather take a simple man who is discreet, knowledgeable, adroit, handsome, etc. Did God give us knowledge in vain that we might dive into things head first? Don't talk to me any more about it!"

Mother: "Well, you wretch, what am I to tell him?"

Catherine: "Tell him I'm too young, or that it's not possible" (*Sermons* 6,131).

Dialogue is also an essential feature of Capgrave's *Life*, although it is usually set in the context of a debate in which it becomes more lengthy and less spontaneous, vis-à-vis Ferrer's sermon, due in part to its inclusion in seven-line verse stanzas. Also, in Capgrave's rendition, the confrontation between Catherine and her mother is not private, but rather takes place within the context of the debate between Catherine, the barons, and the dignitaries of Alexandria, who try to convince her to marry:

> The qween hir modyr gan to syghe and grone.
> Sche seyd, "Doghtyr, this noght your avayle;
> Put not your purpos in swych grete perayle.
> "Your dotyng dayes, I trow, now be come!
> What wold ye hafe? Wote ye what ye say?
> Thorowoute the worlde, in Grece ne in Rome,
> Is no swych man that this thyng do may,
> Schuld kepe a londe of so gret aray,
> It is impossible that ye desyre and crafe!

"Avyse yow bettyr and take another day
Tyll that your witte is chaunger and your thowte.
Is your wysdam now turned to swech aray
For to desyre swych thing as is nowte?
Cursyd be thei that yow here-to browte
Onto this errour, to do as no man dothe,
That every poynt thei varye fro the sothe."
"Madame," sche seyd, "this thing whech I schall doo,
I not who sett it in myn hert, treuly:
It is so fast I may not fle ther-froo;
I clevyth so sore it wyll not slyde forby;
Wheythyr I goo, sytte, knele, or elles ly,
For noo counseyll I may it not forsake,
Ne for noo crafte awey I can it schake."
(*Life*, 2, pp. 88-89:1013-1029)

Auvo Kurvinen found similarities between Capgrave's Books 1-3 and a Middle English work written a few years before Capgrave's *Life*: *Life and Martyrdom of Saint Katherine of Alexandria, Virgin and Martyr*.[5] Capgrave, however, went beyond this version, elaborating a great deal, – especially the number of speeches, details, names of speakers, – and introducing digressions. She concluded that both versions stem from a common source.

The first of Catherine's debates, one involving "domestic secrecy" (i. e., her refusal to marry the Emperor's son or any earthly king), is not found in most medieval Vulgate versions of Catherine's "vita," including the *LA*. However, the basic narrative details are contained in the Latin MS7954 (313v-316v) of the Staatsbibliothek of Munich.[6] Catherine's legend in the *Der Heiligen Leben*, which Bruce Beatie described as the longest single *vita* of this compilation, includes many details found in the Munich manuscript.[7] However, in the Middle High German version, Catherine is married to Christ and awakens to find a ring on her finger, a feature included in some English versions but not in Ferrer's sermon nor in Capgrave's poem. In both versions Mary asks Christ to give the wedding ring to Catherine (*Life*, 3, p. 144:1274; *Sermons*, 6, 133). Lastly, Catherine's

[5] "The Source of Capgrave's *Life of St. Katharine of Alexandria*", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 61 (1960), 73-74.

[6] H. Varnhagen, *Zur Geschichte der Katharina von Alexandrien* (Erlangen: F. Junge, 1891), pp. 18-23.

[7] "Saint Katharine of Alexandria: Traditional Themes and the Development of Medieval German Hagiographic Narrative", *Speculum* 52 (1977), 785-96.

resolve not to marry any earthly noble forms part of Capgrave's *Life*, although the English author chose for his narrative a different setting and changed several features.

Aside from the prolixity of Capgrave's rendition of Catherine's union with Christ and Ferrer's selective prose version, the basic differences in both versions are the setting and initial motivation: the meeting between Catherine and the hermit Adrian is arranged by divine intervention in Capgrave's *Life* (3, p. 116ff: 358ff) and in the Catalan sermon by Catherine's mother, who hires the hermit to convince her to marry a man to lead her country (Sermons, 6,132). The union between Jesus and Catherine takes place in a mythical palace in which Christ reigns as lord. St. Vincent's hermit, unlike Adrian, acts on his own initiative, orchestrating the meeting between the two spouses and baptising the "unclean" virgin. Also, unlike Capgrave's seigneurial figure, Christ appears as a handsome fifteen-year-old boy who allows Mary to initiate the proceedings (*Sermons*, 6,132).

The details of Ferrer's sermon on Catherine's mystical marriage to Christ are similar to the traditional legend found in the Munich manuscript. She refuses to marry any man when asked to do so by the hermit. He then asks her to marry his master, who is richer and more honest than all men, and whose excellence will bring her glory. In the Catalan version Mary presents Catherine to Christ, who refuses to marry her, for she is "molt ... légea e sútzea" (very ugly and dirty), words that St. Vincent reminds his audience signify that Catherine, a pagan, has the blemish of original sin. After she declares herself a Christian and is baptized, Christ accepts her as his spouse. The Spaniard, again conscious of his humble listeners, gave this scene and dialogue a popular character and tone (*Sermons*, 6,133-34).

More interesting, from a medieval perspective, is the second debate in which Catherine participates. Although St. Vincent may have drawn the events leading to this "publicly philosophic" disputation from the traditional Vulgate narrative, its components come down to us from another manuscript tradition of her life. In the early Greek and Latin manuscripts the Emperor summoned fifty scholars to debate with Catherine. They began by arguing the importance of classical and biblical learning, including the works of Aristotle and Plato, whose beliefs the Dominican had previously rejected. Given his disapproval of classical works and his selection of this sermon's primary theme – the superiority of the Bible over classical philosophic works –, we believe St. Vincent must have been familiar with this traditional

version of Catherine's *vita*. As with the account of Catherine's espousal to Christ, the preacher preferred the *Leggendarios* version.

Most versions of Catherine's disputation with the learned men contain brief references to the Incarnation (ex. the Arabic text and the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*),[8] Christ's human and divine nature, death, and resurrection.[9] However, in the topics discussed, which form the core of St. Vincent's sermon, the Dominican must have consulted a lost manuscript version of Catherine's life. We make this assumption based on the close affinity between this Catalan sermon and Capgrave's *Life*. The first common element is the insistence of both authors on the "figura," which they use to introduce their doctrinal debates. Capgrave, however, chose more specific examples, such as the Old Testament term "god" to refer to Baal (pp. 326-28), a discussion that goes beyond St. Vincent's motives.

Both Capgrave and Ferrer include Christ's Incarnation as part of their debate, and both begin with the question: Did Mary give birth to Christ under hereditary corruption? And both rely on the same metaphor to prove Mary's virgin birth: the passing of the sun's rays through a stained-glass window without causing any damage to it (Capgrave, 4: 2178-2191; Sermons, 6, 137). A common image in fourteenth- to sixteen-century Spanish and Catalan literature, the image appears in the works of the Valencian preacher's contemporary, Francesc Eiximenis,[10] in the poetry of Luis de León and the writings of mystics Theresa of Avila and John of the Cross; it is equally common in medieval and Renaissance French letters.[11] Jean Dagens, who traced the metaphor to the Bible, cited examples of it in Augustine, Gregory of Nyssa, and Adam of St. Victor, to whom we owe its popularity from the Middle Ages to the seventeenth century,[12] along with the vernacular translations of the *Elucidarium*.[13] Ferrer was fond of the

[8] *Passions des saints. Écalerine et Pierre d'Alexandrie, Barbara et Anysia*, ed. Joseph Viteau (Paris: Émile Bouillon, 1897), 12-15.

[9] Paul Peeters, "Une version arabe de la Passio de sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie", *Analecta Bollandiana* 26 (1907): 21; Viteau, p. 12; *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. C. De Smedt and I. De Backer (London: Blackwood and Sons, 1888), 698; H. E. Todd, *"La vie de sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie* as Contained in the Paris MS La Clayelle", *PMLA* 15 (1900), 37-38.

[10] Julio Rodríguez-Puértolas, *De la Edad Media a la Edad Conflictiva* (Madrid: Gredos, 1972), p. 30; David J. VIERA, "A Repeated Image of Light in the Sermons of Vincenç Ferrer", *Catalan Review* 7 (1993): 97-102.

[11] Robert Richard, "Cristal, vidrio, vidreira", *MLR* 40 (1945), 216-17; "Paravicino, Rablais, le soleil et la vidreira", *Bulletin Hispanique* 57 (1955), 327-30.

[12] "La métaphore de la verrière: de l'Apocalypse à Rutebeuf et à l'École Française", *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 25 (1949), 524-31.

image, as was a contemporary preacher John Bromyard.[14]

Both Capgrave and Ferrer reproduce Catherine's debate concerning the two natures of Christ, the Trinity, and the distinction between the three persons of the Trinity to further underscore Christ's humanity. However, Capgrave preferred a biblical image (2 Kings 23,14-17); the Dominican cited examples from nature: the sun, its rays and heat, and the boat (a finite object) being supported by the sea, which at the time was believed to be infinite.

Capgrave states that Catherine also debated with a scholar, Aryot, concerning Adam's sin, but chose not to reproduce this argument because it was too lengthy. St. Vincent also alluded to Adam's sin to insist that Christ came to save all humankind, not just Christians. However, in a previous section in which Capgrave discussed Adam, he recalls the fruit of the tree of life:

> Toke this jornay and deyed on a tre,
> That, evene as synne in the tre was doo,
> Rith so on the tre deth suffered He.
> It was convenient He shuld fyte so:
> In the tre was joy bore and in the tre woo;
> Woo be Sathan, joy be oure Lorde Jhesu –
> Out of that tre a blyssyd frute grewe!
> (*Life*, p. 213: 1968-1974)

St. Vincent also recalled this image: "e féu sobirana misericòrdia que no.u merexia, e gran justícia quan volch morir, per tornar lo fruyt que Adam havia pres de l'arbre de vida" (*Sermons*, 6,138) [He showed us this great mercy, which was not merited, and great justice when he chose to die in order to return the fruit that Adam took from the tree of life]. Other features exist in common between the two works: Catherine's need to know the man she is to marry (*Life*, 2, p. 84: 862-68) is likened, in the Catalan text, to her insistence on seeing him. Also, Capgrave's classification of the "foure thingis" of Catherine (lineage, beauty, knowledge, riches) conform, even in the order in which they are given, with the Dominican's "quatre excel.lències" of Catherine.

St. Vincent's last division, the "tyrannical disputation," involves four contrastive traits, in which the first element of the contrast refers to the Emperor and the second to Catherine: pain and patience, error and great faith; terror and constancy; fear and perseverance.

[13] See the thirteenth-century translation attributed to Sancho IV: *Los "lucidarios" españoles*, ed. Richard Kinkade (Madrid: Gredos, 1968), p. 113.

[14] *Summa Praedicantium* (Antverpiae, 1614), p. 9: 2, 14, 17.

The Dominican's description of Catherine's tortures, martyrdom and burial conforms to the traditional account. However, salient details in the Catalan version, including the oil that runs from Catherine's tomb and heals the sores of the infirm,[15] appear in a Latin sermon St. Vincent gave of Catherine's *Life*.[16] Perhaps the "reportadores" scribes transcribing this sermon as St. Vincent preached omitted these miracles.[17]

The many parallels between Capgrave's and Ferrer's versions, especially her confrontation with her mother concerning marriage, or with the sages on doctrine, and the tripartite division of both works, indicate they consulted an intermediate source "in which the account of Catherine's martyrdom was based on the Vulgate".[18] Auvo Kurvinen supports her conclusion that "Capgrave knew more than one version of the legend of St. Catherine" by Capgrave's own admission and by her comparison of Capgrave's version with the Staneborn version.[19] The few significant similarities indicate that St. Vincent used a source closely related to or derived from the same "stemma." He traveled throughout Europe, where he could have consulted a source similar to the one on which Capgrave relied.

The choice of this non-extant intermediate source may have been based on the audience both clergymen wished to address, in Capgrave's case the middle-class lay readers, especially women. Also, Derek Pearsall described Capegrave's St. Catherine as his most popular work, which appealed to unsophisticated audiences. He based his opinion on the more popular poetic form of the work (metrical romances); its tone, which differs from that of his *Life of St. Norbert*; his abbreviation of complex doctrine, such as the Trinity and the two natures of Christ, especially in the arguments of the pagan scholars; and "frequent learned interpolations." He concluded that "there do seem to be some concessions to a kind of audience different from that

[15] Varnhagen, p. 27; A. Poncelet, "S. Catharine transatio et miracula Rotomagensia", *Analecta Bollandiana* 22 (1903): 427; Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale* rpt. (Graz: Akademische Druck, 1965), 4, 509.

[16] "De sancta Katherina", *Sermones de tempore et sanctis*, 3 vols. Strassburg, 1488-1489, see vol 3: explicit: "de sepulcro ipsius oleum dicunt incessanter emanare".

[17] The Catalan sermon which has come down to us consists of dictated notes taken by stenographers or "reportadors" who sat at the foot of the pulpit and transcribed St. Vincent's sermons. They omitted repetitious passages in the sermons and perhaps sections of these sermons, if we are to believe that some of Ferrer's sermons lasted two hours or more.

[18] Kurvinen, pp. 272-73.

[19] Kurvinen, pp. 312-17.

to which Capgrave is accustomed, that is, men of religion and learning like himself."[20] Karen Winstead makes a particularly effective case arguing that Capgrave had middle class women in mind when he wrote his lengthy poem on Catherine.[21]

Vincent Ferrer also catered to a mixed audience, a fact that is more apparent than in Capgrave's poetry, since St. Vincent delivered sermons on the same saint in the vernacular for his lay listeners and in Latin for clerics. Also, he often used popular language, images, and legends to hold the attention of his lay followers.[22]

In general, popular works on women saints were wholly or partially directed to women. Historically, Catherine's legend especially appealed to Beguins, who found it edifying. Also, female orders used her legend to convert non-believers.[23] Certainly both Capgrave and Ferrer intended that Catherine's example and virtue be an inspiration for women. The Dominican particularly addressed his sermons on virgin martyrs Agnes and Margaret to the young women at his sermons, whom he hoped would model their lives on the example of female saints as well as on Catherine's courage and love for Christ.[24] The more popular nature of Capgrave's poem on Catherine may only partially be explained, since this is his only legend on a female saint.

In addition, we believe St. Vincent also addressed this sermon to a group that became a concern for the late medieval Spanish clergy of his time: the Jews. Civil laws were promulgated in which Jews and Moors were obliged to attend this Dominican's sermons. Therefore, given the "tema" of this sermon, the relationship between the old and

[20] Pearsall, pp. 130-31.

[21] Karen A Winstead, "*Piety, Politics, and Social Commitment in Capgrave's Life of St. Katherine*", *Medievalia et Humanistica* (Savage, Maryland: Medieval and Renaissance Society, 1991), 17:60, 65, 72-73; Mary-Ann Stouch, "Chaucer and Capgrave's *Life of St. Katharine*", *American Benedictine Review* 33 (1982), 281.

[22] Martí de Riquer, *Història de la literatura catalana* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1964), 2,241. On St. Vincent's preference for the common people see: Manuel Sanchis Guarner, "Les raons de la discrepància entre Francesc Eiximenis i sant Vicent Ferer", *Primer Congreso de Historia del País Valenciano celebrado en Valencia del 14 al 18 de abril de 1971* (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1980), pp. 669-70.

[23] Ernest W. McDonnell, *The Beguins and Beghards in Medieval Culture* (New Brunswich: Rutgers University Press, 1954), pp. 436-37; Michael Goodish, *Vita Perfecta: the Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1982), 179.

[24] David J. Viera, "Vincent Ferrer's Catalan Sermon on Margaret of Antioch", *Actes del Vuintè Col.loqui d'Estudis Catalans a Nord-América* (Barcelona: l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1999), pp. 293-303.

new law, Ferrer would have insisted that Jews hear this sermon. Also, the disputations between Jews and Christians before and during St. Vincent's life centered around the so-called mysteries of the Catholic church: the Trinity, the dual natures of Christ, the Incarnation, and the Resurrection, all of which form part of Catherine's debate with the scholars in the Catalan sermon as well as Capgrave's English poem. These themes are also common in the numerous "adversus Judaeos", a prevalent genre in the late Middle Ages. St. Vincent added to this list of dogma that Jews contested the transubstantiation of bread into Christ's body, which he mentions in his Catherine sermon by having a pagan scholar protest that Christians worship bread ("adorau pa"). This theme is also common to medieval religious disputations and anti-Jewish religious treatises written by Christians. In fact, Francesc Eiximenis (an acquaintance of St. Vincent in Valencia), who wrote one of the last of the medieval encyclopedias, included transubstantiation and all the above mentioned mysteries in his *Primer del Crestià* (First Book of the Christian), in a treatise on the superiority of Christianity over Judaism and Islam.[25] His source was another medieval treatise, Nicholas of Lyre's *Postillae*. Therefore, St. Vincent's need to address Jews in his audience compelled him to introduce elements extraneous to the traditional Latin legends of St. Catherine.

The last section of Catherine's life, her passion – which Capgrave entered into Book 5 and Ferrer in the third and last division "tyrànica forçadament" (forced tyrany) – is again characterized by many scenes and much detail in Capgrave's *Life*, including digressions, for example, Catherine's prophecy of Emperor Maxentius' ultimate defeat "in storyes I am well avysed that I// have red of him ..." (*Life* 5,259: 1099-1100),[26] and by a carefully selective process in the Catalan sermon. Here St. Vincent excludes the death and burial of Christian martyrs by the angry Emperor; the conversion and deaths of the Emperor's wife and his military captain, Porphyrius; Maxentius' prohibition of food for Catherine during her imprisonment in a dark cell, as well as the nourishment and support angels gave the saint when she was confined.

Comparing the versions of the two clergymen to *LA*, we find added material in Capgrave's *Life*: Maxentius' constant pleas to convince Catherine to worship Jupiter; Christ's descent to comfort

[25] For more information on the disputation on Christ's divinity see David J. Viera, "The Rabbi Moises and the *Primer del Crestià* of Francesc Eiximenis", *Medieval Encounters* 5 (1999), 184-197.

[26] The source may be the *LA*, 1, 279.

Catherine in jail; and the mention of Curatus, Mayor of Alexandria, who devised the deadly cutting machine. Ferrer is not concerned with details nor providing his listeners with a full account of the Catherine legend. Rather, his main goal is to draw examples from her life to reflect biblical passages as well as their moral-didactic message. For example, his short additions to the last division of Catherine's life concern purity and the condemnation of lust. Maxentius takes great pleasure in seeing Catherine stripped naked and tortured because he is a lecher: "era luxuriós" (6,139). Right before Catherine is decapitated, she thanks God for guarding her purity during the time she was apprehended. Ferrer also insists that the milk that poured from Catherine's head at decapitation was a sign of her purity, as does Capgrave (*Life*, 5,284: 1899-1900).

In terms of specifics Capgrave's rendition is closer to the *LA* version. Capgrave and Jacob of Voragine agree that 4.000 pagans were killed when angels destroyed the killing wheel; Ferrer put the number at 7.000. Capgrave and the *LA* version also estimate the distance from Alexandria to Mt. Sinai to be twenty days travel, compared to Ferrer's fourteen days; however, they disagree on how many days Maxentius left Catherine to starve in the dungeon: twelve in the *LA* and forty in Capgrave poem. Despite some numerical agreement between the last two hagiographies, we believe that Capgrave and Ferrer did not rely much, if any, on the *LA* version.

Differences between Ferrer's and Capgrave's hagiographical accounts stem mainly from the literary form they used, prose and poetry, and especially because of St. Vincent's subordinations of the details of Catherine's life to the doctrinal content of his sermon and the biblical passage he must elucidate. Therefore, he holds details to a minimum and discards entire episodes. In short, Ferrer's selective process makes it difficult to specify his sources, as does his "pleasure" to add extraneous elements to his sermons in order to reach commoners in his listening audience.

Both Capgrave and Ferrer succeed in creating inspirational, moral-didactic works despite differences of purpose and genre. However, both the English poem and the Catalan sermon are similar in many ways because they are works of two skillful authors who knew how to address their fifteenth-century audiences and selected details from a common source which, hopefully, will surface some day.

Tennessee David J. VIERA

THE INTERIORISATION OF THE SPIRITUALITY OF THE MODERN DEVOTION BY GABRIEL BIEL (d. 1495). PRECONDITIONS AND OUTLINES.

1. Introduction

Whereas the Christian view of mankind is, *a priori*, characterised by a deontological and teleological orientation, the Church's trials and tribulations tend rather to confirm, *a posteriori*, a cyclical notion of life. From the very beginnings of Christianity, charismatic personalities emerged who experienced the developments in the life of the Church as a yet further distancing from the original ideals. Able to articulate their concerns, they attracted groups of like-minded people from whom there emerged a strong sense of reforming zeal. Making full use of the provisions of Canon Law, these groups quite often went on to achieve legal status by the adoption of a *Rule*. If the members of the community were to discover at any particular moment in time that their own life-style did not match up to the demands of the *Rule*, having been shown up perhaps by the exemplary life of another member of the community, then, here too a tension could arise. Only if the members of the order were prepared to renew their lives in the light of the *Rule* and the promises they had made could this go on to become purifying and fruitful. And behold: *Ecclesia semper reformanda.*

The way in which Christians deal with the tension between ideal and reality depends upon the way of life already chosen. In any order, the unifying point of reference, is formed by promises and the *Rule*. Groups of people gathered about a reformer, having recognized the fact that the institutionalised communal forms were lacking in credibility, could just as easily choose a different point of reference. Often they too would take on an already existing *Rule* as a starting point with which to shape their own way of life and to develop their own spirituality. But they stopped short of entering an already existing order.

In this way, Gabriel Biel (about 1410-1495) also developed a *vita quasi monastica*.[1] He was the inspirer and organiser of

[1] Basing her study on the known biographical details concerning Biel, I. Crusius has recently drawn innovatory insights into his progress as a student at Heidelberg, Erfurt and Cologne (1432-1457) and his work as a priest at the Cathedral of Mainz (1457-1466?), as Dean of the Cathedrals of Butzbach, Urach and Schönbuch and his duties as a professor in Tübingen (1470-1495). At present, she is preparing a paper involving research into manuscripts and archives in order to broaden our knowledge

L'assemblée générale des maisons des Frères de la Vie Commune dans la Rhénanie (*Das Oberdeutsche Generalkapitel*). This he was able to do in communities whose self-understanding could be traced back to the ideals of the father of the reform movement in the late middle ages, Geert Grote.[2] Recent studies have shown that Biel took as his example the Canons Regular of St. Augustine of the Congregation of Windesheim, as far as monastic organisation and way of life were concerned.[3] But Biel did not suggest the Brethren to join

of Biel's origins. See: I. Crusius, *Gabriel Biel – eine Karriere zwischen **vita contemplativa** und **vita activa***, in: U. Köpf, S. Lorenz (eds.), *Gabriel Biel und die Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben. Beiträge aus Anlaß des 500. Todestages des Tübinger Theologen*, Stuttgart, 1998, pp. 1-23, *Contubernium. Tübinger Beiträge zur Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 47. This study contains some additional material and is a re-working of : I. Crusius, *Gabriel Biel und die oberdeutschen Stifte der devotio moderna*, in: *Studien zum weltlichen Kollegiatstift in Deutschland*, Göttingen, 1995, pp. 298-322, see 299, footnote 5, *Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte* 114; *Studien zur Germania Sacra* 18. This study, once again, represented the completion of her contribution: *Gabriel Biel und die oberdeutschen Stifte der devotio moderna*, in: J.M. Cauchies (ed.) *La dévotion moderne dans les pays bourguignons et rhénans des origines à la fin du XVIe siècle*, Neuchâtel, 1989, pp. 77-88. The biographical sketch by G. Faix, *Gabriel Biel und die Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben. Quellen und Untersuchungen zu Verfassung und Selbstverständnis des oberdeutschen Generalkapitels*, Tübingen, 1999, pp. 33-59; *Spätmittelalter und Reformation*, Neue Reihe 11, deepens Crusius's insights into Biel's time in Württemberg and is based, *inter alia*, on research into the sources of the Statutes of the Upper German General Chapter. For an interpretation of the biographical data in the context of time, theological thinking and devout spirituality based on the well-known sources and biographies by W. Landeen, H. Oberman, W. Ernst, A. Goossens, see: M. Schrama, *Gabriel Biel et son entourage: Via moderna at Devotio Moderna*, in: *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 61, 1981, pp. 154-176.

[2] For the Church historical, socio-economic and theological factors lying at the root of the development of the movement which was the *Devotio Moderna*, see: P. van Geest, *Thomas a Kempis (1379/80-1471). Een studie van zijn mens-en godsbeeld*, Kampen, 1996, pp. 25-42, with a bibliography.

[3] For the path of development, self-understanding and legal-status of the Brethren of the Common Life see: I. Crusius, *Die Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben in Deutschland. Zur rechtlichen Entwicklung der religiösen Genossenschaften im späten Mittelalter*, Göttingen, 1961, (Diss. masch). The aforementioned study by G. Faix and the book by U. Hinz, *Die Brüder vom Gemeinsamen Leben im Jahrhundert der Reformation. Das Münstersche Kolloquium*, Tübingen, 1997, *Spätmittelalter und Reformation*, Neue Reihe 9, make it possible to distinguish areas of agreement and areas of dispute between the Brethren of the North of Germany and those in the South. For sources and bibliographies dealing with the history and the spiritual life of particular houses see: W. Leesch, E. Persoons, A. Weiler, *Monasticon Fratrum Vitae Communis*, Vol.II: *Deutschland*, Brussels, 1979, *Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique/Archiefen Bibliotheekwezen in België* 19; A global sketch of the broad outlines of the historical and constitutional path of development of both the Community at Windesheim and the Brethren of the Common Life, with an exhaustive bibliography, is supplied by: R. Th. M. van Dijk, *Windesheim. Chanoines réguliers de – et Frères de la Vie commune*, in: *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 14, Paris, 1994, cols. 1457-1478. There is, finally, an important study by W. Kohl, *Die Windesheimer Kongregation*, in: K. Elm (ed.), *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*, Berlin, 1989, pp. 83-108, *Berliner Historische Studien* 14, *Ordensstudien* 6.

this monastic wing of the movement. Instead, he opted for the conventual way of life with its own distinct legal status. However, he interpreted this in such a peculiar way that I. Crusius felt compelled to characterise the conventual form developed by Biel as a *devotes Kollegiatstift* in order to distinguish it from a secular convent.[4] Her studies show that Gabriel Biel got it just right when he developed the form of a *devotes Kollegiatstift* in which to promote the original ideals of the *Devotio Moderna*. Since the form of a *Stift* had already been recognised by the Canon Law of the Church, it could hardly be said to be provocative, and it was this that was to ensure that the original ideals of the *Fraterherren* did not simply evaporate and their original self-understanding could still inform their interior life. Even in the elite College Convent of St. Peter, founded by Biel in 1491, they remained convinced of the ideal of the ecclesia primitiva just as the young clerics and lay people leading the communal life in the vicarage of Florens Radewijns had been about 120 years earlier.[5]

This study sketches some of the more important aspects of the spirituality lying at the root of the development of the way of life in one of these *convents* which Biel had integrated into his thinking about this form of living in community. These aspects of spirituality characterise Biel as being devout in a modern way. Since Biel owed a huge debt of gratitude to Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen (d. 1398), one of the first generation Brethren of the Common Life, it has been assumed, rightly, that he valued the ideals of the *Devotio Moderna* very highly indeed. But the spirituality of the *Devotio Moderna* is far

[4] J. Haller thought that Biel should be regarded as a conservative reformer who had not the slightest intention of creating new forms of communal living: J. Haller, *Die Anfänge der Universität Tübingen 1477-1537*, Tübingen, 1927, 2 Vols., Vol. I, p. 167. The studies by I. Crusius have supplanted this insight. See: I. Crusius, *Gabriel Biel und die oberdeutschen Stifte der devotio moderna,* in: *Studien zum weltlichen Kollegiatstift in Deutschland*, Göttingen, 1995, pp. 298-322 & here 309-320. The sources and studies published by G. Faix and U. Hinz, support her insights here too. See: U. Hinz, *Die Brüder vom Gemeinsamen Leben*, p. 131.

[5] Even as far back as St. Augustine, the example of the ecclesia primitiva was the determining factor when founding his communities and drawing up his *Praeceptum*. Furthermore, the Lateran Synod of 1059, which, amongst other things, occupied itself with the reform of canonries, reached back into apostolic times (*vita apostolica*) for an example of life in community. Thus it was, that the Fathers of the Second Vatican Council breathed life into the age-old tradition whilst attempting to reform the religious life by taking the Early Church as their example. See: The Decree: *Perfectae Caritatis* 15, in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche. Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil. Konstitutionen, Dekrete und Erklärungen*, Freiburg, Basle & Vienna, 1967, 3 Vols., Vol. 2, pp. 296-297.

from being monolithic; its uniqueness is more difficult to establish than e.g. that of the Franciscan Movement. And yet, in Biel's *Tractatus de communi vita clericorum*, there remains a conglomeration of perceptible ideas, earlier formulated by e.g. Gerlach Peters, Thomas a Kempis and Johannes Mombaer. In this conglomeration, we can just make out the first contours of Biel's devout spirituality. It would be too much of a coincidence if this conglomeration in Biel's thinking were to have come about without him having to owe some debt of gratitude to the spirituality of the devout and a good working knowledge thereof.

Now, Biels process of interiorisation of the spirituality of the Modern Devotion, and the development of the *devotes Kollegiatstift*, has been determined by a number of factors. Firstly, we must mention Biel's relation to the Ruler and we will do this by taking a look at one of Biel's contemporaries: Andreas Proles (d.1503). In the light of the relationship of Proles to *his* Ruler, we will be able to uncover the pre-conditions, which served to ensure that elements of this devout spirituality could continue to operate unhindered in the life and work of Gabriel Biel.[6] A comparison with Proles, who, as well as being a contemporary of Biel, was also Vicar General of the Observantist wing of the Augustinian Order, makes the uniqueness of Biel all the more understandable. A further comparison with the salient views of Biel and Proles concerning the role and function of the vota and on the religious life as *status perfectionis* will shed light on the reasons why Biel could not allow "his" Brethren of the Common Life to join an *ordo canonicus*. This last fact is truly remarkable: the way ahead lay wide open to Biel since the Canons Regular of Windesheim, whilst professing the same spirituality, had indeed chosen that particular canonical form. And this particular way would have been a realistic option for quite another reason, namely, the utterly monastic way of life the Brethren actually led. It will appear in the course of this study that it was precisely this semi-monastic way of life in its turn, which suggested the pre-conditions for how best to interiorise some of the specific elements of devout spirituality.

[6] With regard to Andreas Proles, see: R. Weinbrenner, *Klosterreform im 15. Jahrhundert zwischen Ideal und Praxis. Der Augustinereremit Andreas Proles (1429-1503) und die priviligierte Observanz*, Tübingen, 1996, *Spätmittelalter und Reformation*. Neue Reihe 7.

2. Relative independence as the pre-condition enabling the original spirituality to become personalised.

2.1. Biel's relationship with the Ruler.

Driven by a patriarchal sense of responsibility for the well being of their own people, praising God whilst at the same time determinedly consolidating their own power and driving through reforms of Church and Society, many German Rulers in the 15th century secured for themselves a very effective instrument. By the granting of privileges, they were able to involve the monasteries in their own plans to reform Church politics and education. Often supported by the religious orders themselves, these reforms went hand in hand with the granting of privileges and were speeded up by them.[7]

How Andreas Proles and Duke William III of Saxony, got on with each other, provides us with a textbook example of the relationship between a monastic reformer and a Ruler.[8] When, on 5th November 1437, Pope Eugenius declared the Observantist wing of the Order of the Augustinian Hermits in Germany legally valid, representing the union of five monastic houses, the Father General of the Order attempted to frustrate the workings of this Papal measure. In his second period in office as Vicar General of the Observantist wing, Proles felt he had been left with no other alternative than to involve the Duke in the introduction of the *observantia regularis*.[9] From this time

[7] For an explanation of the conglomeration of political and religious motives of the territorial potentates whenever an observance was being introduced, as well as the intrinsic involvement of religion and the well-being of the country concerned which lay at the heart of the matter, see: M. Schulze, *Fürsten und Reformation. Geistliche Reformpolitik weltlicher Fürsten vor der Reformation*, Tübingen, 1991, *Spätmittelalter und Reformation*, Neue Reihe 2, here: pp. 88-101 & 192-197. This makes it quite clear that it was not a craving for power but the need to stabilize the Realm, which was the driving force behind the Church polity of the Rulers. Reforming the monasteries accomplished this; failure to reform led to unrest. The genuine piety of a Ruler could also bring about reform quite apart from the demands of *Realpolitik*. It would have brought clarification, if Schulze, Weinbrenner and Faix were to have assessed the piety of the respective Rulers. They would then have been able to compare this piety as stated in the rulers' letters of reform with the written texts in which the spirituality of the Order or Brethren, which the Rulers followed, clearly shines through.

[8] R. Weinbrenner, *Klosterreform im Jahrhundert zwischen Ideal und Praxis*, p. 17.

[9] Presumably, Andreas Proles assumed the office of Vicar General of the Order after 1461 for the first time and from 1473 to 1503 for the second time. In that year, 37 Convents acknowledged membership of the privileged Observance. For a more detailed description of the emergence, flowering and decline of the privileged Observance, see: M. Schulze, *Fürsten und Reformation*, pp. 87-101, 108-111 & 163-179; R. Weinbrenner, *Klosterreform im 15. Jahrhundert zwischen Ideal und Praxis*, pp. 58-59, 98-110 & 117-125.

on, the reform policy of the Duke concentrated on disengaging the reform-minded monasteries from the Father General's sphere of influence. In this way, the Duke hoped to strengthen his own hold over the monasteries. It need hardly be said that the Pope lent him powerful support in all of this. At his request, the Pope conferred upon the Duke sole rights in the granting of Papal privileges to the Observantists thus guaranteeing the exemption from the Father General of the Order. The latter's decrees of excommunication, as well as all further action the Father Provincial might take against Proles, would, as such, be proscribed or illicite.[10] Being totally dependant on the Ruler, Andreas Proles merged his reforming ideals with those of the Duke without reservation. Whereas the Duke saw restoration of discipline and choral prayer as a way of making optimal use of his instrument of reform, Proles, in the little space left him, endeavoured to promote the monastic way of life as *vita perfecta* by means of his sermons.[11] An additional problem was that the reforms were carried out not so much by Proles's powers of persuasion as by the authority of the Duke himself in the form of his officials appointed to do the job for him. The Order was treated as a distinct instrument of the Ruler's politics of reform. Proles's credibility suffered all the more as a result because he had developed a quite different way of thinking and approach to the carrying out of the reforms to that which he sought to promote in his sermons. As a result, an unfruitful area of tension developed which expressed itself in the double meaning surrounding the term "becoming privileged". On the one hand, this could be understood as becoming privileged because of the Duke; on the other hand, it typified the life style of the monk; after all, the monastic life amounted to the *vita perfecta*. Deeply rooted within this ambiguity lay the real reason why these reforms never caught on.[12]

[10] Th. Kolde, *Die Deutsche Augustiner Congregation und Johann von Staupitz. Ein Beitrag zur Ordens- und Reformationsgeschichte*, Gotha, 1879, p. 426; Beilage IV, 10 contains the letter of Duke William to the Counsel of the Convent of the Augustinian Hermits at Gotha, dated 12th January 1476. It is clear from this letter that the Duke had arranged for the granting of a privilege on behalf of the Pope. Compare: M. Schulze, *Fürsten und Reformation*, pp. 46-111, & here pp. 90-93. The sources relating to the reforming polity of Duke William III are printed in: F. R. Rudolhi, *Gotha Diplomatica oder ausführliche historische Beschreibung des Fürstentums Sachsen-Gotha*, Frankfurt-am-Main & Leipzig, 1717, Vol. 1, pp. 138-141, see the comment at footnote 7.

[11] R. Weinbrenner, *Klosterreform im 15. Jahrhundert zwischen Ideal und Praxis*, pp. 125-136.

[12] R. Weinbrenner, *Klosterreform im 15. Jahrhundert zwischen Ideal und Praxis*, p. 189. Following on from Johannes Nider, Proles admits, in his sermons, another meaning for the word privilege than the strictly juridical and thus goes on to increase the tension even more between privileges being granted from outside and monastic

Thus it was that an alienating tension arose between the reforms which were being directed and pushed through from outside and the sermons in which Proles broached the whole subject of the *reformatio* as being strictly an individual affair which came about by means of the *imitatio* and *conformatio* (*passionis*) *Christi*. In this way, the Vicar appears to have been following Dionysius the Carthusian who argued that monastic reform can only ever come about as a result of an inner *principium motionis ad bonum*. At its heart lies the the purification of the individual intensified by prayer, study, penance, conversion and by one's own circle of friends.[13] In his dealings with the Ruler, he appears just as avidly to support the view of Martin von Senging. For this Abbott, the optimum *modus reformandi* was a deed of governance. By authority of the Abbott, the Order is handed back to the monk.[14] Neither the disposition of the individual Abbott, nor his authenticity are essential for the reform of the Order and the individual monk. The disposition of the individual monk, nor the man's authenticity and credibility are essential for the reform to be effective. The fact of many Observantist Augustinian Hermits going over to Luther and the subsequent decline of the privileged Observance was rooted in this outside interference directing and pushing through the reforms.[15]

From 1447 on, Gabriel Biel was working in Württemberg. There monastic reforms were carried out in much the same way. Whilst being initiated in the Orders themselves, the Dukes were happy to push them through for the sake of their own reform policy.[16] In 1459

spirituality. In the state of life of a religious, privileges there are too. Thus Proles writes, with regard to the vows in the second privilege, in *De privilegiis religiosorum*, that the monastic life, with its concentration on poverty, chastity and obedience, is the complete fulfilment of the commandment to love. The fourth privilege of this state of life contains the possibility of regaining the state of grace by living the vows after having committed a sin. See: R. Weinbrenner, *Klosterreform im 15. Jahrhundert zwischen Ideal und Praxis*, pp. 134-144.

[13] "Nempe, quum coeperint Deum timere atque diligere, spiritualisque vitae suavitatem aliqualiter degustare, ex se ipsis movebuntur ad observantiam eorum quae Ordinis sunt, et pro sua salute fient solliciti", Dionysius Cartusianus *De reformatione claustralium*, art. XXI, 242A, in: *Dionysius Cartusianus opera omnia*, Tournai, 1909, Vol. 38, pp. 209-242.

[14] R. Weinbrenner, *Klosterreform im 15. Jahrhundert zwischen Ideal und Praxis*, pp. 52-54.

[15] R. Weinbrenner, *Klosterreform im 15. Jahrhundert zwischen Ideal und Praxis*, pp. 222-247.

[16] For relations between the Rulers in Württemberg on the one hand and the monastic reformers and land commissioners on the other see: D. Stievermann, *Klosterreform und Territorialstaat in Süddeutschland im 15. Jahrhundert*, in: *Rottenburger Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte* 11, 1992, pp. 149-160; D. Stievermann, *Landesherrschaft und Klosterwesen im spätmittelalterlichen Württemberg*, Sigmaringen, 1989, p. 261.

Pope Pius II granted permission to the Dukes Ulrich V and Eberhard im Bart for the reform of the monastic houses within their territory, which enabled them to consolidate their powers vis-à-vis the Bishops, and the monastic reformers. Duke Eberhard did not flinch from the complete integration of almost all the monasteries within his territory. At the Convents in Stuttgart and Backnang amongst others, he made full use of his powers of intervention. And just like the Duke of Thuringia had done in reforming the monasteries of the Augustinians, he reformed them entirely to the satisfaction of his own territorial politics.[17]

Due in no small measure to the influence of Gabriel Biel, Eberhard's dealings with the Brethren of the Common Life were of a much more circumspect nature. In 1477, at the Duke's request, Pope Sixtus IV elevated the parish church of St. Amand at Urach to the status of conventual church. The prebends and curacies, which came with the church, together with two prebends from the parish church of Dettingen, were, in this way, conjoined to form a single store of wealth. For the purposes of his reforming policy but after consulting Biel, the Earl entrusted the new conventual church to the Brethren of the Common Life offering them a secure existence by allowing the conjoined store of wealth to be used for the sole benefit of the Brethren.[18] In 1439, the *bulla Eugenia* was issued allowing the

[17] With regard to Eberhard im Bart see: D. Mertens, *Der Humanismus und die Reform des Weltklerus im deutschen Südwesten*, in: *Rottenburger Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte* 11, 1992, pp. 11-28; and the contributions to: H. M. Maurer (ed.), *Eberhard und Mechtild. Untersuchungen zur württembergischen Geschichte im ausgehenden Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 1994. See also G. Faix, *Gabriel Biel und die Brüder vom Gemeinsamen Leben*, 378-397.

[18] The *Statuta et ordinaciones ex bulla Eugeniana* (pub. in: R. Doebner, *Annalen und Akten der Brüder des gemeinsamen Lebens im Lüchtenhofe zu Hildesheim*, Hannover & Leipzig, 1903, pp. 210-212, *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens* 9, make clear that this privilege was meant for the Houses at Münster, Cologne and Wesel. But Hendrik van Ahaus made no use of it when, in 1401, he founded the first House of the Brethren in Münster taking as his example the House in Deventer. He was the first to see a threat to the semi-religious way of life in such a Canon Law construct, see: R. Post, *The Modern Devotion*, pp. 356-357 & 450-452. Not until 1463 was there any use made of the Papal Bull for the House at Hildesheim and even then the Brethren did not assume the titles of Provost and Canon. The opinion of K. Elm regarding Biel's intention and vision require a certain nuance in the light of these facts. In his synthetic, and, as such, extremely valuable study, he states the following: „Unter dem von Klerus, Episkopat und Kurie ausgehenden Druck, sich zumindest in ihren äußeren Form den Normen des Mönch- oder Kanonikertums anzupassen oder gar auf die Eigenart ihrer semireligiosen Lebensweise ganz zu verzichten, reagierten sie mit einer Entschiedenheit, die unmissverständlich zu erkennen gab,

Brethren of the Common Life to transform their Houses into collegiate churches. At first, the Brethren saw this kind of canonical structure as a threat to their *medius vivendi modus*. Biel must have realised that the canonical legitimacy, which the privilege of the bull afforded, meant that only a slight restructuring of the devout communities would be needed and that it was precisely by such means that the influence of Geert Grote's ideals would continue to be guaranteed. Furthermore, the effectiveness of the reforming work of the Brethren would be multiplied by the Duke's material support. It was, perhaps, because, in contrast to the secular canons, they desired to live in community of goods, in line with Acts 4,32-36 and the Rule of St. Augustine, that the Brethren were exempted the payment of taxes also. Besides this, the Duke desired to lay no claim to the income generated by the convent, which he usually did demand when dealing with a secular convent. The community of goods, which Biel propagates exhaustively for his Brethren in his *Tractatus de communi vita clericorum*, as well as making it fundamental to the life in community, must have formed the basis for the credibility of the Brethren in the mind of the Duke. The latter must have known that the dangers, which made the secular convents so vulnerable, by allowing private property, had to be avoided in the case of the Brethren of the Common Life. Although the degree to which private property and freedom of movement in every secular convent differed, this issued,

dass sie ihrer durch Gleichheit, Freiheit und brüderliche Liebe gekennzeichneten Lebensform einen höheren Rang zuerkannten als dem auf Bindung und Gehorsam gegründeten Ordensleben. Auf diese Würde zu verzichten und eine Regel anzunehmen, erschien ihnen als nichts anderes, ***quam vendere libertatem nostram*** ..., wie es 1490 Peter Dieburg ... formuliert." K. Elm, *Vita regularis sine regula. Bedeutung, Rechtsstellung und Selbstverständnis des mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Semireligiosentums*, in: F. Smanel (ed.), *Häresie und vorzeitige Reformation im Spätmittelalter*, Vienna & Munich, 1998, pp. 239-273, *Schriften des Historischen Kollegs Kolloquien* 39, quotation pp. 266-7. Moreover, Dieburg's quotation has its origins in an explanation for fellow Brethren who wished to see the House at Hildesheim incorporated into the tightly organised Münster Colloquium and, as such, it is not an explanation for (or against) religious. See: R. Doebner, *Annalen und Akten*, p. 113, Gabriel Biel would also dissuade Dieburg from including in the House Rules such typically monastic expressions as the persecution of the lapsed, see: R. POST, *The Modern Devotion*, pp. 430-1. Elms's observation about this Münster co-operation holds true only in part, see: U. Hinz, *Die Brüder vom Gemeinsamen Leben im Jahrhundert der Reformation*, p. 19: „Unter den Häusern des Münsterschen Kolloquium blieb die freiheitliche Komponente trotz der teilweisen Annahme von stiftischen Rechten kennzeichnendes Merkmal des Brüderlebens und schlug sich auch in den Fragen der rechtlichen Organisation der Lebensform nieder, wie es die gescheiterten Versuche zur Errichtung einer Union im frühen 16. Jahrhundert illustrierten."

not infrequently, in profanation of moral.[19] Further evidence of the Duke's confidence in the authentic nature of the undertaking as led by Biel, can be had by looking at the fact that the Duke waived his right of presentation along with his right to intervene in the internal affairs of the House. Eberhard appears to have understood both the nature and the aims of the way of life which Biel had developed, never allowing the devout convent to decline into an administrative centre, as was the case with the secular convent, whence officials and clerics worked on the consolidation of his ruling power.[20] Finally, we can conclude that Biel had great powers of persuasion and that the Duke, perhaps because of this, became more concerned with reforms than with the consolidation of his power. As a result, the Duke gave his approval to Biel's plan for the House at Urach to be incorporated into the extraterritorial General Chapter which he had already developed, and which comprised the Houses of Königstein, Marienthal and Butzbach.[21] The Duke probably realised that structural contacts with other Houses increased the effectiveness of the Brethren of the Common Life and reduced the likelihood of their losing sight of the original ideal. Now the General Chapter would carry out visitations and the appointment of the Provost would not be dependant on the approval of either Pope or Bishop.[22]

Such a measure of freedom must have been a rare exception. Why should the Duke even consider offering this degree of freedom? Did he, perhaps, perceive that devout persons, who had taken on the

[19] See: P. Moraw, *Über Typologie, Chronologie und Geographie der Stiftskirche im deutschen Mittelalter*, in: Max-Planck-Institut (ed.), *Untersuchungen zu Kloster und Stift*, Göttingen, 1980, pp. 9-37, *Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte* 68; *Studien zur Germania Sacra* 14; I. Crusius, *Gabriel Biel und die oberdeutschen Stifte der devotio moderna*, in: *Studien zum weltlichen Kollegiatstift in Deutschland*, p. 322.

[20] I. Crusius, *Gabriel Biel – eine Karriere zwischen **vita contemplativa** und **vita activa***, in: *Gabriel Biel und die Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben*, p. 14.

[21] See: I. Crusius, *Die Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben in Deutschland*, pp. 89-104 & 139-160; U. Hinz, *Die Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben im Jahrhundert der Reformation*, pp. 18-19; G. Faix, *Gabriel Biel und die Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben*, p. 50.

[22] G. Faix, *Gabriel Biel und die Brüder vom Gemeinsamen Leben*, pp. 43-45. The foundation of communities of the Brethren at Herrenberg, which also had to do with the remodelling of a collegiate chapter, Dettingen (1482) and Tachenhausen (1486) was completed according to the same procedures and granting of privileges. See especially: W. Schöntag, *Gabriel Biel als Organisator. Der Auf- und Ausbau der Württembergischen Stifte der Kanoniker vom gemeinsamen Leben, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Stifts Tachenhausen*, in: U. Köpf, S. Lorenz (eds.), *Gabriel Biel und die Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben*, pp. 155-177.

Rule of St. Augustine rather as a source of inspiration than as a means of attaining legitimacy in canon law, would, if they were to fall into deformation, *ipso facto* eliminate themselves as a group and not go on forever still clutching to their anchor in canon law? Did Gabriel Biel enlighten him as to this fact, or was he himself already aware that *formation* costs less of an effort than does *reformation*?

In any event, the Brethren of the Common Life enjoyed his complete trust. In 1481, tensions arose within the Teutonic Province of the Dominican Friars between the older preaching theology of Vienna and Basle and the Neo-Thomism of the School of Cologne, which was steadily becoming more dominant. Faced with this impasse, the Duke made haste to recognise the rights of the Brethren over the parish church and the castle church of Tübingen, to be served only by them, and that they should have the use of the presbytery as a college of the University.[23] With this as his base, Gabriel Biel, by now a professor would go on to play a large role within the Faculty of Theology as well as within the University as a whole. Towards the end of his life, he continued to display an enormous capacity for work and he remained a leading light in the development of ways of living, which could renew society.[24] In Tübingen too, it became clear that the erudite

[23] See: B. Neidiger, *Das Dominikanerkloster Stuttgart, die Kanoniker vom gemeinsamen Leben in Urach und die Gründung der Universität Tübingen. Konkurrierende Reformsätze in der Württembergischen Kirchenreformpolitik am Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart, 1993, pp. 80-92 & 97-114, *Veröffentlichungen des Archivs der Stadt Stuttgart* 58.

[24] For an overview of Biel's work see: W. Bayerer, *Libri Capituli Ecclesiae Sancti Marci. Zur Katalogisierung der Butzbacher Handschriften an der Universitätsbibliotheek Gießen*, in: *Wetterauer Geschichtsblätter* 24, 1975, pp. 57-91; W. Bayerer, *Gabrielis Biel Gratiarum Actio und andere Materialien zu einer Testimonien-Biographie bezüglich seiner Universitätsjahre in Heidelberg, Erfurt, Köln (und Tübingen)*, in: *Forschungen aus der Handschriftenabteilung der Universitätsbibliothek Gießen*, Gießen, 1985, *Berichte und Arbeiten aus der Universitätsbibliothek Gießen*; W. Bayerer, *Die Handschriften des ehem. Fraterherrenstifts St. Markus zu Butzbach*, Vol., 1: *Handschriften aus der Nummernfolge Hs 42-Hs 760*, Wiesbaden, 1980, *Handschriftenkataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Gießen* 4. Systematic overviews of Biel's writings can be found in: H. A. Oberman, *Der Herbst der Mittelalterlichen Theologie*, Tübingen, 1965, *Spätscholastik und Reformation* 1, pp.21-29; W. Ernst, *Gott und Mensch am Vorabend der Reformation. Eine Untersuchung zur Moralphilosophie und -theologie bei Gabriel Biel*, Leipzig, 1972, pp. 36-55, *Erfurter theologische Studien* 28; A. Goosens, *Alliance et Grâce. Le sacrement de l'eucharistie selon Gabriel Biel*, Paris, 1971, Vol., 1, pp. 15-54 (diss. dact.); M. Schrama, *Gabriel Biel et son entourage: Via moderna et Devotio Moderna, in: Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 61, 1981, pp. 176-183; P. van Geest, *Das Niemandsland zwischen Via moderna und Devotio moderna. Der Status quaestionis der Gabriel-Biel-Forschung*, in: *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis\Dutch Review of Church History*, 80, 2000, pp. 157-192.

Fraterherren were being granted privileges by the Duke so as to become instruments of his reform and educational policy. Yet, at the same time, it became clear that they, as a group, were becoming successful in their devout endeavour to give some shape to the ideals of the *ecclesia primitiva*. In contrast to the regular orders, the Brethren of the Common Life appear not to have experienced any tension between the politics of the Duke and their own spirituality because the Duke himself recognised the fact that it was in their authenticity that their reforming power lay. Thus it was that he was able to favour both at one and the same time.

Biel and Eberhard's foundation of the House of St. Peter on the Einsiedel provides us with the clearest example of the use of the Brethren as an instrument yoked in harmony to the ideals to which they themselves, in tribute to the *Devotio Moderna*, were aspiring. St. Peter's was intended as a place within which all of the various classes of the Realm were to be represented as in an exemplary Utopia and the young elite of the world was to be brought up under Provost Gabriel Biel's direction.[25] Whilst the Duke saw in St Peter's his ideas of state embodied and the unity of his dukedom as in a microcosm saw safeguarded, Biel saw it as a place where the *vita activa* and *contemplativa* could fruitfully interfere with each other benefiting society as a whole as well as the individual. He saw the House as a Christian way of existing, which was capable of withstanding the crisis through which Church and Society were going at the time.[26] But underlying this element in his spirituality lay Biel's characteristically devout ideals. A. J. Jelsma has identified three aims associated with the spirituality of the Modern Devout and it seems that Biel, in carrying through the plans for the House of St. Peter, had made them his own or had at least recognised them as being his own. These aims were: to stimulate the piety of the laity, to promote, by means of small

[25] See: W.M. Landeen, *Das Brüderhaus St. Peter im Schönbuch auf dem Einsiedel*, in: *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte*, 40-41, 1960-1961, pp. 5-18; W. Schöntag, *Die Kanoniker und Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben in Württemberg*, in: *Rottenburger Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte* 11, 1992, pp.197-208; W. Schöntag, *Die Anfänge der Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben in Württemberg. Ein Beitrag zur vorreformatorischen Kirchen-und Bildungsgeschichte*, in: *Archiv für Diplomatik* 23, 1977, pp. 459-485; G. Faix, *Gabriel Biel und die Brüder vom Gemeinsamen Leben*, pp. 309-346 (statute edition) & passim. See also: M. Schulze, *Fürsten und Reformation*, pp. 27-28 & 55.

[26] M. Schulze, *Fürsten und Reformation*, pp. 22-28; I. Crusius, *Gabriel Biel – eine Karriere zwischen **vita contemplativa** und **vita activa***, in: *Gabriel Biel und die Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben*, pp. 19-23.

units, the spiritual life and to care for the upbringing of young persons.[27] They fitted precisely with the Duke's own wishes.

But, equally, after the demise of both in 1495, the synergy, which had existed between Duke and Provost, ceased to be. After the deaths of the Duke and the Provost, Einsiedeln appeared to have become a vulnerable test-bed for righteousness, so that, as later too, the Jesuit Reductions in Paraguay, no long life would be granted it.[28] The seeds of the destruction of this devout convent lay not only in the deaths of Biel and Eberhard but in the decision of Eberhard's successor to use the material furnishings of the convent for his own ducal chapel and in his awarding of privileges related to private property and personal freedom. This development, along with our perception of the position and work of Andreas Proles, accentuates the charisma and the independence of Biel as demonstrated by the formation of the living communities in accordance with the devout ideals. The devout spirituality was indeed able to take root in an exceptional communal form. The reasons for Biel's independence, however, deserve more detailed explanation.

2.2. *The origins of Biel's autonomy and freedom.*

The exceptional status accorded the Brethren of the Common life, is explained in general terms by pointing to the mutual trust which Biel and Eberhard had in each other, the Duke's willingness to try out new forms of communal living capable of furthering his genuine wish for reform, and, his extraordinary commitment to the

[27] A. J. Jelsma, *Doorwerking van de Moderne Devotie*, in: P. Bange, C. Graafland, A. J. Jelsma, A.G. Weiler (eds.), *De doorwerking van de Moderne Devotie. Windesheim 1387-1987. Voordrachten gehouden tijdens het Windesheims symposium Zwolle/Windesheim 15-17 oktober 1987*, Hilversum, 1988, pp. 9-28. See for Biel's activities concerning these three aims: footnotes 54 & 55 of this paper.

[28] See: W. Schöntag, *Die Aufhebung der Stifte und Häuser der Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben in Württemberg. Ein Vorbote der Reformation?*, in: *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 38, 1979, pp. 82-96; W. Schöntag, *Gabriel Biel als Organisator. Der Auf- und Ausbau der württembergische Stifte der Kanoniker vom gemeinsamen Leben, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Stifts Tachenhausen*, in: U. Köpf, S. Lorenz (eds.), *Gabriel Biel und die Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben. Beiträge aus Anlass des 500. Todestages des Tübinger Theologen.* Stuttgart, 1998. *Contubernium. Tübinger Beiträge zur Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 47, pp. 155-177 and S. Molitor, ***Dann der kapennherrn hat niemands nutz oder frucht*** ... *Ein wiederentdecktes Dokument zur Situation von St. Peter im Einsiedel und anderer Stifte und Häuser der Kanoniker vom gemeinsamen Leben in Württemberg nach dem Tode Gabriel Biels*, in: *ibid.*, pp. 179-193.

life of the *Fraterherren*.[29] His desire to be treated as one of the Brethren at St. Peter's and his wish, expressed in his last will and testament, to be buried on the Einsiedel, wearing the blue habit of the Brethren of the Common Life, as if he himself were a fellow-member of the Brethren, all bear witness to this.[30] That the Duke should have felt himself so existentially drawn towards the Brethren of the Common Life, fundamentally had to do with the authenticity and credibility of the Brethren, a fact which we had already made mention of. After all, they were not in need of reform. Everyday reality was not far removed from the ideal.[31] Under the guidance of Biel, the Brethren at Butzbach had succeeded in institutionalising their already existing friendships and had elevated these by means of a monastic organisation of daily life to *the Praise of God and the Good of the Country* (*Gott zu Lob und dem Land zu Nutz*).[32] But, in their efforts to give shape to the ecclesia primitiva, they had safeguarded themselves, in principle, from tension. Because of the very nature of their vocation, they didn't assume the *status perfectionis* which was implied *de iure* by the monastic life, and that was underpinned as it was by a theology which emphasised the difference between this state and the imperfect state of the world beset by sin. Thus it was that the Brethren were shielded from the tension likely to be caused by accepting and preaching monastic life. The *vita perfecta*, representing the ultimate way of life on the one hand and the implementation by outside forces of this life because of, at the end of the day, it was the politics of the country that was crucial. This was bound to lead to tension. Biel, acting as Provost, never felt the need, as did Andreas Proles, to summon the alienating assistance of the civil authorities in order to carry out reforms within his own circle, although, possessing the right to punish by imprisonment, as the statues of St. Peter's clearly state, might have suggested otherwise.

Made possible because of the seamlessly interwoven threads of devout ideals, reforming potential and the reforming zeal of the Duke,

[29] G. Faix, *Gabriel Biel und die Brüder vom Gemeinsamen Leben*, p. 55; I. Crusius, *Gabriel Biel – eine Karriere zwischen **vita contemplativa** und **vita activa***, in: *Gabriel Biel und die Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben*, p. 15.

[30] I. Crusius, *Gabriel Biel – eine Karriere zwischen **vita contemplativa** und **vita activa***, in: *Gabriel Biel und die Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben*, p. 19.

[31] R. Weinbrenner, *Klosterreform im 15. Jahrhundert zwischen Ideal und Praxis*, p. 31.

[32] For the classical formulation, in which the motives of the Ruler are summarised and which can also be found in the Statutes of the House of St. Peter: D. Stievermann, *Landesherrschaft und Klosterwesen im spätmittelalterlichen Württemberg*, p. 295.

the independently developed way of life meant that the Brethren were able to enjoy relative autonomy. This took on a more definite form in the social sphere with the promulgation of the abovementioned decree of Duke Eberhard relinquishing his right to intervene in internal affairs. The seamlessly interwoven threads of the internally lived ideal and the externally felt zeal for reform encouraged a consciousness of autonomy in the sense that no institutionalised pressure to conform was felt as was the case with the Brethren of the Colloquy of Münster who felt it all the time. All of these factors enabled Biel to develop a new form of communal living in which the Brethren, not in spite of, but because of the reforming zeal of the Duke, were able to realise their full potential in a powerful way and to work out a few elements in their devout spirituality, as will be seen in what follows.

The relative autonomy which the Brethren demonstrated by developing their communal life form in the devout convent, could itself, however, be traced back to the autonomy which Biel had always preserved in his own life. This had revealed itself already whilst he was a student. At the time, it was unusual to go to Cologne in order to study the theologians of the *via antiqua*. But Biel did do so between 1453 and 1455. His independent disposition becomes particularly clear, however, when we consider the way in which he joined the Brethren of the Common Life. It is perfectly possible that, as W. Ernst maintains, it was in Cologne that Biel became acquainted with the ideals of the *Devotio Moderna* for the first time. Indeed, the results of the matriculations of the University of Cologne do indicate that, of the students who studied there, between 1389 and 1558, a quarter came from the Diocese of Utrecht. But there is no suggestion of there ever having been a regular connection between them.[33] It is just as likely that, as I. Crusius assumes, he got to know the *Devotio Moderna* whilst staying with the Carthusians at Mainz.[34] In any case, in 1463-1464, he offered his services to the Archbishop of Mainz, Adolph of Nassau, without any obligation and apperently indifferent, in order to help found the House of the Brethren at Marienthal.[35] Biel then went on, for the sake of the Archbishop's brother, John Duke of Nassau, to

[33] See: H. Keussen, *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln*, Bonn, 1928², 2 Vols., Vol. 1, 1389-1475, p. 561, no. 44 & *passim*, *Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde* 8.

[34] W. Ernst, *Gott und Mensch*, p. 26; I. Crusius, *Gabriel Biel und die oberdeutschen Stiften der devotio moderna*. pp. 304 ff.

[35] See: W. Ernst, *Gott und Mensch*, p. 27. The debate as to whether Biel entered the House at Marienthal is summarised by M. Schrama in: *Gabriel Biel et son entourage: **via moderna et devotio moderna***, pp. 170-171, n. 76.

co-operate with him in his attempt to open a House of the Brethren at Wiesbaden.[36] Biel's signature on the Charter of Foundation of the House at Königstein in 1467 is evidence that, gradually, his association with the Brethren of the Common Life was becoming more intense and taking on definite forms of its own.[37]

When the House at Butzbach was being founded in 1469, Biel went on to operate in no less a capacity than that of plenipotentiary of Earl Eberhard III of Eppstein and saw to it that the House became incorporated into the General Chapter of Upper Germany.[38] At this stage in his life, it had become clear that his connection to the Brethren could no longer be characterised as being merely sympathetic and noncommittal. Very gradually, he appeared to give up his independence from them, and it is precisely this gradualness, which testifies to his autonomous attitude. This can also be inferred from the date of his entering the community. It was not until somewhere between 30th January 1469 and 6th September 1470 that he became one of the Brethren of the Common Life at Butzbach. This he only did after many years of waiting and not before he felt able to confess that the quasi-monastic community of the Brethren had come closer to him and he to those who gave shape to this communal way of living.[39]

The tendency towards independence of thought and of action, the autonomous streak in his character, was something which Biel had already demonstrated in public in 1461-1462 during the Feud of the Convents at Mainz (*Mainzer Stiftsfehde*) where he refused to accept a candidate who had not yet been ratified by the Pope. Acceptance would have compromised his own position, and he renounced his

[36] See: R. R. Post, *The Modern Devotion*, p. 442; W. Landeen, *Gabriel Biel and the Devotio Moderna in Germany*, in: *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, 27, 1959, p. 159.

[37] In this Charter Biel is called, "magister, licentiatus et presbiter ... Moguntinae diocesis". And so it is clear that he had not joined the Brethren of the Common Life but did enjoy great authority. See: H. Schalk, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kugelherrenhauses zu Königstein*, in: *Annalen des Vereins für Nassauische Alterthumskunde und Geschichtsforschung* 7, 1864, pp. 211-236 & here 214 ff; W. Courtenay, *Gabriel Biel als Mainzer Domprediger und sein Eintritt bei den Brüdern vom gemeinsamen Leben*, in: *Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift* 75, 1966, pp. 49-52 & here 51.

[38] *Monasticon Fratrum Vitae Communis*, p. 42. See also: I. Crusius, *Die Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben in Deutschland*, pp. 139-160.

[39] The first date is the date of the foundation of the House at Butzbach; the second date comes from a letter of Biel which he himself signed with the added words: "Chaplain and Brother at Butzbach St. Mark's", ("caplan und bruder sant Marcs zu Butzbach"), *Monasticon Fratrum Vitae Communis*, p. 43.

preaching office at Mainz for a second time. This autonomy undoubtedly increased Biel's credibility in the eyes of the families van Nassau, Eppstein and Königstein and enhanced his good reputation with the Popes.[40] The Pope's formal approval of Houses, on the orders of the Duke, was arranged by Biel, and for Biel, in a noticeably supple fashion.[41] His credibility must also have had a trickle-down-effect in the manner in which the Rulers regarded both Biel and his views on ways of communal living. That not even the slightest of obstacles was put in his way when he developed his own peculiar form of communal living, was by dint of his autonomous disposition coupled with the fact of his remaining true to himself, his authentic nature and the mirror image of this reflected in the communities which, as Rector or Provost, he went on to shape. His form of communal living became *de facto* monastic although it was never anchored in Canon Law as such. Nor did this communal way of living maintain any formal ties with the Canons Regular of the Congregation of Windesheim.[42] Even in relation to them, he maintained his autonomy, although in his *Tractatus de communi vita clericorum* he does betray his irritation at the attitude taken by the Windeshemenses faced with his initiative.[43]

[40] Moreover, Biel's priorities and progress charmingly substantiate the opinion of Nikolaus Staubach with regard to the similarities between the Modern Devotion and Humanism when he says, "Wenn es eine substantielle Gemeinsamkeit zwischen Humanismus und Devotio moderna gibt, so ist es eben dieses Streben nach einer modellhaften, durch literarische Vorbilder vermittelte Existenz und nach der bewussten und konsequenten Formung der eigenen Persönlichkeit, das nicht nur mit der kritischen Absage an eine von Ehrgeiz und Gewinnstreben motivierte theologische, juristische oder medizinische Universitätsausbildung übereingeht, sondern auch zur Auseinandersetzung mit den etablierten Angeboten der vita religiosa herausfordert.", N. Staubach, *Christianam sectam arripe. Devotio Moderna und Humanismus zwischen Zirkelbildung und gesellschaftlicher Integration*, in: K. Garber, H. Wissmann (eds.), *Europäische Sozietätsbewegung und demokratische Tradition. Die europäischen Akademien der Frühen Neuzeit zwischen Frührenaissance und Spätaufklärung*, Tübingen, 1996, Vol. 1, pp. 112-167 & here pp. 134-137 with the quotation on p. 134. In this sense, Biel can be considered as a forerunner of Humanism.

[41] See: H. Oberman, D. Zerfoss, W. Courtenay (eds.), *Defensorium obedientiae apostolicae et alia documenta*, Cambridge, Mass., 1968, pp. 3-39. W. Courtenay has pointed out that the chronology of the Works of Biel in 1462 shows that Biel cannot be accused of opportunism because he wrote the Defensorium after the feud between the two parties had already been settled. W. Courtenay, *Zur Chronologie der Schriften von 1462 und zu seiner Rolle in der Mainzer Stiftsfehde*, in: *Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift* 74, 1965, pp. 373-376.

[42] See footnote 18.

[43] W. Werbeck, ed. *Gabriel Biels* ***Tractatus de communi vita clericorum***, in: U. Köpf, S. Lorenz, eds., *Gabriel Biel und die Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben. Beiträge aus Anlaß des 500. Todestages des Tübinger Theologen*, Stuttgart, 1998, *Contuber-*

Naturally, one would not be able to explain the evolution of the Brethren of the Common Life in Germany solely in terms of Biel's autonomy and authenticity. But there is no doubt whatsoever that it was precisely these two qualities of Biel's being which fundamentally determined the shape taken by the way of living in community which had been initiated by him. And not just in "his" Upper German Chapter. G. Faix, basing his evidence on innumerable quotations taken from the Statutes of the Upper German General Chapter – developed under the influence of Biel – was able to show that the North German Brethren took the *Oberdeutsche Generalkapitel* as their point of reference when they formed the Union of Münster in 1499.[44]

3. Experiencing the *status perfectionis* and the *vota*.

3.1. *Monastic theology and the simple view of the world.*

The living communities of the Colloquy of Münster and the Upper German General Chapter, despite being based on the Rule of St. Augustine, had no desire whatsoever to be transformed into monasteries. It is therefore not surprising that large similarities with the religious may be detected in their sort of living community. For instance, by means of the Rule of St. Augustine, both Andreas Proles and Gabriel Biel were hoping to make actual the life of the *ecclesia primitiva* within their own living communities. Whereas the Augustinian Hermits of the Privileged Observance made their *vota* (*Vows*), the Brethren of the Common Life solemnly declared their renunciation of private property and submitted themselves to the Upper German General Chapter. Besides this, they made a *votum solemne stabilitatis* (*Solemn Vow of Stability*) before a Notary Public which appeared to give it the status of Civil Law.[45] One of the reasons

nium. Tübinger Beiträge zur Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 47, pp. 137-154, further indicated as *Tractatus*, ed. Werbeck & here, p. 146 and G. Faix, ed. *Gabriel Biel: Tractatus de communi vita clericorum*, in: G. Faix, *Gabriel Biel und die Brüder vom Gemeinsamen Leben*, pp. 347-368 & here 360, further indicated as *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, "Utinam autem multi, ... etsi debita gratitudine non responderunt, saltem ingrati non existerent hiis ipsis fratribus communis vite, a quibus primum tanti profectus tanteque utilitatis beneficium susceperunt."

[44] See: G. Faix, *Gabriel Biel und die Brüder vom Gemeinsamen Leben*, p. 123. Biel himself would have had to attribute this to the statutes of the House of the Brethren at Herford.

[45] See: U. Hinz, *Die Brüder vom Gemeinsamen Leben*, pp. 18-19; G. Faix, *Gabriel Biel und die Brüder vom Gemeinsamen Leben*, pp. 115-117; M. Schrama, *Gabriel Biel et son entourage: Via moderna et Devotio Moderna*, p. 175; W. Ernst, *Gott und Mensch*, pp. 33-34; R. R. Post, *The Modern Devotion*, pp. 446-447.

why the specific status of the Brethren of the Common Life has not always been clearly understood, lies in the fact that Biel, as we have said above, opted for the canonical way of doing things in the Houses of the Upper German General Chapter, allowing them to assume the legal title of "a Chapter". But it is the solemn vow, that is the reason why scholars typified them as "religious" in the Canon Law sense of that word.[46] But *de iure* they have never been so.

As far as the legal construction, the Brethren of the Common Life appeared far removed from the ideals of their founder Geert Grote who "only" argued for *conclusa et proposita* for the purposes of the personal examination of one's conscience, *sed non vota* with all of the Canon Law that would have been implied by this.[47]

Nevertheless, the interaction between the view of the world, as developed in monastic theology, and his experience of the devout ideals, became essential to Biel's choice of the *status medius*. This monastic view of the world was simple in the sense that the *contemptus mundi* in the circles of the Augustinian Observantists in Biel's time was a necessary precondition when seeking to have perfected the love of God: the love which was sought after by living the *vota substantialia*.[48] In the circles connected with Windesheim too

[46] W. Landeen, *Gabriel Biel and the Devotio Moderna in Germany*, in: *Research Studies of the State College of Washington* 28, 1960, p. 25 and W. Ernst, *Gott und Mensch*, p. 26, n. 91 argue that Biel does not concern himself with the difference between Canon and Brother within the movement because at the time of his negotiation the difference had not yet crystallized out. H. A. Oberman confuses the different forms of living in community when he characterises Biel as if he had been a member of the congregation at Windesheim, see: H. Oberman, *Via moderna-devotio moderna: Tendenzen im Tübinger Geistesleben* 1477-1516 , in: *Theologen und Theologie an der Universität Tübingen*, Tübingen, 1977, pp. 1-64 & here 40-46; see also: *Werden und Wertung der Reformation*, pp. 17 ff., and *Herbst der mittelalterlichen Theologie*, p. 11. M. Schrama argued nevertheless, «que la différence entre Frère et chanoine a été toujours très assignable, du moins au sens canonique et que Biel également optait très expressément pour une vie comme Frère et non pas comme chanoine, celle-ci étant soumise à des nombreuses lois ecclésiastiques.»in : *Gabriel Biel et son entourage: Via moderna et Devotio Moderna*, in : *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 61, 1981, p. 175. The recent studies of G. Faix and U. Hinz do acknowledge the difference in form.

[47] See: Thomas a Kempis, *Conclusa et proposita in nomine Domini a magistro Gerardo edita*, in: M. J. Pohl (ed.), *Thomae a Kempis opera omnia*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1902-1922, 7 Vols., vol. 7, pp. 87 ff.; see for the non-canonical meaning which the Devout themselves gave to the *propositum* and their own *consuetudines*: M. M. Kors, *Het propositum bij de moderne devoten. De verschriftelijking van een kernbegrip uit de vadertijd*, in: *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 71, 1997, pp. 146-180 & here 163-165.

[48] R. Weinbrenner, *Klosterreform im 15. Jahrhundert zwischen Ideal und Praxis*, p. 48.

this was expressly worked out as such.[49] And, although he does not lay much emphasis on this in his preaching cycle *De privilegiis religiosorum*, because of the interests of the country, Andreas Proles does raise the matter of the *vocatio* and the *caritas* as being the first step and the final goal of the monk's withdrawal from the world. These are the exclusive poles through which the *societas perfecta*, the *religio*, develops himself as utterly opposed to the ways of being in the world.[50]

Now, I. Crusius argues as follows „Angesichts der Stellung Biels in Mainz und seiner Rolle in der Mainzer Stiftsfehde, dazu als Vertrauter des Stifters, des Grafen Eberhart (III, pvg) von Eppstein, kann keine Zweifel bestehen, dass es Biels eigener Wille war, wenn er als einfacher Bruder in das neue Stift eintrat ... Gabriel Biel wollte sich hier in Butzbach aus allem öffentlichen Leben zurückziehen zu Gebet, Kontemplation und wissenschaftlich theologischer Arbeit...".[51] Basing one's thinking on this observation might lead one to the wrong conclusion that Biel could just as easily have entered the monastery at Windesheim. Without wishing in any way to diminish the value of Crusius's observation, it must have become obvious to Gabriel Biel, during the interiorisation of the devout ideals and spirituality, that the monastic view of the world was far too simple for the life he intended to live as a *Fraterherr*. We have already seen that it was in the apparent autonomy and loyalty of Biel that the seeds of his freedom to develop his own peculiar way of living in community lay. Following on from this, the integration into an *ordo canonicus* would have meant accepting a *status*, in which the *perfectio* was based precisely on the flight from the world. This ideal was not one, which lay close to his heart. In this respect, too, he shows himself to be related to and knowledgeable about the way of communal living of the first generation of the Modern Devout. A document from a Notary Public in Deventer dated 31st January 1391 shows that the town had offered a house to the first generation of the devout moderns, under the direction of Florens Radewijns, where they could persevere in their contemplation for the well being of the town.[52] But this faithfulness to

[49] See: P. van Geest, *Thomas a Kempis. (1379/80-1471) Een studie van zijn mens- en godsbeeld*, Kampen, 1996, pp. 149-158.

[50] R. Weinbrenner, *Klosterreform im 15. Jahrhundert zwischen Ideal und Praxis*, pp. 220-221.

[51] I. Crusius, *Gabriel Biel und die oberdeutschen Stifte der devotio moderna*, in: *Studien zum weltlichen Kollegiatstift in Deutschland*, p. 307.

[52] G. Dumbar, *Het kerkelijk en wereltlijk Deventer*, Deventer, 1732, Vol. I, pp. 404-406. See also: R. Dier van Muiden, *Scriptum: Vita domini Florencii prioris nostri*, in: G. Dumbar, *Analecta seu vetera aliquot scripta inedita*, Daventria, 1719, pp. 12-52 & here chap. 8.

ennicheit (*uniformity*) did not prevent the devout, in the spirit of Geert Grote, from allowing male pupils of the Chapter School to aquire knowledge by letting them copy out various spiritual and theological books, for which work they were paid. The devotional conference held for the pupils by Grote and his disciples during this activity, bears witness to the care for their spiritual renewal.[53] Just as for the first generation of the devout moderns, so too for Biel, the monastic way of communal living seems to have encompassed a critical distance *vis-à-vis* the world. But the simple view of the world, which monastic theology offered, and which also laid the foundations for the idea of the *contemptus mundi* in e.g. the preaching cycle of Andreas Proles, was not compatible with the ideals of the Devotion such as Biel had given form to in Urach and Tübingen. The construction of grammar books for the pupils of the Latin School, bears witness to his educational endeavours.[54] The translations of a work by Hugo of St. Victor, a pseudo-Augustinian text, and works by Jean Gerson, bear witness to his reforming endeavours.[55] Here we can see that Biel in the development of his own peculiar form of communal living in the ripeness of old age still wished to see action and contemplation working together. It is surely not insignificant that Biel, in his *Tractatus de communi vita clericorum* praises the way of living in community in apostolic times in Jerusalem as representing a middle-way between complete separation and the life lived wholly in the world.[56] Not taking on the state of life of the religious, meant, in the

[53] Anton G. Weiler, *Onderwijs en vorming bij de Moderne Devoten*, in: *Speling*, 45, 1993, pp. 15-22 & here 15.

[54] Biel's *Tractatus utilis artis grammaticae regiminum* was published at Reutlingen in 1486, Urach in the same year, Leipzig in 1497 and Spires in 1495; see: L. Hain, *Repertorium Bibliographicum,* Stuttgart-Tübingen, 1826-1838, no. 3189; A. Goosens, *Alliance et grâce*, p. 24, mentions the occurrence of a publication in 1483. Biel's *Regula puerorum bona et doctrinalis* was published at Urach in 1483 and at Leipzig in 1497.

[55] *Hugo de sancto Victore von der Krafft und würckung der lieb*, is included in: *Der übertrefflichst Weg zu der Säligkait*, Augsburg, 1518. See: W. ERNST, *Gott und Mensch*, p. 30, n. 112; p. 48; the pseudo-Augustinian *Manuale* (*Hantbüchlein*) and the translations of the tracts by Gerson (*Opus tripartitum Buclin von den Geboten, Bichten und Bekentnis czu sterben*) arre described in: W. BAYERER, *Libri Capituli Ecclesiae Sancti Marci. Zur Katalogisierung der Butzbacher Handschriften an der Universitätsbibliothek Gießen*, in: *Wetterauer Geschichtsblätter* 24, 1975, pp. 62 & 83.

[56] "Et sic accipiendo et applicando istum terminum ordo ad modum vel formam alicuius honeste et ordinate vite dicimus nos habere vel gerere ordinem apostolorum vel discipulorum Christi vel sancte sancte primitive matris ecclesie, de cuius ordine vel modo vivendi scribitur Actis 4°', *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, 347; "Et secundam istam acceptionem simpliciter et cum omni libertate fatemur nos ordinem non habere, quia

case of the Brethren of the Common Life, a staving off of a tension between the accepted form of communal living, which had institutionalised the flight from the world, and its negative view of the world, on the one hand, and ideals peculiar to oneself on the other; ideals which were also expressed in the work of the Brethren in pastoral care, education and scholarly inquiry in Butzbach, Urach and Tübingen. Biel must have taken as his starting point, the idea that the interplay between the contemplative and the active elements could go on determining things as long as the state of life, in which the flight from the world is formalised and anchored, was not formally entered into. But he probably also perceived, that the monastic way of living in community, offered opportunities for his idea of an *actio in contemplatione*. About which we will have to say more later.

3.2. *The **vota substantialia** as a guarantee of perfection.*

After The Fourth General Council of the Lateran in 1215, theologians developed a way of looking at the relationship between *religio* and *perfectio* in which *religio* was considered to be a state which, as far as form and content were concerned, was perfect and led to perfection.[57] Hence, the final profession, by means of which, the monk pledged himself solemnly and publicly to the Order and the Rule, was regarded additionally, in monastic theology, as being a second Baptism. By carrying the job through to the end, eternal bliss would be gained. Poverty, obedience and chastity were the evangelical virtues, *The Counsels of Perfection*, contained in the vows which were considered as being fundamental and essential for the *vita perfectionis*. The *caritas* which was the ultimate aim of the monk, had to be built upon the bedrock of the renunciation of private property, self-determination and sexuality. In the spirit of the predominant thinking of the time, namely, that living according to the vows, made the most that could be made of human nature, for Andreas Proles, the vows were absolutely fundamental and *substantialia* in the sense that they freed one from the three Aristotelian aims of life: the useful, the

neque monachi sumus neque professionem facimus neque habitam alicuius religionis suscepimus", *Tractatus*, ed. Werbeck, p. 139; *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, p. 348; "Nobis interim satis est ad omnem perfectionem stare et vivere in libertate legis christianae *sub uno abbate Christo*", *Tractatus*, ed. Werbeck, p. 140; *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, p. 350.

[57] See: K. Elm, *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen. Ein Überblick*, in: *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*, Berlin, 1989, pp. 3-19. See also: *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, p. 349 and *Tractatus*, ed. Werbeck, p. 152.

pleasant and the honourable. Because of these aims, one was forever accommodating oneself to the ways of the world and preventing oneself from being open to the will of God.[58]

But the vows, which were based on the Counsels of Perfection, implied not just an existential confrontation with the salient principles of the monastic life. They guaranteed, over and above that, the certainty of the Law of the Church. One entered into a state of life, which as we have said, in terms of Canon Law, was regarded as perfect. The *vita perfecta* was an institution established by law. Thomas Aquinas expressed this idea as follows, "Sic igitur et in statu perfectionis proprie dicitur esse aliquis, non ex hoc quod habet actum dilectionis perfectae, sed ex hoc quod obligat se perpetuo, cum aliqua solemnitate, ad ea quae sunt perfectionis".[59] In his *De votis monasticis iudicium* of 1521, Luther made an attempt to free the *status perfectionis* from this essential foundation. *The Counsels of Perfection*, he argued, could not possibly be contained within the limitations of vows. After all, vows, had implications in terms of Canon Law. They were binding and eternal in character. And it was precisely this that formed a hindrance to living them out freely.

Gabriel Biel was not one of Luther's predecessors as far as this was concerned. After all, he never challenged the legitimacy of the *vita perfectionis*. However he did indeed object to the monastic orders having a monopoly on the Counsels of Perfection. Over and against a legalistic understanding of *perfectio* and *religio*, he placed a spiritualised interpretation of the term *ordo* and with it a spiritualised interpretation of perfection too along exactly the same lines as his writings in defence of the Modern Devotion.[60] Vowing to keep the Counsels of Perfection, obedience, chastity and poverty, formed in Biel's eyes neither a pre-condition nor a guarantee that indeed perfection as understood in a non-canonical but spiritual way would result. In his *Tractatus*, and this for people living outside the monastic environment, he reproduces the Counsels of Perfection as an

[58] R. Weinbrenner, *Klosterreform im 15. Jahrhundert zwischen Ideal und Praxis*, pp. 46-47.

[59] *Summa Theologica* II-II 184.4. He did indeed go on to say, "Et ideo nihil prohibet aliquos esse perfectos qui non sunt in statu perfectionis; et aliquos esse in statu perfectionis qui non sunt perfecti." But in this context, Thomas is not working out the virtue of perfection as such but the state of perfection as this exists in Canon Law, i.e. the monastic state.

[60] *Tractatus*, ed. Werbeck, p. 139; *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, p. 347. In a further contribution, Biel's *Tractatus de communi vita clericorum*, will be considered in the light of these defensive writings.

instruction for living harmoniously in community. Geert Grote had been dissatisfied with the way of life being led by the priests and reckoned very few of them worthy of their office. In the same spirit, Biel supposed the vows to be useful only for a particularly small minority and considered monastic life too strict.[61] And that is why he is able to emphasise in plain terms the possibility of attaining the *perfectio* also *extra religionem*, without being a religious.[62] The flourishing of Church life is thanks to the many ways in which it can be lived. Gabriel Biel regretted the fact that only monks and the regular clergy were living in communities grafted onto the three Counsels of Perfection.[63] A life in community, *inspired* by the Counsels of Perfection but not *made legitimate* by means of the vows, had, after all, always existed within the Church.[64]

His attempts to give the Counsels of Perfection some sort of shape in everyday life, show that Biel was aiming for the same target as Proles: to make the world understand that the seemingly unstoppable force which is the general drive for riches, sensuality and power, must be resisted. In the spirit of Augustine's *Praeceptum*, Biel, in his *Tractatus*, points to the sharing of property as a means of neutralising this force. The question arises, why was Biel so insistent on uncoupling the vows from the Counsels of Perfection at this particular moment in time? Certainly it all looks a little strange. Consider, firstly, that the way of living in community which he had developed was so similar to that of the *via monastica* as far as the structure of daily life was concerned. Then, secondly, the aforementioned *votum solemne stabilitatis* taken in the presence of a

[61] "De quo (the priesthood, pvg) magister Gerardus tale testimonium perhibuit, dicens. Semel feci unum ordinari in presbyterum: et spero quod dignus sit. De cetero cavebo, ne leviter quid simile faciam: quia paucos ad hoc indoneos cerno", Thomas a Kempis, *Vita domini Florentii*, in: *Thomae a Kempis opera omnia*, Vol. 7, p. 139; *Tractatus*, ed. Werbeck, p. 141; *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, pp. 351-352.

[62] *"tamen in sancta ecclesia sunt multi perfectionis gradus ... ut unusquisque pro viribus suis et pro mensura gratie, quam sibi mensus est Deus, id eligat, quod sibi melius competere videbitur ...".* See: *Super modo vivendi*, ed. Hyma, pp. 97-99; *Tractatus*, ed. Werbeck, p. 141; *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, p. 351, cited here.

[63] "... ut ex hoc dicatur regina (= ecclesia, pvg) stare a dextris regis in vestitu deaurato circumdata varietate ... numquid non multum decoris sibi ex hoc accidere videtur, ut observantia huius communis vite, que iam prochdolor apud solos monachos et religiosos reperitur, etiam apud nonnullos observatores clericalis honestatis reperiatur? Atque etiam ita inter clericos servetur et salvetur ista regularis observantia, que primo omnium pro clericis est instituta, neque enim gratis a sanctis patribus sint scripta, que de hac salutari institutione passim reperiuntur et leguntur ...", *Tractatus*, ed. Werbeck, p. 141; *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, p. 351.

[64] *Tractatus*, ed. Werbeck, pp. 144-146; *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, pp. 355-360.

Notary Public bound a Brother to the General Chapter for the rest of his life. This had a decisive effect on the way in which the organisation functioned. Thirdly, having sworn to keep the oaths of poverty, chastity and obedience, and having adopted a community for the rest of one's life and having agreed to be obedient to the rule of an order, which went along with it, although not able to be considered *de iure* a proper profession, amounted to the same thing nevertheless. Fourthly, the general conditions for entry were extremely similar to those of the regular orders. Only of his own free will might a candidate seek entry and a full year's probation followed on after that which made it all look very akin to a novitiate. G. Faix is correct in stating, „dass bezüglich des Aufnahmeverfahrens innerhalb des Oberdeutschen Generalkapitels eine viel größere Affinität zum Ordenswesen als zum klassischen Kollegiatstift bestand".[65] Why, then, did Biel not allow the Brethren of the Common Life to join up with their colleagues at Windesheim?

We already gave the first reason in the preceding text. It is quite possible that the simple view of the world, implicit in the idea of the monastic life as *vita perfecta*, was not compatible with the reforming ideals of Gabriel Biel nor with those of the Ruler. Additionally, it was precisely the interpretation of the *votum solemne stabilitatis*, which suggests that Biel wanted to keep the Brethren of the Common Life away from the Windesheim sphere of influence because they were driving through reforms, which were not to the liking of Biel. It would be impossible so with this solemn vow of stability, to send the Brethren of the Common Life out as monastic reformers to other monasteries, in the interests of the Ruler, as were the members of the Congregation of Windesheim under Johannes Mombaer. The Augustinian and devout ideal of the group as representing a continuation of the *ecclesia primitiva*, was safeguarded in the form in which Biel had already championed it.[66] Furthermore, the Brethren of the Common Life of the Upper German General Chapter avoided the danger of being used, either as collective, or, as individual tools of reform, in a way which was thoroughly opposed to their ideal of a *vita communis*.

But despite the Brethren of the Common Life getting closer to the monastic way of organisation and life-style, there was a third and rather more important reason for separating the vows from the

[65] G. Faix, *Gabriel Biel und die Brüder vom Gemeinsamen Leben*, p. 119.

[66] See: G. Epiney-Burgard, *Saint Augustin et la "Vie Commune" dans la Dévotion Moderne*, in: *Medioevo* 9, 1983, pp. 61-75.

Counsels of Perfection. As has already been mentioned, canonical status gave a monastery its right to exist and the monk his legal security. In this context, an ambience might develop, within the life of the community, which was neither compatible with the spirit of the rule nor with that of the Counsels of Perfection as sealed by the vows. The orders were free to adapt the rule in *constitutiones* the rule according to their particular requirements. It was not unusual for Biel, in his capacity as the Ruler's Commissioner for Orders at Württemberg, to identify approved *constitutiones* for monasteries in which, for example, private property was permitted or a degree of independence had been allowed for. The identity of a monastic community could, in such a way, be more determined by its *constitutiones* than by the (spirit of the) rule or by the vows themselves. Then in fact, the ability to grow disappeared, which the life lived according to the *vota substantialia* had been able to offer the monk. Worse still, the canonically valid *constitutiones* might even have legitimised this alienation. The way of living in community remained intact although estranged from the ideal. It might well be possible that Biel, just like the first generation of the Modern Devout, wanted to give shape to a way of living in community in which the opportunities for inner growth were based upon a life structured along monastic lines. But could it be that simultaneously and right from the start, Biel had attempted to avoid the danger posed by an institutionalised way of living in community? Did he regard this form of life as dangerous because it was excessively reliant on canonical structures, could continue to exist even though the established *consuetudines* had brought about its estrangement from the ideal? Did Biel perceive that precisely this canonical underpinning would ensure for far too long the maintenance of tension between promised ideals and lived practice? In his *Tractatus de communi vita clericorum*, it becomes abundantly clear that Biel sought his inspiration in Augustine and the *Counsels of Perfection* having no desire whatsoever to legitimise his own people by getting them to take vows.[67] It is also evident that a semi-monastic way of living in community was less easily capable of assuring a group's continued existence should an estrangement from the ideal happen to take place. For the sake of the life in community and the power to reform, Biel must have regarded as essential the uncoupling of vows, with their implications for Canon Law, and the Counsels of Perfection, sealed within them. By

[67] See: *Super modo vivendi*, ed. Hyma, p. 34; *Tractatus*, ed. Werbeck, p. 146; *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, p. 359.

uncoupling them from canonical implications and ulterior motives, he must surely have attempted to unleash the creative power of the Counsels of Perfection making them fully operational and capable of guiding the community. The taking of vows with their Canon Law implications interfered in the whole business of living up to the Counsels of Perfection and so had to be avoided. Security and the right to exist were matters, which Biel sought to procure by working alongside the Ruler and by a *votum*, which had more of the character of Civil Law than of Canon Law. This kept the way ahead open to an experience of the Counsels of Perfection as sealed up in the vows, in the way in which, in his sermons, Geert Grote had intended all along. In the first half of the 15th cent., the custom of making a *propositum* (declaration of intent), was no longer common in devout circles. Nevertheless, Biel attempts in his *Tractatus*, to separate the vows from the Counsels of Perfection, regarding the latter as necessary to the growth of the community and in the interior life. It was not inspite of the Civil Law safety clauses but precisely because of them that Biel was able to position the Brethren of the Common Life perfectly to give shape and content to the original devout experience of the Counsels of Perfection as *conclusa et proposita* in the way in which Grote had intended.[68] By employing a Civil Law safety clause and by separating the Canon Law form from that which was contained in the Counsels of Perfection and which had to be lived up to, namely, poverty, chastity and obedience, a vision emerges of the role and the function of the vota which rings true and betrays not merely Biel's independent nature and autonomy but more particularly his craving for authenticity.

4. Biel's Indebtedness to the Spirituality of the Modern Devotion. Initial Contours.

4.1. *The Point of Departure: A Confluence of Interests and Private Life?*

Biel was inspired by the ideals of the Modern Devotion. This is amply demonstrated by his concern for the education of young persons and, certainly at St. Peter, as one of the Brethren of the Common Life, for small-scale laical devotion. What remains unclear is whether the salient points in the ideals of the Modern Devotion

[68] See: for this original view: M. Kors, *Het propositum bij de moderne devoten. De verschriftelijking van een kernbegrip uit de vadertijd*, in: *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 71, 1997, p. 179.

matched up with those of Gabriel Biel from the very beginning or whether he acquired them only exclusively through his contacts with the Brethren. It is perfectly possible that he allowed himself to be affected by these ideals having met up with others who reflected his own background and private life. As had been the case with Grote, Gabriel Biel's privileged background, would enable him to get hold of as many books as he liked during his studies. On the assumption that he had already got to know the Brethren whilst studying at Heidelberg, it is perfectly possible that it was they who reinforced his interest in books.[69] Had he got to know the Brethren during the two-year period in which he studied and stayed at Cologne, then one would rather speak of like-mindedness in fields of interest.[70] Whatever the case, Biel's interest in building up a library showed him to be a true devout. He acquired many manuscripts during his studies and these benefited the community at Butzbach, which he entered.[71] Even the spirituality of the scriptorium, which was developed in the circles of the modern devout, seems to have matched up with and to have taken root in the daily rhythm, which the friends took on as they gathered round Biel at Butzbach. The background as well as the shared interest in studies of these friends, rather suggest that here too the spirituality contributed to the deepening of the experience of their already present *habitus* than that it underlay the development of it.[72] So, it remains

[69] G. Ritter, *Studien zur Spätscholastik*, Heidelberg, 1921, Vol. 2, *Via antiqua und via moderna auf den deutschen Universitäten*, p. 48; W. Landeen, *Gabriel Biel and the Devotio Moderna in Germany*, in: *Research Studies*, p. 151.

[70] See: I. Crusius, *Gabriel Biel und die oberdeutschen Stifte der devotio moderna*, in: *Studien zum weltlichen Kollegiatstift in Deutschland*, pp. 300-301.

[71] See: I. Crusius, *Gabriel Biel und die oberdeutschen Stifte der devotio moderna*, in: *Studien zum weltlichen Kollegiatstift in Deutschland*, pp. 300-301. Half of the manuscript collection is accessible and forms part of the wider collection of the University Library at Gießen.

[72] See: K. Grube, ed. *Des Augustinerpropstes Iohannes Busch Chronicon Windeshemense und Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*, c. vii: "Per huiusmodi enim fratrum nostrorum diligentem scripturam laborem sollicitamque librorum correctionem monasteriorum nostrum in Windesem copiosam librorum bene emendatorum nunc habet multitudinem, ut ecclesiam Dei per hunc nostrum horizontem huiusmodi sanctorum librorum voluminis hincinde, ut assolent, communicantes et suis sanctis exemplis et conversationibus longe amplius aedificare et ad meliora credantur provocare, quam si publicis sermonibus declamatorie in ecclesiis populo predicarent." The legal standing and the legitimacy of the Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer was based on the communal ownership of books. These books, for the greater part, came from Geert Grote, who, in the year before his demise, had taken five copyists into service. See: C. van der Wansem, *Het ontstaan en de geschiedenis der Broederschap van het Gemene Leven tot 1400*, Louvain, 1958, p. 65. *Publicaties op het gebied der geschiedenis en der philologie*, fourth series, 12. See: W. Lourdaux, *Het boekenbezit*

unclear as to whether Biel's point of departure for the interiorisation of the devout spirituality ought to be explained rather in terms of the compatibility of characters or in terms of being touched by the devout spirit. Thus it was that he viewed Geert Grote's dissatisfaction with the libertarian way of life among the monastic orders and the estrangement from the ideals of the vows as the reason for his refusal to enter an order at all.[73] But here it looks like Grote is being held up as the legitimation for a way of living in community developed by Biel rather than as a figure with which one might be able to identify. What then is de nature of Biels's indebtedness to the sources from the circles of the devout? Did he use them rather for purposes of legitimation than of inspiration?

4.2. *Biel's Indebtedness at the Superficial Level: Knowledge of the Sources.*

Whilst his thoughts were developing regarding a semi-monastic community's right to exist, Biel made full use of the thinking which had already been developed in the circles of the Modern Devotion. Many academics have pointed to Biel attributing his *Tractatus de communi vita clericorum* to the apologetic work *Super modo vivendi devotorum hominum simul commorantium* by Gerhard Zerbolt of Zutphen. The latter defended a community life without vows in a *societas caritativa* based on the *ordo apostolorum*, which he regarded as being the same thing as a *societas simple*x.[74] Is seems that Biel

en boekengebruik bij de moderne devoten, in: *Contributions à l'Histoire des Bibliothèques et de la Lecture aux Pays-Bas avant 1600*, Brussels, 1974, pp. 247-325, *Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique/ Archief en Bibliotheekwezen in België*, extra number 11. Biel fitted out a scriptorium at Butzbach and maintained close contact with the printing press of the Brethren at Marienthal. See: W. Bayerer, *Libri Capituli Ecclesiae Sancti Marci. Zur Katalogisierung der Butzbacher Handschriften an der Universitätsbibliothek Gießen*, in: *Wetterauer Geschichtsblätter*, 24, 1975, p. 65. The devout view would have made Biel see the copying and printing of books as a missionary endeavour: "Eligimus itaque scribendi laborem satagentes quantum possumus, ut et politos et emendatos libros efficiamus", *Tractatus*, ed. Werbeck, p. 148; *Tractatus,* ed. Faix, p. 363. For the specific power of formation which the devout ascribed to writing and copying see: N. Staubach, *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit im Bereich der Devotio Moderna*, in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studie*n, 25, 1991, pp. 418-461 and: T. Mertens, *Texte der modernen Devoten als Mittler zwischen kirchlicher und persönlicher Reform*, in: *Niederdeutsches Wort* 34, 1994, pp. 63-74.

[73] *Tractatus*, ed. Werbeck, p. 146; *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, p. 359.

[74] A. Hyma, ed. Gerard Zerbolt van Zutphen, *Super modo vivendi devotorum hominum simul commorantium*, in: *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht*, 52, 1925, pp. 1-100 & here p. 4. Biel, would go on to support the right of existence and the self-understanding of the *status medius* of the Brethren of the Com-

made use of Zerbolt's work in his explanation of the *medius vivendi* modus as a way of living in a community, which would be capable of revitalising the life of the *ecclesia primitiva*.[75] Even when Biel is disputing the exclusive claims of the orders to communal living, it is clear that this too is dependant on Zerbolt's thinking carried out before him. Maybe here he came across the thought that being part of the human race at all has to do with living together. Moreover, the *vita communis* is renewed by Christ and carried on by the Apostles.[76] Biel once more made Zerbolt's ideas his own when thinking about the usefulness and the necessity of wearing the habit.[77] When discussing manual work and the ordering of daily life, as well as his idea that the way of living together as brothers in community of goods complies with the situation before the Fall, it is the thought in the work of Zerbolt, which rings out.[78] Just like Zerbolt had done, Biel held that the Brethren were working on the restoration of the Christian Way of Life in which the Counsels of Perfection might be experienced fervently and of one's own free will and not as vows one is obliged to keep come what may. The idea that the orders had lost this way of living in community because they had permitted the possession of private property, is something Biel articulates in the same way Zerbolt had done.[79]

Above all, investigation of the original sources by G. Faix and W. Werbeck, has served to support H. Oberman's intuition. In a later contribution to this debate, Biel's debt of gratitude to Zerbolt will be brought into greater perspective by exposing it to the light of other

mon Life along the same lines as Zerbolt and the other devout defensive writings. He would do this by making the way of living in community conform to the *ordo apostolorum* or *ordo discipulorum Christi*, an uninterrupted *modus vivendi* in Italy, in which the ideal of living in community in evangelical freedom continued to be safeguarded. See: *Tractatus* ed. Werbeck, p. 144 and *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, p. 357. See also: K. Elm, *Die Bruderschaft vom Gemeinsamen Leben. Eine geistliche Lebensform zwischen Kloster und Welt, Mittelalter und Neuzei*t, in: *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 59, 1985, pp. 470-496 & here 485. As regards Gerhard Zerbolt, see the innovative study by N. Staubach, *Gerhard Zerbolt van Zutphen und die Apologie der Laienlektüre in der Devotio moderna*, in: T. Kock, R. Schlusemann, eds., *Laienlektüre und Buchmarkt im späten Mittelalter*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1997, pp. 221-289, *Gesellschaft, Kultur und Schrift*, 5.

[75] See: *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, pp. 347, n. 4; 351, n. 33; 352, n. 48.

[76] See: *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, pp. 355, nn. 71& 79; 367, n. 195.

[77] See: *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, pp. 355, nn. 71 & 79; 367, n. 195.

[78] See: *Super modo vivendi*, ed. Hyma, pp. 29-30; *Tractatus*, ed. Werbeck, pp. 147, 154; *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, p. 362.

[79] See: *Super modo vivendi*, ed. Hyma, p. 34; *Tractatus*, ed. Werbeck, p. 146; *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, p. 359.

sources and weighing its relative worth. In any case, at this stage it is sufficient to remark that Biel did not consult Zerbolt's writing for inspiration as much as to be able "merely" to legitimise his quasi-monastic way of living in community. This could point to a marriage of convenience between the Modern Devotion and Gabriel Biel. And yet, there are other aspects of the work of Biel, which need to be make themselves heard. These point to a greater personal familiarity with some of the typical power lines within the spirituality of the Modern Devotion even if these were unoriginal.

4.3. *The Indebtedness at a Deeper Level: Familiarity with the Themes of Devout Spirituality.*

In his *Tractatus de communi vita clericorum*, Biel therefore borrows ideas especially those related to status and the ordering of the day of the Brethren of the Common Life, as formulated in Zerbolt's *Super modo vivendi*. In this same Tract however, he further demonstrates that he has interiorized the heart of the Modern Devotion's spirituality. Apart from the ideal of the *ecclesia primitiva* two more aspects need to be identified in Biel's *Tractatus* since they are essential to the devout Spirituality. Both *contemplatio in actione* and care for the interior life are emphasised by him in a very devout way. It is precisely this coming together of these three moments in his *Tractatus* that most clearly demonstrates that Biel's search for an authentic spirituality and way of living in community had led him to be inspired by Modern Devotion.[80] Besides the ideal of the *ecclesia primitiva*, these moments typify the spirituality of the Modern Devotion. Precisely because Biel had confessed himself as belonging to the Brethren of the Common Life, we are entitled to assume that these were moments that he was able to integrate into his own personal life through coming into contact with the devout. They also represent the first contours in Biel's indebtedness to Devout Spirituality.

Contemplatio in actione.

Ignatius of Loyola and the Jesuit order founded by him have gone down in history as those who experienced their moment of "contemplation", during or within the development of their activities. This seminal moment in the spirituality of the Jesuits can be attributed to the intense familiarity Ignatius had with the spirituality of the

[80] We hope to be able to treat this problem more extensively in a later publication.

Modern Devotion. After all, it was the monks of Montserrat who had given him spiritual counsel during his retreat at Manresa. Whilst studying in Paris under John Mombaer, their Abbott, Garcia Jimenes de Cisneros, had become familiar with the literature, spirituality and methods of reform of the *Windeshemenses*. Ignatius's studies in Paris and his stay in the Collège Montaigu, set-up as it had been entirely along the lines of a "devout school", would only have served further to intensify this familiarity. The Canons Regular of Windesheim derived their idea of the *contemplatio in actione* from Blessed Jan Ruusbroec. A. Deblaere has pointed out that the first generation of the devout sought to associate themselves with his ideal of the so-called "ghemeyne mensch". In Ruusbroec's thought, this is a person for whom work and reflection are accessible simultaneously.[81] This *homo communis* would become the ideal and the norm for Geert Grote. In his *De quattor generibus meditabilium*, a tract in which various methods of interior prayer are discussed, he emphasises especially the forms of prayer that best lead to *contemplatio*. This form of prayer assumes a large degree of purity and passivity but without forgetting the value of work.[82] The *vitae* of the first "devout" also bear witness to the fact that the thoughts of Jan Ruusbroec in Groenendaal exerted an influence on the first monastery of the new wing of the Augustinian family at Windesheim as far as the overall aim and general ordering of everyday monastic life were concerned. But, as has already been mentioned above, even before all of this, the semi-religious Brethren and Sisters of the Common Life had already given this seminal moment expression in their own lives. Living and working in the world they led a contemplative life and were known by the townsfolk of Deventer as "contemplatives".[83] The work of Thomas a Kempis shows clearly enough that this *tentamen vitae contemplativae in actione*, as A. Deblaere puts it, took root in the circles of the Modern

[81] A. Deblaere, *Mystique. II. Théories de la mystique chrétienne. A. la littérature mystique au moyen âge*, in: *Dictionnaire de la Spiritualité* 10, Paris, 1980, cols. 1917-1918.

[82] "... licet non praecipitanter, licet non ex propria praesumptione, nec propriis viribus, non subito sed paulatim eliminanda et evacuanda recedunt, vel potius transformantur in spiritualem quondam armoniam, ut tam homo interior quam exterior, tam ingrediens quam egrediens, ut ait Christus, pascua inveniat." I. Tolomio, ed. *Gerardo Groote, Il Trattato "De quattor generibus meditabilium"*, Padovo, 1975, pp. 110-112; "ut invenirent ingrediendo ad divinitatem per contemplationem vel egrediendo per activam vitam pascua", W. Mulder, ed., *Gerardi Magni Epistolae*. Antverpiae, 1933, 31.

[83] Cf. Rudolf Dier van Muiden, *Scriptum,* in: G. Dumbar, ed. *Analecta seu vetera aliquot scripta inedita*, Daventriae, 1719, 2 Vols., Vol. 1, col. 8.

Devout. This Modern Devout and Canon Regular of the second generation would, for the sake of the formation of the novices at the Agnietenberg at Zwolle, from time to time make use of a hagiographic common place in order to recommend the *oratio mentalis* as the most useful form of prayer for keeping the human mind fixed on God whilst at work.[84] Here, indeed, there is no question of *contemplatio*; rather, the *oratio mentalis* forms, as it were, a prelude and an occasion for this to occur. But contemplation itself cannot be considered without first undergoing this *tentamen*.

Like Thomas a Kempis, Biel also appears to have integrated the *contemplatio in actione*, in its pragmatic form, into his thinking on the right way of ordering one's life. Where, in his *Tractatus*, he comes to talk of the necessity of changing one's everyday routine, he cites Augustine's *De opere monachorum* (XVII, 20). Here the Church Father asks himself, rhetorically as well as literally, whether anyone could object to God's servants simultaneously carrying out manual work whilst deliberating on the Ten Commandments or singing the Psalms. After all, whilst they are at work, most manual workers appear perfectly capable of directing their conversation and attention at the frivolities and scandals of theatrical performances.[85]

The passage in which Biel refers to praying and working simultaneously, whereby unceasing prayer determines the heart of the moment, is taken entirely from Augustine's *De opere monachorum*. Biel himself adds nothing to this piece of writing. In his *Tractatus*, one cannot detect any of the mystical connotations conveyed by a similar passage in Grote's *De quattor generibus meditabilium*. The latter has the contemplative moment and the moment of mystical experience freely given by God, occur almost simultaneously. Thus it is that a total passivity on the part of the person doing the meditation goes

[84] Cf. e.g., "Per diem laborabant: et noctibus orationi diutinae vacabant: quamquam laborando ab oratione mentali minime cessarent Omne tempus utiliter expendebant; omnis hora ad vacandum Deo brevis videbatur...", Thomas a Kempis, *De imitatione Christi*, in: M. J. Pohl, ed. *Thomae a Kempis opera omnia*, Vol. 2, 30; "Qui hanc intrat solitudinem (cordis) quamvis foris laborat: eius tamen mens intus orare non cessat", Thomas a Kempis, *Sermones ad Fratres*, in: M. J. Pohl, ed. *Thomae a Kempis opera omnia*, Vol. 1, pp. 126-7. The *Vitae* of St. Dominic contain these common places also.

[85] "Cantica vero divina cantare etiam manibus operantes facile possunt et ipsum laborem tanquam divino celeumate consolari. An ignoramus omnes opifices quibus vanitatem plerumque etiam turpitudinibus theatricarum fabularum donent corda et linguas suas, cum manus ab opere non recedant? Quid ergo impedit servum Dei manibus operantem in lege Dei meditari die ac nocte et psallere domini altissimi?", *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, p. 365.

hand in hand with meeting up with God in the innermost recesses of the soul.[86]

Entirely in the spirit of St. Augustine, both Thomas a Kempis and Gabriel Biel favour an introductory, a practical and a more imitable form of *contemplatio in actione*. The organic musical expression of thought contained in the quotation from Augustine and replicated in the *Tractatus de communi vitae clericorum*, demonstrates that Biel has not only interiorised one of Augustine's thoughts, but that he has also made one of the force fields of devout spirituality his own. This would tend to suggest that inner harmony in a human being is not just a question of attaining a balance in the sum total of the different parts of the day but also in time set aside for reflection to whatever extent and in whatever form. The singing of Psalms *in* action might well provide a foundation for this.[87]

More research will have to take place before we can see to what extent and how Gabriel Biel really had appropriated this force field of devout spirituality already mentioned. The question as to whether Biels affinity to the spirituality of the devout needs explaining in terms of compatibility or in terms of indebtedness remains an open question. It is, however, abundantly clear that a fruitful basis for its integration was provided by the context, the reforming ideals and his view of the world. He was always aware of the tense relationship between the active and the contemplative life. Indeed, in one of his sermons he says, *"Vita contemplativa est Deo familior et purior, temenetsi alia sit sepenumero intensior et fructuosior"*.[88] In the light of this statement, he could well have elaborated this concept of contemplatio in actione in the sermons he created when he joined up with the Brethren of the Common Life.

[86] Cf., for a description of the mystical experience, A. Deblaere, *Témoignage mystique chrétien*, in: *Studia missionalia*, 1976, pp. 117-147, Eng.Transl.: *Christian Mystic Testimony*, in: *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 72, 1998, pp. 129-153. D. Metz has analysed Biel's understanding of mystical experience in his, as yet, unpublished Dissertation and in: D. Metz, *Gabriel Biel und die Mystik*, in: U. Köpf, S. Lorenz, ed. *Gabriel Biel und die Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben. Beiträge aus Anlaß des 500. Todestages des Tübinger Theologen.* Stuttgart, 1998, *Contubernium. Tübinger Beiträge zur Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 47, pp. 55-92.

[87] Moreover, Biel refers, in the passage concerned, to Augustine's *De opere monachorum*, XVIII, 21, "Ista optima gubernatio est, ut omnia suis temporibus distributa gerantur ex ordine,ne animum humanum turbulentis implicationibus involuta perturbent", *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, p. 364.

[88] Quoted in H. Oberman, *Herbst der mittelalterlichen Theologie*, p. 319, n. 60.

The Interior Life as true 'religio'.

In Biel's day, Johannes Mombaer, a Canon Regular of Windesheim, developed a series of methodical reflections and exercises in his *Scala meditatoria*. Here one thought was crucial. Mombaer wished to impress on his con-frères that praying the day hours together in community and respecting the letter of the monastic rule, could not *ipso facto* cause holiness to come about. Observation of the rules and the ordering of the day had to be linked to the inner growth of the personality. They weren't to be considered as the aim in life as such. "Student plures observare coeremonias et monastica statuta et ubi haec fecerint salva arbitrantur sibi omnia et de vitiis mentalibus expugnandis est eis postrema cura; sed non sic patris nostri, non sic, quorum unus dixit: Bonum est psallere et statuta servare; sed qui vitia expugnat sic postrema cura, is est qui lardum sub cista reportat".[89]

Not everybody, in the religious circles of the time, shared this understanding of spiritual growth with its focus not primarily on keeping the rules but rather on how to use life's daily rhythm for renewal of the interior life. At the end of the 15th cent., Mombaer himself would return empty-handed from the famous Abbey of St. Victor in Paris. The monks had resisted a softening of the regime intended to provide more opportunity for personal appropriation of the heart of the Psalms and the prayers through individual meditation. For the sake of the prescribed rule, fasts and vigils remained strict, the offices solemn and long as if carrying out the prescribed activities could *ipso facto* lead to holiness. Mombaer realised that such an intense organisation of life's daily routine would only serve to drain a monk's energy so essential to the interiorisation and personalisation of what was being read and prayed for.

Mombaer, in the spirit of the movement which bore him, wished to see once more the interior life, *vita interna*, become synonymous with "religio". Concentration on the renewal of the

[89] Johannes Mauburnus, *Rosetum exercitiorum spiritualium et sacrarum meditationum*, Zwolle (?), 1494, Tit. XVII, XVIII, col. 4,3. Regarding Mombaer's prayer method and technique, see: E. Benz, *Meditation, Musik und Tanz. Über den "Handpsalter", eine spätmittelalterliche Meditationsform aus dem Rosetum des Mauburnus*, Mainz, 1976, *Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse / Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur*, 1976, no. 3; P. Debongnie, *Jean Mombaer de Bruxelles. Abbé de Livry. Ses écrits et ses réformes*, Louvain & Toulouse, 1927; A. Deblaere, *Mombaer (Jean; Mauburnus, de Bruxelles)*, in: *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 10, Paris, 1980, col. 1510.

interior life had been of the utmost importance to the generations of the devout who had preceded him. In the eighth chapter of *De spiritualibus ascensionibus*, Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen copiously reproduces the teaching of Florens Radewijns on introspection for the purpose of growth in the interior life. The mystic of the first generation of the devout moderns, Gerlach Peters, notes that an over valuation of e.g. choral prayer, can lead to a lack of interior sensitivity, taking hold of the person before they themselves are aware of the fact.[90]

Chronologically as well as spiritually, Thomas a Kempis maintains a middle way between the mystic Gerlach Peters and the methodical moralist Johannes Mombaer. Only as benefiting himself, did Gerlach seek to make any attempt at expressing in words the direct and passively experienced union with God. Mombaer, on the other hand, developed an entire methodology for the benefit of others giving pride of place to examination of one's conscience and to personal prayer. As early as 1440, Thomas a Kempis had demonstrated his mystagogical powers. For him what mattered was not the development of prayer techniques enabling intimacy with God to come about by means of methodical structures. He was consistent in claiming throughout his works that, when human life was adequately orientated, the driving force would always be the desire for God. Helped by the terms with which Gerlach Peters sought to describe his own mystical experience, Thomas attempted to intensify a desire for God.

It is precisely Thomas a Kempis's work which demonstrates that the devout moderns, *casu quo* the *Windeshemenses*, were in favour of an interiorised and personalised relationship with God. In the *Counsels*, even before the start of mankind's progression towards God, he says that too much emphasis on external observance can be the undoing of interior devotion. The former may never be equated with progress in *religio*.[91]

[90] "Nisi multo labore interiori studeat homo continue inspicere in omnibus que fiunt propter quod sunt et fiunt, maxime in diuinis officiis, valde leuiter declinabat ad insensibilitatem interiorum antequam sciet; et satis videbitur sibi habere folia non curans de fructu. Quid enim aliud inueniet homo in apparenciis exterioribus eciam officiis diuinis, nisi valde caute et acute cuncta perspexerit intus, quam quod omnia onera, depressiones, ligature et incuruaciones animi sint?", Gerlach Peters, *Soliloquium*, in: M. M. Kors, ed. *Gerlaci Petri Opera omnia*, Turnholti, 1996, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaeualis* 155, pp. 199-503, and this quotation from p. 313.

[91] "Si tantum in instis exterioribus observantiis profectum religionis ponimus, cito finem habebit devotio nostra", Thomas a Kempis, *De imitatione Christi*, in: M. J. Pohl, ed. *Thomae a Kempis opera omnia*, Vol. 2, p. 19.

External trappings and the literal fulfilment of the rule, may never be brought into conflict with *caritas* and its correlative *pietas*. A deed carried out because of love of one's fellow man, can, in Thomas a Kempis's thinking, take priority over fulfilment of a prescribed duty, even if the latter is in conflict with the former.[92] Thus is revealed what typifies the spirituality of the devout. Its true principle and final norm lie not locked away in monastic precepts nor in a strict following of the community's spiritual practice as laid down in the regulations in the mistaken belief that somehow this might bring about holiness. In the monastic environment then, the starting point of the devout moderns did not always catch on. Indeed, it was even considered unacceptable since *perfectio* was so intimately connected with observing the regulations which shaped and gave meaning to the *vita perfectionis* as a canonically self-contained state of life.

Without now wishing to suggest an explicit connection between the thoughts of the three generations of the devout concerning the primacy of interiorisation at the expense of the execution of one's monastic duties, we can now establish the fact that Biel's ideas on the role and function of the communal form fitted in well with this and was perhaps its correlative. He went on, as we saw, to develop a life form in which observance of the rules and regulations was not an end in itself.[93] He appears to praise the idea that the life form *pietatis causa*, but more especially *libertatis causa* and *reformationis causa* should be given a definite form. In his *Tractatus de communi vita clericorum*, Biel stated that it was sufficient for the Brethren to live the life of perfection in the freedom of Christian Law under the one Abbott Jesus Christ by complying with His rules and regulations and the Counsels of Perfection. According to Biel, the mere fact of the Brethren having incorporated certain elements from monastic rules into their own form of communal life, ought certainly not to be felt as being in any way offensive. Rather, the orders should consider themselves validated and be happy about this.[94] Here it should be

[92] "Habitus et tonsuram modicum confert: sed mutatio morum et integra mortificatio passionum verum faciunt religiosum", Thomas a Kempis, *De imitatione Christi*, in: M. J. Pohl ed. *Thomae a Kempis opera omnia*, Vol. 2, p. 29; "Vita boni religiosi omnibus virtutibus pollere debet; ut sit talis interius, qualis videtur hominis exterius. Et merito multo plus debet esse intus quam quod cedrnitur foris... Si pietatis causa aut fraternae utilitatis proposito, quandoque consuetum omittitur exercititium: facile postea poterit recuperari", Thomas a Kempis, *De imitatione Christi*, in: M. J. Pohl ed. *Thomae a Kempis opera omnia*, Vol. 2, pp. 32-33.

[93] *Tractatus*, ed. Werbeck, pp. 150-151; *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, p. 367.

[94] *Tractatus*, ed. Werbeck, p. 140; *Tractatus*, ed. Faix, p. 350.

mentioned that the mystagogical Thomas a Kempis elaborated on the *devotio* as being the inner dedication to God brought about by a transforming desire for Him. For Thomas a Kempis, this was determined by a personalisation of the connection with Jesus as witness e.g. the Dialogues of the Soul with Christ in his *Imitatio*. Biel's concern and aim were of quite another sort. Just as Augustine had done in his *Praeceptum*, Biel, in his *Tractatus*, wanted to create a framework for a way of living in community, whereby in their observance of a rule, neither the community nor the individual would be judged for not sticking strictly to the letter. To enact this as law, Biel thought, would be more likely to lead, not to greater freedom but to its absence. In his *Tractatus*, Biel sought to uncouple the space, offered by the life form of the *status perfectionis*, from the binding character, which rules and vows assume in such a community. If we consider this work in the light of devoutly striving towards a renewed interiorisation and an interior *reformatio*, then, we cannot but conclude that Biel, in the spirit of the Modern Devout, was describing nothing more and nothing less than the preconditions which would enable this growth and development to come about.

5. Outcome

The studies of G. Faix and I. Crusius, have thrown light on Biel's desire to elevate already existing friendships by ordering the day and providing discipline along monastic lines so as to promote a fraternal spirituality.[95] This contribution has clarified the preconditions for the process and traced some of the contours of devout spirituality in Biel's *Tractatus de communi vita clericorum*. Through his initial affluence and interest for books, Biel was similar to Geert Grote. Exactly when Biel began to get in touch with the Brethren of the Common Life, is still a matter of conjecture. Only when this has been resolved would we be able to say with any degree of certainty whether his initial affinity to the ideals of the devout needs explaining in terms of compatibility or in terms of indebtedness.

As his unusual sojourn in Cologne demonstrated, it was not, unlike Geert Grote, a radical conversion but fierce independence that decided Gabriel Biel's course of development. This typical characteristic of Biel's was perpetuated by his credibility in court circles. The life form gradually and boldly developed by him in the spirit of the Modern Devotion, was itself a reflection of this fierce

[95] G. Faix, *Gabriel Biel und die Brüder vom Gemeinsamen Leben*, p. 199.

independence. For the sake of reforming his country the Ruler, in consultation with Biel, made his own contribution to the development of this life form, in which his own role and influence were much less than where there were monasteries in need of reform. Thanks to the Ruler, Biel was able also to procure a relative degree of independence *vis-à-vis* the Church authorities. This strictly personal co-operation between Biel and the Ruler could not be institutionalised. This is one of the reasons why the semi-monastic form of life in the devout convent did not catch on. Biel made a conscious decision not to join up with the Congregation of Windesheim. To his mind, a life form, monastic in content but not anchored as such in Canon Law, was more in keeping with the life of the *ecclesia primitiva*, the form of living in community which corresponded most to the ideas of St. Augustine of Hippo and which in the circles of the devout was cherished as being the ideal form. Along with this, thanks in part to Biel's work and in compliance with the Ruler's wishes, the reforming ideals of young and old alike, as propagated by the devout, took on a more optimal form. Maybe the *via monastica* was not chosen because it did not fit in with the needs of the Ruler. Indeed, the Canons Regular of Windesheim were deployed in reforming monasteries elsewhere. It is also possible that, to Biel's way of thinking, the *via monastica* encompassed a worldview that laid far too much emphasis on the difference between the state of perfection, as found in monastic life, and the imperfection of the outside world. By uncoupling the Counsels of Perfection of poverty, chastity and obedience, from the vows, taken for the purpose of gaining the canonical *status perfectionis*, Biel brought about two things. Firstly, he attempted once more to imbue the Counsels with their original meaningfulness since, in the form of *proposita*, they were incapable of guaranteeing canonical security. Secondly, he had an authenticity clause built in. Where Rule and binding vows could be eclipsed by *consuetudines*, there a monastery could long remain without having to be aflame with its original charisma. There could be no question of this in the life form developed by Biel. Faithfulness to the original ideals of the Modern Devotion provided a guarantee of its continuation and of its right to exist at one and the same time.

The adoption of the legal title of "convent" would seem to have signalled a departure from the original semi-religious ideals but this was not so.[96] The situation and time in which Biel gave expression to

[96] As far as the adoption of the Chapter form went, R. R. Post stated: "Yet with the loss of their own name, something of their ideals seemed bound to go", R. R. Post, *The Modern Devotion*, p. 453.

devout spirituality in a new life form were quite other than those in which Geert Grote promoted the foundation of monasteries as religious centres for his movement. Geert Grote saw the monasteries as stabilising *refugia* to be used by the Brethren in times of need whose position, both in terms of Canon Law and of Civil Law, was very weak indeed. The situation in Württemberg, on the other hand, was such that joining an order appeared to herald a weakening of the Brethren's independent position *vis-à-vis* Church and State.[97]

It would be difficult to estimate to what extent Biel succeeded in interiorising devout spirituality. As one of the devout, his contours remain vague. Certain passages in his *Tractatus de communi vita clericorum* suggest he was not just dependant upon literature produced by devout circles but that the central tenets of devout spirituality were very familiar to him also. St. Augustine of Hippo was Biel's source for his treatment of the question of contemplation in action. But Biels analysis of the situation in the ecclesia primitiva, his thinking about a de facto instead of a de jure form of monastic life and his idealising about freedom from a rule with its binding obligations, turns out to be a conglomeration of ideas and ideals, just as used to be the case in the circles of the Modern Devout.

The extent and depth of Biel's debt of gratitude to the ideals of the Modern Devotion, deserves more thorough research. Up to this point in time, only his above mentioned *Tractatus* is considered proof and measure of this on a global scale. The largely unpublished sermons, which, from 1469 onwards, Biel delivered as *caplan zu Butzbach*, could, within this context, be researched not just for the connection between *verbum* and *exemplum*, but also for underlying ideals concerning images of man and of God. Do these correspond to the ideals, motives and images as these were embraced and developed by the spiritual writers of the circles of the devout? Biel also succeeded in using his academic work in the service of piety. But, when opting for Biel's academic work as an *objectum materiale*, in

[97] Cf. Thomas a Kempis, *Chronica Montis Sanctae Agnetis*, in: M. J. Pohl, ed. *Thomae a Kempis opera omnia*, Vol. 7, p. 354; cf. Thomas a Kempis, *Vita Gerardi Magni*, in: M. J. Pohl, ed. *Thomae a Kempis opera omnia*, Vol. 7, pp. 77 & 487: "Habuit quoque fixum in mente ... fundare monasterium regularium secundum formam habitus, quem in Brabantia apud dominum Iohannem Ruesbroeck conspexerat". Cf. Thomas a Kempis, *Vita Gerardi Magni*, in: M. J. Pohl, ed. *Thomae a Kempis opera omnia*, vol. 7, pp. 7 & 418: "acceperunt habitum sanctae religionis canonicorum regularium sancti Augustini". Similar passages may be found at the following refs. in: M. J. Pohl, ed. *Thomae a Kempis opera omnia*, Vol. 6, pp. 12, 62, 98, 106 & 111; Vol. 7, pp. 345-346 & 471.

order to be able to evaluate the debt of gratitude he owed to the spirituality of the devout moderns, the same objection clings to it as to the sermons *de festivitatibus Christi*. They were delivered by Biel before entering the House of the Brethren at Butzbach but edited by his pupil Wendelin Steinbach after Biel had become a *Fraterherr*. In much the same way as it is difficult to focus sharply on the debt of gratitude attaching to the spirituality of the devout, because of their high degree of theological content, so also, these sermons are a less suitable subject for uncovering the influence of the Modern Devotion on Biel's thoughts about man and God, because of when they were written. His funeral sermons from 1470 onwards, on the other hand, do form a more suitable *corpus* for serious study.[98] One might also include the *Canonis missae expositio*, and its distilled version written by Biel for the simple priest, among the likely sources one could use in order to focus in on possible influences exerted by the ideals and spirituality of the Modern Devotion.[99] Whatever the case may be, his point of departure can at least be termed "devout". Biel was always very cautious when unbolting the latch which joins together learning and piety, teaching and life. He took care to do it not just effectively but authentically as well.

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[98] M. Elze, *Sieben Exequienpredigten von Gabriel Biel*, in: *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte 68/69* (= 1968/1969), pp. 3-52.

[99] Cf. For a characterisation of the *Epithoma* and the *Expositio brevis et interlinearis sacri canonis missae* based on it, and produced by, Steinbach and a shortlist of the early prints, A. Goosens, *Alliance et grâce*, pp. 41-42.

UNE VISITE AU COUVENT DE SAINT-JEAN À LOUVAIN

Regards sur la Contre-Réforme dans la province augustinienne de Cologne (1609-1648)

Introduction[1]

"A l'intérieur de la clôture, le grand silence durait de vêpres, dès sept heures, à prime pour la messe de six heures. Tous les feus éteints, seules demeuraient éclairées les quelques cellules qui en recevaient l'autorisation. Pourtant, jamais le couvent n'avait connu tant de liberté et tant d'agitation. Il régnait dans les couloirs un va-et-vient d'ombres, de murmures entrecoupés et de hâtes contenues. Dans les cellules les plus sages, on jouait avec des cartes espagnoles ou avec des dès chargés, on buvait des liqueurs furtives et on fumait du tabac roulé à la dérobée..."

Gabriel Garcia Márquez, *De l'amour et autres démons*, p. 119.

Bien des gens se demandent ce qui se trame effectivement derrière les hauts murs des couvents et des abbayes. L'éclatant succès qu'a rencontré le roman d'Umberto Eco, *Le nom de la rose*, suffit à attester la vive curiosité que suscite auprès du public le mode de vie conventuel que tant de gens ont adopté par le passé. Les récents travaux scientifiques de Ludo Milis, de Raoul Bauer et de Craig Harline ont eux aussi aiguisé l'appétit du grand public[2]. Dans son livre intitulé *The burdens of sister Margaret*, Harline offre une évocation tout à fait passionnante de la vie religieuse particulièrement turbulente des Sœurs Grises de Louvain. Non seulement cet ouvrage à tous égards remarquable nous permet de nous faire une idée précise des tensions qui éclatèrent à l'intérieur du couvent de Bethlehem, mais il éclaire également les menus incidents qui s'y déroulaient quotidiennement. C'est la lecture de cette «*féconde étude consacrée à l'histoire des mentalités*»[3] qui nous a incité à nous pencher sur le mode de vie des Augustins au cours de la phase explosive de leur «âge d'or»[4]. Plus précisément, nous avons tenté d'établir dans quelle

[1] Non seulement pour la traduction de cet article, mais aussi pour ses conseils et encouragements, je tiens remercier mon ami et frère Marc D'Hoore. Je dédie ce travail au Père Bernard Bruning, prieur de la communauté d'Heverlee.

[2] L. J. R. MILIS, *Hemelse monniken, aardse mensen. Het monnikenideaal en zijn betekenis voor de middeleeuwse samenleving*, Baarn/Anvers, 1995; R. BAUER, *Vézelay. Een verhaal van vrijheid en macht, Kapellen*, 1997²; C. HARLINE, *The burdens of sister Margaret. Private lives in a seventeenth-century convent*, New York, 1994 (traduit en néerlandais sous le titre: *De Verzoekingen van Zuster Margriet. Het Vlaamse kloosterleven in de zeventiende eeuw*, Anvers/Baarn, 1997).

[3] M. CLOET, *Een kwarteeuw historische produktie in België betreffende de religieuze geschiedenis van de Nieuwe Tijd*, in *Trajecta*, 4 (1995), p. 270.

[4] Pour un aperçu du développement de la province augustinienne de Cologne durant la première moitié du 17ième siècle, voir D. LEYDER, *Onderwijs als hefboom*

mesure ils sont parvenus, à la suite du Concile de Trente, à introduire auprès des membres individuels de leur Ordre la réforme qui visait celui-ci comme les autres ordres et congrégations.

Jusqu'à présent, la vie quotidienne dans les couvents augustiniens des Pays-Bas méridionaux n'a fait l'objet que de rares publications. Cette pauvreté historiographique tient essentiellement à deux raisons. D'une part, seule une mince partie des sources provenant de ces couvents – sources indispensables, s'il en est, pour l'étude de la vie *intra muros* – est parvenue jusqu'à nous[5]. D'autre part, force est de constater qu'à ce jour, les comptes rendus de visites conservés n'ont guère été exploités, si ce n'est pour les monographies des couvents de Gand et d'Anvers[6].

D'une façon générale, on ne peut que souscrire au point de vue défendu par le Professeur Michel Cloet selon lequel «*la vie quotidienne à l'intérieur même des abbayes et des couvents constitue un sujet qui a moins retenu l'attention que les aspects externes de leur évolution*» dans l'historiographie des couvents belges[7]. Bien entendu, un certain nombre d'auteurs de mémoires de licence consacrés à une communauté religieuse ou à un béguinage ont réservé une place aux «problèmes» auxquels la communauté en question à été confrontée à un moment ou l'autre de son histoire. Mais c'est toutefois sommairement et sur le ton de l'anecdote que les anomalies constatées ont le plus fréquemment été évoquées. A cet égard, notre propre mémoire sur le couvent augustinien anversois n'a pas fait exception[8].

voor de opleving van de Keulse augustijnenprovincie (zeventiende eeuw), in *Trajecta*, 6 (1997), p. 318-333. Ce texte a été publié en français sous le titre: *L'enseignement, un levier pour le développement de la province augustinienne de Cologne (17ième siècle), in Conventos Agostinos. Actas del X Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Orden de San Agustín* (Madrid, 20-24 octobre 1997), Rome-Madrid, 1998, p. 959-986.

[5] D. LEYDER, *Monasticon Augustinianum Belgicum (Bibliografische inleiding tot de Belgische kloostergeschiedenis vóór 1796*, 16), Bruxelles, 1998, p. 57; IDEM, *De kloosters van de augustijnen in België. Enkele onderzoeksperspectieven (Bibliografische inleiding tot de Belgische kloostergeschiedenis vóór 1796*, 15), Bruxelles, 1998, p. 74-76.

[6] L. VERACHTEN, *De augustijnen te Gent en in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden. Bijdrage tot de studie van het kloosterleven en het onderwijs in de nieuwe tijd (1589-1796)*, licence de mémoire inédit, section d'Histoire, KULeuven, 1990; D. LEYDER, *De augustijnen te Antwerpen (1608-1797). Dagelijks leven in het klooster en op het college (Instrumenta Augustiniana*, II), Louvain-Heverlee, 1996.

[7] M. CLOET, *Een kwarteeuw*, p. 208. M.-E. Henneau, qui a étudié la vie des Cisterciennes en pays mosan, dirige actuellement un projet de recherches consacré à l'histoire interne des communautés religieuses en Wallonie. Les conclusions de cette étude n'ont pas encore été publiées (M.-E. HENNEAU, *Filles du silence au quotidien. Vie contemplative au quotidien sous l'ancien régime, in Filles du Silence. Moniales en Belgique et Luxembourg, du moyen âge à nos jours*, Bastogne-Bruxelles, 1998, p. 307 et 311 (note 24)).

[8] D. LEYDER, *De augustijnen te Antwerpen*, p. 154-155; L. VERACHTEN, De

Sur base des rapports de visites du couvent augustinien de Louvain, lesquels nous sont parvenus dans leur intégralité pour la période qui s'étend de la Trêve de Douze Ans (1609) au Traité de Münster (1648), nous nous attacherons à examiner jusqu'à quel point la vie des religieux s'est effectivement conformée à l'idéal de vie prescrit. Quelques précisions s'imposent au sujet de ces rapports. Compte tenu du taux de rotation des visiteurs, ces documents ont été rédigés par un nombre relativement important de personnes, chacune d'elles ayant ses propres sensibilités, ses idées et ses traits de caractère. En outre, les rapports contiennent des décrets formulés dans un style fort laconique qui autorise une certaine liberté d'interprétation. En dépit de ces limites structurelles, ces comptes rendus de visites, exclusivement destinés à un usage interne, nous permettent d'appréhender plusieurs aspects de la vie quotidienne à l'intérieur même des couvents. Ce n'est pas uniquement une idée des propos échangés entre les confrères ou de la manière dont étaient traités les malades qu'ils nous donnent. Ils nous fournissent aussi une vision précise d'un certain nombre de situations concrètes survenues à table. Certes, des comptes nous renseignent sur la nature des repas des frères, mais ce sont les rapports de visites seuls qui font écho aux bavardages prohibés constatés durant ces mêmes repas. Seuls les rapports de visites également mentionnent, par exemple, le refus des frères convers louvanistes de servir les pères en l'absence du prieur. Nous pourrions développer maints autres exemples de ce genre. Ainsi, les catalogues de bibliothèque procurent une description du nombre et des titres des tomes. Cependant, c'est grâce aux comptes rendus de visites que nous sommes en mesure de nous faire représenter la bonne (ou moins bonne) marche de la bibliothèque... Ou que nous apprenons que des religieux sortaient de la bibliothèque, des livres au bras, et qu'ils «oubliaient» de les rapporter par après (voir infra).

C'est aussi, bien sûr, à d'autres niveaux que ces rapports éclairent certains éléments de l'histoire «interne» des Augustins. Ainsi la combinaison des comptes rendus de visites de divers couvents laisse-t-elle entrevoir des problèmes dépassant nettement le plan local, et qui exigent des explications plus générales. Nous avons pu constater par exemple que l'organisation du service divin laissait beaucoup à

augustijnen te Gent, p. 143-146; H. CAILLIAU, "Soo geluckigh als een beggijn". *Het begijnhof Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-Ter Hooie 1584-1792 (Verhandelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, XXI), Gand, 1995, p. 160-163; W. GROOTAERS, *De Zwartzusters van Lier (1395-1995). 600 Jaar ziekenzorg in en rond de Netestad (Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Stad Lier*, IV), Lierre, 1995, p. 86-95.

désirer. Dans nos conclusions, nous procéderons à une analyse prudente de ce phénomène. En outre, les rapports de visites du 17ième siècle nous apprennent que les autorités provinciales de l'Ordre, animées par une volonté incontestablement contre-réformatrice, se montrèrent particulièrement attentives à l'image vertueuse de chaque religieux. En effet, la crédibilité de l'Ordre était alors en jeu[9].

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Tout au long de la première moitié du 17ième siècle, le couvent de Louvain, dédié à Jean-Baptiste, fut considéré comme le couvent-mère de la province augustinienne de Cologne. Plusieurs auteurs de cette époque qualifient d'ailleurs ce couvent de «*matrix*» et de «séminaire» de la province, soulignant à l'appui de maints exemples la position particulière qu'il revêtait alors dans la *Provincia Coloniae*. Ainsi en 1623, Nicolas Crusenius (1570-1629) estime que la communauté louvaniste constitue un modèle de vertu, de sagesse et de dévotion et affirme que le couvent est peuplé de «*religieux très exemplaires*»[10]. Quelques années plus tard, son confrère Nicolas de Tombeur (1657-1736) se plaît quant à lui à exalter le rôle dynamique joué par cette communauté lors de la restauration de la province, suite aux guerres de religion[11].

Ce n'est pas le lieu ici d'écrire une histoire, fût-elle sommaire, de ce couvent. Aussi nous permettons-nous de renvoyer le lecteur à la notice «Louvain» du *Monasticon* que nous avons publié en 1998. Pour ceux qui souhaitent en savoir davantage, nous recommanderons également la lecture de l'article que, voici un demi-siècle déjà, le père Teeuwen a consacré dans *Augustiniana* au collège des Augustins de Louvain[12]. Contentons-nous pour notre part de souligner que c'est précisément en raison de la position particulière qu'occupait le couvent de Louvain dans la province, et étant donné qu'il s'agit pour ainsi dire du seul couvent dont les rapports de visites du 17ième siècle ont été conservés, qu'il se prête parfaitement à l'examen de l'impact

[9] D. LEYDER, *De kloosters van de augustijnen*, p. 75-76.

[10] N. CRUSENIUS, *Monasticon Augustinianum in quo omnium Ordinum sub Regula S. Augustini militantium...origines, atque incrementa Tribus Partibus explicantur*, Munich, 1623, p. 126: *"non solum literarum sed et[iam] observantiae et virtutum seminarium"*.

[11] Archives de la Province augustinienne de Belgique (ABA), Fonds *Louvain*, n° 1.1: *Annales Conventus Lovaniensis* (ACL), I, p. 42-55: *"Conventus Lovaniensis totius provinciae Matrix et seminarium"*. Voir également: D. LEYDER, *L'enseignement, un levier*, p. 961-963.

[12] D. LEYDER, *Monasticon*, p. 349-371; N. TEEUWEN, *Het college der Augustijnen te Leuven*, in *Augustiniana*, I (1951), p. 48-74.

de la réforme de Trente sur la vie des Augustins dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux. C'est pourquoi le présent article doit être envisagé dans une perspective programmatique: il se veut un stimulant et une invitation à étudier les réalisations et les limites de la dynamique contra-réformatrice au sein des autres ordres et congrégations.

En ce qui concerne les éloges adressés à la communauté, quelques remarques critiques s'imposent. Ainsi, peut-on se demander si tous les Augustins qui vécurent à Louvain répondirent effectivement à l'image du religieux idéal prônée à cette époque et si, par suite, ce couvent ne compta que des saints, ainsi que semble l'accréditer Nicolas Crusenius. Comme il paraît réellement improbable que la vie quotidienne au sein d'une communauté soit l'exact reflet de ses objectifs et de ses nobles idéaux religieux, notre attention s'est portée vers le domaine où se touchent l'idéal tel que décrit dans la règle monastique et dans les constitutions d'une part, et le contenu qui lui était donné par les religieux d'autre part. Compte tenu du caractère dynamique du processus contre-réformateur, notre propos vise cependant à dépasser le simple exercice de la «*confrontation des réalisations concrètes à la règle*»[13], à l'occasion de l'évaluation de la réforme introduite au sein des communautés augustiniennes. Ce point de passage obligé doit nous permettre essentiellement de percer les facettes purement extérieures de la réforme et de rendre compte des problèmes humains bien concrets auxquels les partisans du mouvement ont été confrontés[14].

Etant donné la rareté des études consacrées aux visites chez les Augustins, il est opportun de nous attarder quelque peu à examiner celles-ci. En décrivant de telles visites, il ne s'agit pas seulement d'esquisser le cadre constitutionnel dans lequel opéraient les visiteurs, mais aussi, et surtout, de restituer autant que faire se peut l'atmosphère qui régnait au couvent à cette époque. En vue de déterminer la valeur, en tant que source, des rapports rédigés par les visiteurs à l'issue de leur enquête, notre étude se penchera également sur la réalisation de ces comptes rendus. Nous essaierons ensuite d'évaluer la portée des comptes rendus de visites et de signaler les éventuels pièges qu'ils recèlent pour les historiens. Nous traiterons enfin des aspects concrets de la réforme tridentine à Louvain.

[13] E. PUT, M. J. MARINUS et H. STORME (éd.), *Geloven in het verleden. Studies over het godsdienstig leven in de vroegmoderne tijd, aangeboden aan Michel Cloet*, Louvain, 1996, p. 42.

[14] C. HARLINE, *Reform in the convent. The Shadow of the World,* in *Geloven in het verleden*, p. 145.

1. Fixer des règles est une chose...

Lorsqu'en 1589, les Augustins furent à nouveau en mesure, pour la première fois depuis bien longtemps, de convoquer un chapitre provincial, leur choix se porta sur Louvain. Le couvent de Saint-Jean était le seul couvent de la province de Cologne qui avait été épargné par l'Iconoclasme (1566) et par les troubles qui s'étaient ensuivis[15]. En outre, il bénéficiait d'une situation géographique exceptionnelle, au cœur même de la province. Lors de cette réunion, l'assemblée – passablement clairsemée – décida de procéder vigoureusement au relèvement de la province. Dans ce but, furent promulgués plus de trente décrets de réforme abordant tant la vie spirituelle des religieux que les aspects plus profanes de la vie quotidienne au sein des couvents[16]. Comme le général Hiëronymus Seripando avait épinglé la détérioration des mœurs au rang des causes de la décadence de l'Ordre au 16ième siècle[17], une série de situations inadmissibles dans la province furent évoquées et l'on tenta d'y porter remède, dans un sens plutôt répressif. Particulièrement significatif à cet égard est le décret stipulant la restauration des geôles détruites par les iconoclastes et la construction de cachots dans les couvents qui en étaient dépourvus[18]. En outre, des punitions bien déterminées furent introduites pour une série d'infractions.

Il n'est pas inutile de situer les décrets ainsi adoptés dans la hiérarchie des normes de l'Ordre de Saint-Augustin. En complément à la Règle de Saint Augustin, qui se voulait seulement une déclaration de principe pour la vie communautaire, les constitutions organisaient la vie quotidienne au sein de la communauté et le cours ordinaire des choses au sein de l'Ordre. Les constitutions, qui s'appliquaient à l'Ordre dans sa totalité, étaient à leur tour complétées à l'occasion des chapitres provinciaux, par des décrets permettant aux autorités provinciales de répondre à des situations ou à des besoins locaux. Toutefois, les différentes provinces ne jouissaient pas d'une liberté

[15] D. LEYDER, *L'enseignement, un levier*, p. 959-960.

[16] ABA, Fonds *Louvain*, n° 7.50: *Liber Capitulorum et decretorum* (LC), p. 1-9: *Acta cap. prov. Lovaniensis 10 juin 1589*: décret 10, relatif à la lutte contre l'ivrognerie; décret 12, concernant l'accès des novices et autres jeunes aux chambres; décret 16, se rapportant à l'entretien des vêtements.

[17] A. VERMEULEN, *De stichting van het augustijnenklooster van Brussel tegen de achtergrond van die tijd*, in *Augustiniana*, 8 (1958), p. 547. Le général invoquait également le désintérêt pour les études et les progrès de l'hérésie.

[18] LC, p. 1-9: *Acta cap. prov. Lovaniensis, 10 juin 1589*: décret 20: *"Volumus insuper ut priores in omnibus conventibus carceres collapsos restaurent aut non habentes novos exstruant"*.

totale sur ce plan, car il appartenait au général de l'Ordre de marquer son approbation aux décisions prises par les chapitres provinciaux[19].

2. Les respecter en est une autre

La promulgation de directives ne constitue certes qu'une première étape en vue d'organiser la vie d'une communauté. Il va de soi que le caractère formel et strictement juridique des constitutions n'excluait nullement des infractions. Comme le respect des règles en vigueur impliquait un contrôle rigoureux, deux visiteurs devaient être désignés au cours de la réunion trisannuelle de chacun des chapitres provinciaux. Les constitutions stipulaient que la mission de ces visiteurs consistait, d'une façon générale, à redresser les erreurs commises par tout membre du couvent visité, ceci aussi bien sur le plan spirituel que sur le plan matériel[20]. Lors d'une visite, ce sont donc les constitutions qui servaient de fil conducteur.

A travers les siècles, plusieurs versions des constitutions virent le jour. En 1581, les constitutions de Bologne (1551) furent adaptées aux conclusions du Concile de Trente. A cette date, elles subirent des modifications particulièrement importantes. Durant la première moitié du 17ième siècle, de nouvelles éditions furent élaborées à plusieurs reprises, mais ne comportant toutefois que quelques différences minimes par rapport au texte de 1581[21]. Pour des raisons pratiques, nous nous sommes servi des éditions de 1551 et de 1625, ce qui permet de constater les principales modifications apportées aux statuts de Bologne et de mettre en évidence les nouveaux accents présentant un caractère contre-réformateur.

En comparant les deux versions des constitutions, on ne peut qu'être frappé par le contraste qu'offre le nombre de pages qui y sont consacrées à la fonction de visiteur. Les statuts de 1551 ne comptent que quatre pages se rapportant à ladite fonction, tandis que ceux de 1625 réservent à la mission des visiteurs une minutieuse description s'étalant sur pas moins de dix-huit pages[22]. Cette différence, d'ordre formel au premier abord, atteste clairement l'importance accrue que

[19] T. J. VAN BAVEL, *Augustinus van Hippo. Regel voor de gemeenschap*, Averbode, 1982, p. 10-11; D. LEYDER, *Monasticon*, p. 36-39, 52-57.

[20] Constitutions de 1625, p. 249: *"...[Visitatores] tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus provinciam reformare et ad debitum modum vivendi redigere conentur."*

[21] D. LEYDER, *Monasticon*, p. 37-39. Ce n'est qu'en 1686 qu'une version entièrement remaniée des Constitutions allait être publiée.

[22] Constitutions de 1551: fol. 26-27v; Constitutions de 1625: p. 248-265.

les autorités de l'Ordre accordèrent, après le concile de Trente, aux visites et au profil des religieux élus pour exercer cette fonction.

3. Les visiteurs

Les visiteurs qui inspectèrent les couvents de la province de Cologne pendant la première moitié du 17ième siècle étaient, conformément aux exigences des constitutions, des Augustins expérimentés. Conscients que les visites nécessitaient rigueur et impartialité, les auteurs des constitutions avaient en effet préconisé la désignation de religieux sages et pondérés. La plupart du temps, ces visiteurs avaient déjà exercé des fonctions aux niveaux local et provincial. Dans la mesure où eux-mêmes avaient déjà dirigé une communauté, ils n'ignoraient pas celles des règles qui se prêtaient à de fréquentes infractions. En outre, des pères comme Joannes Naevius (1576-1565), Georgius Maigret (profession 1591-1633) et Thomas Gratianus (1554-1627) jouissaient d'une réputation de religieux très pieux, fervents, fort instruits et sérieux.

Que de tels hommes précisément aient été élus par leurs confrères du chapitre provincial pour exercer cette fonction illustre évidemment l'importance que de telles réunions accordaient aux visites et le soin avec lequel elles procédaient à cet effet. Ce sont de telles assises, en effet, qui déterminaient dans une large mesure la qualité des visites qui auraient lieu au cours du prochain *triennium*. Le choix de pères consciencieux, impartiaux et intègres constituait la promesse de visites effectuées pour le plus grand profit de la communauté locale. Les aptitudes intellectuelles comme les capacités de communication et d'impulsion des visiteurs étaient, sans nul doute, des éléments indispensables à la réussite d'une visite.

Outre les visiteurs, tenus à visiter chacun des couvents une fois au cours du *triennium*, le provincial lui aussi était obligé, pendant la durée de son mandat, de se rendre auprès de tous les couvents situés dans sa province. Il était assisté pour ce faire de son secrétaire[23].

4. Le déroulement d'une visite

Ordinairement, la visite commençait dès le lendemain de l'arrivée des visiteurs au couvent. Si tous les religieux étaient présents, ils étaient réunis par les visiteurs en chapitre conventuel pour une séance d'introduction. Au cours de cette séance, les visiteurs expliquaient le but de leur visite, en en soulignant le caractère sérieux

[23] L. VERACHTEN, *De augustijnen te Gent*, p. 61, 63.

et en esquissant les règles du jeu. Le premier visiteur demandait à tous les religieux de lui faire part de toute information concernant les éventuelles pratiques inadmissibles qui avaient cours à l'intérieur du couvent. Ce faisant, il insistait pour qu'au cours de chaque entretien particulier, ne lui soient communiquées que des choses réellement importantes[24]. Il demandait également aux religieux de répondre sincèrement aux questions qui leur seraient posées. Cette séance se clôturait immanquablement par une mise en garde à l'adresse de ceux qui prendraient la visite à la légère ou qui n'apporteraient pas leur entière collaboration à la réussite de celle-ci: ils pouvaient s'attendre rien moins qu'à l'excommunication. Si la menace de peines était chose courante, celles-ci n'étaient toutefois appliquées que rarement sinon jamais. Le recours à la menace visait avant tout à souligner la gravité de la situation.

Le travail propre des visiteurs débutait par une série d'interrogatoires. A tour de rôle – en commençant par le prieur –, chaque religieux honorable défilait devant les visiteurs, qui l'écoutaient patiemment[25]. Ses propos étaient scrupuleusement notés dans un livre particulier. A l'issue de l'entretien, le religieux auditionné était tenu de signer ses déclarations[26].

Après que tout le monde eut passé la revue, les visiteurs entamaient l'examen des renseignements récoltés. Le cas échéant, il leur fallait étayer les informations en leur possession, par exemple en s'enquérant de la personnalité de tel de leurs informateurs ainsi que de l'état de ses relations avec ses confrères. Lorsqu'un religieux s'était conduit de manière regrettable en présence de laïcs, ces derniers avaient la faculté d'être entendu par les visiteurs. Cependant, les laïcs concernés devaient être au-dessus de tout soupçon d'hostilité, tant à l'égard de l'Ordre que du religieux mis en cause.

On procédait ensuite à la visite matérielle du couvent. Outre les multiples aspects auxquels ils leur incombait d'être attentifs à l'occasion de l'inspection des nombreuses pièces du couvent, les visiteurs étaient tenus de jauger l'évolution générale de l'état des bâtiments du couvent. De la sorte, les autorités provinciales de l'Ordre

[24] Compte tenu de l'ampleur de leur tâche, on comprend aisément que les visiteurs n'avaient guère de temps à consacrer à des vétilles.

[25] Constitutions de 1625, p. 254. Les religieux convaincus d'indignité n'étaient pas entendus : *«qui non sint audiendi:...»*.

[26] Les visiteurs devaient s'assurer qu'aucun religieux ne puisse, au moment de signer sa déposition, prendre connaissance des témoignages de ses confrères. C'est pourquoi, en 1551, il avait été stipulé que les visiteurs se bornent à consigner le contenu de leurs entretiens, sans exiger la signature des déposants.

étaient informées du soin avec lequel le prieur administrait le patrimoine qui lui avait été confié.

La mission des visiteurs ne consistait pas seulement à «dépister» les situations inadmissibles, mais également à y porter remède, au besoin en punissant les contrevenants. A cet effet, était organisé un chapitre de coulpes, auquel tous étaient tenus d'assister. Après avoir exposé un certain nombre de dispositions générales relatives à la «réforme salutaire de la communauté»[27], celui des visiteurs qui avait pris la parole lors du début de la visite citait les noms des confrères mis en cause et les enjoignait formellement de reconnaître leurs torts. Si, à l'issue des trois mises en demeure régulièrement prévues, les accusés ne s'étaient toujours pas exécutés, les faits mis à leur charge étaient révélés à l'assistance. Il est patent que les auteurs des constitutions spéculaient sur la pudeur des religieux inculpés[28]. Lorsqu'un religieux compromis persistait à nier les accusations portées contre lui, les visiteurs invitaient leurs informateurs à se lever et à dévoiler à la *corona* les propos qu'ils avaient tenus durant les entretiens à huis clos. Humilié publiquement, l'accusé se voyait infliger ensuite une peine appropriée[29]. Après que la communauté agenouillée eut récité le «*Confiteor*», le premier visiteur donnait l'absolution générale. Ensuite, il accordait à chacun le choix d'un confesseur. Après quoi, le chapitre des coulpes était dissous, ce qui signifiait la fin de la visite[30].

5. Quelques aspects particuliers de la visite

Lorsqu'on examine quelles sont les questions pour lesquelles les constitutions requéraient expressément l'attention des visiteurs, il apparaît que plusieurs éléments mentionnés dans les statuts de 1551 ont été repris dans les constitutions de 1625. Bien que les constitutions aient été profondément remaniées après le Concile de Trente, ce constat n'est guère étonnant. Ce n'est pas en effet les fondements mêmes de la vie religieuse qui avaient été affectés par l'œuvre du Concile, mais bien la «superstructure».

[27] LC, p. 109: Visite de 1609: *"pro eiusdem monasterii salutari reformatione"*.

[28] Constitutions de 1625, p. 258: *"Si vero tunc quis diffitebitur tacito adhuc nomine praedictorum testium legent [visitatores] ipso et aliis audientibus quae de eo dicta fuerint, ut ipse audiens circumstantias et modum culpae quam commisit, erubescat et confiteatur."*

[29] Dans la foulée du Concile de Trente, les auteurs des Constitutions supprimèrent, pour cause d'incongruité, toute possibilité de faire appel d'une peine prononcée par les visiteurs.

[30] Cette procédure de clôture d'une visite n'était pas prévue par les Constitutions de 1551.

Ainsi, en ce qui concerne la vie spirituelle des religieux, les deux textes soulignent que l'office divin devait être suivi pieusement de jour comme de nuit[31], et qu'il fallait prendre soin de l'église, du chœur, de la sacristie, des vêtements liturgiques et d'autres aspects relatifs au culte[32]. La tâche des visiteurs consistait également à contrôler la présence des religieux aux chapitres conventuels, à la messe et à l'office.

Afin de promouvoir l'étude et la contemplation, les couvents devaient prévoir des locaux dans lesquels, à des heures déterminées, les *conventuales* étaient tenus de respecter le silence le plus absolu. La surveillance du respect de cette règle, laquelle faisait l'objet de fréquentes entorses, était elle aussi confiée aux visiteurs. L'accent mis sur la confession fréquente constitue une innovation introduite dans la partie des statuts de 1625 consacrée à la vie religieuse des Augustins[33].

D'autres aspects repris dans les deux versions des constitutions se rapportent plutôt à la vie «profane» des religieux. Les visiteurs devaient s'informer de la manière dont étaient accueillis les malades[34] ainsi que de l'éducation des novices et des jeunes confrères[35]. Il leur fallait également se montrer attentifs au comportement des religieux à l'égard des femmes[36].

Les constitutions post-tridentines envisagent un certain nombre d'aspects nouveaux, concernant notamment la moralité des religieux et la réputation vertueuse de l'Ordre. Ainsi, il appartint désormais aux visiteurs de vérifier si tous les religieux obéissaient au prieur, s'ils s'adressaient la parole avec politesse et s'il en était qui juraient fréquemment. Des propos scandaleux ou déplacés («*loqui iocose*») ne pouvaient plus être davantage tolérés. Au rang des nouvelles attributions des visiteurs figurent aussi les relations entretenues par des religieux avec des individus peu recommandables, la con-

[31] Constitutions de 1625, p. 257: *"... interrogatum esse volumus ... si divinum officium tam diurnum quam nocturnum ut decet horis debitis devote dicatur et statutis diebus cantetur."*

[32] Constitutions de 1551, fol. 27: *"Item si ecclesiam seu oratorium facit teneri mundum [prior]..."*.

[33] Constitutions de 1625, p. 252: *"... an sit aliquis suspectus ... de non confitendo frequenter"*.

[34] Ils devaient s'assurer que les malades reçoivent effectivement ce qui était indispensable pour un prompt rétablissement.

[35] Constitutions de 1551, fol. 26v: *"Quomodo novitii et omnes fratres iuniores in timore Dei et bonis literis ad Dei cultum attinentibus sedulo instruantur."*

[36] Constitutions de 1551, fol. 26v et Constitutions de 1625, p. 252: *"... interrogatum esse volumus ... si debitus modus in visitatione et collocutione cum mulieribus servetur"*.

sommation excessive de boissons alcoolisées et la pratique de «jeux interdits»[37]. Les visiteurs devaient enfin s'assurer de la qualité de l'accueil réservé aux hôtes du couvent ainsi que de la façon dont le prieur s'acquittait effectivement de son obligation d'inspecter, deux fois par an, les cellules des religieux.

Ce ne sont pas là les seuls éléments qui attestent, dans les constitutions post-tridentines, le notable regain d'intérêt pour l'image de l'Ordre. Les nouveaux textes prescrivaient explicitement aux religieux d'éviter de provoquer quelque scandale que ce fût. Un accent tout particulier était également mis sur la discrétion dont devaient faire preuve les religieux au sujet des affaires internes de leur couvent. A Louvain par exemple, les visiteurs surprirent certains religieux à rapporter ce qu'ils qualifiaient de «secrets» du couvent ou de l'Ordre[38]. Il va de soi que les religieux qui s'entretenaient imprudemment des affaires de famille du couvent avec des personnes étrangères pouvaient, délibérément ou non, contribuer à dénigrer des confrères et donc à alimenter des rumeurs qui déconsidéraient la communauté dans son ensemble. Pareille préoccupation était du reste partagée par les autres ordres et congrégations. Chez les Sœurs Noires de Lierre par exemple, les indiscrétions relatives à des affaires internes étaient sévèrement châtiées[39]. De son côté, Craig Harline relate comment plusieurs membres du couvent de Bethlehem s'étaient attirés la désapprobation d'un certain nombre de sœurs, du fait de leurs commérages auprès d'étrangers[40].

Sur ce plan, les visiteurs eux-mêmes étaient soumis au respect de normes rigoureuses. Ils ne pouvaient communiquer les manquements des religieux qu'au *definitorium* ou au provincial. S'ils révélaient malgré tout des faits inacceptables survenus dans les couvents, ils se voyaient frappés d'interdiction d'exercer, durant dix ans, la fonction qui leur avait été confiée. Par contre, carte blanche leur était donnée pour claironner tout aspect positif qui leur paraissait digne d'intérêt.

[37] Constitutions de 1625, p. 253.

[38] LC, p. 109-113: Visite de 1609, décret 15; p. 118-119: Visite du 6 juin 1614, décret 11; p. 117-125: Visite du 29 juillet 1617, décret 17: *"Severe prohibetur ne secreta monasterii huius aut ordinis ad alia monasteria perscribantur aut (quod absurdius est) ad saeculares deferantur. In delinquentes severe animadvertet H.P. Prior"*.

[39] W. GROOTAERS, *De Zwartzusters van Lier 1395-1995*, p. 80.

[40] C. HARLINE, *Reform in the Convent*, p. 135-136.

6. Les compétences des visiteurs

Afin de mener à bien leur mission, les visiteurs disposaient de larges compétences. Outre le pouvoir – plutôt théorique – d'excommunication des religieux qui n'offraient pas leur pleine collaboration à la réussite de leur mission, ils étaient habilités à réprimander ou à punir des religieux sans que le provincial même puisse intervenir.

Bien que dans le cadre de leur visite, les visiteurs occupent la position la plus importante[41], ils ne travaillaient toutefois pas de façon absolument autonome. Ils étaient en effet obligés de se concerter avec le prieur et les *deputati* pour l'élaboration des décrets appelés à remettre la communauté sur le droit chemin. Ceci indique manifestement que les supérieurs locaux, lesquels, après tout, connaissaient leur communauté mieux que quiconque, n'étaient pas totalement laissés à l'écart de la visite.

Après le concile de Trente, les visiteurs furent contraints de se montrer plus sévères qu'auparavant. Tandis que les statuts de 1551 établissaient, d'une manière conciliante, qu'il n'incombait pas aux visiteurs de se comporter à la manière d'un tribunal[42], les auteurs post-tridentins s'engagèrent dans une voie plus autoritaire, même si soucieuse de correction. C'est précisément pour mettre en relief le sérieux des visites[43] qu'il leur fut ordonné de réprimer les abus avec plus de rigueur que ne pouvaient le faire les «simples» chapitres. Néanmoins, cette attitude n'était pas uniquement motivée par le souci de crédibiliser autant que possible la procédure de visite. L'intransigeance des visiteurs avait également pour but d'effrayer les pécheurs potentiels. En faisant des exemples, les auteurs des constitutions post-tridentines espéraient bien que les autres membres de la communauté réfléchiraient à deux fois avant de commettre des infractions.

Il serait cependant injuste de ne considérer les visites post-tridentines que comme un instrument de répression aveugle[44]. Dans le même temps, on insista également pour que les visiteurs ne se

[41] Parmi de multiples preuves de cette prééminence, mentionnons l'obligation (y compris pour le prieur) d'obtenir l'autorisation préalable des visiteurs pour sortir du couvent au cours de la visite.

[42] Constitutions de 1551, fol. 26: *"Per hoc autem non intendimus, quod in correctionibus et sententiis in nostra religione faciendis sicut in foro contentioso procedatur ..."*.

[43] Constitutions de 1625, p. 258: *"... ne visitatio veniat in contemptum ..."*.

[44] Cfr. C. HARLINE, *Reform in the convent*, p. 145: *"Reform was more than decreeing and enforcing"*.

départent jamais de modération et de retenue dans l'appréciation des péchés constatés et, si possible, qu'ils ne punissent que dans un «esprit d'amour» («*cum charitate*»). A l'inverse des constitutions de 1551, celles de 1625 accordaient aussi une place considérable à la valeur de l'exemple, et ce au sens positif du terme. Les visiteurs furent tenus de vanter les vertus et mérites observés à l'occasion de leurs visites, en incitant tous les religieux à s'en inspirer scrupuleusement[45]. Au bout du compte, l'objectif des visites consistait bel et bien à garantir qu'un climat de paix, de sérénité et d'amour puisse s'instaurer durablement après le départ des visiteurs[46].

Dans la mesure où ceux-ci disposaient d'une autorité directe considérable[47] et que le rapport qu'il leur fallait soumettre aux autorités provinciales pouvait également déterminer, de façon indirecte, l'avenir personnel d'un certain nombre de religieux[48], il arrivait que certains parmi ces derniers essayent de corrompre les visiteurs. C'est pourquoi il avait été expressément stipulé, dans les constitutions de 1551 déjà, que les visiteurs refusent tout cadeau qui leur serait proposé[49]. En cas d'infraction, ces dons étaient réquisitionnés et les visiteurs concernés devenaient *ipso facto* inéligibles à une fonction quelconque ayant trait au travail pastoral, ce pour une période de trois ans.

7. La valeur des comptes rendus de visites

Certaines remarques formulées par Michel Cloet à propos des rapports de visites décanales s'avèrent également valables dans le cadre de cette étude[50]. Il va de soi que les comptes rendus de visites

[45] Constitutions de 1625, p. 258-259: *"... virtutes vero in bonis laudent et commendent, ut caeteri excitentur et animentur."*

[46] Constitutions de 1625, p. 259: *"... Visitatores principaliter ad haec intendere debent ... quod ex sua visitatione sequatur correctio culparum, religio reformetur, obedientia, devotio & omne denique bonum in fratribus augeatur & pax, charitas & tranquillitas in domo relinquantur ..."*

[47] Puisqu'ils pouvaient notamment faire usage de leur droit d'humilier publiquement un accusé lors du *chapitre des coulpes* (ou au contraire lui épargner pareil calvaire).

[48] Ils avaient le droit de louer ou de blâmer la politique suivie par un prieur. On imagine sans peine les effets d'une telle faculté sur la désignation des prieurs, lors du chapitre provincial suivant.

[49] Constitutions de 1551, fol. 27.

[50] M. CLOET e.a., *Repertorium van dekenale visitatieverslagen betreffende de Mechelse kerkprovincie (1559-1801)*, Louvain, 1989, p. 13-18; ID., *Het decanaat Leuven in 1732-1734. Visitatieverslag van deken Rombout van Kiel*, Bruxelles, 1990, p. v-vii; ID., *Het kerkelijk leven in een landelijke dekenij van Vlaanderen tijdens de XVIIde eeuw. Tielt van 1609 tot 1700*, Louvain, 1968, p. 22-25.

des Augustins n'étaient pas tous pareillement importants ni d'égale valeur. Bien que les constitutions post-tridentines aient déterminé avec davantage de précision les multiples aspects de la mission des visiteurs, la qualité de la visite (et par voie de conséquence celle du rapport établi) demeurait dans une large mesure tributaire de l'implication personnelle du visiteur comme de sa ponctualité. C'est parce que les auteurs des constitutions n'en étaient que trop conscients qu'ils avaient insisté pour que soient désignés des religieux intègres et minutieux. Le fait que les visiteurs soient élus sans avoir pour ce faire introduit de candidature explique probablement l'ardeur toute relative avec laquelle certains s'acquittaient de leur tâche.

Les constitutions mettaient en exergue l'impartialité avec laquelle devaient s'opérer les visites. L'accent mis sur la neutralité des visiteurs découle pour partie d'un élément «régulier» spécifique. La mobilité au sein de l'ordre impliquait en effet que les autorités provinciales avaient la faculté, à chaque *triennium*, de désigner des pères (et dans une mesure moindre des frères lais) auprès d'un autre couvent pour qu'ils y exercent telle ou telle fonction. Aussi nombre d'Augustins avaient-ils vécu parmi diverses communautés, au sein desquelles ils avaient eu l'occasion de faire connaissance avec bien des confrères. Bien que cette pratique présente d'incontestables avantages, elle comportait cependant un risque certain pour la sérénité des visites. Il n'est guère difficile d'imaginer, en effet, l'influence que ses expériences passées pouvait exercer sur le jugement d'un visiteur qui procédait à la visite d'un couvent dans lequel séjournaient pas mal de personnes avec lesquelles il avait entretenu, à un moment donné, des rapports plus ou moins amicaux ou au contraire hostiles. Peut-être le fait que les visiteurs travaillent nécessairement par deux tire-t-il également son explication d'une volonté de prévenir toute menace de parti pris[51].

Tout comme les rapports décanaux, les rapports des Augustins étaient établis sur base du résultat des interrogatoires effectués par les visiteurs et de l'issue de l'inspection du couvent qui s'ensuivait. La plupart des comptes rendus qui nous sont parvenus traduisent une approche critique et une méthode de travail rigoureuse. Bien que le

[51] Il existait également à cela une raison d'ordre administratif. En effet, les visiteurs étaient tenus de consigner intégralement leurs entretiens avec les nombreux *conventuales*. Aussi est-il vraisemblable que les deux visiteurs se répartissaient les tâches au cours de ces entretiens, l'un posant les questions et l'autre notant les réponses. Soulignons d'ailleurs que c'est au chapitre provincial qu'était apparue la distinction entre "premier" et "second" visiteurs (Constitutions de 1625, p. 254).

contenu de ces textes n'ait qu'un caractère somme toute sélectif, les rapports illustrent bien la sagacité des visiteurs. On n'y que constate que fort peu d'informations superficielles. Le fait que les visiteurs insistaient, dès le début de la visite, pour que les religieux ne leur fassent part que d'informations réellement significatives atteste leur volonté de travailler de façon rigoureuse et efficace.

Dans l'accomplissement de leur tâche, les visiteurs disposaient de deux types de documents: les comptes rendus détaillés reprenant les entretiens et les constatations de leurs prédécesseurs, d'une part, et les rapports succincts que ces derniers, à l'issue de leur enquête, avaient confiés au couvent visité, d'autre part. Ordinairement, ils examinaient ces deux documents préalablement à leur visite. Les constitutions de 1625 stipulent expressément que les visiteurs étaient obligés de transmettre leur carnet de notes à leurs successeurs[52], et la pratique révèle qu'il en allait effectivement ainsi. Avantageux à maints égards, ce procédé présentait toutefois un inconvénient non négligeable: les visiteurs qui étaient bien informés de telle situation locale pouvaient avoir tendance à accorder trop d'attention à d'anciens problèmes, souvent déjà résolus, au détriment d'affaires bien plus pressantes. On sait que toute observation de la réalité est, en fait, inconsciemment altérée et déterminée par le cadre conceptuel, les idées, les représentations et le niveau de connaissance dont on dispose. Ce cadre fonctionne tel un authentique «kaléidoscope» à travers lequel la réalité est appréhendée. Jan Dirk Imelman a souligné en ces termes le caractère contextuel de nos observations: «On observe toujours quelque chose dans un contexte donné et c'est précisément ce contexte qui détermine ce que l'on peut voir ou ce que l'on voit[53]». En d'autres termes, la vision que se faisaient les visiteurs de la situation effective d'un couvent s'en trouvait déformée. Il n'en demeure pas moins que cette méthode de travail s'avérait généralement très profitable aux Augustins. D'une part, les visiteurs frais émoulus jouissaient évidemment de la faculté de s'inspirer des rapports de leurs illustres prédécesseurs. D'autre part, il était pratiquement impossible de leurrer les visiteurs, dans l'hypothèse où un couvent décidait *in corpore* de tirer un voile sur de navrantes affaires.

La limitation dans le temps du mandat des visiteurs constitue

[52] Constitutions de 1625, p. 257: *"... in librum quem secum deferent et futuris visitatoribus tradent, omnia supradicta scribant vel scribi faciant."*

[53] J.D. IMELMAN, *Theoretische pedagogiek*, in *Theoretische Inleidingen*, Nijkerk, 1995, p. 86-89; M.H. VAN IJZENDOORN, *Empirisch-analytische pedagogiek*, in S. MIEDEMA, *Pedagogiek in meervoud. Wegen in het denken over opvoeding en onderwijs*, Houten/Diegem, 1997 (5ième édition), p. 82-87.

elle aussi un élément qui présentait avantages et inconvénients. Le zèle de néophyte que manifestaient bien des pères après avoir été élus pour la première fois aux fonctions de visiteur doit être épinglé au nombre des avantages[54], bien que nous ayons déjà évoqué l'incidence parfois négative de la procédure d'élection (en l'espèce, l'absence de candidatures). De même, les rotations effectuées à l'occasion des chapitres provinciaux permettaient d'éviter le risque qu'un visiteur s'installe dans la routine. Cela dit, la durée limitée des mandats des visiteurs n'était pas sans influence sur la qualité de leur travail. A la fin du *triennium*, il arrivait que les visiteurs ne se voient pas confier de nouvelles fonctions. Rentrés dans le rang, ils poursuivaient désormais leur existence sans attribution particulière, parmi les autres membres de la communauté. C'est pourquoi il est possible que certains visiteurs n'osent aller au bout de certaines situations de crise, afin de se soustraire à d'éventuels problèmes par la suite.

Dans le rapport qu'il a dressé en 1647, le visiteur Melchior Beydaels (profession 1609-1649) a probablement mis le doigt sur le principal point faible de la procédure de visite. Dans la mesure où le séjour des visiteurs dans un couvent était par définition très bref, il leur était impossible de s'assurer que les règles sur lesquelles ils avaient attiré l'attention de la communauté étaient rigoureusement observées. Lorsqu'ils constataient que les dispositions de leurs prédécesseurs s'étaient avérées vaines et qu'ils réalisaient qu'il en irait peut-être de même de leur propre travail, sans doute éprouvaient-ils des sentiments de frustration. En effet, ils disposaient de beaucoup d'autorité, mais la durée nécessairement limitée de leur séjour amenuisait leur position face à une communauté locale déterminée à leur refuser sa collaboration. C'est pourquoi, dans son rapport, Melchior Beydaels engageait Philippus Masius, le prieur de Louvain, à rappeler régulièrement à l'ensemble des religieux les remarques qui avaient été formulées à l'issue de la visite et à veiller à ce que chacun s'y conforme «afin que les remarques des visiteurs ne demeurent pas vaines»[55].

Bien que la méthode de travail des visiteurs paraisse d'une

[54] Au cours de la seconde moitié du 17ième siècle, la majorité des visiteurs exerça la fonction à deux reprises.

[55] *LC*, p. 343-346: Visite des 24-26 juillet 1647, décret 12: *"... ne frustra hasce ordinationes nos [visitatores] condidisse contingat R. P. [Prior] eas frequenter coram PP. ac FF. cap[itu]l[arite]r congregatis relegat et executioni mandari faciat."*

redoutable efficacité, leurs recommandations restaient souvent lettre morte. Lorsque la communauté en question n'apportait pas sa pleine et entière collaboration au redressement des manquements mis en exergue, ou que les supérieurs locaux ne veillaient avec suffisamment d'application au suivi de leurs remarques, les efforts des visiteurs s'avéraient infructueux. Les visiteurs, quelle que soient leurs qualités, n'avaient pas la possibilité de garantir durablement le respect des règles … mais il ressort de ce qui précède que là n'était pas leur but.

8. La Contre-Réforme sur le terrain: un processus de longue haleine

L'exercice serait incontestablement aisé qui consisterait à fabriquer une chronique à scandale au départ des abus relevés par les visiteurs au cours de la première moitié du 17ième siècle. Toutefois, aussi piquante que se révélerait vraisemblablement une telle démarche, il est manifeste qu'elle aboutirait en fin de compte à ne restituer qu'une caricature de la vie au couvent de Saint-Jean. Inversement, on ne saurait négliger l'existence d'un certain nombre d'abus et de manquements. A l'instar de ce que connaît n'importe quelle communauté humaine, ces défauts rendent bien compte de la confrontation permanente entre intentions et réalisations, règle officielle et pratique quotidienne, idéal et réalité. Somme toute, il est logique que la vie quotidienne d'un Augustin s'éloigne de temps à autre de l'idéal prescrit par la règle et par les constitutions. Nous risquons évidemment d'enfoncer des portes ouvertes en affirmant que ce sont les profanes désirs et la faiblesse humaine qui amenaient les réguliers à s'écarter de la voie rectiligne tracée au plus haut niveau de l'Ordre. C'est dans le même ordre d'idées que Craig Harline a dépeint de tels problèmes comme étant tout à fait courants, en soulignant que «c'est précisément la volonté de surmonter ses péchés qui constituait la motivation la plus noble pour embrasser la vie religieuse»[56].

Cela étant, le fait que les abus constatés à Louvain aient été, là et ailleurs, monnaie courante et que de surcroît certains d'entre eux n'aient rien eu d'innocent, renvoie inévitablement à la capacité même de réaliser une bonne partie des idéaux monastiques. A cet égard, on ne peut manquer de s'interroger sur la qualité du personnel religieux. Quoi qu'il en soit, les maints défauts relevés illustrent tout à la fois la lenteur et les limites du processus de réforme.

Les comptes rendus de visites font régulièrement écho au fait

[56] C. HARLINE, *De verzoekingen van Zuster Margriet*, p. 254.

que les religieux se rencontraient comme si de rien n'était, dans la cellule de l'un ou l'autre d'entre eux. Ce type de réunion, durant la journée comme au petit matin, nous donne l'impression que les Augustins de Louvain cultivaient entre eux des rapports fort spontanés. Outre les confrères, les étudiants en théologie et les novices, des femmes et des élèves avaient également accès au *dormitorium*, situé dans l'une des ailes du couvent. Bien qu'en tout état de cause, on ne puisse tirer des conclusions par trop hâtives de ces visites nocturnes au *dormitorium* dénoncées par les visiteurs (nous avons pu constater en effet qu'au grand dam de ceux-ci d'ailleurs, les pères ne dédaignaient pas prendre un verre dans une cellule[57] ou s'y réunir pour bavarder en toute innocence[58]), il est patent que les soupçons des visiteurs se portaient spécialement sur les faits de mœurs. L'interdiction formelle de pénétrer dans une autre cellule que la sienne n'avait pas seulement pour but de permettre à chacun de jouir de la sérénité qui devait normalement régner au *dormitorium* pour favoriser l'étude, la lecture et le sommeil[59]; elle visait également à prévenir les éventuels excès.

En dépit de l'interdiction de telles visites secrètes et des lourdes peines prévues pour les sanctionner, les religieux continuaient de se voir dans leurs cellules, tant de jour que de nuit. C'est en 1617 que pour la première fois, les visiteurs interdirent expressément aux religieux de «visiter la cellule d'autrui», en précisant au passage qu'«il est formellement défendu d'attirer des étrangers, des jeunes et des élèves au dormitorium ou de les y faire entrer». «Si les pères veulent s'entretenir avec eux», poursuivaient-ils, «ils doivent le faire dans un espace ouvert et accessible»[60]. L'importance dudit décret fut confirmée ultérieurement par d'autres visiteurs, ainsi qu'en témoigne des annotations faites en marge du rapport. En 1618, les visiteurs se crurent même obligés de répéter cette admonestation, en insistant pour qu'elle soit lue régulièrement et scrupuleusement respectée[61]. Après une accalmie d'une dizaine d'années, le problème resurgit spectaculairement en 1629. En 1638, Jean Naevius alla jusqu'à mettre vertement en cause l'attitude laxiste du prieur: «Ceux qui sont surpris

[57] LC, p. 315-318: Visite du 19 août 1645, décret 7.

[58] LC, p. 115-117: Visite du 3 octobre 1611, décret 4.

[59] LC, p. 194-195: Visite du 5 décembre 1630, décret 4.

[60] LC, p. 123-125: Visite du 29 juillet 1617, décret 5: *Strictissime prohibetur ne quis religiosorum alterius cubiculum ingrediatur, neque extranei aliqui aut iuvenes etiam scholares ducantur aut admittantur ad dormitorium. Quod si tamen aliquid cum eis tractandum in loco publico ac patenti fiat.*

[61] LC, p. 129-130: Visite du 27 juillet 1618, décret 1.

dans la cellule d'un confrère doivent subir une peine sévère du fait de leur légèreté. En effet, leur comportement donne lieu à des soupçons». Et il ajoutait : «Personne ne peut échapper sa peine»[62].

Il n'est guère commode de saisir l'ampleur réelle d'un pareil problème. En effet, il se peut fort bien que les plaintes formulées par les visiteurs ne concernent qu'une minorité des religieux, et que ce soient quelques cas isolés mais particulièrement «encombrants» qui aient donné lieu au renouvellement régulier de l'interdiction de pénétrer dans la chambre d'autrui.

Toutefois, les visiteurs ne stigmatisaient pas les religieux individuellement. Au contraire, ils réitéraient leur interdiction, souvent sans ambages, à l'adresse de toute la communauté. Cette façon de faire laisse à penser qu'ils n'agissaient pas uniquement dans un but purement préventif. Il est vraisemblable en effet que s'ils n'avaient été confrontés, à intervalles réguliers, à des faits concrets, cette interdiction aurait été formulée sur un ton moins énergique. La vigilance avec laquelle les visiteurs s'assuraient du respect de la stricte séparation du couvent et du collège, tout comme l'interdiction d'introduire des femmes au dortoir du collège, ne laissent planer elles aussi que peu de doutes sur l'existence de privautés[63].

Le couvent de Louvain était loin de constituer un cas isolé. Pour bien rendre compte du caractère général et permanent du problème suscité par les rencontres ou les réunions improvisées dans les cellules, qu'il nous soit permis de donner un bref aperçu de la fréquence des prises de position adoptées à ce sujet par les autorités provinciales[64]. Ce n'est, du reste, pas un hasard si c'est au niveau de celles-ci qu'un pareil problème était pris en mains, car on était parfaitement conscient des difficultés auxquelles n'importe quel religieux pouvait se trouver confronté à l'occasion de rencontres à huis clos. En 1589 déjà, lors du chapitre provincial, les définiteurs avaient interdit à tout religieux, sous quelque prétexte que ce fût, d'inviter un novice dans sa cellule[65] comme de pénétrer dans la cellule d'un novice ou d'un jeune religieux en refermant la porte derrière

[62] LC, p. 256-259: Visite du 31 juillet 1638, décret 7: ... *qui deprehensi fuerint ... pro temeritate et suspicione mali gravius puniantur; nullusque impunitus transeat.*

[63] LC, 178-183: Visite des 11-16 juillet 1629, décret 8; p. 196-199: Visite du 9 juillet 1629, décret 3; p. 219-222: Visite du 5 août 1633, décret 2: *uti nullam ob causam aut praetextum mulieres ad dormitorium nostri collegii deinceps admittentur*; p. 256-259: Visite du 31 juillet 1638, décret 16: *Nemo religiosorum in area collegii compareat praeter magistros ...*; p. 315-318: Visite du 19 août 1645, décret 7.

[64] Voir également: L. VERACHTEN, *De augustijnen te Gent*, p. 145 et D. LEYDER, *De augustijnen te Antwerpen,* p. 100.

[65] Même l'existence de liens de parenté ne constituait pas une raison suffisante pour recevoir un novice dans sa cellule.

soi[66]. En 1619, le chapitre de Gand décréta que les «prieurs devaient veiller rigoureusement à ce que les religieux ne se donnent pas rendez-vous dans leur cellule»[67]. Bien des comptes-rendus de chapitres provinciaux ou intermédiaires tenus ultérieurement font état de semblables interdictions. Lors du chapitre intermédiaire tenu à Gand (1692), les définiteurs évoquèrent, en termes relativement généraux, les dangers que comportait pour l'intégrité morale des pères ces rencontres en cellule[68]. A Anvers (1664), à Malines (1700), à Louvain (1745), à Enghien (1748) et une fois encore à Malines (1751), il fut expressément interdit aux pères d'inviter des élèves dans leur cellule[69]. Bien que les décrets promulgués lors des chapitres provinciaux n'offrent guère plus de détails, ce qui ne nous permet pas d'évaluer la portée exacte desdites dispositions, ils démontrent clairement la nature des préoccupations qui animaient les autorités provinciales.

Etant donné la remarquable fréquence avec laquelle les visiteurs furent contraints de revenir, à Louvain comme ailleurs, sur les mêmes problèmes, on peut légitimement s'interroger sur la praticabilité du vœu de chasteté pour bon nombre de religieux, et se demander dans quelle mesure de pareilles difficultés ne dérivaient pas d'une procédure d'admission trop souple. Cette période coïncide en effet – il importe de le souligner – avec une croissance spectaculaire de l'Ordre dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux. Par comparaison avec les autres provinces augustiniennes du nord des Alpes et des Pyrénées, l'efflorescence de la province de Cologne s'avéra vraiment exceptionnelle[70], ce qui a dû inévitablement interférer sur l'évaluation adéquate des niveaux intellectuel et moral des candidats. Bien que l'administration provinciale ait admis l'existence de ce problème durant la moitié du 17ième siècle et qu'elle ait même pris un certain nombre de dispositions tendant à garantir un recrutement de haut niveau[71], la situation demeura problématique.

Un exemple sans doute moins sensationnel mais tout aussi

[66] LC, p. 1-9: *Acta capituli provincialis Lovaniensis*, 10 juin 1589, décret 12.

[67] LC, p. 51-56: *Acta capituli provincialis Gandensis*, 19 avril 1619, décret 9.

[68] L. VERACHTEN, *De augustijnen te Gent*, p. 109, note 1: ... *mala quae nascuntur et nasci possunt ex ingressu cellarum fratrum* .... Le chapitre intermédiaire était un chapitre restreint qui se réunissait à mi-parcours de chaque *triennium*. Au cours de ces assemblées, le provincial, ses définiteurs et les visiteurs discutaient de l'état de chaque couvent.

[69] D. LEYDER, *De augustijnen te Antwerpen*, p. 100.

[70] Voir à ce propos: D. LEYDER, *L'enseignement, un levier*, p. 961 et ss., et IDEM, *Monasticon*, p. 29.

[71] L. VERACHTEN, *Zeven eeuwen augustijnen. Een klostergemeenschap schrijft geschiedenis*, 1996, p. 35.

éloquent du clivage entre l'idéal et la réalité réside dans la manière dont trop souvent l'office divin était expédié. Force est de constater qu'à Louvain comme à Gand ou à Anvers, nombreux étaient ceux qui ne l'effectuaient pas avec toute la piété requise[72]. Le nombre et la nature des dispositions promulguées à ce sujet ont même de quoi surprendre. A partir de 1635 certainement, les visiteurs eurent à se plaindre régulièrement de ce que tous les religieux ne participaient pas à l'office divin, lequel leur apparaissait fréquemment bâclé et dépourvu tout à la fois de dévotion et de souci de l'uniformité de la cérémonie.

A partir de 1638, les visiteurs fustigèrent systématiquement le manque d'application dont la communauté louvaniste faisait preuve à l'égard du service divin. Déjà auparavant, la communauté s'était vu rappeler à plusieurs reprises que celui-ci devait être accompli avec piété et respect, mais à dater de 1638, la ferveur qu'elle était censée manifester parut s'être littéralement éteinte. «Etant donné que la discipline religieuse s'affaiblit [et] afin de stimuler le dévouement des pères et d'assurer l'honneur de l'ordre», Jean Naevius insista pour que l'office soit accompli de manière attentive et sérieuse. Des rires, des regards autour de soi et d'autres comportements susceptibles de heurter les gens furent jugés inadmissibles[73]. Les admonestations de Jean Naevius ne furent probablement pas prises au sérieux, puisque dès la visite suivante, en 1640, les termes qu'il avait employés précédemment furent tout simplement reproduits. Quatre ans plus tard, les visiteurs constatèrent même que certains pères lisaient de la littérature profane au cours de l'office[74]! En 1645, la situation s'était à ce point dégradée que les visiteurs stipulèrent que chaque religieux «devait être obligé d'assister à l'office divin»[75]. Deux ans après, le provincial Melchior Beydaels s'aperçut que certains religieux, s'ils étaient bel et bien déjà présents à l'office, laissaient errer leurs pensées. C'est pourquoi il décréta, de façon passablement sarcastique, que la présence physique seule à l'office n'était pas suffisante[76]...

La célérité avec lequel était récité l'office choqua également

[72] L. VERACHTEN, *De augustijnen te Gent*, p. 99; D. LEYDER, *De augustijnen te Antwerpen*, p. 129-130.

[73] LC, p. 256-259: Visite du 31 juillet 1638, décret 1.

[74] LC, p. 301-302: Visite du 5 août 1644, décret 3.

[75] LC, p. 315-318: Visite du 19 août 1645, décret 1.

[76] LC, p. 343: Visite des 24-26 juillet 1647, décret 1: ... *omnes et singulos hortamur ... ut officium divinum ... sedulo frequentent, eique assistant, non tantum corpore sed etiam mente praesentes ...*

beaucoup de visiteurs, qui ne manquèrent pas une occasion de rappeler à la communauté que les deux groupes étaient tenus de marquer les pauses nécessaires afin d'éviter que le chant ne tourne à la cacophonie.

Une fois encore, les Augustins étaient loin d'être les seuls dans le cas. En 1669 par exemple, plusieurs Sœurs Grises de Bethlehem avaient confié à leur visiteur que l'office était quelque peu morose et que leurs supérieures y assistaient rarement[77]. Peut-être, l'obligation d'accomplir l'office divin pesait-il à certains religieux, compte tenu de leurs multiples tâches quotidiennes. A l'encontre des Jésuites, les Augustins, en tant que *ordo mixta*, étaient soumis à cet office, ce qui en pratique les obligeait à interrompre leurs activités plusieurs fois par jour. On comprend mieux, dans de telles conditions, que les religieux aient pu éprouver quelque difficulté à consommer l'office de la manière la plus attentive et sereine possible.

Les autorités supérieures étaient bel et bien conscientes des difficultés qu'impliquait la vie conventuelle[78], et c'est précisément la raison pour laquelle elles avaient recours à la désignation de visiteurs. Bien que les constitutions datant du 17ième siècle incitent ces derniers à réagir avec toutes l'autorité et la rigueur souhaitées aux situations considérées comme inadmissibles, on peut noter qu'à Louvain, les interventions des visiteurs ne se sont que rarement révélées brutales. Certes, ils prétendaient volontiers qu'aucun religieux ne pouvait échapper à sa peine... Quant à infliger eux-mêmes un châtiment au coupable. Les visiteurs tentèrent par exemple de mettre un terme aux rencontres au *dormitorium*. Au lieu de faire usage de leur compétence constitutionnelle pour punir leurs confrères, ils exhortèrent à maintes reprises le prieur à rappeler à l'ordre les religieux surpris dans la cellule d'autrui. Cela nous donne à penser que dans la pratique, les visiteurs se bornèrent à dénoncer des abus qu'ils laissèrent ensuite aux autorités locales le soin de réprimer. Cette attitude s'explique, au moins en partie, par le fait que les visiteurs ne demeuraient que pendant une durée déterminée auprès d'un couvent, et qu'ils savaient parfaitement que c'était à la communauté même, sous la direction de son prieur, à redresser les défauts dénoncés.

Il serait cependant erroné de déduire de ce qui précède que les visiteurs n'étaient en définitive que des «tigres de papier», sans pouvoir réel ni autorité. Il s'agissait la plupart du temps d'hommes

[77] C. HARLINE, *De verzoekingen van Zuster Margriet*, p. 301.

[78] Les constitutions contiennent toutes sortes de fautes dont les religieux pouvaient se rendre coupables.

compétents et expérimentés, qui forçaient le respect. Ils avaient le mérite d'attirer l'attention de la communauté sur des problèmes existant en son sein, et de donner de la voix pour remettre celle-ci (ou quelques brebis galeuses) sur le droit chemin. En rappelant au prieur la peine prévue par les constitutions pour tel ou tel défaut, il est très probable qu'ils visaient à l'amener à infliger effectivement ladite punition au religieux mis en cause. Reste à savoir, évidemment, si cette façon d'agir était la manière la plus adéquate de mettre fin à de tels abus, eu égard aux maints décrets qui durent être répétés.

Ainsi que nous l'avons relevé plus haut, les constitutions du 17ième siècle avaient appelé les visiteurs à veiller tout particulièrement à l'image vertueuse des religieux, appel qui de toute évidence fut largement répercuté. A plusieurs reprises, les visiteurs séjournant au couvent de Saint-Jean formulèrent des critiques à l'égard de certaines pratiques qui y avaient cours, ce qui indique la degré de sensibilité des autorités provinciales pour tout ce qui regardait la réputation et la crédibilité de l'Ordre. En se braquant sur les rencontres avec des étrangers au *dormitorium*, sur les va-et-vient non contrôlés, sur la stricte séparation du couvent et du collège et sur les beuveries en présence de laïcs, les visiteurs ne cherchaient pas uniquement à rétablir la discipline monastique, mais aussi à préserver la réputation de l'Ordre.

L'impact de la réputation dont jouissait un Ordre religieux à l'apogée de la Contre-Réforme est indiscutable, tant au plan local qu'au niveau supra-local. Sur le plan local, le renom d'un couvent pouvait se traduire par les dons de bienfaiteurs, par un afflux d'élèves, par des sodalités fructueuses, par des fondations nombreuses et par un recrutement prospère, ... tous éléments qui garantissaient la perpétuation de la communauté[79]. Sur le plan régional ou «national», un Ordre réputé avait toutes les chances d'être sollicité pour fonder des couvents ou mettre sur pied des collèges[80]. Lorsqu'un couvent ou un Ordre étaient affligés d'une mauvaise réputation, l'inverse était bien entendu susceptible de se passer. Compte tenu de la féroce concurrence entre les réguliers, les Augustins avaient donc tout intérêt à faire la meilleure impression à l'extérieur et à mettre ainsi en relief la crédibilité de leur projet de vie. Les visiteurs étaient pénétrés de l'importance de leur propre rôle à ce sujet et ne rataient aucune occasion de revenir sur la question.

Sous cet angle, la vigilance dont ils faisaient preuve à l'égard

[79] C. HARLINE, *Reform in the convent*, p. 145.
[80] D. LEYDER, *L'enseignement, un levier*, p. 969 et ss.

des visites des cellules par des étrangers coule de source. Des laïcs, des femmes et/ou des élèves impliqués dans de telles affaires et qui vendaient la mèche étaient en mesure d'attenter sérieusement à la crédibilité pastorale des pères. En 1578 par exemple, à Bruges et à Gand, des membres d'ordres mendiants accusés de sodomie par un confrère défroqué furent condamnés au bûcher. Dans sa description des événements, Johan Decavele rapporte de façon saisissante dans quelle atmosphère se déroulèrent les débats sur la culpabilité des accusés et comment le délit devint le prétexte pour déchaîner l'opinion contre les religieux. C'est parce que conscients qu'aucun risque en la matière n'était permis, et parce qu'édifiés par des histoires du genre de celle de 1578 sur le crédit prêté par le peuple à des faits déformés ou à des demi-vérités[81] que les visiteurs réclamèrent que les rencontres de religieux avec des laïcs ou des élèves se produisent dans des lieux ouverts. De la sorte, nul ne pouvait imaginer des actes immoraux, et pour cause.

Comme la confession des femmes pouvait également donner naissance à des conjectures de tous genres, les visiteurs stipulèrent que les pères ne s'y emploieraient que dans des confessionnaux spécialement prévus à cet effet[82].

Par ailleurs, les visiteurs insistèrent régulièrement pour que le portier ne s'occupe que de la surveillance des allées et venues des confrères et des hôtes. Trop souvent, en effet, le frère lai en question était chargé d'autres tâches. Parfois se trouvait-il obligé de quitter son poste à l'entrée du couvent sous les prétextes les plus futiles. Aussi, la porte n'était-elle plus surveillée, ce qui permettait à certains *conventuales* de sortir en catimini. Les visiteurs intervinrent avec force à l'encontre de pareilles pratiques, car elles ... ouvraient la porte aux plaisirs profanes, ce qui était susceptible de nuire à la bonne réputation de l'Ordre[83].

En de très rares occasions, les visiteurs constatèrent qu'un portier était impliqué dans des transactions douteuses. C'est ainsi qu'en 1629, ils rappelèrent à l'ordre Laevinus Pessemier parce qu'il avait fermé les yeux sur la contrebande de boissons et d'autres

[81] J. DECAVELE, *Brugse en Gentse mendicanten op de brandstapel in 1578*, in H. SOLY et R. VERMEIR (éd.), *Beleid en bestuur in de oude Nederlanden. Liber Amicorum prof. dr. M. Baelde*, Gand, 1993, p. 73-93; ID, *De noodlottige zestiende eeuw, in Zeven eeuwen Augustijnen*, p. 76-77.

[82] LC, p. 123-125: Visite du 29 juillet 1617, décret 14.

[83] LC, p. 137-140: Visite des 13-20 octobre 1622, décret 2; p. 147-150: Visite du 6 septembre 1623, décret 1; p. 166-170: Visite du 11 juillet 1626, décret 9; p. 178-183: Visite des 11-16 juillet 1629, décret 7.

produits illégaux organisée par certains religieux[84].

Les visiteurs se montrèrent également intraitables en ce qui concerne la consommation d'alcool. C'est ici aussi leur souci de la bonne réputation du couvent qui dicta en grande partie leur conduite, comme l'atteste leur vigilance toute spéciale à propos des beuveries survenues en présence de laïcs et des visites rendues secrètement à des auberges. Dans son étude sur le doyenné de Diest, T. Morren a étayé les conséquences fâcheuses de l'abus d'alcool sur le travail pastoral. «Les croyants», souligne-t-il, «sont en effet enclins à identifier la religion aux agents pastoraux»[85]. C'est là un raisonnement qui, à n'en point douter, a dû hanter les visiteurs.

Bien que les frères lais aient été supposés plus vulnérables aux démons de l'alcool, les pères eux aussi prenaient part à des soûleries clandestines. Fréquemment, les visiteurs furent contraints de rappeler la communauté tout entière à l'interdiction de tenir des «*compotationes*», tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur du couvent, en présence ou non de laïcs. En 1617, le provincial Augustin Theodori, qui avait été prieur du couvent durant six ans, décréta que nul, quelque fût le prétexte, ne pouvait se rendre en ville pour boire en compagnie d'un laïc[86]. Bien que plusieurs visiteurs aient réitéré cette disposition[87], Prosper Stellaert et Melchior Daelhem furent obligés, en 1624, de tirer le signal d'alarme. Certains pères alléguaient qu'ils fréquentaient l'université pour y assister aux débats, ou affirmaient rendre visite à des amis, alors qu'ils s'engouffraient dans une auberge pour y consommer tranquillement. Afin de mettre fin à cette situation, les deux visiteurs mirent au point, avec quelque succès, un certain nombre de sanctions. Ainsi, tout qui serait surpris dans une auberge se verrait interdire pendant un mois toute sortie du couvent[88]. Tout paraît indiquer que ce sérieux avertissement se révéla suffisant, à tout le moins en ce qui concerne la consommation d'alcool à l'extérieur du couvent.

Dans le couvent même, des pères comme des frères lais

[84] LC, p. 178-183: Visite des 11-16 juillet 1629, décret 7: *Portae curam et custodiam continuam habebit fr. Laevinus Pessemier qui ... ne inferri quidpiam clauculum aut efferi permittat cuius sinistra suspicio haberi possit.*

[85] T. MORREN, *Het dekanaat Diest (1599-1700). Bijdrage tot de studie van de katholieke hervorming in het aartsbisdom Mechelen*, Louvain, 1993, p. 163-164.

[86] LC, p. 123-125: Visite du 29 juillet 1617, décrets 6 et 15.

[87] LC, p. 129-130: Visite du 27 juillet 1618, décret 1; p. 131-133: Visite du 25 juillet 1620, décret 5; p. 134-135: Visite du 23 juillet 1621, décret 1.

[88] LC, p. 157-159: Visite du 5 juillet 1624, décret 7.

continuèrent à boire plus que de raison, parfois en compagnie de laïcs, pendant toute la période considérée. Le plus souvent, de telles rencontres étaient organisées dans les cellules des religieux, durant la nuit comme en plein jour. Les vigoureuses (et fréquentes) sommations des visiteurs demeurèrent passablement vaines[89], et même la menace de peines ne déboucha pas sur grand-chose. Ni les directives précises édictées en la matière ni les interdictions répétées[90] ne s'avérèrent en mesure de venir à bout du problème.

Nous épinglerons encore un dernier aspect caractéristique de la volonté d'entretenir la bonne réputation de l'Ordre. Il s'agit de la disposition en vertu de laquelle tout frère lai (lors de la tournée de mendicité) et tout père (lors des visites nocturnes aux malades) devaient impérativement être accompagnés d'un confrère. En 1614 par exemple, les visiteurs, tout en reconnaissant que l'onction aux malades était une œuvre pieuse, insistèrent pour que les pères s'y rendent à deux afin de ne pas prêter le flanc aux ragots. En effet, lorsque des laïcs remarquaient des religieux errant seuls par les rues la nuit, la «nouvelle» ne tardait pas à faire des gorges chaudes[91]. Le fait de dépêcher les religieux en mission deux par deux garantissait un contrôle réciproque permanent, qui permettait de prévenir les tentations profanes[92].

Conclusions

Au terme de cette étude, il apparaît que l'image si fréquemment représentée d'une Contre-Réforme triomphante commande d'être quelque peu tempérée, également pour ce qui a trait à la vie au sein des communautés religieuses. Comme on pouvait le prévoir – et contrairement aux allégations d'un Nicolas Crusenius –, les habitants du couvent augustinien de Louvain ne menèrent pas à proprement parler une existence de saint. L'analyse des comptes-rendus de visites, lesquels, rappelons-le, étaient des documents à usage strictement

[89] LC, p. 171-173: Visite du 24 mai 1627, décret 7; p. 196-199: Visite du 9 juillet 1632, décret 3; p. 237-240: Visite des 11-16 août 1636, décret 4: ... *stricte prohibemus ne ullo umquam ibi tempore cum saecularibus potitetur.*

[90] LC, p. 315-318: Visite du 19 août 1645, décret 7; p. 343-346: Visite des 24-26 juillet 1647, décret 8; p. 347-350: Visite du 24 août 1648, décret 9.

[91] LC, p. 118-119: Visite du 6 juin 1614, décret 7: *Quantumvis pium opus sit et magnae charitatis opus infirmos visitare, volumus tamen ex nostris nonnisi binos ad eosdem mitti et noctu maxime.*

[92] LC, p. 137-140: Visite du 13 octobre 1622, décret 2; p. 178-183: Visite des 11-16 juillet 1629, décret 8.

interne, met en pleine lumière tous les défauts et manquements, futiles ou graves, de la communauté louvaniste. L'ensemble de ces «péchés» rend bien compte du caractère problématique de la transposition de la réforme tridentine aux communautés religieuses .

A cet égard, il importe de remarquer que les autorités provinciales augustiniennes se montrèrent bien plus pénétrées des idéaux de réforme élaborés à Trente que les conventuales «ordinaires», comme l'indiquent leurs interventions souvent enflammées. Ce n'est pas un hasard si à maintes reprises les rapports des visiteurs se conclurent par une exhortation faite aux pères à mener une vie réellement religieuse[93]. On peut dès lors évoquer l'existence d'un authentique hiatus entre la «base» et les pères plus instruits et actifs aux échelons supérieurs, quant au contenu effectif à donner aux dispositions du Concile de Trente. Il n'est pas sans intérêt d'établir une comparaison avec la situation du clergé séculier à la même époque. Voici dix ans déjà, le professeur Michel Cloet affirmait que «le comportement des curés, qui observèrent bien souvent les réformes de mauvais gré, contrastait avec le zèle déployé par les évêques et les doyens»[94]. La description qu'a donnée Ludo Milis de l'existence dissolue du curé Jan Schuermans, tout comme l'article consacré par Werner Thomas à la sexualité des prêtres dans l'Espagne du 17ième siècle, confirment également qu'une partie non négligeable du clergé paroissial ne put se montrer à la hauteur des exigences morales qui lui furent imposées au lendemain du Concile de Trente[95].

Lorsqu'on tente de dresser un bilan de la réforme réalisée au sein des couvents augustiniens, on est frappé par la contradiction apparente entre les niveaux quantitatif et qualitatif, en l'espèce entre l'extraordinaire épanouissement «externe» de la province et la réalité indubitablement moins remarquable qu'offre l'histoire interne desdites communautés. Pareil contraste peut être interprété comme une dimension secondaire du très complexe processus contre-réformateur. Dès lors, une explication plus approfondie de ce

[93] LC, p. 178-183: Visite des 11-16 juillet 1629, décret 16: ... *studeant [omnes], evangelici praecepti modum servantes, in via salutis provehere* ...: «Que chacun s'applique, avec les évangiles pour guide, à progresser sur le chemin du salut».

[94] M. CLOET, *De gevolgen van de scheiding der Nederlanden op religieus, cultureel en mentaal gebied, van circa 1600 tot 1650*, in J. CRAEYBECKX, F. DAELEMANS et F.G. SCHEELINGS (éd.), *"... 1585: Op gescheiden wegen...". Handelingen van het colloquium over de scheiding der Nederlanden, gehouden op 22-23 november 1985 te Brusse*l, Louvain, 1988, p. 58.

[95] L. MILIS, *De indiscrete charme van Jan Schuermans, pastoor van Ename*

phénomène s'impose.

Au cours de la première moitié du 17ième siècle, qui fut dominée par un climat de concurrence effrénée, les Augustins fondèrent une série de couvents dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux et s'assurèrent maintes vocations[96]. Jusqu'il y a peu, cette preuve essentiellement externe de vitalité paraissait suffisante pour voir dans la Contre-Réforme une glorieuse victoire sur les hérétiques. Le fait que les visiteurs aient été appelés à mettre bon ordre dans les affaires de l'un des nouveaux couvents de la province augustinienne, quelque temps à peine après sa fondation, brouille cette image stéréotypée. De fait, en 1630, Guillaume Denijs et Charles Veron se virent contraints de rappeler les religieux de Termonde à leur devoir de témoigner d'un comportement exemplaire aux yeux du peuple. Ils exhortèrent les pères et les frères de la jeune communauté à «se souvenir de leur vocation et à élever le peuple et les jeunes par leur conduite irréprochable»[97]. Il est manifeste que les deux hommes n'étaient guère emballés par l'attitude des *conventuales* de Termonde, incompatible avec les idéaux prônés par le Concile de Trente et fort éloignée de cette fameuse vitalité de l'Ordre qu'ont célébrée des générations d'historiens.

Le contraste incontestable entre l'essor «externe» et la réalité «interne» de la province de Cologne suggère que les autorités provinciales agirent selon deux vitesses. D'une part, on mit tout en œuvre pour s'inscrire, avec une belle ardeur, dans la nouvelle dynamique surgie dans la foulée du Concile de Trente et dopée par une concurrence qui n'allait cesser de s'intensifier. Ceci se traduisit par les efforts déployés par les provinciaux pour fonder des couvents partout où cela était possible (et dans les limites des effectifs disponibles). D'autre part, on se rendit rapidement compte, à ce même niveau provincial, que le processus contre-réformateur exigerait beaucoup de temps et que bien des communautés demeureraient en

(1645-1655), Anvers/Baarn, 1994; W. THOMAS, *De contrareformatie en het probleem van de seksualiteitsbeleving van de katholieke geestelijkheid in het 17de-eeuwse Spanje*, in *Geloven in het verleden*, p.147-161.

[96] M. CLOET, *De gevolgen van de scheiding*, p. 71-72: «Jamais les couvents ne connurent un recrutement aussi prospère que durant la première moitié du 17ième siècle» ; D. LEYDER, *L'enseignement, un levier*, p. 982.

[97] D. LEYDER, *Toegang tot de decreetboeken bewaard in het Archief van de Belgische Augustijnenprovincie* (*Instrumenta Augustiniana*, IV), Louvain-Heverlee, 1997, p. 89: Visite du couvent de Termonde, 9 août 1630, décret 5: *De cetero monemus omnes patres et fratres tamquam huius Teneramundanae messis primos cultores, ut vocationis suae memores christianam plebem atque incultam iuventutem ... doctrinae morumque integritate condiant et vitae exemplo conservent.*

retrait pendant une période plus ou moins longue. Le contraste évoqué ci-dessus illustre fondamentalement cette lenteur avec laquelle l'ambitieux programme de réforme fut mis en œuvre auprès de la base.

L'aspect le plus remarquable des comptes rendus de visites du couvent de Saint-Jean réside dans l'attention constante que prêtèrent les visiteurs à l'image vertueuse des religieux. Cette préoccupation se révèle bel et bien la dimension contre-réformatrice fondamentale des visites. Dans le contexte de la restauration catholique et de la concurrence qui l'accompagna, il était indispensable que les Augustins jouissent d'une réputation à toute épreuve. Comme nous l'avons dit, il n'importait pas seulement d'observer une conduite exemplaire à l'intention du peuple (et donc de souligner la crédibilité de leur projet de vie), mais également de surclasser les nombreux concurrents afin d'être à même de canaliser les ressources (de la mendicité) nécessaires à la survie et au développement de l'Ordre.

A bien étudier les comptes rendus de visites, il est manifeste que les autorités provinciales furent parfaitement conscientes de la responsabilité qu'il leur incombait d'assumer. Les visites rendues aux nombreux couvents par les visiteurs comme par les provinciaux peuvent être considérées comme autant de tentatives des autorités provinciales en vue de faire coïncider autant que faire se peut la vie de chaque Augustin avec l'idéal proposé. Cependant, comme Craig Harline a pu le constater également auprès des Sœurs Grises de Bethlehem, les moyens dont disposaient les autorités provinciales pour influencer décisivement l'évolution d'une communauté s'avéraient somme toute limités[98]. C'est la raison pour laquelle le célèbre général Seripando (16ième siècle), confiait après douze ans de labeur inlassable que «la réforme est une chose qui exige des efforts constants sans que l'on puisse jamais en entrevoir l'achèvement»[99].

Wemmel Dirk Leyder

[98] C. HARLINE, *De verzoekingen van Zuster Margriet*, p. 296.

[99] D. GUTIERREZ, *The Augustinians from the protestant reformation to the peace of Westphalia 1518-1648*, Villanova (Pennsylvanie), 1979, p. 83. Voir aussi C. HARLINE, *Reform in the convent*, p. 145.

Provinciaal kapittel	Prior	Supprior	sacrista	procurator
1589	Johannes Crabbius	Paulus Daniels	Paulus Cox	Thomas Oliverii
				Christianus Oliverius
1592	Guilielmus Nacquart	Paulus Daniels		Christianus Oliverius
1595	Guilielmus Nacquart	Christianus Oliverius	Henricus Balenus	Paulus Cox
		Paulus Cox (1596)		Joannes Bontius (1597)
1598	Guilielmus Nacquart	Martinus Caetius	Henricus Balenus	Christianus Oliverius
	Augustinus Theodori (1600)			
1601	Augustinus Theodori	Carolus de Boischot STL	Henricus Balenus	Christianus Oliverius
1604	Augustinus Theodori	Carolus de Boischot STL	Henricus Balenus	Christianus Oliverius
1607	Augemius	Nicolaus Sylvius	Henricus Balenus	Nicolaus Visschers
		Mathias Pauli (1609)		Robertus Canen (1608)
				Petrus Dries (1608)
1610	Augustinus Theodori	Mathias Pauli	Henricus Balenus	Joannes Conckelberghe
1613	Augustinus Theodori	Aegidius Naevius	Henricus Balenus	Joannes Conckelberghe
1616	Joannes Koeckelbergius	Rumoldus Croone	Henricus Balenus	Franciscus Paludanus
		Henricus Balenus	Jacobus Sylvius	
1619	Joannes Koeckelbergius	Henricus Balenus	Theodorus De Claer	Albertus Olgin
1622	Michael Beydaels	Henricus Balenus	Theodorus De Claer	Joannes Conckelberghe
1625	Augustinus Theodori	Mathias Pauli	Theodorus De Claer	Joannes Conckelberghe
				Franciscus Theodori (1626)
1628	Mathias Pauli	Joannes Terbeeck	Theodorus De Claer	
1631	Joannes Koeckelbergius	Lambertus a S. Joannes	Theodorus De Claer	Athanasius De Brujin
	Joannes Naevius (1632)	Joannes Terbeeck (1632)		
	Joannes Rivius ((1632)			
1634	Guilielmus Denijs	Adrianus Cazelius	Theodorus De Claer	Athanasius De Brujin
1637	Damasus De Coninck	Philippus Masius	Theodorus De Claer	Lambertus a S. Joanne
		Joannes Baptista Rebs (1638)		
1640	Philipus Masius	Joannes Baptita Rebs	Theodorus De Claer	Petrus Blomme

		Leonardus Goesveldt (1640)		Joannes Conckelberghe (1641)
		Martinus vander Gucht (1640)		
1643	Damasus De Coninck	Joannes vander Linde	Theodorus De Claer	Joannes Conckelberghe
1646	Philippus Masius	Athanasius De Brujin	Franciscus vander Noot	Joannes Conckelberghe
1649	Angelus Van den Driesche	Jordanus Lochia	Joannes Terbeeck	Victor De Clerk
1652	Melchior Geubels	Athanasius De Brujin	Joannes Terbeeck	Victor De Clerk
				Franciscus vander Noot
1655	Angelus Van den Driesche	Athanasius De Brujin	Melchior Geubels	Paulus Provenaer
		Gregorius van Donghe (1657)	Martinus vande Putte (1656)	Martinus vande Putte (1656)
1658	Cornelius Longin	Jacobus Hugo	Gerardus Westrene	Martinus vande Putte
1661	Joannes Petri	Martinus vande Putte	Gerardus Westrene	Lambertus a S. Joanne
				Theodorus Dingens (1662)
1664	Francisc. van Cortenberghe	Martinus vande Putte	Franciscus vander Noot	Cornelius Tanton
			Adrianus van Dormael (1665)	
1667	Adrianus Bonnecroy	Jacobus Elich	Adrianus van Dormael	Franciscus Cortenberghe
			Franciscus vander Kele (1668)	
1670	Joannes Smidts	Jacobus Elich	Franciscus vander Kele	Cornelius Tanton
1673	Joannes Smidts	Ferdinandus De Post	Gerardus Westrene	Cornelius Tanton
1676	Guiliemus De Lonchin	Augustinus Meulenaer	Ferdinandus De Post	Joannes de Tombeur
				Amandus Pauli (1678)
1680	Francisc. van Cortenberghe	Augustinus Meulenaer	Godefridus Tijpoets	Amandus Pauli
	Fulgentius Scautheet (1681)			
1682	Carolus de Backere	Jacobus Elich	Petrus Barre	Amandus Pauli
	Henricus Canisius (1683)		Petrus Fijt	
	AegidiusCamus (1683)			
1685	Leonardus Coenen	Franciscus Janssens	Judocus Seghers	Carolus Van de Velde
	Carol. Van de Velde (1686)	Judocus Seghers	Guilielmus Vlemincx	Michael de Kindere (1686)
1688	Jacobus Baert	Judocus Seghers	Andreas Bernaerts	Michael de Kindere
1691	Jacobus Baert	Gerardus de Herbe STL	Andreas Bernaerts	Michael de Kindere
		Marius Winckelmann (1692)		
1694	Antonius Parijs	Antonius Librechts	Jacobus Baert	Andreas Bernaerts

	Petrus Clenaerts (1695) Emmanuel Ballexo (1696)	Godefridus Tijpoets (1695)		Antonius Librechts (1695)
1697	Emmanuel Ballexo	Petrus Lenaerts	Jacobus Baert	Antonius Librechts
1700	Antonius de Frije	Antonius Librechts	Jacobus Bert	Franciscus Vanden Berghe
1703	Jacobus Baert	Petrus Coomans	Petrus Lenaerts	Paulus Perez
1706	Petrus Coomans	Dionysius Mottin	Guilielmus Janssens	Jacobus Baert
1709	Sebastianus van Bevere	Theodorus Weijtens	Paulus vander Schuere	Joannes Claesens
1712	Philippus Fullier	Augustinus Eggermont	Paulus vander Schuere	Joannes Baptista Gheeraerts
1715	Philippus Fullier Balduinus de Housta (1718)	Dionysius Mottin	Paulus vander Schuere	Joannes Baptista Gheeraerts
1718	Balduinus de Housta	Dionysius Mottin	Paulus vander Schuere	Joannes Baptista Gheeraerts
1721	Carolus van Hoorn	Hieronymus Libens Carolus Crabbeels (1721)	Paulus vander Schuere	Joannes Baptista Gheeraerts
1724	Carolus Crabbeels	Dionysius Coomans Georgius Verwildt (1724)	Paulus vander Schuere	Augustinus Libens J. Baptista Gheeraerts (1727)
1727	Josephus La Ver?	Augustin Joossens	Paulus vander Schuere Augustinus Reijnders (1729)	Joannes Baptista Gheeraerts
1730	Antonius van der Bucke	Philippus Halfhuijs	Augustinus Reijnders Dominicus Ringeleer (1731)	Joannes Baptista Gheeraerts
1733	Joannes Baptista Verbeijst	Michael Vanderbuechen	Dominicus Ringeleer	Joannes Baptista Gheeraerts
1736	Philippus Halfhuijs	Joannes Baptista Verbeijst	Ant./Michael Vanderbuechen	Henricus Clerx J. Baptista Gheeraerts (1736) Georgius Cartenstat (1736)
1739	Philippus Halfhuijs	Michael Peeters	Augustinus vander Roost	Georgius Cartenstat
1742	Norbertus Promont	Augustinus vander Roost	Benedictus Bert Joannes S. Schoeps (1742)	Georgius Cartenstat
1745	Georgius Cartenstat	Augustinus vander Roost	Joannes S. Schoeps	Augustinus Bert
1748	Georgius Cartenstat	Antoniua van de Wech	Augustinus vander Roost Joannes S. Schoeps (1749)	Augustinus Bert
1751	Antonius Loots	Augustinus Bert	Joannes S. Schoeps	Georgius Cartenstat
1754	Georgius Cartenstat	Augustinus Bert	Joannes S. Schoeps	Leonardus van Simphoven

1757	Antonius Loots	Augustinus Bert	Joannes S. Schoeps	Leonardus van Simphoven
1760	Antoninus Vanden Ameele	Alipius Duijs	Georgius Cartenstat	Georgius Haens
1763	Leonardus van Simphoven	Joannes van Berchem	Joannes Vanderweerde	Georgius Haens
1766	Alipius Duijs	Augustinus Bert	Joannes Vanderweerde	Leonardus van Simphoven
1769	Georgius Haens	Jacobus vander Haert	Joannes De Doncher	Joannes Wittemans
1772	Georgius Herens	Arnoldus van Leeuw	Jacobus vander Haert	Joannes Wittemans
	Leonardus van Simphoven (1773)			
1775	Leonardus van Simphoven	Arnoldus van Leeuw	Joannes de Raeijmaker	Joannes Wittemans
1778	Georgius Haens	Joannes de Raeijmaker	Leonardus van Simphoven	Joannes Wittemans
1781	Jacobus vander Haert	Joannes de Raeijmaker	Arnoldus van Leeuw	Georgius Haens
1782	Jacobus vander Haert	Joannes Wittemans	Arnoldus van Leeuw	Joannes de Raeijmaker
1786	Jacobus vander Haert	Joannes Wittemans	Arnoldus van Leeuw	Joannes de Raeijmaker
1790	Jacobus Tomboij	Joannes de Raeijmamer	Arnoldus van Leeuw	Jacobus vander Haert
1793	Johannes Franciscus Vaes	Henricus Peeters	Arnoldus van Leeuw	Jacobus vander Haert

AUTOUR DE GUILLAUME BASSERY, ÉVÊQUE DE BRUGES (1642-1706)

Depuis très longtemps ce prélat a attiré mon attention pour son attitude spéciale dans l'affaire du jansénisme[1]. Je ne l'ai jamais perdu de vue durant mes recherches; je profite ici de mes notes d'autrefois.

Ce Guillaume Bassery était fils de Josse, un négociant habile de Bruxelles qui à quelques occasions fut receveur et bourgmestre de la ville, et de Catherine van Donkerwolke. Né le 29 septembre 1642, il était le sixième de douze enfants, dont quatre moururent en bas âge; et dont l'un, Josse devint moine, plus tard même abbé de Grimbergen (1593-1694)[2] deux oncles[3] François et Daniel étaient entrés chez les augustins[4], le premier devint même un antijanséniste très remuant dans son Ordre, et ailleurs[5].

Le père rusé d'une nombreuse famille, semble ne pas avoir envoyé son Guillaume pour ses études, chez les augustins, mais chez les jésuites, plus prometteurs pour l'avenir. En tout cas Guilaume sera plus tard très lié aux fils de saint Ignace, et profitera de leur influence. Après ses études à Bruxelles, Guillaume les continue à Louvain au collège du Lys[6], sans doute sur le conseil des jésuites et profitant d'une bourse. En 1662, lors de l'examen général des quatre collèges des Arts, il obtient une cinquième place significative. Deux ans plus tard devenu maître des Arts, il ne commence pas la théologie, mais le droit. Pourquoi? Pour manque de vocation assurée? Sans doute à nouveau sur le conseil des jésuites. Car un élève ayant fait des études théologiques à Louvain, sous les professeurs François Van Vianen et Gommaire Huygens, restera suspect de jansénisme pendant toute sa

[1] Sur Bassery, voir Biographie nationale ... de Belgique I, 762-763; Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques, VI, 1267; J. A. COPPENS, Nieuwe beschrijving van het bisdom 's-Hertogenbosch, 4 t., 's-Hertogenbosch, 1840-1844; L. H. G. SCHUTJES, *Kerkelijke geschiedenis van het bisdom 's-Hertogenbosch*, Sint-Michiels Gestel, 5 t., 1870-1876; *Romeinse bronnen voor de kerkelijke toestand der Nederlanden*, t.II par R. R. Post et t.III par Pontianus Polman, La Haye, 1941 et 1952; E. JACQUES, *Les années d'exil d'Antoine Arnauld (1679-1694)*, Louvain, 1976; Lieve DECLERCK, *Willem Bassery*, dans *Het bisdom Brugge (1559-1984). Bischoppen, priesters en gelovigen, onder leiding van M. Cloet*, Brugge, 1984, 87-91.

[2] C. L. SPILLEMAECKERS, *De abten van Grimbergen*, Grimbergen, 1978.

[3] *Romeinse bronnen*, II, 711.

[4] N. TEEUWEN, *Het obituarium van het augustijner klooster te Brussel*, dans *Augustiniana*, 3 (1953) 281.

[5] Mes études sur l'histoire du jansénisme en traitent souvent; voir entre autres *Seconde période du jansénisme*, II, Bruxelles, 1974, p. XXVIII-XXIX.

[6] E. REUSENS, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain*, IV, Louvain, 1886, 168-198.

vie, et risquera d'être exclu de toute promotion importante. Un juriste de Louvain au contraire pouvait profiter de l'état délabré de cette Faculté ainsi que de la faveur des jésuites et de leur porte-drapeau particulier, le professeur singulier Nicolas Du Bois, juriste, professeur de droit, qui en 1654 après avoir suivi durant six semaines un cours de théologie à Douai, avait été imposé comme professeur d'Ecriture sainte, cours principal dans la Faculté de théologie[7]. De plus, depuis 1678 il fut en même temps le président fictif de leur *Société secrète pour l'accusation du jansénisme*[8].

D'ailleurs à cette époque, un grade en droit canon restait toujours, du moins à Rome, une bonne recommandation pour un évêché. Donc la licence en droit obtenue, Guillaume se fait inscrire comme avocat au Conseil de Brabant, le 23 juillet 1666[9], pourtant sans avoir l'intention de jamais paraître à la barre, sa vocation étant uniquement ecclésiastique. Promu professeur royal en droit, il enseignera le *Decretum Gratiani* de 1667 à 1690. Bientôt il jouit d'un canonicat à Anderlecht et d'un autre à Louvain. Il devient prêtre à l'âge de 30 ans en 1672. Il préside le collège Saint Donat de 1673 à 1686[10], mais n'est jamais élu recteur magnifique, ce qui est signiicatif.

Néanmoins, ne manquant pas d'ambition, il vise plus haut; il semble souffrir même de la "mitrite", maladie alors très répandue.

Vicaire apostolique de Bois-le-Duc (1681-1690)

Le 20 mai 1681, par la mort de Josse Van Houbraeken, le vicariat apostolique de Bois-le-Duc devient vacant. Y aspirant, Guillaume se fait recommander auprès de l'internonce Antoine-Sébastien Tanara (1675-1687), bon antijanéniste, lié aux jésuites, par le professeur Nicolas Dubois, le janséniste le plus influent, même à Rome .

En réalité, ce vicariat, après la suppression, en 1629, du siège épiscopal et durant la persécution religieuse, ne signifie pas beaucoup; ni résidence (Guillaume continuera à demeurer à Louvain), ni mitre, ni crosse. Il comprend encore quelques paroisses libres sur le territoire des Pays-Bas espagnols, autour de Geel.

[7] L. CEYSSENS, *La promotion de Nicolas Du Bois à la chaire d'Ecriture sainte à Louvain, 1654,* dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 34 (1962) 489-553.

[8] L. CEYSSENS, *Een geheim genootschap ter bestrijding van het jansenisme,* dans Ceyssens, *Jansenistica. Studiën*, I, Malines, 1950, 343-397.

[9] J. NAUWELAERS, *Histoire des avocats du Conseil souverain de Brabant*, Bruxelles, 1947, II, 115

[10] REUSENS, *Documents*, III, 134.

En effet le 23 août déjà, cet internonce, convaincu des mérites du candidat, le charge provisoirement de l'administration du vicariat en question[11] et le recommande comme vicaire à Rome, auprès de la Propagande, dont dépend toute la Hollande devenue protestante. Déjà le 24 novembre suivant, cette Congrégation le nomme, et finalement le 18 décembre le pape Innocent XI signe le bref de confirmation[12]. Guillaume est monseigneur, mais toujours sans mitre, sans crosse et sans résidence, à part sa propre demeure à Louvain. Zélé et arrogant, le nouveau nommé commence aussitôt, même au cœur de l'hiver, aux journées courtes, la visite canonique de son "diocèse", y compris ses treize paroisses "libres" [13]. Déjà le 15 janvier 1682, il adresse de Louvain son "status", son rapport diocésain, directement au pape comme s'il était vraiment un évêque diocésain, sans dépendre de la Propagande[14]. Naturellement un rapport si prématuré restait nécessairement vague et superficiel, mais de plus, Guillaume s'est inspiré de rapports antérieurs d'autres vicaires et même d'évêques précédents, et il parle comme s'il est toujours, malgré la domination et la persécution protestantes, évêque d'un grand évêché avec cathédrale, chanoines, doyennés et monastères. En effet, il consacre la plus grande partie de son rapport à l'ancienne ville épiscopale. Successivement en 1684 et en 1688, Guillaume envoie, après visite canonique, un rapport semblable au pape. Dans son second rapport de 1684 il fait allusion intentionnellement à la difficulté d'obtenir quelque évêque pour l'administration du sacrement de confirmation. Les cardinaux à Rome comprennent et en 1685 ils réfléchissent sur l'opportunité de le sacrer évêque[15].

Entretemps Guillaume n'a cessé d'insister pour d'obtenir au moins le titre et les pouvoirs d'un évêque diocésain[16]. Mais Rome n'en veut pas pour des raisons politiques[17]. Cependant le vicaire

[11] *Romeinse bronnen*, II, 716.

[12] *Romeinse bronnen*, II, 720.

[13] Il écrira de Louvain le 15 janvier 1682 dans son rapport (voir plus loin): "Haec sunt, Beatissime Pater, quae didici, diocesim illam Sylvaeducensem vastam visitando spatio duorum mensium et medii, ipso fere hyemali tempore quo propter brevitatem dierum non potui singula peragere sicut desiderassem. Sed instantia quotidiana conabor supplere quod defuit".

[14] Guillaume écrira trois rapports successifs, 1682, 1684, 1688, qui ont été publiés par J. D. M. Cornelissen dans *Bossche Bijdragen*, 11 (1931) 50-92.

[15] "Audiatur internuntius quoad electionem episcopi in genere e quoad qualitates ipsius vicarii"; *Bossche Bijdragen*, 11 (1931) 77.

[16] Le 1er septembre 1684 l'internonce propose le sacre du vicaire; *Romeinse Bronnen*, II, 764.

[17] Voir *Romeinse Bronnen*, II, passim. S'agissant de la promotion d'un évêque, l'archevêque de Malines et le gouvernement de Bruxelles veulent que la procédure ordinaire soit suivie et qu'ils puissent intervenir.

apostolique d'Utrecht est sacré évêque! Par conséquent, pour atteindre son but, Guillaume désire voir son vicariat de Bois-le-Duc s'étendre sur une plus grande partie de la Hollande, afin d'échapper aux prétentions de Malines et de Bruxelles, et de devenir enfin le collègue du vicaire apostolique d'Utrecht qui est sacré!

Vers le vicariat apostolique de Hollande

Une extension du vicariat de Bois-le-Duc ne plaît nullement en Hollande, car cette contrée est une nouvelle acquisition, n'appartenant pas à l'ancienne "stadhouderij". Guillaume devra donc suivre d'autres routes. Bientôt il essaie de faire un premier pas. Neercassel, se sentant vieux et surmené, désire un coadjuteur, peut-être avec droit de succession. Il y a de nombreux candidats, y compris le vicaire apostolique de Bois-le-Duc. Mais le 28 avril 1684, l'internonce, consulté, communique à Rome ses reflexions plutôt défavorables. Certes ce candidat a de grands mérites; il est zélé, prudent, mais inconnu au clergé d'Utrecht, qui préférera sans doute un des leurs: cependant sous Neercassel, Bassery pourrait acquérir cette expérience des affaires hollandaises qui lui manque encore[18].

Ne réussissant pas à devenir coadjuteur de Neercassel, Guillaume peut-il espérer lui succéder? En effet quand en 1686 ce vicaire apostolique de Hollande meurt, Guillaume pose secrètement sa candidature. Certes il n'ignore pas qu'en Hollande trois candidats bien méritants ont été proposés par le clergé hollandais, mais lui, Bruxellois, peut se faire recommander à Rome par ses amis antijansénistes, surtout par le professeur Du Bois, si bien vu à la cour pontificale; aussi par le général des jésuites Thyrse Gonzalez, et par son oncle François Bassery, augustin, antijanséniste ardent, qui est à la fois préfet des missions des augustins en Hollande et assistant général à Rome et qui donc entretient nécessairement des relations avec la Propagande.

Or c'est à Rome même que cette candidature secrète s'ébruite et vient aux oreilles de Louis du Vaucel, agent des jansénistes de France et d'ailleurs, et qui est de plus grand épistolier[19]. Le 31 août 1687, il écrit à son ami Antoine Arnauld, exilé volontaire à Bruxelles:

"... On parle d'un autre sujet, nommé Bassery, qui a été grand vicaire de quelque évêque [sic]. Ce sera probablement celui dont feu

[18] *Romeinse Bronnen*, II, 767-769.

[19] Voir B. NEVEU, *La correspondance romaine de Louis-Paul du Vaucel (1683-1703)*, dans *Actes du colloque sur le jansénisme... 1973*, Louvain, 1977, 105-185.

Castorie [Neercassel] m'avait écrit, il y a déjà quelque temps, craignant qu'il ne fût ici pour demander d'être (son) coadjuteur..."[20]. Or par d'autres voies Arnauld a déjà appris la candidature de Bassery[21], et ami du cercle de feu Neercassel, il la regrette et veut l'empêcher. Il dresse donc une note, qui par l'intermédiaire de Gommaire Huygens, le théologien en vue à Louvain, parvient à Rome au cardinal Laurent Casoni, membre très important du Saint-Office[22]. Il s'agit d'une espèce de billet "informatif", dont voici un ancien résumé:

"De Monsieur Bassery, un pieux et docte Louvaniste écrit:

1. Il n'est pas théologien et ne pourra pas dialoger avec les calvinistes;

2. Il n'a pas cet air austère qui sied parmi les calvinistes;

3. Il a été mêlé à certains équivoques qui pourront être exploités contre lui en Hollande. Un premier concerne Pierre [Nicolas] Du Bois, ce professeur antijanséniste de Louvain qui fait tant parler, même parmi les protestants de Hollande, car il s'oppose à la lecture de la Bible en langue vulgaire[23]. Bassery, c'est connu, l'appuie;

4. Il y a cet autre cas: Bassery, vicaire apostolique de Bois-le-Duc, a donné une approbation au *Pédagogue* (catechisme) de Pierre Van den Bosch, dominicain, missionnaire à Bois-le-Duc, livre si insolent envers Calvin, que les ministres protestants ont fait bannir l'auteur[24];

5. Etant originaire de Bruxelles, Bassery semblera aux Hollandais appartenir à cette "faction espagnole" si odieuse au Nord;

6. De plus on le sait fort lié aux jésuites, si peu sympathiques parmi les Hollandais, catholiques et protestants;

[20] *Romeinse Bronnen*, III,31. Du Vaucel confond Guillaume avec H. J. Van Susteren, vicaire général de Précipiano à Malines et qui prétend également au vicariat d'Utrecht.

[21] JACQUES, *Les années d'exil*, 380.

[22] Voir *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, XXI, 407-415: P. J. A. N. RIETBERGEN, *Tussen centrum en pereferie. Tussen systeem en Leer? Lorenzo Casoni (1645-1720) en de Hollandse Zending*, dans *Archief voor de geschiedenis van de katholieke kerk in Nederland*, 25 (1983) 181-202.

[23] Du Bois avait écrit: *Notae in gallicam versionem Novi Testamenti*; opuscule traduit deux fois en français; Cf. L. WILLAERT, *Bibliotheca janseniana Belgica*, Bruxelles, 1949-1951, n° 4098a et passim.

[24] Pierre Van den Bossche, dominicain, missionnaire à Bois-le-Duc, avait publié en 1685 à Anvers *Den catholycken Pedagoge oft christelycken onderwyzer*, qui connut une quinzaine de rééditions; cf. S. AXTERS, *Bijdragen tot een bibliographie van de Nederlandsch-Dominikaanse vroomheid*, Turnhout, 1934, 264-273. Bassery approuva ce catéchisme à Louvain le 2 mai 1684.

7. Sa manière de vivre irrégulière ne lui permettra pas d'exercer un ministère fructueux parmi les protestants"[25].

Or, lorsque, vers le milieu de septembre 1687, le cardinal Casoni reçut ce billet informatif, la nomination de Bassery venait d'être décidée à la Propagande. En effet, dans leur session du 29 septembre 1687, les cardinaux de cette congrégation avaient en majorité écarté toutes les autres candidatures pour ne conserver que celle de Bassery[26]. Pour être définitive, le pape n'avait qu'à signer le bref de la nomination. Or il s'arriva ceci:

"Monsieur Casoni ayant été informé ce jour même de la nomination, alla au pape et lui présenta avec grande force toutes les raisons qui devaient la faire rejeter. Sa Sainteté écouta à son ordinaire, sans dire oui ou non, et sans rien témoigner de son dessein. Mais le lendemain, Mgr Cibo, secrétaire [de la Propagande] étant venu lui présenter l'acte de nomination, Sa Sainteté le rebuta d'une terrible force et déclara qu'il fallait que le vicaire apostolique fût pris du corps du clergé. [Le cardinal Casoni] ne serait pas bien aise qu'on sût ce détail, et vous voyez bien qu'il n'est pas bon de le divulguer..."[27].

De la sorte Guillaume devait provisoirement encore se contenter de son vicariat de Bois-le-Duc, si insignifiant à ses yeux. De plus, en ce moment précis il apprit de la part du Conseil de Brabant, que depuis 1681, il jouissait illégalement de son vicariat, son bref de nomination n'ayant pas été soumis au placet royal[28].

Vers l'épiscopat de Bruges

En 1690, après quatre ans de frustration, une nouvelle issue s'ouvre pour l'ambitieux vicaire apostolique de Bois-le-Duc. L'évêque de Bruges, de Précipiano, antijaniste fanatique a été, en vertu de ses mérites spéciaux, transféré à l'archevêché de Malines. A Bruges il faut un successeur antijanséniste de la même valeur.

[25] Voir Archives du Vatican, fonds Favoriti-Casoni (récemment constitué), dossier 89, f° 31 rv. Du même document, il y existe également un même texte en latin, avec quelques variantes.

[26] *Romeinse Bronnen*, III, 56-59. Bassery y est mentionnné avec éloge. Thyrse Gonzalez, général des jésuites, avait appuyé la candidature de Guillaume; L. CEYSSENS, *Thyrse Gonzalez ... Correspondances*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 65 (1995) 97.

[27] *Romeinse Bronnen*, III, 109.

[28] *Romeinse Bronnen*, III, 142-143. Vers le même temps Bassery semble avoir dû s'occuper avec d'autres de l'affaire des Oratoriens de Mons, accusés de fausser le culte marial; voir JACQUES, *Les années d'exil*, 557.

Or parmi les candidats successeurs proposés par les diverses instances, Bassery est à peine mentionné. Sa chance est donc minime. Mais peu importe. Guilliaume Arnhoudts, provincial des jésuites flandro-belges, qui a des correspondants à Madrid, parviendra au but.

En effet, François-Xavier Fresneda, le rusé et puissant correspondant de Madrid, répond le 22 mars 1690:

"... Moi et mes confrères, nous travaillons maintenant pour l'évêché de Bruges. Monsieur Bassery n'a été proposé que par le gouverneur, et seulement en second lieu. Cependant, vu le présent état des choses, je crois que Bassery fait une très bonne chance. Il est bien connu du confesseur du roi, lequel j'ai hier encore instruit davantage. Je me réjouis vraiment d'avoir fait tout ce que je puis à l'avantage de notre Compagnie". Les détails de ces activités madrilaines restent inconnus, mais un mois plus tard,le résultat fut obtenu.

Le 5 avril 1690, Fresneda. peut féliciter son correspondant: "... de la nomination de Bassery à Bruges. Je lui écris pour lui rappeler tout ce qu'il doit à notre Compagnie[29]".

Evêque de Bruges (1690-1706)

Nommé par le roi, confirmé par le pape, Guillaume est sacré évêque à Bruxelles le 7 janvier 1691. Les collègues sont tous présents. L'archevêque en profite pour leur proposer ses nouveaux projets: réduire les oratoriens de Bérulle qui demeurent dans son archevêché, à l'institut des Oratoriens de Philippe Neri; la surveillance des publications, avec interdiction spéciale du Nouveau Testament de Mons; du Missel romain en langue vulgaire; et surtout la souscription d'un formulaire, notamment d'un formulaire très spécial exigeant explicitement la foi relative au fait janséniste. Malgré que ce

[29] Les Archives de l'archevêché de Malines, carton *Jansenistica non classificata*, contiennent huit lettres du P. Fresneda au P. Arnhouts. Elles seront bientôt publiées. Nommé par le roi, le pape donne sa confirmation, sans exiger un procès informatif, supposé avoir eu déjà lieu lors de la promotion au vicariat apostolique. La confirmation a lieu le 13 novembre 1690, avec l'obligation d'ériger un séminaire, *Hierarchie catholica*, V, 128. Cependant le nouvel évêque n'a pas érigé le seminaire; voir M. THERRY, *De diocesane clerus. De priesteropleiding*, dans *Het bisdom Brugge (1559-1984)*, p. 93-99. Le général des jésuites Gonzalez avait écrit le 24 juin 1690: "Vu vos mérites et vos vertus, je vous ai en effet recommandé pour l'évêché de Bruges, comme autrefois je l'avais fait pour le vicariat d'Utrecht. Puissiez-vous répondre aux espérances que le Roi eut en vous nommant". Le 24 mars 1691 il écrivit encore: "Je me réjouis de votre prise de possession, précisément au moment où le diocèse a besoin de vous, si zélé pour la foi catholique et si dévoué à notre Compagnie"; dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 65 (1995) 97-98.

formulaire soit inacceptable, les évêques, celui de Bruges inclus, signent le 31 janvier déjà la lettre commune au pape pour l'introduction du nouveau formulaire[30].

Soit dit en passant, qu' en sa première année, vu son zèle et ses relations avec les jésuites et avec la nonciature[31], l'évêque de Bruges veut empêcher Arnauld, l'exilé volontaire, qui se cache à Bruxelles, de se fixer à Liège[32].

En la même année, l'archevêque de Cambrai veut le nouvel évêque de Bruges dans sa commission qui examinera l'affaire des oratoriens de Mons, dénoncés pour plusieurs erreurs[33].

Certes le nouvel évêque, successeur à Bruges de Précipiano devenu archevêque de Malines, doit collaborer avec ce dernier, son supérieur légitime et si bien en vue partout, à Bruxelles, à Madrid et à Rome. Mais déjà dès cette première assemblée, il se montre peu enthousiaste pour le formulaire, qui lui semble une entreprise hasardeuse. Sans une permission spéciale de Rome, il ne veut introduire aucun formulaire, pas même le pontifical, qui a été donné pour la France. Celui qu'envisagent l'archevêque et quelques confrères lui déplait. Mais puisque l'archevêque exécute son projet malgré tout, Guillaume résiste discrètement. Et il a raison, car Rome, dès le début, désapprouve l'entreprise malinoise; d'abord prudemment, ensuite énergiquement[34].

Quand Précipiano, sous divers prétextes, résiste aux mesures prises par Rome, Guillaume au contraire les suit, et n'introduira provisoirement pas de formulaire dans son diocèse; pas même le pontifical. D'ailleurs il avoue qu'à Bruges, où Précipiano ne voyait que des jansénistes, il n'en connaît aucun[35]. Néanmoins s'il ne cesse de collaborer avec son archevêque, il le fait à contre-cœur[36]. S'il signe

[30] Voir JACQUES, *Les années d'exil*, 606.

[31] Guillaume avait des relations spéciales avec un certain prêtre Van Horick, agent de l'internonce; voir JACQUES, *Les années d'exil*, 617.

[32] JACQUES, *Les années d'exil*, 516-517.

[33] Voir L. JADIN, *Relations des Pays-Bas ... avec le Saint Siège, d'après les „lettere di vescovi"*, Bruxelles, 1952, 232.

[34] Voir L. CEYSSENS, *L'Introduction du formulaire antijanséniste en Belgique. Premier essai (1692-1694)*, dans Ceyssens, *Jansenistica. Etudes relatives à l'histoire du jansénisme* , IV, Malines 1962; id., *Innocent XII et le jansénisme*, dans *Antonianum*, 57 (1992) 39-66.

[35] Conclusion: Précipiano a donc bien épuré ce diocèse!

[36] Ruth d'Ans écrivit le 9 mai 1992; "... Le P. de Hondt a vu en passant l'évêque de Bruges qui a dit nettement qu'il n'était pas pour le formulaire et qu'il croyait qu'il irait en fumée, *in fumum*. Il a ajouté que les jésuites faisaient toutes les brouilleries et qu'ils laisseraient les évêques dans les peines"; voir JACQUES, *Les années d'exil*, 614.

les lettres commmunes des évêques, il le fait avec hésitations et retards[37]. Il ne veut signer certaines lettres communes, qu' à condition que Styaert, son successeur à Bois-le-Duc, s'abstienne de le faire[38]. Mais il refuse absolument de signer une recommandation du P. Bernard Désirant[39], augustin irresponsable que Précipiano envoie à Rome pour la défense de son formulaire[40]. Par ses oncles augustins, Guillaume connaissait cet augustin brugeois, certes très doué mais excessivement intrigant. Son aversion de ce personnage inopportun durera jusqu'à sa révocation par Rome en 1696[41].

Lorsqu'en février 1694 arrivent les documents romains (décret et brefs) très défavorables à Précipiano et que celui-ci et ses vrais collaborateurs essaient d'escamoter, Guillaume les publie à Bruges dès le 8 mars, les interprétant très correctement, au grand contentement de Rome[42]. Il exigera dès le mois de mars uniquement une souscription pure et simple, sans explication aucune, du formulaire pontifical, comme le pape vient de le prescrire[43].

[37] Précipiano écrira le 5 octobre 1692: "L'évêque de Bruges est celui dont l'on doit le moins espérer, parce qu'il n' a pas [de jansénistes], à ce qu'il dit, dans son diocèse; et sur ce principe, lorsque Son Altesse [Maximilien de Bavière, gouverneur général] fut arrivé en ces pays-ci et que tous les autres évêques vinrent à Bruxelles pour lui souhaiter la bienvenue, lui seul ne satisfit pas à cette obligation et dit hautement qu'il ne voulait point y venir parce qu'il savait que les évêques y traiteraient de l'affaire du jansénisme. Que peut-on espérer d'un évêque qui a de tels sentiments?"; CEYSSENS, *Thyrse Gonzalez*, 100.

[38] Voir JACQUES, *Années d'exil*, 634.

[39] Voir *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie eclésiastiques*, XIV, 342-344.

[40] Le 7 novembre 1692, Ruth d'Ans écrivit à Du Vaucel à Rome: "les évêques de Gand et de Bruges n'ont point voulu s'en mêler [de cette recommandation], ce qui a mis Arcade [Précipiano] fort en colère"; JACQUES, *Les années d'exil*, 624-625. Encore plus tard Guillaume n'appréciera pas Désirant.

[41] Il semblerait même que Guillaume a été une des causes de la révocation de cet homme hâbleur. Il en a écrit à François Valentini, l'agent romain de l'archevêché. Il reçoit de Rome, le 3 novembre 1696, quand Désirant prépare déjà son départ, une longue réponse: "... J'ai peine de le voir [cet homme qui s'attend à une statue] dans l'embarras où il se jette, quand je considère ce que Votre Grandeur m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire. Il faut être bien perceptible de gloire pour se flatter de semblables événements quand bien ils seraient d'une meilleure qualité...": Archives épiscopales à Bruges.

[42] Se tenant étroitement au texte pontifical, Guillaume exige correctement de condamner les cinq propositions attribuées à Jansénius dans leur sens obvie qui est celui de leurs termes, donc sans quelque cohésion avec le "fait". Cf. L. CEYSSENS, *L'accueil des documents romains relatifs au formulaire Malinois*, dans *Augustiniana*, 45 (1995) 266.

[43] JACQUES, *Années d'exil*, 644.

Lorsque, après les mesures de Rome, Précipiano fait une marche sur Rome afin de sauver son formulaire et pouvoir l'introduire d'une manière ou d'une autre, Guillaume ne prend pas le pas sur lui. Néanmoins, c'est étonnant, le 19 juillet 1696, il souscrit avec les autres évêques (et avec Steyaert) une lettre commune au pape "sur l'audace des jansénistes protégés par Rome"[44].

Après l'introduction du formulaire pontifical dans l'archevêché, Guillaume a exigé le formulaire, mais d'après les interprétations fort mitigées de Rome. Il n'a pas eu, semble-t-il, des opposants, alors que d'autres évêques ne cessaient d'en avoir.

Guillaume n'a pas pu ériger, d'après les termes de sa confirmation romaine, un séminaire épiscopal, et pour autant il a leurré les jésuites dans leur espoir de le régenter. En 1697 ils lui ont intenté un procès pour arrérages d'une vieille rente relative au séminaire autrefois envisagé. En 1701 Guillaume en vint à une transaction[45].

Guillaume mourut à l'improviste le 22 juin 1706 dans l'église des augustins, où malgré sa mauvaise santé, il assistait à un enterrement. En dépit de son ambition et de sa dextérité juvéniles, il fut un évêque droit, s'élevant au-dessus des partialités mesquines et néfastes de certains de ses collègues.

Luc CEYSSENS †

[44] Voir L. JADIN, *Relations des Pays-Bas ... avec le Saint-Siège*, Bruxelles, 1952, 267-269.

[45] Voir A. C. De SCHREVEL, *Histoire du Séminaire de Bruges*, Bruges, 1895, II,410-415.

Boekbesprekingen – Comptes rendus

Michael FIEDROWICZ, Apologie im frühen Christentum. Die Kontroverse um den christlichen Wahrheitsanspruch in den ersten Jahrhunderten. Paderborn-München-Wien-Zürich, Schöningh, 2000. ISBN 3-506-72733-8. 361 S. kart. DM 88,-.

Cette étude contient deux parties: une historique (les auteurs et leurs ouvrages pp. 34-144) et l'autre systématique (les différents thèmes traités). F. s'arrête d'abord à l'origine et aux multiples sens du mot "apologie". On voit une lente évolution allant de la signification "défense d'une religion persecutée" à la signification plus positive d'un "exposé de la doctrine chrétienne comme propagande".

L'histoire de l'apologie au sens strict est précédée par des modèles juifs et néotestamentaires ainsi que par des actes des martyrs. Les adversaires les plus importants du christianisme sont Celse, Porphyre, l'Empereur Julien, et Symmaque. Tandis que les premières apologies avaient le caractère de pétitions adressées aux Empereurs, la littérature apologétique se transformait de plus en plus dans une réflexion sur les relations entre le paganisme et le christianisme. La majorité des apologistes s'efforçaient de découvrir des points doctrinaux communs entre les deux pensées. Ainsi, selon Clément d'Alexandrie, la loi juive et la philosophie grecque sont des préparations à l'évangile, puisqu'il n'y a qu'un seul Logos qui illumine aussi bien les païens que les chrétiens. Pour Augustin (pp. 130-142) le christianisme était la plénitude de la philosophie et de la théologie. Néanmoins, il y avait aussi des auteurs qui rejetaient radicalement la philosophie; selon eux, les chrétiens possédaient la vérité et ne devaient pas chercher ailleurs.

Les divergences doctrinales entre le christianisme et ses adversaires trouvent presque toujours leur origine dans la conception sur Dieu qui transcende l'histoire du monde d'une manière absolue (les chrétiens croient que Dieu ne reste pas indifférent à sa création) et dans la personne du Christ incarné avec sa revendication d'être la révélation absolu de Dieu (l'unicité du Christ est inacceptable pour les païens). Parmi les reproches adressés par les païens aux chrétiens, il y en a qui appartiennent à une période dépassée: athéisme (le christianisme est une superstition menaçante la sûreté de l'Etat), inceste, cannibalisme, infanticide, sacrifices sanglants, l'adoration d'une tête d'âne sur une croix. Il y a aussi un bon nombre d'objections qui n'ont rien perdu de leur actualité; on les entend encore

aujourd'hui, comme la création à partir de rien, l'incarnation du Logos, la mort d'un immortel, la résurrection du corps tandis que triompher du corps était précisement le chemin philosophique vers le salut. Surtout le rôle salvifique du Christ causait beaucoup des difficultés. Les adversaires du christianisme considéraient parfois le Nouveau Testament comme une falsification. Jésus n'était qu'un maître humain de sagesse. La foi chrétienne n'a pas de base dans l'histoire; ce n'est qu'une invention des premiers disciples. Les miracles ressortent à la sorcellerie. Le récit de Jonas spécialement était une cause d'irritation. Si les gens commençaient à mener une vie vertueuse, c'était par peur de l'enfer, non par conviction personnelle. Les rites chrétiens ne sont que des copies des rites païens. Le sacrement du baptême remette les péchés d'une manière trop facile, et mine la morale.

Outre le reproche que la personne de Jésus était une création de l'Eglise, on se montrait scandalisé par le fait que le Christ-Logos a fait son entrée dans ce monde si tard. Alors, qu'est-il arrivé aux gens qui vivaient avant l'incarnation du Christ? Et comment concilier cela avec la doctrine de la volonté salvifique universelle de Dieu? Les chrétiens reprochaient aux philosophes platoniciens que le salut était réservé à une élite, tandis que le message de Jésus a un caractère d'universalité et s'adresse aux barbares et esclaves, aux enfants et femmes. Bref, l'enjeu de la discussion était la sotériologie. Il se peut que le reproche de la pluralité des chemins de salut était l'élément le plus menaçant pour les chrétiens. Selon la plupart des philosophes grecs, il y a beaucoup de chemins vers Dieu; Ammon, Jahwe, Juppiter, Zeus, tous ne sont que des noms pour une et même réalité. Platon, qu'est-il d'autre qu'un Moïse qui parle l'attique? Vu sous cet angle, on pouvait conclure que le christianisme n'enseigne rien de nouveau. Mais pour arriver là il faut oublier que le monotheïsme a mis fin à la déification des astres, des forces naturelles, des animaux, du feu, de l'eau, de l'air, de la terre, des désirs, des sentiments, de l'angoisse, de l'amour, et des êtres humains (génies, héros, etc.). Surtout le procès de séparer la religion de l'Etat n'impliquait pas seulement la démythologisation de la Rome éternelle, mais aussi la prévention du danger d'attribuer un caractère divin à l'Empire ou l'Empereur. Pour finir, je tiens à souligner que cette étude est une synthèse très utile de la tension entre le paganisme et le christianisme.

T. J. VAN BAVEL

Pierre-Marie HOMBERT, Nouvelles recherches de chronologie augustinienne. Institut d'Etudes Augustiniennes. Turnhout, Brepols, 2000. 682 p. BEF 2611,61. ISBN 2-85121-180-3.

During the conference on Augustine as a preacher at Chantilly in 1996, F. Dolbeau, the editor of 26 newly discovered sermons of Augustine at Mainz, Stadtbibliothek I 9, invited his audience to make a general revision of the chronology of the works of Augustine. The author, P.-M. Hombert, has accepted this invitation with a great degree of courage, for such a study demands an enormous amount of energy and time, for which we cannot be but thankful. Hombert knows that he is not infallible and he is prepared to recognize his mistakes. He considers his study as a contribution to further investigations and he declares the debate opened. What does he offer here? First, he assigns a date to each work that is mentioned in *Retractationes* II,6-26; special attention is called for *Confessiones* X-XIII (d. 403), *Contra Faustum* (d. 400-402), *De Trinitate* l. I (d. 400-403), l. II-III (d. 411-413), l. IV (d. 414-415), *De sancta virginitate* (d. 404+412), *De Genesi ad litteram* l. I-IIIb (d. 404-405), l. IIIb-XII (d. 412-414). A fixed chronological datum is for Hombert (and also for me): 411-412 as the beginning of Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings, first without naming Pelagius and later, from 416 on, mentioning his name. Second, Hombert tries to date each sermon of the manuscript of Mainz plus that of three related sermons (showing at the same time that one must exclude the traditional date of 397 for the group of Carthagian Sermons). Finally, a third part of the book deals with the dating of fifty other sermons. On pp. 638-642 one finds a list of the dated or re-dated writings. The method of the author runs as follows. Where concrete data, the so-called *realia*, are lacking, nothing remains than a systematic exploitation of the parallels. Therefore, all the texts treating the same subject and being based on the same references to Holy Scripture have to be studied. Concerning the references to the Bible, the author follows the method of Anne-Marie La Bonnardière. One should never forget how much Augustine was a man of the Bible. His theology as well as his spirituality are essentially based upon Holy Scripture. Groups of biblical references are indications of a controversy or a theological theme. Hombert is well aware of the difficulties of chronological investigations based upon internal criteria. In the book some of the difficulties are enumerated. 1) It is nearly impossible to be sure that one has found all the biblical references and all the theological themes. 2) We have to reckon with the fact that the greater part of Augustine's sermons is lost. 3) One is

inclined to assign the same date to this or that biblical reference depending on the greatest concentration of that reference. 4) There are always exceptions to statistical laws. 5) An argument *a silentio* is always fragile. 6) Augustine was often writing different books at the same time. 7) There is normally a risk to make a deduction from something which is only probable.

I admire the work of Hombert for it is more than a collection of chronological proposals. It supposes a profound theological and historical knowledge with regard to Augustine's life and work. I see no possibility to criticise this study without redoing the work; and who is able to do that? The only remark I would like to make is that I wish Hombert had proceeded with a bit more caution in a few instances. When the author says that a group of biblical references occupied the mind of Augustine during some weeks or months, and then were forgotten, I have my doubts regarding the word "forgotten" (p. VI). On p. 277 we read that Augustine remembers what he has said a year ago and he alludes to it. After having stated the probability of a date, I would not say "ne laisse aucun doute" (p. 76 and p. 417). Sometimes Hombert concludes from the similar wording of a parallel that there is also a proximity in time (p. 79), but on p. 97 one reads "again, one should not interpret this parallelism as a proof of the contemporaneity of both works". The author declares that a strong similarity would be strange, if these texts were spoken or written with an interval of eight years (p. 350; on p. 581, with an interval of five or six years); elsewhere, however, he admits that the same biblical text can give rise to identical comments even after an interval of many years (p. 339 and p. 345, p. 416). I find that the attribution of the Letter to the Hebrews to the apostle Paul in two late texts of Augustine remains a puzzle, and I think that Hombert will agree. Let there be no mistake that these minor remarks do not diminish the importance of this book.

T. J. VAN BAVEL

Thomas Gerhard RING, Die „unvergebbare" Sünde wider den Heiligen Geist in Mt 12,31f. nach der Deutung des hl. Augustinus. (Cassiciacum Bd. XLVIII). Würzburg, Augustinus-Verlag, 2000. XVI-119 S. ISBN 3-7613-0197-9.

Dans cette étude on peut distinguer trois parties. La première s'arrête à l'interprétation du verset difficile "Le blasphème contre l'Esprit ne sera pas remis... Si quelqu'un parle contre l'Esprit Saint, cela ne lui sera remis ni en ce monde ni dans l'autre". Dans la tradition

avant Augustin ce texte faisait déjà difficulté: comment concilier l'existence d'un péché impardonnable avec la promesse de la rémission de tous les péchés? S'il y a des péchés irrémissibles, que reste-t-il du pouvoir de l'Eglise à remettre les péchés? Origène, Ambroise et Ambrosiaster condamnaient le rigorisme des montanistes, des novatiens, et des donatistes qui limitaient la possibilité de rémission des péchés après le baptême. Les prédécesseurs d'Augustin cherchaient la solution dans le sens d'un endurcissement dans la malveillance qui détruit toute possibilité de conversion et de réconciliation. Augustin est aussi un témoin de cette tradition exégétique. C'est le refus de la grâce, et pas la personne du Saint-Esprit, qui rend ce péché irrémissible. Cette interprétation restera toujours la même dans l'œuvre d'Augustin. Néanmoins, on constate une certaine évolution dans sa pensée. Dans le "De sermone Domini in monte", il croit que seulement les chrétiens peuvent pécher contre le Saint-Esprit; il corrige cette opinion dans l'*Epistulae ad Romanos inchoata expositio* en soulignant que cet avertissement de Jésus s'adresse à tous les hommes sans aucune exception; chaque homme peut refuser la grâce.

La deuxième partie du livre donne la traduction allemande des textes d'Augustin par rapport à Mt. 12,31. *Sermo Domini in monte* I,73-76 (pp. 36-40); *De diversis quaestionibus* 26 (p. 41); *Epistulae ad Romanos inchoata expositio* 14-23 (pp. 42-61); Sermo 71 (pp. 62-104); Epistula 185, 48-50 (pp. 105-108); *Enchiridion* 83 (p. 109). La dernière partie contient trois index: un des références bibliques, un des auteurs, et un des matières. Une petite remarque: au lieu d'Ilona Oppelt il faut lire Ilona Opelt. Du reste, il s'agit d'une bonne étude sur un problème bien précisé.

T. J. VAN BAVEL

Theol

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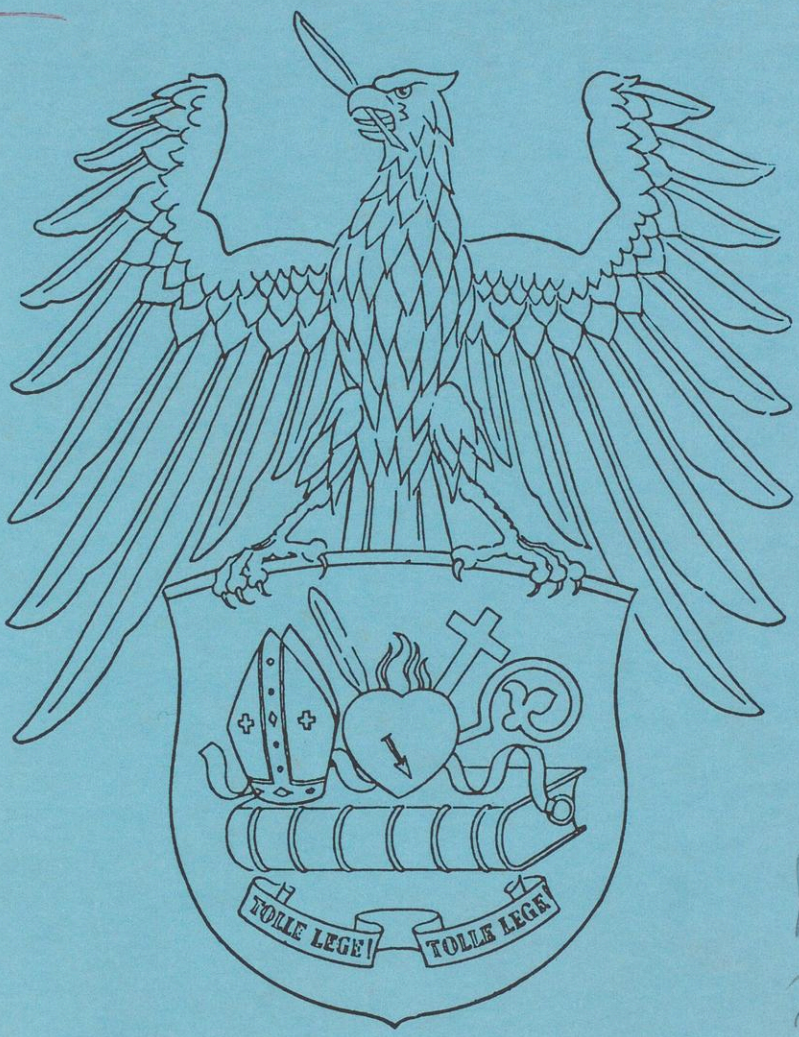

INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM AUGUSTINIANUM LOVANII

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AUGUSTINIANA

Bibliographie Historique de l'Ordre de Saint-Augustin 1996 - 2000

par

ALBÉRIC DE MEIJER O.S.A.

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Avec des compléments des années antérieures

Dans l'introduction à la dernière partie de la Bibliographie Historique *Augustiniana* 47 (1997), 5, nous avons annoncé qu'en arrivant au n° 9580, on allait mettre fin à la première série des bibliographies, afin de commencer après une deuxième série avec une nouvelle numération.

Entre-temps la direction de notre revue a pris la décision de mettre la Bibliographie complète (1945-1996) à l'*internet*. Ceci a été effectué le 15 octobre 2000 sous l'adresse *www.augustiniana.org*

Puisque la présente bibliographie sera insérée dans celle de l'*internet*, on a décidé, en réservant 242 numéros pour mettre en ordre les séries précédentes, que la nouvelle devrait commencer par le n° 9823. On peut la consulter déjà à l'*internet*.

Nous remercions l'équipe de Louvain qui a travaillé si longtemps pour mettre la Bibliographie à l'*internet* surtout Bernard Bruning, Johan Van den Broek, Anneke Goovaerts et Bart Tossyn.

Conforme à l'usage, la division de la bibliographie est restée inchangée, comme aussi les tables des personnes, des lieux et de certaines matières.

La recherche de la présente couvre la période qui va de décembre 1996 jusqu'au premier juillet 2000 avec de compléments des années antérieures.

Comme dans le passé nous tenons à remercier tous ceux qui nous procurent régulièrement des données et des livres pour la bibliographie, nommément nos confrères Willigis Eckermann (Würzburg), Karl Gersbach (Villanova, USA), Benedict Hackett (Birmingham), Joseph van Houtem (Louvain), Rafael Lazcano (Madrid), Fernando Rojo (Roma), John Rotelle (Villanova, USA), J. Willem Saelman (Utrecht), Martijn Schrama (Eindhoven), Eelcko Ypma (Eindhoven), Adolar Zumkeller (Würzburg) et nos amis les Professeurs Christoph Burger (Amsterdam), Kaspar Elm (Berlin), Peter J. Lucas (Dublin) et les employés de la Bibliothèque Universitaire d'Utrecht.

Enfin nous voulons signaler que les bibliographies précédentes: *Augustiniana* 26 (1976), 39-440 (n°s 1-2841); 28 (1978) 448-516 (n°s 2842-3224); 31 (1981), 5-159 (n°s 3225-4198); 35 (1985), 5-192 (n°s 4199-5370); 39 (1989), 189-392 (n°s 5371-6686); 43 (1993), 171-407 (n°s 6687-8148) et 47 (1997), 5-243 (n°s 8149-9580) sont encore en vente comme tirés-à-part à l'administration de la revue: Pakenstraat 65, B-3001 Heverlee-Louvain (Belgique).

Eindhoven (Pays-Bas) ALBÉRIC DE MEIJER O.S.A.

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9950 *800 Jahre Heidelberg*: die Kirchengeschichte, Red. Heribert VOGT. Heidelberg, Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung, 1996 (112, ill.).

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9953 BEUCKERS, Klaus G., Köln: die Kirchen in gotischer Zeit. Zur spätmittelalterlichen Sakralbautätigkeit an den Kloster-, Stifts- und Pfarrkirchen in Köln (Stadtspuren. Denkmäler in Köln, 24). Köln, Bachem, 1998 (393, ill., cartes).

9954 BROICHER, Jean-Bruno, St. Augustinus. — *Colonia Romanica* 10: Kölner Kirchen und ihre mittelalterliche Ausstattung (Köln, 1995), 94-99, 4 ill.

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9956 SCHMID, Wolfgang, Stifter und Auftraggeber im spätmittelalterlichen Köln (Veröffentlichungen des Kölnisches Stadtmuseums, 11). (618, ill.).

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Provincia: 43-73; RODRÍGUEZ DIEZ, José, Comentario histórico-canónico. Estatutos matritenses: 75-127; MEDIAVILLA, Benito, Casas de la Provincia Matritense en España: 129-355; ALVAREZ TURIENZO, Saturnino, Los agustinos del Escorial, la Guerra civil (1936-1939): 357-368; CAMPOS Y FERNÁNDEZ de SEVILLA, Fco. Javier, Estudios y publicaciones: 369-440; MARTÍN SÁNCHEZ, José María, Apostolado en parroquias e iglesias de culto público: 441-461; HERNÁNDEZ, Luis, La obra social de los Agustinos del Escorial: 463-495; VIÑAS ROMÁN, Teófilo, La Provincia en América: 495-535; MEDIAVILLA, Benito, Personas: 537-664; Casas y fundaciones de la Provincia Matritense: XX, ill.

10064 *Provincia de Castilla Orden de San Agustín.* Actas capitulares (1895-1999) - Estatutos provinciales (1890-1997) - Líneas programáticas (1981-2001). Edición, estudio histórico e índices por Rafael LAZCANO OSA (Colección Documentos, 1). Madrid, Ed. Revista Agustiniana, 2000, CCLXXIX-872, ill.

Contenu: Prólogo por Miguel Ángel ORCASITAS, prior general: IX-X; 1. Perfil histórico de la Provincia Agustiniana de Castilla desde la exclaustración hasta los albores del siglo XXI: XII-CCLXXIX; 2. Actas capitulaires: 1-354; 3. Estatutos provinciales: 355-580; 4. Líneas programáticas: 581-634; 5. Album fotográfico: 637-754; 6. Índices: 757-863. Histoire des couvents en Espagne, aux Antilles, Texas et Brésil depuis 1880.

10065 RODRÍGUEZ RODRÍGUEZ, Isacio OSA - ÁLVAREZ, Jesús OSA, Al servicio del Evangelio. Provincia del Smo. Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas. Valladolid, Ed. Estudio Agustiniano, 1996 (457, ill.).

10066 VALLEJO, Juan José OSA, La Iglesia en la España de la Restauración: 1875-1902. — *Religión y Cultura* 43 (Madrid, 1997), 641-666.

Les augustins: 656-57, 660, 662; Thomas Cámara: 654-55; les augustines del Amparo: 661.

10067 VIÑAS ROMÁN, Teófilo OSA, En torno a los orígines de la Ordo sancti (beati) Augustini en España. — *La Ciudad de Dios* 221 (El Escorial, 1998), 477-508.

10068 VIÑAS ROMÁN, Teófilo OSA, Conventos agustinos de Cuenca. -- *Conventos Agustinos* (voir le no. 9833). II, 931-957.

Les couvents de Ntra. Sra. de Loreto o de S. Agustín (Cuenca); Real convento de S. Agustín (Castillo de Garcimuñoz); Ntra. Sra. del Puerto (Salmerón-Guadelajara); S. Agustín de la Encarnación (Priego); Ntra. Sra. de Gracia (Castello de Garcimuñoz); S. Cruz de Moya; conventos agustiniano-recoletos de El Toboso y de Campillo de Altobuey, Requena y Horcajo de Santiago; monasterio de Uclés.

10069 WEBSTER, Jill R., La crisis de los agustinos en el siglo XV. -- *Conventos Agustinos* (voir 9833), II, 987-1013.

En appendice 21 documents (1422-1448).

Aguilar de Belvis en Audanzas

10070 CAMPO DEL POZO, Fernando OSA, Convento-eremitorio de San Juan de Aguilar de Belvis en Audanzas (León). — *Archivo Agustiniano* 81 (Valladolid, 1997), 125-148.

Histoire du couvent de 1424 à 1534. Les religieux et les biens du couvent passèrent à celui de Medina del Campo.

Alcalá de Henares

10071 ROMÁN PASTOR, Carmen, Arquitectura conventual de Alcalá de Henares. Alcalá de Henares, Instituto de Estudios Complutenses, 1994 (458, 92 ill.).
Le couvent des Augustins: 195-208; couvent des Augustins déchaussés St. Nicolás de Tolentino: 323-330.

Alcoy

10072 SANTONJA CARDONA, José Luis, El convento de San Agustín de Alcoy en tiempos de su reforma (1550-1600). — *Archivo Agustiniano* 82 (Valladolid, 1998),
En appendice édition de 3 documents 1567-1592.

Barcelona

10073 CARBONELL I BUADES, Marià, Obres al convent de Sant Agustí Vell de Barcelona segles XVI-XVII. — *Locus amoenus* 1 (1995), 127-138, 7 ill. En catalan. Rés. en anglais.
'Histoire et analyse architecturale de l'ancien couvent augustin Sant Agustí Vell de Barcelone, édifice fondé au 14e s. et actuellement très ruiné. L'A. s'attache ici plus particulièrement aux nombreuses réformes architecturales des 16e et 17e siècles, avec l'imtervention notamment des architectes Jeroni Matxí et Josep Ferrer' (BHA).

10074 CASAS NABAL, Montserrat, Los fondos italianos de la biblioteca del convento de San Agustín de Barcelona (segunda mitad del siglo XVIII). — *Conventos Agustinos*. X Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Orden de San Agustín (Madrid, 20-24 de octubre de 1997), ed. Rafael LAZCANO OSA, I (Roma, 1998), 213-259.
En appendice description de 296 livres selon les mss. 1166 et 1167 de la Bibl. de l'Université de Barcelona (s. XVIII): 240-259.

10075 MUTGÉ VIVES, Josefina, El convento de Agustinos de Barcelona en el siglo XIV. Noticias históricas y documentos. — *Conventos Agustinos*. X Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Orden de San Agustín (Madrid, 20-24 de octubre de 1997), ed. Rafael LAZCANO OSA, I (1998), 497-528, 3 ill.
En appendice 11 documents (1315-1398): 514-528. Voir le no.9833.

Burgos

10076 RODRÍGUEZ RODRÍGUEZ, Isacio OSA - ÁLVAREZ FERNÁNDEZ, Jesús OSA, Libro de profesiones del Convento de San Andrés de Burgos (1492-1646). — *Archivo Agustiniano* 83 (Valladolid, 1999), 39-76.

Ms LI-382 de l'Archivo Municipal de Burgos. Liste de 282 professions des augustins entre 1492 et 1606, et de 4 augustines en 1540, 1548, 1559 et 1560. En appendice: "Memoria de los [12] novicios que tomaron el habito en este convento de Burgos" (1644-1646): 75-76.

Cadiz

10077 ROMERO COLOMA, Aurelia María, El cristo della Buena Muerte de la Iglesia de S. Agustín de Cádiz: su problemática artística. — *Boletín del Museo e Instituto "Camón Aznar"* no. 58 (1994), 139-144, 1 ill.

'L'église de S. Agustín de Cadix conserve un Christ cloué sur la Croix en bois polychromé, anonyme, dit Christ de la Bonne Mort. Après avoir passé en revue l'historiographie artistique sur cette oeuvre, l'A. retient l'hypothèse de son attribution à Alonso Cano, vers 1648-1649' (BHA).

Chipiona, N.D. de Regla

10078 *Vallecillo Martín*, Miguel OFM, El P. Lerchundi y los colegios misionales de Santiago y Chipiona. — *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 56 (Madrid, 1996), 809-927.

Le P. Joseph Lerchundi (1836-1896) pouvait acquérir en 1880 pour l'ordre des franciscains le couvent et le santuaire N.D. de Regla à Chipiona, de quoi les augustins furent expulsés par le gouvernement en 1835, voir les pp.860-871.

Ciudad Rodrigo

10079 GARCÍA SANCHEZ, Justo, Miguel de Palacio Salazar, fundador en 1585 del Colegio de San Miguel de los PP. Agustinos de Ciudad Rodrigo. — *Archivo Agustiniano* 82 (Valladolid, 1998), 3-106, 4 facs.; 83 (1999), 203-301: Apendices.

Miguel de Palacio († 1593), chanoine de la cathédrale de Ciudad Rodrigo et professeur de théologie à l'université de Salamanca.

Coín

10080 CAMPOS ROJAS, María Victoria, Le Villa de Coín y el convento de San Agustín. Málaga, 1997 (167).

Córdoba

10081 ARANDA DONCEL, Juan, El convento de San Agustín de Córdoba durante los siglos XVI y XVII. — *Monjes y monasterios españoles*. Arte, arquitectura, restauración, iconografía, música, hospitales y enfermerías, medicina, farmacia, mecenazgo, estudiantes (Estudios superiores del Escorial, Inst. Escurialense de investigaciones históricas y artísticas) vol. II (San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Eds. Escurialenses, 1996), 7-64.

10082 ARANDA DONCEL, Juan, El convento de San Agustín de Córdoba durante el siglo XVIII. — *Conventos Agustinos*. X Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Orden de San Agustín (Madrid, 20-24 de octubre de 1997), ed. Rafael LAZCANO OSA, II (1998), 865-906.

10083 ARANDA DONCEL, Juan, La devoción de la Virgen del Socorro en Córdoba durante los siglos XVII al XX. Córdoba, Ed. Caja-Sur, 1998 (293, ill.).

Cuenca

10084 VIÑAS ROMÁN, Teófilo OSA, Agustinos en Cuenca. Cuenca, Diputación provincial, 1998 (127).

El Escorial

10085 ALONSO VAÑEZ, Carlos OSA, Envío a Felipe II de reliquias de San Lorenzo desde Florencia y Roma para El Escorial. — *La Ciudad de Dios* 212 (El Escorial, 1999), 685-711.
Avec 12 documents (1583-1598):696-711.

10086 ANTONIO SÁENZ, Trinidad de, Diego de Urbino, pintor de Felipe II. — *Anales de historia del arte* 1 (1989), 141-157, 6pl.
'Brève présentation biographique de Diego de Urbino, peintre espagnol méconnu formé à l'art de la Renaissance italienne, très actif à l'époque de Felipe II: il est notamment l'auteur de plusieurs peintures de l'Escorial en 1579. L'exploration de documents d'archives inédits permet ici de préciser sa date de naissance: 1516, et augmenter le catalogue de ses oeuvres' (BHA).

10087 BRUQUETAS GALÁN, Rocío - PRESA CUESTA, Marta, Estudio de algunos materiales pictóricos utilizados por Zuccaro en las obras de San Lorenzo de El Escorial. — *Archivo español de arte* 70 (1997), no. 278, 163-176, 1 ill. Rés. en anglais.

'Plusieurs échantillons de pigments découverts dans l'Archivo General de Simancas sont mis en relation avec deux lettres datées de 1586-1587 d'une correspondance du peintre italien Federico Zuccari, à l'époque oú il travaillait à l'Escorial. Il s'agit en fait d'une commande de matériel de peinture que l'artiste faisait venir directement de Venise. Les lettres sont reproduites à la suite. Cette découverte est l'occasion d'une étude historique du commerce de pigments et de matériel de peintre à cette époque, ainsi que des techniques picturales utilisées' (BHA).

10088 BUEY PÉREZ, Jacinto del, Las meridianas de los Palacios Reales. — *Reales sitios* 32 (Madrid, 1995), no. 126, 54-58, 9 ill., 3 col.

'Présentation historique des meridiennes construites au 18e s. dans les palais royaux d'Aranjuez, de l'Escorial et du Buen Retiro (détruite), formées d'une ligne principale gravée au sol sur dalles de marbre permettant de connaître l'heure exacte au midi solaire. Les deux dernières ont été réalisées par le jésuite Juan Wendlingen' (BHA).

10089 BUSTAMANTE GARCÍA, Agustín, Gusto y decoro: el Greco, Felipe II y El Escorial. — *Academia* (Madrid, 1992), no. 74, 163-198, 9 ill.

'Analyse historique de l'exécution du *Martyre de saint Maurice*, peinture commandée au Greco par Felipe II pour orner l'un des autels de la basilique de l'Escorial. Cette oeuvre, exécutée entre 1579 et 1582, n'a finalement pas eu l'approbation du roi qui fit réaliser le retable définitif par l'italien Romulo Cincinnato en 1583-1584. L'A. étudie ici les raisons de rejet de Felipe II dans la perspective d'une histoire du goût en Espagne à cette époque. Une comparaison iconographique entre l'oeuvre du Greco et celle de Cincinnato et aussi proposée mettant en relief leurs implications idéologiques et esthetiques' (BHA).

10090 CAMPOS Y FERNÁNDEZ DE SEVILLA, Francisco Javier OSA (dir.), La Escultura en el Monasterio del Escorial. Actas del simposium (sept. 1994). El Escorial, Real Monasterio, 1994 (484, ill.).

10091 CAMPOS Y FERNÁNDEZ DE SEVILLA, Francisco Javier OSA, Dos monasterios gemelos: Sta. María de Guadalupe y San Lorenzo del Escorial. — *Guadalupe* (Cáceres, Monasterio de Guadalupe, 1994), no. 726, 105-117.

10092 CAMPOS Y FERNÁNDEZ DE SEVILLA, Francisco Javier OSA (coord.), *Literatura e Imagen en El Escorial*. Actas del simposium (sept. 1996). Madrid, Eds. Escurialenses, 1996 (1063).

10093 CANO DE GARDOQUI Y GARCÍA, José Luis, El monasterio "de prestado" de la Villa de El Escorial. — *Academia* (Madrid, 1991), no. 71, 449-466, 3 ill.

'A l'appui de differents documents d'archives (huit d'entre eur sont reproduits à la suite), analyse historique de la premiere abbaye hiéronymite de la ville de l'Escorial, qui a abrité de 1562 à 1571 le premier noyau de religieux avant leur installation dans le nouvel édifice de Felipe II' (BHA).

10094 CANO DE GARDOQUI Y GARCÍA, José Luis, El abastecimiento en la fábrica del monasterio de El Escorial: los "obligados". —

Homenaje al profesor Martín González (Valladolid, Universidad, 1995), 127-129.

'Analyse historique des conditions de l'approvisionement en vivres du chantier de l'Escorial, confié à partir de 1572-1573 à quatre fournisseurs sous contrat (obligados) ayant le monopole de la vente du vin, viande, poisson et huile. Un document de 1576 sur les obligations de cette charge est reproduit à la suite' (BHA).

10095 CAPDEPÓN, Paulino, El P. Antonio Soler (1729-1783) en el monasterio de El Escorial. — *La Ciudad de Dios* 211 (El Escorial, 1998), 599-619.

10096 CASTAÑO DE LA PUENTE, Felicísimo OSA, Historia del Real Colegio de Alfonso XII (San Lorenzo de El Escorial), 3 vol. El Escorial, Eds. Escurialenses, 1996 (1202, 1190 et 1336).

10097 CERVERA VERA, Luis, La primera merced concedida por Felipe II a Juan de Herrera. — *Academia* (Madrid, 1993), no. 76, 99-123.

'Dès 1563 Juan de Herrera rentre au service de Felipe II et assiste son maître Juan Bautista de Toledo dans les travaux de l'Escorial. A partir de cette date l'estime du roi pour l'archtecte ne cesse de croître permettant à Herrera de prendre la direction du chantier en1567, à la mort de Juan Bautista de Toledo, et d'obtenir de 1571 un premier privilège royal sur la ville de Villanueva de Alcardete (province de Tolède). Quatre documents d'archives renseignant sur ce privilège sont reproduits à la suite' (BHA).

10098 CERVERA VERA, Luis, Testimonios del monasterio escurialense en vida de Felipe II. — *Homenaje al profesor Martín González* (Valladolid, Universidad, 1995), 131-137.

'Presentation de 13 témoignages écrits et gravés de l'Escorial pendant et après la construction du vivant de Felipe II de 1576 et 1594' (BHA).

10099 CERVERA VERA, Luis, Transcripción del manuscrito autógrafo de Juan de Herrera sobre la teoría matemática de las gruas (en el IV Centenario de la muerte de Juan de Herrera). — *Archivo español de arte* 70 (1997), no. 277, 73-80, 4 ill.

'Présentation d'un manuscrit de la Biblioteca Municipal de Santander (MS 9, 17.2.12), qui est une copie d'un manuscrit original rédigé vers 1575 par Juan de Herrera actuellement conservé dans l'Archivo General de Simancas (Leg.258, fol.488). Ce texte présente une description d'une grue conçue par l'archtecte et destinée au chantier de l'Escorial' (BHA).

10100 CHAMORRO SALILLAS, Alejandro, La restauración del Cristo de Cellini. — *Reales sitios* 32 (Madrid, 1995), no. 126, 59-64, 7 ill.

'La restauration du Christ cloué sur la croix de 'Escorial, sculpture en marbre de Carrare de Benvenuto Cellini signée et datée de 1562. Les travaux de restauration effectués permettent d'avancer l'hypothèse que l'un des bras n'est pas d'origine. En outre, l'article comprend un aperçu historique des nombreuses vicissitudes subies par cette oeuvre depuis le 16e s.'(BHA).

10101 CHECA CREMADES, Fernando, Felipe II en El Escorial; la representación al poder real. — *Anales de historia del arte* 1 (1989), 121-139, 5 ill.

10102 *La Ciudad de Dios*, vol. 210 (El Escorial, 1997), no. 3, 663-910.

Numéro special dédié à Juan de Herrera, architecte de El Escorial à l'occasion du 4e centenaire de sa mort en 1597. *Contenu*: María Isabel VICENTE MAROTO, Actividad

científica de Juan de Herrera: 665-693, 3 ill.; Mariano ESTEBAN DIÑEIRO, Juan de Herrera y la formación "matemática" de los tecnicos: 695-719; Nicolás GARCÍA TAPIA, Juan de Herrera: Arquitecto e ingeniero: 721-750, 3 ill.; Luis CERVERA VERA, Remedios empleados por Juan de Herrera en sus enfermedades: 751-802, 1 facs.; Miguel MODINO DE LUCAS OSA, Juan de Herrera, el rey, los priores y aparejadores en la fábrica de San Lorenzo de El Escorial: 803-854; José RODRÍGUEZ DÍEZ OSA, Dos arquitectos herrerianos en la Compaña escurialense: Formas de Francisco de Móra (XVI) y Reformas de Enrique Repullés Segarra (s. XIX): 855-910, 8 ill.

10103 *La Ciudad de Dios* vol. 211, numero special: Felipe II 1527-1598 (El Escorial, 1998), 703-1220.

Dans ce numéro: Isacio RODRÍGUEZ RODRÍGUEZ OSA, Felipe II y los agustinos de Filipinas: Cara y cruz: 703-727: 703-727 (*André de Urdaneta*); María Isabel VIFORCOS MARINAS, Semblanza de fray *Juan González de Mendoza* OSA, embajador de Felipe II a China y obispo de Popayan (1545-1618): 729-758; Luis HERNÁNDEZ OSA, La música en la vida de Felipe II. Polifonía y canto llano en la Carta de Fundación del monasterio de El Escorial: 759-812; Enrique LLAMAS OCD, Antonio Gracián Dantisco y la biblioteca de El Escorial en su primera etapa (1571-1576). Adquisición de Codices en el extranjero: 883-918; Juan Manuel del ESTAL, Inventario del Archivo Hagiográfico de El Escorial (1564-1615): 1145-1220.

10104 *Dibujos italianos para El Escorial*, ed. Mario Di GIAMPAOLO; trad.: Sylvie BÉGUIN et Luciana ARBACE; collab. Carlos ALONSO OSA. Madrid, Nerea, 1995 (151, ill., 76 oeuvres mentionnées). En espagnol, italien.

'Catalogue des [76] dessins italiens conservés dans la bibliothèque de l'Escorial. Après les anonymes de l'école gènoise, description des dessins de Romulo Cincinnato, Francesco da Urbino, Pellegrino Tibaldi, Federico Zuccaro. Ce sont des dessins préparatoires au décor peint de l'Escorial' (BHA).

10105 ESTAL, Juan Manuel del OSA, Inventario del Archivo Hagiografico de El Escorial. — *La Ciudad de Dios* 211 (El Escorial, 1998), 1145-1220.

10106 ESTAL, Juan Manuel del OSA, Inventario de las reliquias veneradas en el Real Monasterio de El Escorial. — *La Ciudad de Dios* 212 (El Escorial, 1999), 713-794.

Complément du no. 10105 (1571-1611).

10107 GIL, Juan, Montano y El Escorial. — *Arias Montano y su tiempo* (Mérida, Ed. Regional de Extremadura, 1998), 173-187. Texto en portugués: 352-357.

10108 GÓMEZ LÓPEZ, Consuelo, Orden, teoría y realidad: intervenciones del rey Felipe II en las ciudades. — *Reales sitios* 34 (Madrid, 1997), no. 134: IV Centenario de Felipe II: la ciudad y el territorio , 50-59, 7 ill.

'L'intérêt et les connaissances particulières de Felipe II dans la domaine de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme, expliquent l'intervention personnelle du roi dans de nombreux projets en Espagne, outre sa politique générale de réformes urbaines et de réglementation de l'architecture. C'est cependant dans les domaines royaux, tels qu'Aranjuez et El Escorial, que la marque personnelle de Felipe II est la plus évidente' (BHA).

10109 GONZÁLEZ VELASCO, Modesto OSA, La imprenta en el Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial. Apuntes para su historia y catalogación de impresos. — *Monjes y monasterios españoles*. Arte, arquitectura, restauración, iconografía, música, hospitales y enfermerías, medicina, farmacia, mecenazgo, estudiantes (Estudios superiores del Escorial, Inst. Escurialense de investigaciones históricas y artísticas) vol III (San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Eds. Escurialenses, 1996), 633-680.
Voir le no. 10081.

10110 GONZÁLEZ VELASCO, Modesto OSA, Autores agustinos de El Escorial. Catálogo bibliográfico y artístico de los religiosos de la Provincia Agustiniana Matritense (1895-1995). El Escorial, Eds. Escurialenses, 1996 (1254).

10111 HEDEMAN, Anne D., Roger van der Weijden's Escorial Crucifixion and the Carthusian devotional practices. — *Sacred images. East and West*, ed. by Robert OUSTERHOUT and Leslie BRUBAKER (Urbana, Univ. of Illinois Press, 1995), 191-203, ill.
'Notes that this painting was executed for the Carthusian monastery at Scheut, outside of Brussels, and endeavors to place the work within Carthusian devotional practices and concerns' (BHA).

10112 HERNÁNDEZ, Luis OSA, La música en el monasterio de El Escorial durante el siglo XIX, hasta la llegada de los agustinos (1801-1885). — *Monjes y monasterios españoles*. Arte, arquitectura, restauración, iconografía, música, hospitales y enfermerías, medicina, farmacia, mecenazgo, estudiantes (Estudios superiores del Escorial, Inst. Escurialense de investigaciones históricas y artísticas) vol. I, 837-909.
Voir le no. 10081.

10113 HERNÁNDEZ GUARDIOLA, Lorenzo, El mundo simbólico de Velázquez: la Tunica de José y la Fragua de Vulcano: estudio iconologico. — *Archivo de arte valenciano* 76 (1995), 41-46, 6 ill.
'Transcription partielle d'une conférence prononcée par l'A. à l'academie de S. Carlos de Valence. Analyse iconographique de deux peintures de Velázquez exécutées vers 1630: La Tunique de Joseph (Escorial) et La Forge de Vulcain (Madrid, Prado). Suivant une proposition déjà avancée par Diego Ángulo Iñiguez en 1961, et à l'appui de differentes sources littéraires (Bibl. Métamorphoses, emblématique), l'A. démontre ici que ces deux oeuvres formaient une paire de contenu symbolique identique sur le thème de l'Envie' (BHA).

10114 KITAURA, Yasunari, Pervivencia o reminiscencia de la Antigüedad en el San Mauricio de El Greco. — *Goya* (1997), no. 259-260, 437-450, 20 ill., 14 col.
'Le Martyre de saint Maurice du Greco, réalisé pour l'Escorial, est une oeuvre complexe et controversée qui n'a pas eu l'approbation de Felipe II. L'auteur met ici en évidence, outre la profonde connaissance de l'artiste de l'art de la Renaissance, la manière dont le Greco se

détache des conventions iconographiques propres à la peinture d'histoire pour porter l'accent sur le drame psychologique qui se joue dans l'épisode représenté de la vie du saint' (BHA).

10115 LASSO DE LA VEGA ZAMORA, Miguel - GÓRRIZ BURK, Vicente, La recuperación del planto topográfico de 1794 de San Lorenzo de El Escorial: incidencias y conclusiones en la comprensión histórica de este Real Sitio. — *Reales sitios* 32 (Madrid, 1995), no. 125, 34-51, 9 cartes.

'L'Archivo General del Palacio Real de Madrid conserve un document de 1794 (legs 1837) signé de l'architecte Juan de Villanueva qui est l'énumération des edifices, rues et parcelles accompagnant un plan topographique perdu de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, confrontant ce document à d'autres antérieurs et postérieurs (dont des plans cadastraux), les auteurs proposent ici une restitution du plan originel permettant de mieux comprendre l'évolution urbaine du lieu pendant le 18e s.' (BHA).

10116 LÓPEZ BARRAJÓN BARRIOS, Mario, Simposium: le escultura en el Monasterio del Escorial. — *Archivo español de arte* 68 (1995), no. 271, 338-340.

'Compte rendu du congrès qui s'est tenu à l'Escorial, du 1er au 4 sept. 1994, sur la sculpture et la décoration sculptée du monastère' (BHA).

Cf. le no. 10090.

10117 LÓPEZ GAJATE, Juan OSA, El Cristo Blanco de Cellini. El Escorial, Monasterio Real, 1995 (488, ill.).

'Historique et analyse du Crucifix de Benvenuto Cellini daté de 1556 et conservé dans l'église de l'Escorial depuis que François I de Medicis en fit don à Philippe II' (BHA).

10118 MAGANTO PAVÓN, Emilio, La enfermera Jerónima del Monasterio del Escorial. Su historia y vicisitudes durante el reinado de Felipe II. El Escorial, Monasterio Real, 1995 (254).

10119 MAGNANI, Lauro, Luca Cambiaso da Genova all'Escorial. Genova, Sagip, 1995 (301, ill.).

10120 MARÍAS, Fernando, Las iglesias de planta central en España. — *L'église dans l'architecture de la Renaissance*: actes du colloque tenu à Tours du 28 au 31 mai 1990, éd. Jean GUILLAUME (Paris, Picard, 1995), 133-146, 10 ill., rés. en français.

E.a. "les différents projets pour la chapelle funéraire du cardinal Tavera dans son hôpital de Tolède et l'Escorial" (BHA).

10121 MARÍAS, Fernando, El Greco y el punto de vista: la capilla Ovalle de Toledo. — *El Greco of Crete*. Proceedings of the intern. symposium held on the occasion of the 450th anniversary of the artist's birth. Iraklion, Crete, 1-5 sept. 1990, ed. Níkos HATZENIKOLÁOU. (Erákléon, Demos Erakleiou, 1995), 357-369, 10 ill.

'Etude de l'histoire de la construction de la chapelle de l'Immaculée Conception dite aussi d'Isabel de Ovalle dans l'église S. Vicente Mártir à Tolède, édifiée d'après les plans de Juan Bautista de Monegro. La décoration de cette chapelle, d'abord confiée à Alessandro Semini, fut réalisée par le Greco à partir de 1607. L'A. a identifié les retables qui l'ornaient: il s'agit de l'Immaculée Conception, du S. Pierre et du S. Ildefonse de l'abbaye de S. Lorenzo de l'Escorial et de la Visitation de Dumbarton Oaks. L'analyse de l'organisation spatiale des

tableaux montre le souci qu'avait le peintre de tenir compte des déformations visuelles dues à la hauteur d'accrochage des toiles' (BHA).

10122 Martín de Villanueva († 1605), Obras musicales completas. (Maestros de capilla del Monasterio de San Lorenzo el Real del Escorial, colección dirigida por José SIERRA PÉREZ OSA). El Escorial, Eds. Escurialenses, 1997 (310).

10123 MARTÍNEZ CUESTA, Juan, Guide to the monastery of San Lorenzo el Real, also called El Escorial, transl. by Richard-Lewis REES. Madrid, Ed. Patrimonio Nacional, 1992 (254, ill., col.).

10124 MARTÍNEZ CUESTA, Juan, Ecos de guerra en el Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial. — *Reales sitios* 34 (Madrid, 1997), 4-19, 29 ill., (18 col).

'Analyse historique et iconographique de 14 peintures anonymes du 17e s., représentant des scènes de batailles, conservés dans les collections de San Lorenzo de El Escorial et provenant du Palacio Real del Buen Retiro. Ces peintures, déplacées en 1805, ont été réalisées d'après des estampes flamandes au début du 17e s., qui représentent des événements politiques majeurs en Europe de la fin du 16e au début du 17e siècle' (BHA).

10125 MODINO DE LUCAS, Miguel OSA, Documentos para la historia escurialense (XI). Los priores de la construcción del Monasterio de El Escorial: Fray Miguel de Alahejos, quinto y último prior (1582-1589). Investigación III. San Lorenzo del Escorial, Eds. Escurialenses, 1999 (202, ill.).

10126 MOHINO CRUZ, Arturo - CUESTA, Anastasio Miguel, Pedro de Ribera remodela el puente del Retamar y construye el camino del Escorial por Colmenarejo. — *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños* 35 (1995), 589-591.

'A l'appui de documents inédits des archives de l'Escorial, historique de la reconstruction du pont dit del Retamar, entre Madrid et l'Escorial, par l'architecte Pedro de Ribera à partir de 1727. Un nouveau chemin, reliant le pont à l'Escorial, a en même temps été tracé' (BHA).

10127 MULCAHY, Rosemarie, Symbolism and imagery in the Escorial. — *Leeds papers on symbol and image in Iberian arts*, ed. by Margaret A. REES (Leeds, Trinity & All Saints, 1994), 73-101.

'Art commissioned by Philip II is imbued with symbolism and its creation regulated in accordance with Counter-Reformation concepts of piety, gravity and decorum. However, it also shows an intensely personal use of symbolism on the part of the king' (BHA).

10128 MULCAHY, Rosemarie, Philip II as a patron of religious painting. — *El Greco of Crete*. Proceedings of the intern. symposium held on the occasion of the 450th anniversary of the artist's birth. Iraklion, Crete, 1-5 sept. 1990, ed. Níkos HATZENIKOLÁOU. (Erákléon, Demos Erakleiou, 1995), 315-323, 5 ill.

'L'A. étudie les exigences de Philippe II en matière de peinture religieuse. Très dévot et soucieux de son rôle de garant de l'orthodoxie dans l'esprit de la Contre-Réforme, le roi a exercé une pression sur les artistes travaillant au décor de la basilique de l'Escorial. C'est ainsi que le *Martyre de saint Maurice* du Greco n'a pu prendre place dans la chapelle à laquelle la toile était originellement destinée' (BHA).

10129 *Navarrete el Mudo*: pintor de Felipe II. Exposición Zaragoza, Centro Exposiciones y Congresos, 14.6 - 16.7.1995. Logroño, Ochoa, 1995 (357, ill.).
'Catalogue de cette exposition consacrée à Juan Fernández de Navarrete, dit Le Muet, peintre à la cour de Philippe II et plus particulièrement à l'Escorial' (BHA).

10130 NEWCOME, Mary, Giovanni Battista Castello. — *Arte cristiana* 83 (Milano, 1995), 197-208, 15 ill., rés. en anglais.
'Article présentant un album (passé en vente chez Christie's en 1986), rassemblant 785 dessins (encres, quelques aquarelles) mêlés à quelques estampes, dont le plus ancien date de 1582 et le plus récent de 1609. Ces dessins confirment que Castello templissait des livres avec de minuscules dessins de sujet différentes, que l'artiste était connu des mécènes espagnols, et témoignent de son activité d'illustrateur de livres de choeur à l'Escorial. Ces dessins révèlent la méthode de travail de C.: certains de ces dessins sont des esquisses pour des enlumineurs datées (1587, 1589) tandis que d'autres aident à identifier et attribuer d'autres oeuvres de Castello' (BHA).

10131 PARRONCHI, Alessandro, Un crocifisso d'avorio di arte celliniana. — *Antichità viva* 35 (1996), no. 4, 8-13, 10 ill.
'Identification dans une collection privée florentine d'un Christ en croix en ivoire de 26.5 cm de haut, que l'A. attribue à Benvenuto Cellini sur la base de comparaisons stylistiques avec le modello de cire blanche (Firenze, SS. Annunziata) que l'A. avait publié en 1967 comme modèle du Christ en marbre conservé à S. Lorenzo de l'Escorial' (BHA).

10132 RODRÍGUEZ DÍEZ, José OSA, Más de cien años de estudios superiores del Escorial (Órganos del Gobierno, Profesorado, Alumnos) 1892-1992. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Colegio Universitario Escorial-María Cristina, Servicio de Publicaciones, 1998 (415, ill.).

10133 SCHOLZ-HÄNSEL, Michael, Las obras de Pellegrino Tibaldi en el Escorial: un resumen original del arte italiano de su tiempo. — *Imafronte* Homenaje a la profesora Virginia de MERCELINA 8-9 (1992-93), 389-401, 4 ill., rés en anglais.
'A propos des peintures exécutées par Tibaldi à l'Escorial à partir de 1586 en remplacement de Federico Zuccaro (maître-autel, cloître et librairie) l'A. discute ici les problèmes de sa fortune critique, notamment les causes de son occultation pendant le 17e s., et la dévalorisation de son oeuvre peint qui en a suivi' (BHA).

10134 SIERRA PÉREZ, José OSA, Maestros de Capilla de San Lorenzo del Escorial: P. Juan Durango, 1632-1696 (Música religiosa, I). El Escorial, 1999 (731).

10135 SOLER, Antonio (1729-1783), Música para órgano, versión y estudio: José SIERRA PÉREZ. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Eds. Escurialenses, 1997 (197).

10136 SOLER, Antonio (1729-1783), I: Música religiosa: Varia liturgica (Maestros de capilla del Monasterio de San Lorenzo el Real del Escorial, colección dirigida por José SIERRA PÉREZ). El Escorial, Eds. Escurialenses, 1997 (349).

10137 P. Antonio Soler, 1719-1783, ed. José SIERRA PÉREZ OSA (Música religiosa, II). El Escorial, 1998 (325).

10138 SOROMENHO, Miguel, Do Escorial a São Vicente de Fora. — *Monumentos* 2 (1995), 24-26.
'Discusses the architecture of the monastery of S. Vicente de Fora in Lisbon, focusing on the roles of Juan de Herrera, Filippo Terzi, and Baltasar Álvares. Compares S. Vicente de Fora to the Escorial as a monument to Philip II and his heirs' (BHA).

10139 TAYLOR, René, Arquitectura y magía: consideraciones sobre la idea de El Escorial. Madrid, Siruela, 1992 (223, 61 ill.).
Compte rendu de cette trad. castellane du livre publié d'abord à Londres en 1967, dans *Academia*, no. 77 (Madrid 1993), 551-554, i ill.

10140 WILKINSON-ZERNER, Catherine, Juan de Herrera: arquitecto de Felipe II, trad. Isabel BALSINDE. Madrid, Akal, 1996 (223, 198 ill.).
Cf. le no 8427.

10141 ALTURO PERUCHO, Jesús, La escritura visigótica de origen transrirenaico: una aproximación a sus particulardiades. — *Hispania Sacra* 46 (Madrid,1994), 33-64, ill.
Analyse de deux Mss.: Paris B.N., lat. 609 et El Escorial, Real Bibl., P.I.8.

10142 BRAVO GARCÍA, A. - PÉREZ MARTÍN, Inmaculada, Un nuevo manuscrito copiado por Miguel Luludes: el Escurialensis S.III.11. — *Opöra* 1998, 227-234, 2 ill.

10143 BUSTAMANTE GARCÍA, Agustín, Alboraique: un dato iconográfico. — *Archivo español de arte* 70 (1997), 419-426, 2 ill.
'Probablement vers la fin du 15e s. paraît en Espagne un opuscule antisémite anonyme intitulé *Libro del Alborayque* qui connaît rapidement une grande diffusion. Le nom qui apparaît dans le titre est dérivé de celui de la monture de Mahommed et désigne de façon négative les juifs convertis de force qui ont conservé tous les vices. La bibl. de l'Escorial conserve un exemplaire de ce livre (MS 53-I-37) illustré d'une estampe qui représente l'"alboraico" sous la forme d'un être monstrueux combinant les caractères de différentes espèces. Une représentation sculptée de cet animal est aussi identifiée avec quelques différences dans les stalles du choeur de la cathédrale de Seville, oeuvre de Nufro Sánchez en 1478' (BHA).

10144 *Digenes Akrites*. New approaches to Byzantine Heroic Poetry, ed. Roderick BEATON and David HICKS (Center for Hellenic Studies, King's College, London, Public. 2). Aldershot, Variorum, 1993.
Dans ce recueil: ALEXIOU, Stylianos, *Digenes Akrites*: Escorial or Grottaferrata? An overview: 15-25 'Provides conspectus of arguments relating to the dating and estimation of these 2 Mss, and argues for superiority of the Escorial version'; GALATARIOU, Catia, The primacy of the Escorial *Digenes Akrites*: an open and shut case? : 38-54 'Taken issue with Stylianos Alexiou on the superiority of Ms Escorial'; MACKRIDGE, Peter, "None but the brave deserve the fair", abduction, elopment, seduction and marriage in the Escorial *Digenes Akrites* and modern Greek heroic songs: 150-160 'Argues that the bride-snatching is the central theme of Digenes Akrites, and of a number of modern songs, chiefly from Cyprus' (IMB)

10145 FERNÁNDEZ GÓMEZ, Margarita, El autor del Codex Escurialensis 28-II-12. — *Academia* (Madrid, 1992), no. 74, 123-161, 24 ill.

'Article issu d'une étude de plus grande ampleur en cours de publication. Cet article propose un état de la recherche très complet sur le Codex Escurialensis Ms 28.II.12, recueil de dessins du 15e s. représentant des vues des monuments historiques de Rome, considéré habituellement comme une copie d'un carnet perdu de Domenico Ghirlandaio, réalisés par un de ses disciples. Après un récapitulatif de toutes les hypothèses avancées jusqu'à présent, l'A. soutient ici que ce carnet est en réalité l'original du maître italien' (BHA).

10146 FRIED, Johannes, Tugend und Heiligkeit. Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zu den Herrschersbildern Heinrichs III. in Echternacher Handschriften. — *Mittelalter. Annäherungen an eine fremde Zeit*, hrsg. v. Wilfried HARTMANN (Regensburg, Universitätsverlag, 1993), 41-85, ill.

'Untersucht das Evangeliar von Speyer (Ms. El Escorial, Real Bibl. de San Lorenzo, Vitrinas 17), das Evangeliar von Goslar (Ms. Uppsala, U.B. C.93) und das Perikopenbuch Heinrichs III. (Ms. Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibl. b.21)' (BHA).

10147 GARCÍA AVILÉS, Alejandro, Two astromagical manuscripts of Alfonso X. — *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 59 (1996), 14-23.

'Illustrated manuscripts produced for Alfonso X, King of Castile: 1) *Libro de las formas et de las imágines*, 1277-79 (El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, MS h-I-16); and 2) a compendium of astral magic referred to by García Avilés as the *Libro de astromagia*, ca. 1280 (Vatican Library, bound with a collection of Latin Texts' (BHA).

10148 HILHORST, A., The Escorial Fragment of Heavenly Jerusalem — *Media Latinitas*. A Collection of essays to mark the occasion of the retirement of L.J. ENGELS, ed. R.I. ANIP et al. (Instrumenta patristica, 28). Turnhout, Brepols, 1996, 223-228.

'New edition of this text, a set of questions and answers, comparable to the pseudo-Isidorian "Questiones tam de novo quam de vetero testamentum", and probably originating in 8c. Irish circles, from the Escorial, Real Bibl. de San Lorenzo, a.II3, ff.157rb-va (10c. Visigothic minuscule). Argues that, despite its obvious connections with the preceding text in the MS. (the visio of Pauli), the "Heavenly Jerusalem fragment" had an existence of its own' (IMB).

10149 JEFFREYS, M., *Digenes Akritis*. The use of later manuscripts to reconstruct the Escorial version. — *Byzantion* 67 (Bruxelles, 1997), 60-69.

10150 JUSTEL CALABOZO, Braulio, El manuscrito escurialense 1860: Viaje a Oriente del místico sevillano Ahonad al-Harrar. — *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid* 26 (1993-94), 243-248.

10151 LLAMAS MARTÍNEZ, Enrique OCD, Antonio Gracían Dantisco y la Biblioteca de El Escorial en su primera etapa (1571-1576). — *La Ciudad de Dios* 210 (El Escorial, 1997), 5-40.

La continuation du no. 8400.

10152 MIRANDA GARCÍA, Carlos, Consideraciones sobre el judío y el hereje en occitania a través del ciclo de imajenes de la "Historia de

la cequera de los judíos" del "Breviari d'amor" de Matfra Ermengaud de Beziers (Escorial, MS. S.I.ns.3). — *Archivo español de arte* 67 (1994), 256-267, ill.

10153 PÉREZ MARTÍN, Inmaculada, El Escurialensis X.I.13: una fuente de los extractos elaborados por Nicéforo Gregorás en el Palat. Heidelberg. gr.129. — *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 86-87 (1993-94), 20-30, ill.

10154 PLANAS BADENAS, Josefina, Un manuscrito catalán iluminado en torno a 1400: Los oficios de devoción privada a. III.1, de la Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial. — *Boletín del Museo e Instituto "Camón Aznar"* (1994), no. 57, 93-124, 10 ill.

10155 *Real colección de estampas de San Lorenzo de El Escorial*, ed. Jesús María GONZÁLEZ DE ZÁRATE, 4 vols. Ephialte-Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional, 1994; Ephialte, Vitoria, 1995; Ephialte, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 1996.

Continuation de no. 8414. vol. V: Gal-Gal (213, ill.); VI: Ger-Jod (281, ill.); VII: Jod-Mul (303, ill.); VIII:Mus-Sol (345, ill.); IX:Soc-Zen (242, ill.). Vitoria, Ephialte, 1995; Vol. X.: Monogramistas-anónimos (165, ill.). Vitoria-Gasteiz, Ephialte, 1996. 'Dernier volume des Collections d'estampes du 16e et 17e siècle de la bibliothèque de l'Escorial' (BHA).

10156 RODRÍGUEZ MOÑINO SORIANO, Rafael, Notas breves sobre lo ocurrido con la Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial durante la guerra civil de 1936-1939. — *La Ciudad de Dios* 209 (El Escorial, 1996), 727-739.

10157 SCAGLIA, Gustina, Eleven facsimile drawings of the Pantheon vestibule and the interior in relation to the Codex Escurialensis and Giuliano da Sangallo's libro drawings. — *Architectura* 25 (München, 1995), no. 1, 9-28, 22 ill.

'Parmi ces 11 dessins représentant le vestibule ou l'intérieur du Pantheon figurent quatre dessins que l'A. désattribue à Jacopo Sansovino (Firenze, Uffizi), deux dessins qu'elle attribue à Raphael (Salzburg, Universitätsbibl.) par comparaison avec deux autres qui lui sont déjà donnés (Firenze, Uffizi). Deux dessins du Codex Escurialensis (El Escorial, Biblioteca, MS 28.II.2), et un dessin de l'Album Chinnery (London, Sir John Soanne's Museum). L'A. analyse les rapports de dépendence entre ces dessins et tente d'établir une chronologie. Elle note enfin qu'un certain nombre de ces dessins ont été copiés du Libro de Giuliano da Sangallo (Vaticano, Bibl. Apostl. MS barb.lat. 4424' (BHA).

10158 SOTO RÁBANOS, José María, Anotaciones sobre un códice escurialense (P. III.25). Una forma de confesión de Juan Martínez de Almazán — *La Ciudad de Dios* 210 (El Escorial, 1997), 413-430.

Manuscrit du XVe siècle.

Epila

10159 BARRUECO SALVADOR, Manuel OSA, Convento de San Sebastián de Urrea y de Epila. — *Conventos Agustinos*. X Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Orden de San Agustín (Madrid, 20-24 de octubre de 1997), ed. Rafael LAZCANO OSA, 1 (Roma, Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, 1998), 529-567.
Avec 14 documents (1533-1647): 546-567.

10160 BARRUECO SALVADOR, Manuel OSA, Ulterior desarrollo de la disputa entre el conde de Aranda D. Antonio Ximénez de Urrea y los agustinos del convento de Epila (1650-1654). — *Archivo Agustiniano* 81 (Valladolid, 1997), 35-52.
Avec l'édition de deux documents et en appendice deux documents du couvent d'Urrea (1533, 1557).

10161 BARRUECO SALVADOR, Manuel OSA, Felipa Clavero y Sessé, condesa de Aranda, y su polémica con los agustinos de Epila. Un documento de 1682. — *Archivo Agustiniano* 82 (Valladolid, 1998), 107-134.

10162 BARRUECO SALVADOR, Manuel OSA, Condado de Aranda. Un conde, dos condesas, un convento. Zaragoza, Fundación S. Agustín de Nicaragua, 1998 (141, ill.).

10163 BARRUECO SALVADOR, Manuel OSA, Los Agustinos de Epila y la Condesa de Aranda, Doña Felipa Clavero (4 Documentos de 1654 y de 1681). — *Archivo Agustiniano* 83 (Valladolid, 1999), 303-314.

Granada

10164 BERTOS HERRERA, Pilar, Piezas de plata que acompañan a la imagen del Santo Cristo de San Agustín. — *Quadernos de arte de la Universidad de Granada* 27 (1996), 95-104, 7 ill. Rés. en espagnol et anglais.
'Analyse stilistique des pièces d'argenterie religieuse du 18e s. (une croix, une couronne d'épines et un nimbe) du couvent S. Ángel à Grenade, qui parent la statue du Christ au moment des processions de la Semaine sainte. L'orfèvre n'est pas identifié. A noter que la sculpture du Christ en bois est l'oeuvre de Jacopo Florentino El Indaco au 16e s.' (BHA). Après la suppression du couvent des augustins l'image fut transporté le 23 sept. 1835 par l'ordre de l'archevêque au monastère S. Ángel Custodio des Clarisses à Granada.

10165 LÓPEZ GUADALUPE-MUÑOZ, Juan Jesús - LÓPEZ GUADALUPE-MUÑOZ, Miguel Luis - SZMOLSKA CLARES, José, Cofradías y devociones en el convento agustino de Granada (siglos XVI-XIX). El Cristo de San Agustín. — *Conventos Agustinos*. X Congreso

Internacional de Historia de la Orden de San Agustín (Madrid, 20-24 de octubre de 1997), ed. Rafael LAZCANO OSA, II, 1015-1059.
Avec un document (1835).

Guadix

10166 RODRÍGUEZ DOMINGO, José Manuel, El patrimonio mueble de los conventos suprimidos por la desamortización de Mendizábal en Guadix: 1835-1538. — *Quadernos de arte de la Universidad de Granada* 26 (1995), 423-437, 4 ill. Rés. en anglais.
'Les mesures prises en 1835 par le ministre Mendizábal pour la suppression des ordres religieux et la confiscation de leurs biens ont provoqué la disparition de nombreux couvents et abbayes en Espagne. Cependant, les inventaires réalises à la même époque permettent de connaître leur patrimoine artistique. Dans la ville de Guadix, pour la période 1835-38, sont étudiés ici les inventaires des anciens couvents de S. Domingo, S. Francisco, S. Agustín et S. Diego. Les documents sont reproduits en annexe' (BHA).

Huelva

10167 GONZÁLEZ MARCOS, Isaac OSA, El convento agustiniano de Huelva (1901-1931). — *Conventos Agustinos*. X Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Orden de San Agustín (Madrid, 20-24 de octubre de 1997), ed. Rafael LAZCANO OSA, I (1998), 429-479.
Voir le no. 9833

La Laguna (Ténérife, Canaries)

10168 ALONSO VAÑEZ, Carlos OSA, La universidad de los agustinos en La Laguna, Tenerife (siglo XVIII). — *Analecta Augustiniana* 60 (Roma, 1997), 131-147.

La Vid

10169 ZAPARAÍN YÁÑEZ, María José, Monasterio de Santa María de La Vid. Arte y cultura. Del medievo a las transformaciones arquitectónicas de los siglos XVII y XVIII. Madrid, Ed. Religión y Cultura, 1994 (155).

Madrid

10170 BOYANO REVILLA, Mariano OSA, San Felipe el Real de Madrid en el siglo XVIII: un convento ilustrado. — *Conventos Agustinos*. X Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Orden de San Agustín (Madrid, 20-24 de octubre de 1997), ed. Rafael LAZCANO OSA, I (1998), 63-99.
voir le no. 9833.

10171 CAMPOS Y FERNÁNDEZ DE SEVILLA, Francisco Javier OSA, El convento agustiniano de San Felipe y las fiestas reales de 1789 en Madrid. — *Revista Agustiniana* 39 (1998), 601-659, 3 ill.

10172 CARO LÓPEZ, C., El patrimonio de los regulares madrileños en los siglos XVII y XVIII. — *Hispania Sacra* 50 (1998), 509-550.

10173 HERRÁNZ, Juan, La creación de una divisa: El principe Felipe, Gaspar de Vega y el monasterio de San Felipe en Real de Madrid. — *Anales del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 5 (1993), 91-98, 2 ill.

10174 ITURBE, Antonio OSA, Patrimonio artístico de dos conventos emblemáticos de la Orden Agustiniana en Madrid: San Felipe el Real y Doña María de Aragón. — *Conventos Agustinos*. X Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Orden de San Agustín (Madrid, 20-24 de octubre de 1997), ed. Rafael LAZCANO OSA, I (1998), 339-428, 9 ill.
Voir le no. 9833. San Felipe el Real: 342-394; Colegio Doña María de Aragón: 394-426.

Málaga

10175 MANRIQUE, Laureano OSA, Las Capillas-Enterramientos de la iglesia de San Agustín de Málaga. Estudio documental descriptivo. El Escorial, Eds. Escurialenses, 1996 (274, ill.).
Description de l'église et des chapelles des défunts enterrés (1575-1974).

Medina del Campo

10176 CAMPO DEL POZO, Fernando OSA, Convento de Ntra. Sra. de Gracia en Medina del Campo. — *Conventos Agustinos*. X Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Orden de San Agustín (Madrid, 20-24 de octubre de 1997), ed. Rafael LAZCANO OSA, I (1998), 569-618, 1 ill.
Voir le no.9833.

Murcia

10177 AGÜERA ROS, José Carlos, Maestros y trazas de arquitectura, ingeniería y retablística del siglo XVII en Murcia. — *Imafronte* Homenaje a la profesora Virginia de MERCELINA 8-9 (1992-93), 11-29, 5 ill. Rés. en anglais.

'Présentation de trois dessins d'architecture inédits du 17e s. en Murcia, provenant de l'Archivo Historico Provincial de Murcia, documents exceptionnels pour leur rareté à cette époque: le projet d'une chapelle pour l'église S. Augustin de Murcia , par Juan López Carretero en 1647; le projet d'un point en bois à la Ñora, par Juan Bautista Balfagón en 1655; le projet de retable pour l'église de la Merced de Murcia, par Andrés Iñíguez en 1634. En annexe sont reproduits les trois contrats conservés auxquels étaient joints les dessins' (BHA).

10178 AGÜERA ROS, José Carlos, El templo conventual de San Agustín en Murcia durante el siglo XIX. Historia, descripciones, y contenido artístico. — *Conventos Agustinos*. X Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Orden de San Agustín (Madrid, 20-24 de octubre de 1997), ed. Rafael LAZCANO OSA, II (1998), 753-783, 16 ill.

Le couvent fut supprimé en 1835. Aujourd'hui l'église est paroisse de S. André.

10179 IRIGOYEN LÓPEZ, Antonio, Conventos agustinos y cabildo de la catedral de Murcia en el siglo XVII. Unas reflexiones conflictivas. — *Conventos Agustinos*. X Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Orden de San Agustín (Madrid, 20-24 de octubre de 1997), ed. Rafael LAZCANO OSA, II (1998), 785-808.

Palma de Mallorca

10180 CARMONA MORENO, Félix OSA, Profesiones religiosas del convento de Nuestra Señora del Socorro de Palma de Mallorca. — *Archivo Agustiniano* 81 (Valladolid, 1997), 229-265; 82 (Valladolid, 1998), 299-348.

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10181 CARMONA MORENO, Félix OSA, Herencia iconográfica del convento e iglesia de Ntra. Sra. del Socorro de Mallorca. — *Conventos Agustinos*. X Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Orden de San Agustín (Madrid, 20-24 de octubre de 1997), ed. Rafael LAZCANO OSA, II (1998), 1061-1103, 7 ill. col.

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10182 CARMONA MORENO, Félix OSA, Iglesia de Ntra. Sra. del Socorro (Agustinos) Palma de Mallorca. Historia y arte. El Escorial, Eds. Escurialenses, 1998 (156, ill.).

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10183 BARRIENTOS GARCÍA, José, La capilla de los Abarca en el convento de San Agustín de Salamanca y fray Luis de León. — *La Ciudad de Dios* 210 (El Escorial, 1997), 383-412.

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10184 LÓPEZ ARIAS, Xaime, Santa María Magdalena de Sarria. Lugo, Ed. Diputación Provincial, 1996 (232).

10185 SOLLA FONTÁN, Luis Jaime, El monasterio de Santa María Magdalena de Sarria (Lugo). — *Monjes y monasterios españoles*. Arte, arquitectura, restauración, iconografía, música, hospitales y enfermerías, medicina, farmacia, mecenazgo, estudiantes (Estudios superiores del Escorial, Inst. Escurialense de investigaciones históricas y artísticas) vol. II (1996), 833-875.

10186 VIUDA, Isidro de la, Convento de Santa María Magdalena de Sarria (Lugo), presencia e historia de los agustinos. — *Conventos Agustinos*. X Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Orden de San Agustín (Madrid, 20-24 de octubre de 1997), ed. Rafael LAZCANO OSA, II (1998), 907-930.
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10187 GUTIÉRREZ PÉREZ, Jesús Manuel OSA, El Cristo del convento San Agustín de Sevilla. — *Conventos Agustinos*. X Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Orden de San Agustín (Madrid, 20-24 de octubre de 1997), ed. Rafael LAZCANO OSA, I (1998), 27-61.

10188 MIURA ANDRADES, José María, Una aproximación a la presencia de las órdenes mendicantes en el reino de Sevilla durante la edad media. Elenco de fundaciones. — *Isidorianum* 8 (1995), 155-194.
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10189 CADIÑANOS BARDECI, Inocencio, Los Agostinos de Tarragona y su convento. — *Archivo Agustiniano* 82 (Valladolid, 1998), 135-141, 2 facs.
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10190 CABEZA SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, María Cruz, Catálogo de los manuscritos procedentes de los conventos valencianos suprimidos por la desamortización eclesiástica que se depositaron en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Valencia — *Estudis Castellonencs* 6 (1994-95), 249-263.
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10191 LLIN CHÁFER, Arturo, Arzobispos y obispos de Valencia. Valencia, Ed. Iglesia en Misión, 1996 (276).
S. Thomas de Villanova: 97-99; les évêques auxiliaires: Jean de Formentera: 266; Jacques Pérez de Valencia: 228; Matthieu Pérez: 229-30; Michel Mahiques: 231; Raphael Lasala Nocela: 241.

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10192 GONZÁLEZ CUÉLLAS, Tomás OSA, La Iglesia de Ntra. Sra. del Castillo Viejo. Valencia de Don Juan, PP. Augustinos, 1997; Valladolid, Estudio Agustiniano, 1997 (270, ill.).

10193 GONZÁLEZ CUÉLLAS, Tomás OSA, Nuestra Señora del Castillo Viejo. Libro de sus milagros. Valencia de Don Juan. — *Archivo Agustiniano* 81 (Valladolid, 1997), 53-124, 3 ill.
Transcription du Ms 'Ynformación, auttos y conprovacion ssobre los milagros ffechos pos ntra. ssa. del castillo viexo de la villa de Valencia de Don Juan' (1616-1642), préservé aux archives de la province de Castilla.

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10194 CANO DE GARDOQUI Y GARCÍA, José Luis, El Museo Oriental del Real Colegio de Agustinos de Valladolid. — *Academia* (Madrid, 1994), no. 78, 243-264, 14 ill.
'Cette étude consacrée à l'histoire et aux collections du musée d'art oriental de Valladolid comprend aussi un récapitulatif historique de la construction de l'édifice, collège commandé à Ventura Rodríguez pour les augustins missionnaires et entrepris à partir de 1759. C'est en 1980 que le musée prend la dénomination officielle de Museo Oriental' (BHA).

10195 CASADO PARAMIO, José Manuel OSA, Museo Oriental de Valladolid. Catálogo II: Marfiles Hispano-Filipinos. Valladolid, Caja España, 1997 (342, ill.).

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10196 *Abbayes, prieurés et communautés religieuses en Île-de-France* (Mémoires de la Fédération des Sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Île-de-France, 48). Paris, 1997 (497, 56 ill.).

10197 ANDRAULT-SCHMITT, Claude, Limousin gothique: les édifices religieux. Paris, Picard, 1997 (408, ill.).
L'architecture des églises en Limousin de 1180 au 15e s. Dans le Limousin se trouvaient les couvents de Limoges et Mortemart.

10198 BARDELOT, Philippe, Nouveaux documents sur la vie et l'oeuvre du sculpteur Pierre Biardeau, 1608-1671. — *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (1994), 23-47, 6 ill. Rés. en anglais et allemand.
'Édition commentée de neuf contrats signés par le sculpteur entre 1637 et 1671 et d'une quittance signée par sa veuve en 1672 retrouvés par l'A. aux Archives départementales du Maine-et-Loire. Ces documents complètent la connaissance de la vie et de l'oeuvre de cet artiste qui a travaillé dans l'ouest de la France pour différents ordres religieux mais surtout pour les augustins' (BHA).

10199 BAUMGARTNER, F.J., France in the XVIth century. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1995 (XVI-352).

10200 CARPENTIER, É., La France du XIe au XVe siècle. Population, société, économie. Paris, P.U.F., 1996, XXIII-547, ill.

10201 CHÂTELLIER, L., Le catholicisme en France, I: Le XVIe siècle; II: Le XVIIe siècle, 1600-1650. Paris, Sedes, 1995 (190; 312).

10202 *Dictionnaire des monuments historiques d'Alsace*. Strasbourg, La Nuée Bleue, 1995 (663, ill.).
'1260 monuments historiques du patrimoine architectural de l'Alsace sont répertoriés' (BHA).

10203 DINET, D., Religion et société. Les Réguliers et la vie régionale dans les diocèses d'Auxerre, Langres et Dijon (fin XVIe - fin XVIIIe siècle), 2 vol. Paris, Public. de la Sorbonne, 1999 (435; III-436-950, ill., cartes, plans).

10204 *Histoire de la France* des origines à nos jours, dir. G. DUBY. Paris, Larousse, 1995 (1214, ill.).

10205 JOUANNA, A., La France du XVIe siècle, 1483-1598. Paris, P.U.F., 1996 (XVIII-688, ill., cartes).

10206 McMANNERS, John, Church and Society in Eighteenth-century France, 1: The clerical establishment and its social ramifications;

2: The religion of the people and the politics of religion. Oxford, Clarendon press, 1999 (836; 880).

10207 *Medieval France*. An encyclopedia, ed. by W. W. KIBLER and G.A. ZINN (Garland Reference Library of Humanities, 932). New York-London, Garland (1995, XXVI-1047, ill.).

10208 MESNARD, G., La vie consacrée en France: ses multiples visages. Solesmes, Abb. S. Pierre, 1998 (671).

10209 PHILLIPS, Henry, Church and culture in seventeenth-century France. Cambridge, University Press, 1997 (IX-334).

10210 RÜTHER, Andreas, La participation des ordres mendiants au soutien spirituel dans les campagnes d'Alsace — *La christianisation des campagnes*. Actes du colloque du C.I.H.E.C. (25-27 août 1994), éd. sous la dir. de Jean-Pierre MASSAUT et Marie-Elisabeth HENNEAU. (Inst. Hist. Belge de Rome. Bibliothèque, 38-39). I (Bruxelles-Rome, 1996), 127-138.

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10211 RÜTHER, Andreas, Bettelorden in Stadt und Land. Die Strassburger Mendikantenkonvente und das Elsass im Spätmittelalter (Berliner Historische Studien, 26; Ordensstudien, XI). Berlin, Duncker & Humblot, 1997 (517, 4 plans, 11 cartes).

Les augustins de *Strasbourg* (1265-1530): 18, 46-8, 78-83, 89, 100-1, 103, 114-6, 123-4, 129, 141, 143-5, 147, 156-9, 164, 171-4, 178, 182, 186, 195, 200, 205-6, 210, 214-8, 220, 226, 239, 243-4, 254, 266, 268, 274-5, 278-9, 306, 317-24, 326, 328, 333; de *Haguenau*, *Ribeauvillé* (Rapoltsweiler), *Colmar*, *Mulhouse*: 101, 115. Konventuale der Augustiner-Eremiten: 381-83; Stiftende Familien an die Augustiner-Eremiten: 383-84; Besitzanrechte und Zinseinkünfte der OESA in der Stadt vom 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert: 460-69; Besitzanrechte und Zinseinkünfte der OESA auf dem Land vom 13. bis 15. Jahrh.: 470-75; Grundeigentum und Besitzanrechte der OESA: 485; Termineihäuser und Renteneinnahme der Augustiner-Eremiten (1 carte): 490; Mendikanten im Elsass vom 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert (4 cartes): 494-97.

10212 VOGLER, Bernard, Histoire des chrétiens d'Alsace des origines à nos jours. Paris, Desclée, 1994 (429).

Bagneux

10213 GRIMBERGEN, Henri OSA, Augustijnen in Bagneux 1950-1996... (pro manuscripto). Venlo, Augustijnenconvent, 1998 (46, ill.).

Brou

10214 CARPINO, Alexandra, Margaret of Austria's funerary complex at Brou: conjugal love, political ambition, or personal glory? — *Women and art in early modern Europe*: patrons, collectors, and

connoisseurs, ed. by Cynthia LAWRENCE (University Park, Pennsylvania State University, 1997), 37-52, 5 ill.

'The church of Brou (S. Nicholas of Tolentino) near Bourg-en-Bresse was commissioned by Margaret as a large family mausoleum. Loys van Boghem from Brussels was appointed its architect in 1512, and the structure was consecrated in 1532. Jan van Roome (Jean de Bruxelles) designed the tombs, and Conrad Meit of Worms received the commission to carve the statuary (including the effigies). Includes detailed discussion of the transit of Margaret and her husband Philibert created by Meit, van Roome, and others. The author concludes "at Brou, Margaret monumentally established the presence of the Burgundian imperial house in a region traditionally dominated by French influences through her decision to introduce the Flemish gothic style. In addition, she presents herself, for all eternity, as a woman who was not forced into a marginalized position after her husbands death..." (BHA).

10215 MÉRINDOL, Christian de, Le décor emblématique et les vitreaux armoriés du couvent de saint-Nicolas-de-Tolentin à Brou. — *Revue française d'héraldique et de sigillographie* 64 (1994), 149-180, ill., cartes.

'The building of the convent, by Margaret of Austria, drew its inspiration from her mother, Marguerite de Bourbon, in 1480. Its decoration refers to the houses of Savoie, Burgundy, Bourbon, and Austria' (IMB).

10216 MÉRINDOL, Christian de, Le couvent de Saint-Nicolas de Tolentino à Brou: réflexions sur les églises et les chapelles à destination funéraire à la fin du Moyen Age. — *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* 1993 (paru 1995), 140-152, 3 ill.

'Un relevé méthodique du décor (armoiries, emblèmes et thèmes) de l'église du couvent de Brou, commandé par Marguerite d'Autriche et réalisé sous la direction de Van Boghem entre 1513 et 1532, conduit l'auteur à démontrer l'existence d'un double programme iconographique, l'un dédié au saint patron, saint *Nicolas de Tolentino*, l'autre à la mémoire conjuguée des maisons de Bourgogne, de Savoie et d'Autrice' (BHA).

10217 PALLOT, Eric, La toiture vernissée de l'église de Brou, Bourg-en-Bresse. — *Monumental* (1996), no. 15, 78-89, 20 ill., 14 col.

'L'église de Brou, construite de 1504-1532 par le flamand Loys van Boghem, quoique d'inspiration brabançonne, possède une haute toiture à la française recouvert de tuiles vernissées. A l'occasion de travaux de restauration commencés en mai 1996, se sont posées les questions relatives à la trame et au choix des tuiles vernissées' (BHA).

10218 POIRET, Marie-Françoise - NIVIÈRE, Marie-Dominique - PALLOT, Eric, Brou: les bâtisseurs du XVIe siècle: 1996-1998: résurrection d'une toiture. Exposition. Bourg-en-Bresse, Musée de Brou, 6 juin-10 nov. 1996. Bourg-en-Bresse, Musée de Brou, 1996 (96, 79 ill.).

'Exposition consacrée à l'histoire de l'église de l'abbaye [sic] de Brou (l'actuel musée de Brou de Bourg-en-Bresse) fondée par Marguerite d'Autriche; les auteurs étudient en particulier l'organisation de son chantier. Un chapitre est consacré à la restauration de la toiture en tuiles vernissées commancée en 1996' (BHA).

Carcassonne

10219 Les archives des Augustins de Carcassonne, XIV-XVIIIme siècle. — *Mémoires de l'Académie des arts et des sciences de Carcassonne* 5e série, 5 (1993-1994), 189-203.

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10220 *Le beau Martin*: études et mises au point, éd. Albert CHÂTELET e.a. Actes du colloque Colmar 30 sept. - 2 oct. 1991. Colmar, Musée d'Unterlinden, 1994 (350, ill.).
Études sur Martin Schongauer, e.a.: GEITH, Karl Heinz, Die Stadt Colmar im 15. Jahrhundert: historische, soziale und religiöse Verhältnisse: 31-37; RAPP, Francis, La vie religieuse en Alsace et particulièrement à Colmar à l'époque de Martin Schongauer: 13-23. 'L'influence de la vie religieuse alsacienne sur la personnalité et l'oeuvre de M.S. se manifeste sous trois aspects: la volonté de réformer les institutions ecclésiastiques, le goût pour l'instruction à ceux des ordres mendiants et au mouvement de la *devotio moderna*, dont l'influence était très importante au 15e s. à Colmar.'

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10221 GUIGNET, Ph., Vivre à Lille sous l'Ancien Régime. Paris, Perrin, 1999 (II-471, 16 ill.).

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10222 DÉRENS, Jean-Arnault, Les ordres mendiants à Montpellier: "Religieux de la ville nouvelle" ou religieux du consolat? — *Annales du Midi* 107 (Toulouse, 1995), 277-298.

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10223 BEAUMONT-MAILLET, Laure, Guide du Paris médiéval. Paris, Hazan, 1997 (200, ill.).
Guide proposant une description de cent sites médiévaux de Paris du 9e au 16e siècle (BHA).

10224 GRES-GAYER, Jacques, Le jansénisme en Sorbonne, 1643-1656 (Coll. des Mélanges de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, 25). Paris, Klincksieck, 1996 (IX-382, 23 ill.).

10225 *The medieval Church*: universities, heresy and the religious life. 1999.

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10226 ROELKER, Nancy L., One King, one Faith. The Parlement of Paris and the religious reformations of the sixteenth century. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, University of California Press, 1996 (XIII-543).

10227 SULLIVAN, Th., Merit ranking, the religious orders, and the Parisian Faculty of Theology in the later Middle Ages, ed. by J. GREATREX (International Medieval Research, 5). Turnhout, Brepols, 1998, 135-144.

10228 WEIJERS, Olga, Le travail intellectuel à la Faculté des arts de Paris. Textes et maîtres (ca. 1200-1500), I: Répertoire des noms commençant par A-B (Studia Artistarum. Études sur la Faculté des arts dans les universités médiévales, 1). Den Haag, Constantijn Huygens Instituut; Paris, Inst. de Recherches et d'Histoire des Textes, 1994 (92).

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10229 WEIJERS, Olga, Le travail intellectuel à la Faculté des arts de Paris. Textes et maîtres (ca. 1200-1500), II: Répertoire des noms commençant par C-F (Studia Artistarum. Études sur la Faculté des arts dans les universités médiévales, 3). Den Haag, Constantijn Huygens Instituut; Paris, Inst. de Recherches et d'Histoire des Textes, 1996 (100).

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10230 WEIJERS, Olga, Le travail intellectuel à la Faculté des arts de Paris. Textes et maîtres (ca. 1200-1500), III: Répertoire des noms commençant par G (Studia Artistarum. Études sur la Faculté des arts dans les universités médiévales, 6). Turnhout, Brepols, 1998 (136).

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10231 MENGOTTI-THOUVENIN, P., Nicolas Fontaine (1625-1709). D'après une notice du père Léonard de Sainte-Catherine OAD. — *Religion et politique. Les avatars de l'Augustinisme*. Actes du colloque organisé par l'Institut Claude Longeon à l'Université Jean Monnet, Saint-Étienne, 4-7 oct. 1995, éd. J. JEHASSE et A. MCKENNA. (Saint-Étienne, Public. de l'université, 1998), 353-374.

10232 NOIREAU, Chr., Une représentation tardive de S. Augustin offerte aux fidèles. Les six toiles de Van Loo à Notre-Dame-des-Victoires à Paris. — *Religion et politique. Les avatars de l'Augustinisme.* Actes du colloque organisé par l'Institut Claude Longeon à l'Université Jean Monnet, Saint-Étienne, 4-7 oct. 1995, éd. J. JEHASSE et A. MCKENNA. (Saint-Étienne, Publ. de l'Université, 1998), 393-408, 7 ill.

10233 LE PAS DE SÉCHEVAL, Anne, Les tableaux de Carle Vanloo pour le choeur de l'église parisienne de Notre-Dame-des-Victoires. — *Revue de l'Art* (1996), no. 114, 23-33, 10 ill. Rés. en anglais.

'L'anlyse du cycle de peintures représentant la *Vie de St. Augustin* réalisées entre 1746 et 1755 par Carle Vanloo pour l'église du couvent des Augustins déchaussés (actuelle église Notre-Dame-des-Victoires). Ce cycle resté in situ, est étudié dans le contexte historique de la réaction des augustins contre le courant janséniste. Huit lettres du R.P. *Félix*, chargé du controle de l'exécution de la commande, éditées en annexe, permettent d'appréhender la réception de l'oeuvre au moment de sa réalisation' (BHA).

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10234 LIENHARD, Marc, Un temps, une ville, une Réforme. La Réformation à Strasbourg (15 studies in French, 5 in German). Aldershot, Ashgate Variorum, 1990 (320).

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10235 GARELLI, F., Les peintures murales du XIVe siècle de l'église des augustins de Toulouse. — *Revue de Comminges et des Pyrénées centrales* 92 (1997), 41-53.

10236 POINARD, Claire, L'insertion des Ordres Mendiants dans le tissue ecclésial du "Midi toulousain" (1200-1350): conflicts et controverses. Toulouse, Université du Mirail, UFR d'histoire, 1998 (210).

10237 SUAU, Jean-Pierre, Le thème du livre individuel des consciences sur les peintures murales méridionales du Jugement dernier, à la fin du Moyen Age. — *Enfer et paradis: l'au-delà dans l'art et la littérature en Europe.* Cahier de Conques no.1 (1995), 147-175, 5 ill.

'La représentation, à la fin du 15e et au début du 16e s. du Livre de vie porté aussi bien par les élus que par les damnés à la cathédrale d'Albi, dans *l'église des Augustins à Toulouse*, 1496-1504... Recherches sur les sources littéraires et figurées dont la Cité de Dieu de *S. Augustin*, l'Ars Moriendi, une apocalypse anglaise, v.1250-1260 (Cambridge Trinity College Ms.R 16-2)' (BHA).

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10238 HIRSCHMANN, F.G., Verdun im hohen Mittelalter. Eine lothringische Kathedralstadt und ihr Umland im Spiegel der geistlichen Institutionen (Trierer Historische Forschungen, 27). Trier, Verlag Trierer Hist. Forsch., 1996, 3 vol. (379, 381-794 et 795-1027, 60 cartes).

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10239 CEVINS, Marie Madeleine de, Clercs de paroisse et frères mendiants dans les villes hongroises à la fin du Moyen Age: coopération ou concurrence? — *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung f. Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 116 (1999), 277-297.

10240 CEVINS, Marie Madeleine de, Les religieux et la ville au bas moyen âge: moines et Frères mendiants dans les villes du royaume de Hongrie des années 1320 aux années 1490. — *Revue Mabillon* n. série 9 (1998), 97-126.

10241 HERVAY, Ferenc OCist., Ungheria: Agostiniani (ca. 1270-1500; 1655-1783). — *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione* IX (Roma, 1997), col. 1520-21; 1531; 1540.

10242 KUBINYI, A., Stadt und Kirche in Ungarn im Mittelalter — *Stadt und Kirche*, hrsg. v. F.H. HYE (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas, 13). (Linz, Oesterr. Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichteforschung, 1995), 179-197.

10243 MOLINÁR, M., Histoire de la Hongrie. Paris, Hatier, 1996 (469, ill.).

10244 ROMHANYI, Beatrix, A koldulórendek szerepe a középkori magyar oktatásban (The role of mendicant orders in medieval Hungarian education). — *A Magyar iskola elsö évszáradei* (996-1526) - [Die ersten Jahrhunderte des Schulwesens in Ungarn (996-1526)], ed. Kátalin G. SZENDE and Péter SZABÓ (Györ, Xantus János Múzeum, 1996), 35-40, cartes. Summ. in German: 39.
'Discusses the schools and training of the Dominicans, Pauline monks, Franciscans and Augustinian Hermits' (IMB); (?).

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10245 BARNARD, T.C., Cromwellian Ireland. English government and reform in Ireland 1649-1660. Oxford, University Press, 2000 (376).

10246 BRADY, C., The Chief governors. The rise and fall of Reform government in Tudor Ireland, 1536-1588. Cambridge, University Press, 1994 (XVIII-322).

10247 CONNOLLY, Sean J., Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845. Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2000 (336).

10248 EDWARDS, David, The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny, 1515-1642. Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2000 (352).

10249 FORRESTAL, Alison, The Catholic Synods in Ireland, 1600-1690. Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1998 (224).

10250 FRY, Susan, Burial in medieval Ireland, 900-1500. A review of the written sources. Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1999 (208).

10251 FULLER, Anne P. (ed.), Calendar of Papal Letters relating to Great Britain and Ireland, vol. XVI: Alexander VI (1492-1503), Lateran registers, part one: 1492-1498. Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1986 (CXXX-869).

10252 FULLER, Anne P. (ed.), Calendar of Papal Letters relating to Great Britain and Ireland, vol. XVII: Alexander VI (1492-1503), Lateran registers, part two: 1495-1503. Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1994 (LXVII-926).

10253 HACKETT, Michael Benedict OSA, The Augustinian situation in Ireland at the onset of the American Mission in the 1790s. — *Proceedings of the PMR Conference* 19-20 (Villanova, 1994-1996), 1-14, 1 carte.

10254 *The Irish in Europe 1600-1800*, The other hidden Ireland ed. by Thomas O'CONNOR. Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2000 (224).

10255 LENNON, C., XVIth cent. Ireland. The incomplete conquest. Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1994 (390).

10256 LYONS, Mary Ann, Church and Society in County Kildare, 1480-1547. Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2000 (256).

10257 MURPHY, Daniel, Irish Emigrant and Missionary Education: A History. Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2000 (520).
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10258 *The Oxford companion to Irish History*, ed. by S.J. CONNOLLY. Oxford, University Press, 1999 (636, 6 cartes).

10259 VILLETTI, Gabriella, Tracce per lo studio dell'architettura degli Ordini mendicanti nell'Irlanda medievale. — *Palladio* 7 (1994), no. 14, 79-96, 28 ill., 1 carte, 6 plans. Summ. in English.
'Notes that the origin and development of Irish Gothic architecture is due largely to the extensive building construction by the mendicant orders, that the survival of the ruins of numerous monasteries makes reconstruction of the original structures possible; and that the singular uniformity of the construction of monastic architecture of the mid-13th to early 16th cs. reflects the conservative character of the orders' (BHA).

10260 WHELAN, K., The tree of liberty: radicalism. Catholicism and the construction of Irish identity, 1769-1830. Cork, University Press, 1996 (X-236).

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10261 FAGAN, Patrick, Catholics in a Protestant country. The Papist Constituency in XVIIIth-century Dublin. Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1998 (201).

10262 *History of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin*, ed. by James KELLY and Dáire KEOGH. Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1999 (424, ill.).

ITALIE

10263 ACCETTA, Foca, I conventi agostiniani della congregazione degli Zumpani in Calabria Citra. — *Calabria letteraria* 44 (1996), no. 4-6, 66-67.

'On reformed Augustinian monasteries, late 15th-17th cs. in the province of Cosenza. Includes information on monastic architectural history' (BHA).

10264 ACCETTA, Foca, La congregazione agostiniana del Ven. Francesco da Zumpano in Calabria (Secc. XV-XVII). — *Analecta Augustiniana* 60 (Roma, 1997), 81-130.

En appendice 5 documents (1539-1603). François de Zumpano, le fondateur, 1455-1519.

10265 ACCETTA, Foca, I conventi agostiniani della Congregazione degli Zumpani in Calabria. — *Analecta Augustiniana* 61 (Roma, 1998), 5-41.

Histoire succincte des 42 couvents fondés entre 1490-1617. En appendice: Capitoli per la fondazione del convento di *Reggio Calabria*: 38-41.

10266 ALBERTI, O.P., Scritti di storia civile e religiosa della Sardegna. Cagliari, Della Torre, 1994 (384, ill.).

10267 *Atlante degli ordini*, delle congregazioni religiose e degli istituti secolari in Puglia. A cura di Antonio CIAULA e Francesco SPORTELLI, saggio introduttivo di Cosimo Damiano FONSECA. Modugno (Bari), Ed. Litopress, 1999 (750, cartes).

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10268 BASSETTI, Vittorio, Un ritrovato "Libro di entrate/uscite" della provincia agostiniana di Romagna (1437-1538). — *Analecta Augustiniana* 63 (Roma, 2000), 59-96.

Le Ms se trouve dans l'Archivio de Stato de Rimini, fasc.6 (ex AB 1362). Liste des prieurs provinciaux: 64-65; Liste des chapitres provinciaux (1440-1538): 65-67; Liste des 35 couvents: 69-76; Actes des chapitres provinciaux (1471-1538): 77-96.

10269 BASSETTI, Vittorio, La provincia di Romagna alla fin del '600. I capitoli provinciali del 1682-1686. — *Analecta Augustiniana* 63 (Roma, 2000), 343-382.

10270 *Bibliografia Marchigiana*. Volume primo, coordinamento Orlando RUFFINI. Tolentino, Centro Studi A. Trapè; Convento San Nicola, Biblioteca Egidiana, 1997 (285).
Bibliographie historique des Marches, comprenant les provinces de Pesaro e Urbino, Ancona, Macerata et Ascoli Piceno, contenant 4107 numéros.

10271 CABY, Cécile, Les implantations urbaines des ordres religieux dans l'Italie médiévale: bilan et propositions de recherche. — *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 35 (Firenze, 1999), 151-179.

10272 CAMPANELLI, Marcella, La popolazione ecclesiastica regolare nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia alla metà del XVII secolo. Gli eremitani di Sant'Agostino e le Congregazioni osservanti. — *Bollettino di demografia storica* (1995), no. 22, 43-68.

10273 *La Chiesa in Italia* dall'unità ai nostri giorni, ed. E. GUERRERO (Storia della Chiesa. Sussidi, 5). Cinisello Balsamo, Ed. San Paolo, 1996 (803, 20 ill., 1 carte).

10274 DELCORNO, Carlo, Vernacular preaching by Augustinians in Italy (XIII-XV centuries). - O'MARA, VI., Supplement section in *Medieval Sermon Studies* 39 (1997), 45-60.
Gilles de Rome, Augustin Trionfo, Michel de Massa, Albert de Padova, Simon de Cascia, Jérôme de Sienna, André Biglia, Jean Rocco de Pavia, Gabriel de Garofolis.

10275 *Diocesi di Belluno e Feltre*. A cura di Nilo TIEZZA (Storia religiosa del Veneto, 7). Venezia-Padova, Giunta Regionale del Veneto; Gregoriana libreria editrice, 1996 (559, 1 carte).

10276 *Dizionario storico-biografico dei marchigiani*, a cura di G.M. CLAUDI e L. CATRI. Vol. I: A-L. Ancona, Il lavoro editoriale, 1992 (334, ill.).
Voir aussi les nos. 10277 et 10278.

10277 *Dizionario storico-biografico dei marchigiani*, a cura di G.M. CLAUDI e L. CATRI. Vol. II: M-Z. Ancona, Il lavoro editoriale, 1993 (247, ill.).
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10278 *Dizionario storico-biografico dei marchigiani*, a cura di G.M. CLAUDI e L. CATRI. Vol. III: '900. Ancona, Il lavoro editoriale, 1994 (163, ill.).
Voir aussi les nos. 10276 et 10277.

10279 *Donne e fede*. Santità e vita religiosa in Italia, ed. Lucetta SCARAFFIA e Gabriella ZARRI. Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1994 (XVI-552).

10280 *Istituti di vita consacrata* e società di vita apostolica nelle Marche. Annuario 1987. Ancona, Cism Marche, 1987 (291); Annuario 1992. Ancona, Cism Marche, (136).

10281 MATTEI, Mario OSA, La provincia agostiniana di Romagna nella seconda metà del '600. I capitoli provinciali del 1662-1671. — *Analecta Augustiniana* 60 (Roma, 1997), 281-339.
Continuation du no. 8516. Sur le peintre *César Pronti de Rimini* OSA (1626-1708) et ses oeuvres: p.284-85. Voir aussi les nos. 10268-269.

10282 MATTEI, Mario OSA, La provincia agostiniana di Romagna nella seconda metà del '600. I capitoli provinciali del 1672-1681. — *Analecta Augustiniana* 61 (Roma, 1998), 301-386.
Voir aussi les nos.10268-69.

10283 MONFASANI, John, Language and Learning in Renaissance Italy (14 studies). Aldershot, Ashgate Variorum, 1994 (352, 8 ill.).

10284 NECCIA, Lino, La provincia agostiniana di Sardegna dagli inizi a tutto il XVI secolo. — *Analecta Augustiniana* 62 (Roma, 1999), 359-389.
La province fut érigée le 14 juillet 1512. En *Sardaigne* y furent 9 couvents: Cagliari (2), Sassari, Alghero, Samassi, Scolca, Pozzomaggiore, Illorai, Tortoli; en *Espagne* 6 couvents: Valencia, Caudiel, Liria, Játiva, Mallorca et Menorca jusqu'à 1572. A p.383-389 des notices sur les *4 évêques* de la province: Michel Máiquez, év. d'Ales et élect de Sassari († 1577); Louis de Cotes, év. d'Ampurias († 1558); Jean Serra, év. de Bosa († 1577); Antoine Camós, év. élect de Trani († 1606).

10285 NICCOLI, Ottavia, La vita religiosa nell'Italia moderna. Secoli XV-XVIII (Argomenti, 9). Roma, Carocci, 1998 (247).

10286 PACIOCCO, Roberto, Ordini mendicanti e culto dei santi. — *Pellegrinagi e itinerari dei santi nel Mezzogiorno medievale*. A cura di G. VITOLO (Napoli, Gruppo Interuniversitario per la Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea; Liguori, 1999), 129-163.

10287 PELLEGRINI, Luigi, Monachesimo e ordini mendicanti. — *Il monachesimo italiano nell'età communale*. Atti del IV° Convegno di studi storici sull'Italia benedettina. Abbazia di S. Giacomo Maggiore, Pontida (Bergamo), 3-6 sett.1995. A cura di F.G. TROLESE. (Cesena, Badia di Santa Maria del Monte, 1998), 665-694.

10288 *La pietà populare in Italia*, I: Calabria, a cura di Giuseppe Maria VISCARDI e Paule LEROU. Paris, Letouzey & Ané; Roma, Ed. Storia e Letteratura, 1996 (378).

10289 *The politics of ritual kinship*. Confraternities and social order in early modern Italy, ed. by N. TERPSTRA (Cambridge studies in Italian history and culture). Cambridge, University Press, 1999 (XI-317).

Dans ce volume: J.F. RONDEAU, Homosociality and civic (dis)order in late medieval Italian confraternities: 30-47; G. CASAGRANDE, Confraternities and lay female religiosity in late medieval and Renaissance Umbria: 48-66; A. ESPOSITO, Men and women in Roman confraternities in the XVth and XVIth cent.: 82-97; K. EISENBICHLER, The suppression of confraternities in Enlightement Florence: 262-278.

10290 *Provincia agostiniana d'Italia.* Atti del capitolo provinciale ordinario, Cascia, 24.6-2.7.1996. Roma, Segretaria provinciale, 1996 (94).

Le premier chapitre des provinces unies d'Italie.

10291 *Provincia agostiniana d'Italia.* Statuti provinciali. Roma, Segretaria provinciale, 1996 (23).

10292 *San Nicola da Tolentino. Bollettino mensile Santuario San Nicola, Tolentino* 70 (1998), no. 6, 36 pp., ill. Numero speciale: Gli Agostiniani: Musica e canto, a cura di Marziano RONDINA OSA, 36pp., ill.

Contenu: Noi Agostiniani: Musica e canto: 3; *S. Agostino* e la Musica di Dio: 4-6; Musica e preghiera. Il canto corale come scuola di vita: 7-9; Musica e musicisti: Gli Agostiniani in Italia: 10-11; Fr. *Stefano Vanni da Recanati* (1493-après 1540): 12-14; Agostiniani a *Bologna*. Il culto della musica: 15; Fr. *Carlo Milanuzzi da Esanatoglia* (ca. 1590-après 1643): 16-19; Fr. *Ludovico Zacconi da Pesaro* (1555-1627): 20; S. *Vittoria in Matenano* (AP). Musica per la festa di San Nicola (1798): 21-23; Gaetano Callido, organaro veneto (1727-1813): 24; Organi nelle Marche. Committenza agostiniana: 25; Due organi: *Cartoceto* e *Urbino (Agostiniane)*: 26; Schola Cantorum Giuseppe Bezzi. A servizio della *Basilica di San Nicola*: 28-30; Scheda bibliografica: 31.

10293 *Santi, monaci e contadini.* La Marca tra agiografia e folklore. Atti del convegno di studio svoltosi in occasione della quinta ed. del Premio internazionale Ascoli Piceno (Ascoli P., 21-23 giugno 1981), a cura di Enrico ERNESTÒ. Ascoli P., Amministrazione comunale di Ascoli P., 1993 (153).

10294 SEMERARO, C., Analisi di un'inedita inchiesta della Santa Sede (1847) sugli ordini religiosi. Campione applicativo: l'area nissena in Sicilia. — *Salesianum* 60 (Roma, 1998), 479-503.

Les augustins de Caltanissetta: 495-96, 499, 500; de Mussomeli: 501.

10295 SENSI, Mario, Le Madonne del Soccorso umbro-marchigiane nell'iconografia e nella pietà. — *Bollettino storico della città di Foligno* 18 (1994), 7-88, 16 ill.

'On the cult (15th-17th cs.) in Italy of the Madonna of succor. Analyzes archetypal images and iconografical variations. Includes catalogue entries for sites (churches, altars, works of art, etc.) of the cult, which was promoted by the Augustinian Order, and which was widespread (after 1480) in the Umbria and Marches region' (BHA).

10296 SILVESTRINI, Maria Teresa, La politica della religione. Il governo ecclesiastico nello Stato Sabaudo del XVIII secolo. (Fondazione Luigi Firpo. Centro di studi sul pensiero politico. Studi e Testi, 7). Firenze, Olschki, 1997 (427).

10297 *Storia dell'Italia religiosa*, I: L'antichità e il medioevo. A cura di André VAUCHEZ. Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1993 (XVI-612).
e.a. G. Barone: Gli erdini mendicanti: 347-373.

10298 *Storia dell'Italia religiosa*, 2: L'età moderna, a cura di G. De ROSA e T. GREGORY. Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1994, XIX-595, ill., cartes.

Amandola

10299 *Amandola e il suo territorio*, testi di M. ANTONELLI e.a. Ascoli P., Fondazione della Cassa di risparmio di Ascoli P., 1995 (220, ill.).

10300 *Le origini della fondazione agostiniana* ed il suo vitale apporto alla crescita spirituale e culturale di Amandola, a cura di Tiziana MAROZZI. Tolentino, Centro Studi 'Agostino Trapé', convento San Nicola, Biblioteca Egidiana, 1997 (87, ill.).

Andria

10301 PETRAROLO, Pietro, Il santuario di S. Maria dei Miracoli di Andria nella storia e nell'arte. Andria, Sveva Editrice, 1996 (79, ill.).

Bologna

10302 CAMMAROTA, Giampiero, Le origini della Pinacoteca nazionale di Bologna: una raccolta di fonti, volume primo: 1797-1815. Bologna, Minerva, 1997, VI-758,
'Presents documents [(1658-1813), many previously unpublished] on the formation of the Pinacoteca nazionale (established 1797-1810) in Bologna. Includes estate inventories and testaments of collections (17th-18th cs.), inventories of monasteries, convents, etc. from the Bologna area suppressed in the late 18th c., and catalogue lists (1808, 1810, 1820) of the collections of painting'

10303 PRODI, P. - PAOLINI, L. (ed.), Storia della chiesa di Bologna. 2 vol. Bergamo, Ed. Bolis, 1997 (XV-402; 670, 400 ill.).

10304 TERPSTRA, Nicholas, Lay confraternities and civic religion in Renaissance Bologna. Cambridge, University Press, 1995 (XX-251).

10305 TERPSTRA, Nicholas, Confraternities and mendicant orders. The dynamics of lay and clerical brotherhood in Renaissance Bologna. — *The Catholic Historical Review* 82 (1996), 1-22.

10306 TERPSTRA, Nicholas, Confraternities and local cults: civic religion between class and politics in Renaissance Bologna. — *Civic Ritual and Drama*, ed. by Alexandra F. JOHNSTON and Wim HÜSKEN (Amsterdam, Rodopi, 1997), 143-174.

Bologna (S. Giacomo Maggiore)

10307 *S. Giacomo Maggiore* in Bologna. Bologna, S. Giacomo, 1997 (16, ill.).

10308 *S. Giacomo Maggiore in Bologna*. Guida storico-artistica. Bologna, Agostiniani, 1997 (48, en coul., 1 plan).

10309 GRANDI, Renzo, La scultura a Bologna nell'età di Niccolò. — *Niccolò dell'Arca*. Seminario di studi: atti del convegno 26-27 maggio 1987, ed. Grazia AGOSTINI e.a. (Bologna, Nuova Alpa, 1989), 25-57, 27 ill.

'Surveys developments in sculpture in Bologna in the 15th c., as a background to the achievements of Niccolò dell'Arca; considers the relationship between sculpture and painting... focuses on the Nativity of Pagno di Lapo, the anonymous equestrian wall monument to Annibale Bentivoglio in S. Giacomo, tombs by Cossa and Sperandio, and works of Francesco di Simone Ferrucci and Vincenzo Onofri' (BHA).

10310 NIEUWENHUIZEN, Paul, Worldly ritual and dynastic iconography in the Bentivoglio Chapel in Bologna, 1483-1499. — *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* (Historical Studies, 1996) 55 (Assen, 1997), 187-212, 15 ill., 1plan.

'Study of Costa's painting in the Bentivoglio chapel in S. Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna. With special reference to the iconography and the portraits of the Bentivoglio family, and the relation between the paintings and worldly ritual in the chapel, which on several occasions was used by Giovanni II Bentivoglio to knight meritorious and loyal persons. Argues that both the iconography and the ritual served to propagate the princely and dynastic aspirations of Giovanni II' (BHA).

10311 STAGNI, Simonetta, Alcune aggiunte al catalogo di Giacomo Francia. — *Arte a Bologna* 3 (1993), 170-176, 10 ill.

E.a. Madonna and Child with S. Ursula and her Companions (Bologna, S. Giacomo Maggiore).

Borgo San Sepolcro

10312 AGNOLETTI, Ercole, Il cantiere di Sant'Agostino a Sansepolcro. La vecchia pieve di Santa Maria cambia titolo. — *Pagine altotiberine* 1/3 (1997), 91-96, ill.

'Essenziale ricostruzione cronologica dei lavori di rifacimento, avvenuti tra il 1766 e il 1785 per iniziativa degli agostiniani (con cambio del titolo), della pieve di S. Maria a Sansepolcro (Arezzo), la cui prima erezione risaliva al 1203' (RSCI).

10313 BOSKOVITS, Miklós, Il San Nicola da Tolentino di Piero della Francesca restaurato. — *Arte cristiana* 83 (Milano, 1995), 227-230, 1 ill.

'La recente restauration de St. Nicolas de Tolentino de Piero della Francesca (Milano, Museo Poldi Pezzoli), qui provient du retable commandé en 1454 pour l'église S. Agostino de Borgo San Sepolcr, fournit à l'A. l'occasion de proposer une restitution partielle du polyptique à partir des éléments conservés et dispersés' (BHA).

10314 CZORTEK, Andrea, Gli eremiti di Sant'Agostino a Sansepolcro nei secoli XIII e XIV. — *Analecta Augustiniana* 63 (Roma, 2000), 5-49.

10315 GARZOTTO, Franca - MAINETTI, Luca - PAOLINI, Paolo, User interaction styled in museum hypermedia. — *Bollettino d'informazioni* - Centro di ricerche informatiche per i beni culturali 5 (1995), 27-43, 2 diagrams. Summary in English.

'Examines interaction styles that can be designed in hypermedia applications, taking as an example of hypermedia project development in collaboration with the Poldi Pezzoli Museum, Milan, involving Piero della Francesca's dismembered Polyptych of S. Augustine painted for S. Agostino, Borgo San Sepolcro, one panel of which - S. Nicholas of Tolentino - is in the museum's collection' (BHA).

10316 *Il polittico agostiniano di Piero della Francesca*, ed. Andrea Di LORENZO. Milano, Museo Poldi Pezzoli; Torino, Allemandi, 1996 (152, ill.).

'A l'occasion de la restauration en 1993-1994 du Saint Nicolas de Tolentino de Piero della Francesca, du musée Poldi Pezzoli de Milan, cet ouvrage offre une révision complète de l'ancien polyptique de l'artiste, dont ce panneau faisait partie. L'oeuvre a été conçue à l'origine comme retable pour l'église degli Agostiniani à Borgo San Sepolcro et achevée en 1469. Au 19e s., l'oeuvre démembrée est dispersée dans differentes collections. Une restitution intellectuelle est proposée' (BHA).

Dans ce livre: F. POLCRI, Gli Agostiniani e il polittico di Piero della Francesca. Documenti e committenza: 73-100.

10317 *Il Volto Santo di Sansepolcro*: un grande capolavoro medievale rivelato dal restauro, ed. Anna Maria MARTZKE. Milano, Silvana, 1994 (158, 153 ill.).

'Ouvrage consacré au monumental Christ en croix, de type Volto Santo, en bois polychromé, oeuvre du 12e-13e s. conservé dans la cathédrale de Sansepolcro depuis 1770, vénéré à l'origine dans l'ancienne église S. Maria devenue S. Agostino, dont la Soprintendenza d'Arezzo vient d'achever la restauration. Plusieurs essais illustrent la redécouverte de ce chef d'ouvre' (BHA).

Bressanone

10318 TRENKWALDER, Alois, Die Brixner Weihbischöfe von 1316 bis 1533. Beiheft Nr. 16-17 zum Konferenzblatt. Brixen, 1997 (105).

Les évêques auxiliaires augustins de Brixen (Bressanone). *Jean Tedeschi* ep. Capitoliadensis, év.aux. de Chur. († après 1338): 17; *Augustin*, ep. Salabriensis, év.aux. de Bressanone 1340-1368 († après 1368): 19-21; *Pierre Ulmer*, ep. Microcomiensis, év.aux. de Bressanone 1437-1453 († 1453): 41; *Jean Perger*, ep. Bellinensis, év.aux. de Bressanone 1475-1481 († 1481):48-50; *Michel*, ep. Rossensis, év.aux. de Trento († après 1271): 77; *Boniface*, ep. Bosanensis, év.aux. de Trento et Chur († 1299): 77, 79; *Vital*, ep. Ariensis OFM ou OESA, év.aux. de Trento et Chur († après 1414):

Certaldo

10319 BORGHINI, Sergio, La lega di Certaldo nel basso Medioevo. Origine, Statuti, Cronologia, Territorio, Toponomastica, Popolazione, Ricchezza, Proprietà. Firenze, Diemme, 1996 (368, ill., cartes).

Etude sociographique et économique de la ville de Certaldo et ses environs. Les augustins SS. Michel et Jacques: 32, 85, 103 (*Pogni*), 349; *Empoli*, église S. Etienne: 81; Bh. *Julie de Certaldo* (1319-1367): 77, 81, 87, 351, 355, 358.

Cesena

10320 FERRETTI, Massimo, Jacopone sul Savio: per l'esposizione del gruppo ligneo di Sant'Agostino di Cesena. — *Arte a Bologna* 3 (1993), 11-25, 15 ill.

'Analyzes the (anonymous) polychromed wooden sculpture group, Crucifixion with the Madonna and S. John (Cesena, S. Agostino), following its restoration, and suggests that it was made ca. 1315 in Umbria. (The author compares the sculpture with the sacred poetry of Jacopone da Todi, and Cesena is located on the river Savio - hence the title)' (BHA).

10321 MENGOZZI, M. (ed.), Storia della Chiesa di Cesena, 3 vol. Cesena, Ed. Stilgraf, 1998 (763, 812, 1007, ill., cartes).

10322 MORANDOTTI, Alessandro, Gerolamo Genga negli anni della pala di Sant'Agostino a Cesena. — *Studi di storia dell'arte* 4 (Todi, 1993), 275-290, 21 ill.

'Reports the discovering of a panel by Genga of the *Conversion of St. Augustine* in a private collection, and identifies it as an element of the predella of the altarpiece executed 1513-1518 for the Augustinians of Cesena, now in the Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan. Reconstructs the altarpiece and examines Genga's style' (BHA).

Comacchio

10323 TURRI, Giuseppe, Progettazioni relative al convento di S. Agostino in Comacchio. — *Anecdota* 6/1 (1996), 59-69.

'Ricostruisce per rapidi cenni la vicenda della chiesa di S. Maurizio (prime notizie del sec. VII), affidata agli *agostiniani scalzi* nel 1622 e chiusa definitivamente nel 1831' (RSCI).

Corinaldo

10324 FERRANTE, M., L'organo della chiesa di Sant'Agostino in Corinaldo (Biblioteca di cultura organaria e organista, 8). Bologna, Patron, 1991 (84, ill.).

Crema

10325 AMATURO, Matilde, Un episodio di committenza cremasca: l'Assunta di Palma il Giovane per la chiesa di Sant'Agostino. — *Insula Fulcheria* 25 (1995),

'Discusses a painting *Assumption of the Virgin* with the Twelve Apostles (Crema, Museo civico di Crema e del Cremasco) by Palma il Giovane, commissioned by Alessandro Cattaneo for a chapel in the church of S. Agostino, Crema. Suggests, from an interpretation of documents (transcribed here), that it was commissioned and completed between 1599 and 1607' (BHA).

Cremona

10326 BELLINGERI, Lia, Cremona e il gotico "perduto", I: il caso di Sant'Agostino. — *Prospettiva*. Rivista di storia dell'arte antica et moderna (1996), no. 83-84, 143-158, 17 ill.

'Points out the scarcity and mediocre quality of surviving works of art of the 14th and 15th cs. in Cremona, and reconstructs the original appearance and decorations of the church of S. Agostino, built ca. 1341-1360; works discussed include frescoes by Stefano da Ferrera and anonymous masters of the 14th-early 15th cs., sepulchral monuments, sculptures by Bonino da Campione, and a fragment of a panel painting by Antonio De Carro of *S. Augustine* with two Angels (private collection)' (BHA).

10327 *Diocesi di Cremona*, ed. A. CAPRIOLI e.a (Storia religiosa della Lombardia, 6). Brescia, La Scuola, 1998 (510, ill., cartes).

10328 QUATTRINI, Cristina, Il "Primo Maestro del Messale Arcimboldi" e altri miniatori lombardi dell'ultimo Quattrocento. — *Arte cristiana* n.s. 83, (1995), 341-352, ill.

'All'anonimo Maestro vengono attribuiti altri codici, tra i quali un antifonario festivo proveniente dal convento milanese di S. Angelo (Braidense, Arm.I, 19) e l'antifonario proveniente dal convento di S. Agostino di Cremona (Museo civico Ala Ponzone, XVII)' (RSCI).

Dasà

10329 TRIPODI, Antonio, La chiesa di San Giovanni Laterano e il convento agostiniano di Santa Maria di Dasà in Calabria Ultra. — *Analecta Augustiniana* 61 (Roma, 1998), 73-95, 1 facs.

L'histoire du couvent de 1552 à la suppression de 1652. En appendice 4 documents 1650-1794.

Empoli

10330 BAERT, Barbara, The iconography of the Cross-legend in the sinopie of Masolino da Panicale at Empoli: twilight between tradition and innovation. — *Le dessin sous-jacent et la technologie dans la peinture*. Colloque pour l'étude du dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1995, éd. Roger van SCHOUTE e.a. (Louvain-la-Neuve, Univ. Catholique. Inst. sup. d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, 1997), 193-203, 11 ill.

'L'A. analyse la sinopie de la Légende de la Croix (Empoli, S. Stefano), exécutée par Masolino en 1424, dans le cadre de la tradition iconographique de l'Invention et de l'Exaltation de la Croix, thème inauguré par Agnolo Gaddi à Florence et renouvellé par Piero della Francesca à Arezzo' (BHA).

10331 PROTO PISANI, Rosanna Caterina, In margine alla mostra "Il Pontormo a Empoli": addenda ai Santi di Pontorme. — *Pontormo e Rosso*: atti del convegno di Empoli e Volterra:progetto Appiani di Piombino, ed. Roberto P. CIARDI e.a. (s.l.), Giunta regionale toscane; Venezia, Marsilio, 1996, 69-71, ill.

'Study of the drawings by Pontormo on the backs of the panels of "St. John the Evangelist" and "St. Michael Archangel" from S. Michele, Pontorme; shown in the exhibition *Pontormo a Empoli* (Empoli, S. Stefano degli Agostiniani, 1994)' (BHA).

10332 Sineo Gemignani. Exhibition: Empoli, Augustinian monastery, S. Stefano (church), 17 sept.-5 nov.1995. Firenze, Maschietto & Musolini, 1995 (155, ill., 24 col.).

'Introductory essays on the art of Sineo Gemignani and cataolgue entries for 90 paintings (including detached murals) and drawings from various collections' (BHA).

Fabriano

10333 CLERI, Bonita, Antonio da Fabriano, eccentrico protagonista nel panorama artistico del Quattrocento marchigiano. Fabriano, Cassa di Risparmio di Fabriano e Cupramontana, 1997 (206, ill.).

'A study of Antonio da Fabriano's art, with a catalogue of his paintings. Includes essays on his biography and critical history, patronage (by the mendicant orders) in Fabriano, on painting and workshops (14th-15th cs.) in Fabriano, and on 15th c. painting in the Marches region' (BHA).

10334 *Il portale restaurato*. Storiografia ed iconografia della chiesa di Santo Agostino in Fabriano in occasione del restauro del portale gotico promosso dalle Cartiere Milliani Fabriano s.p.a., testi di Giampiero DONNINI e.a. Fabriano, Gentile, 1995 (61, ill.).

Firenze (S. Gallo)

10335 PINTO, Giuliano, Toscana medievale. Paesaggi e realtà sociale (La vie della storia, 12). Firenze, Le lettere, 1993 (245, cartes).
'Dei 9 saggi qui raccolti dall'a. riprendendoli in gran parte da precedenti pubblicazioni apparse tra il 1974 e il 1991, interessano da vicino questa bibliografia il quinto del titolo "Il personale, le balie e i salariati dell'ospedale di San Gallo di Firenze (1395-1406)", 69-112 (uno dei più antichi della città, fu fondato agli inizi del '200 e affidato ai frati agostiniani, acquistando ben presto importanza e popolarità anche presso novellieri e predicatori)' (RSCI).

Firenze (S. Spirito)

10336 ACIDINI LUCHINAT, Cristina, Dal Brunelleschi al Bernini, attraverso Michelangelo: il "canneto". — *Scritti per l'Istituto germanico di storia dell'arte di Firenze*, ed. Luciano BELLOSI e.a. (Firenze, Le lettere, 1997), 301-306, 4 ill.
'Analyzes a passage in a letter (1661) from Lodovico De Vecchi to Leopoldo de' Medici on Bernini's colonnade (Rome, Vatican, S. Peter's), then under construction. De Vecchi reveals that Michelangelo used the term "canneto" (growth of reeds) in a negative sense to describe the effects of the columns in Brunelleschi's church of S. Spirito, Florence (S. Spirito was finished by later architects who altered Brunelleschi's design), and he (De Vecchi) recycles the term to criticize the effect of Bernini's colonnade' (BHA).

10337 ANDREATTA, Emanuela, Le vicende costruttive e i restauri del campanile della chiesa di Santo Spirito a Firenze. — *Antichità viva* 36 (1997), 64-79, 1 ill.
'L'examen d'archives, publiées en annexe (Archivio di Stato di Firenze), couvrant la période 1458-1562, ne permet pas de suivre Vasari dans son attribution du campanile de S. Spirito à Florence à Baccio d'Agnolo mais met en lumière plusieurs interventions dont celle d'un neveu et homonyme de Baccio d'Agnolo (Bartolomeo Baglione)' (BHA).

10338 BLUME, Andrew Charles, The Chapel of Santa Monica in Santo Spirito and Francesco Botticini. — *Arte cristiana* 83 (Milano, 1995), 289-293, 2 ill. Rés. en italien.
'Le retable de St. Monica peint par Botticini, aujourd'hui dans la chapelle Bini à S. Spirito est habtuellement présenté comme une oeuvre antérieure à l'incendie de l'église en 1470/1471. La découverte d'archives permet de placer son exécution dans les années 80 (en 1478 l'opera di S. Spirito donne aux religieuses augustines Mantellate de S. Monica une chapelle pour laquelle elles auraient fait réaliser le retable) et aident à comprendre pourquoi le tableau se trouvait, au 16e s., dans la chapelle Capponi (Niccolo di Giovanni Capponi était un des consuls de l'Arte del Cambio qui commandite les Mantellate)' (BHA).

10339 BLUME, Andrew Charles, Giovanni de' Bardi and Sandro Botticelli in Santo Spirito. — *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 37 (1995), 169-183, 6 ill.
'Examines the altarpiece of the "Madonna and Child with two saints John", commissioned by de' Bardi for his chapel in the church of S. Spirito, Florence, in 1483. Studies the painting's patronage and context in the light of visual, theological, and extensive

documentary evidence, proposing that the painting's meaning and subject (the Virgin seated in the garden of paradise) is completed only in the presence of the spectator' (BHA).

10340 BRANDT, Kathleen Weil Garris, A marble in Manhattan: the case for Michelangelo. — *Burlington Magazine* 138 (1996), 644-659, 31 ill.

'Proposes that the marble figure of a boy from the Bardini collection (attributed by Bardini to the school of Michelangelo, and by Parronchi in 1968 to Michelangelo), which Stanford White installed at the Payne Whitney House (New York, now the Services culturels de l'ambassade de France), is an early work of Michelangelo, on the basis of comparison with such works as the "Bacchus" (Florence, Bargello), the "S. Spirito Crucifix" (Florence, Casa Buonarotti)' (BHA).

10341 *La Chiesa e il Convento di Santo Spirito a Firenze.* A cura di Cristina ACIDINI LUCHINAT. Firenze, Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze, 1996 (391, ill.).

'Il volume si compone di una serie di saggi dedicati in prevalenza agli aspetti artistici della celebre chiesa fiorentina. Ad una breve ricognizione storica è rivolto il contributo di. F. Quinterio, Il complesso di Santo Spirito dal primo insediamento agostiniano al progetto del Brunelleschi, 33-47, che ripercorre le tappe principali della presenza degli agostiniani in città, a partire dalla metà del sec. XIII' (RSCI).

10342 COHEN, Matthew A., The bird capitals of the basilica of S. Spirito in Florence: some observations, and a proposed iconographical interpretation. — *Quasar* (1995), no. 13-14, 48-58, 34 ill. Summary in Italian.

'Analyzes the iconography and arrangement of the sculpted abacus medaillions (1450 s) above the 82 capitals in the church of S. Spirito, Florence. Notes that 12 of the medaillions represent birds, 11 doves (symbols of the Holy Spirit) and one eagle (symbol of St. John the Evangelist), and that their arrangement in linear sequence forms two triangles (symbols of the Trinity) superimposed on the plan of the church' (BHA).

10343 GALASSI, Maria Clelia, Filippino Lippi's underdrawing: the contribution of infrared reflectography. — *Le dessin sous-jacent et la technologie dans la peinture.* Colloque pour l'étude du dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1995, éd. Roger van SCHOUTE e.a. (Louvain-la-Neuve, Univ. Catholique. Inst. sup. d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, 1997), 153-159, 6 ill.

'Analyse par réflectographie à l'infrarouge du dessin sous-jacent dans trois peintures de Filippino Lippi: "Vierge à l'enfant avec des saints" (Firenze, S. Spirito, v. 1488), "L'adoration des Marges" (Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi, 1496) et "St. Sébastien avec S. François et St. Jean Baptiste" (Genova, Galleria di Palazzo Bianco, 1503). La technique du dessin sous-jacent est comparée à celle de Botticelli et de Léonard da Vinci' (BHA).

10344 PIROZZINI, Daniele, La società dei Laudesi di Santo Spirito di Firenze. — *Bollettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medioevo e Archivio Muratoriano* 98 (1992), 235-269.

'Discusses the organization and socio-cultural context of the group leading a religious life and concentrating on music; also compares these Laudesi with others operating in Florence' (IMB).

10345 PUNZI, Arianna, Il libri del Boccaccio e un nuovo codice di Santo Spirito: il Barberiniano lat.74. — *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 37 (1994), 193-203, 1 ill.

A propos d'un Ms. possidé par Boccace et légué avec tous ses livres à la bibliothèque de S. Spirito, Firenze. Le MS. renferme des oeuvres de Stace (MS. Vaticano, BAV, Barb. lat.74).

10346 SACCARDI, Ugo, Evoluzione di una idea. — *Immagini nel rilievo*. Atti del seminario di studi, Lerici, 10-11 maggio 1988 / Roma, 20-22 febbraio 1989, ed. Cesare CUNDARI. (Roma, Gangemi, 1992), 371-374, 505-506, 5 ill., 4 diagr. Summary in Italian, French, English.

'Reports on the author's photogrammetric survey of the facade of S. Spirito (Florence), focusing on the methodology of descriptive geometry' (BHA).

10347 TARTUFERI, Angelo, Una nota per l'esordio di Agnolo Gaddi. — *Antichità viva* 35 (1996), no. 4, 3-7, 7 ill.

'A propos du Maître de la Miséricorde (dénommé par Offner), l'un des principaux protagonistes de la peinture florentine, fin du troisième quart et début du quatrième quart du 14e s.. L'A. lui restitue ici un certain nombre d'oeuvres dont une "Vierge à l'enfant trônant avec saints" vers 1380 (anciennement dans la collection Volterra de Florence). Rédécouverte et observations sur une fresque d'une lunette du cloître de S. Spirito de Florence récement restaurée, représentant la Vierge à l'enfant entre Saint Piere et *Saint Augustin*, au-dessus de la porte conduissant à l'infermerie'

10348 THOMAS, Anabel, The painter's practice in Renaissance Tuscany. Cambridge, University Press, 1995 XX-398, [16] p. of pl., 109 ill. (16 col.).

'Examines paintings as products of a process of manufacture. Presents a detailed picture of the commissioning, production and marketing of paintings, examining such aspects as the way in which the painter and his business functioned from day to day, how subjects and their style were decided, the constraints on cost and design, and the division of labour within and between the workshops. The study is based on material which has hitherto not been generally accessible, and draws in particular on the workshop recordbook of the painter Neri di Bicci, much of whose work survives and is closely documented' (BHA).

10349 TRACHTENBERG, Marvin, On Brunelleschi's choice: speculations on medieval Rome and the origins of the Renaissance architecture. — *Architectural studies in memory of Richard* KRAUTHEIMER, ed. Cecil L. STRIKER (Mainz, Von Zabern, 1996), 169-173, 1 ill.

'Plus que les ruines antiques, ce sont les églises médiévales de Rome, et notamment S. Maria Rotonda, nom de l'église aménagée en 609 dans l'antique Panthéon, qui ont eu une influence déterminante sur l'architecture de Brunelleschi. La proto-Renaissance, inaugurée par la construction des églises S. Lorenzo et S. Spirito à Florence, peut ainsi être considerée comme un "revival" de l'architecture paléochrétienne et médiévale romaine' (BHA).

10350 WALDMANN, Louis Alexander, Nanni di Baccio at Santo Spirito. — *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 42 (Firenze, 1998), 198-204, 2 ill.

Nanni di Baccio (1507?-1568) and his most famous work, his marble reinterpretation of Michelangelo's Vatican Pietà in the Del Riccio chapel of the Florentine church of Santo Spirito. (with 7 documents).

Foggia

10351 MARTIN, Jean-Marie, Foggia nel medioevo (Le città del Mezzogiorno medievale, 2). Galatina (Lecce), Congedo, 1998 (126, ill.).

Forcella - Minori

10352 CRISCUOLO, Vincenzo, La chiesa e il convento San Nicola da Bari in Minori. Storia e cronaca. Minori, Comitato riconstruzione San Nicola, 1997 (183, ill.).
Sur l'histoire de l'ancienne chapelle montagnarde (fin s. X) et du couvent à Forcella près de Minori (prov. de Salerno) et les restaurations de 1962 et 1980. Résidence des augustins de 1628 jusqu'à 1656.

Genazzano

10353 *"Divinamente apparve questa immagine"* il 25 Aprile 1467. Storia e tradizione, traduzione aggionamentato di Augustinus ADDEO OESA, Apparitionis imaginis B. Mariae Virginis a Bono Consilio documenta, 1947, a cura di Gioele SCHIAVELLA OSA e Vico STELLA OSA. Genazzano, Santuario Madonna del Buon Consiglio, 1996 (191, ill. en couleurs).
Voir le no.2831.

Genova

10354 EPSTEIN, St. A., Genoa and the Genoese, 958-1528. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1996 (XX-396).

Gubbio

10355 BRATU, Anca, Fin des temps et temps au purgatoire dans quelques jugements derniers de la fin du Moyen Age. — *Fin des temps et temps de la fin dans l'univers médiéval*. Colloque du Centre universitaire d'études et de recherches médiévales d'Aix 1993 (Aix-en-Provence, 1993), 69-92, 6 ill. (5 col.).
E.a. les fresques d'Ottaviano Nelli à S. Agostino de Gubbio, v. 1400 (BHA).

Illorai

10356 NECCIA, Lino, Il convento agostiniano di N. Signora d'Itria in Illorai. — *Analecta Augustiniana* 61 (Roma, 1998), 151-170.
L'histoire du couvent d'Illorai (Sardaigne), 1624-1652.

Jesi

10357 Jesi - augustins. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 27 (Paris, 1999), col. 1159.

10358 LUCONI, G., Jesi attraverso i secoli. Jesi, Nuova Grafica, 1990 (426, ill.).

10359 MARIANO, F., Jesi città e architettura: forme e tipologie dalle origini all'Ottocento. Milano, Pizzi, 1993 (210, ill.).

Lecceto

10360 RADAN, George T., Lecceto: new light on the largest Augustinian fresco cycle in Italy. — *Middle Ages: one or many?*, ed. by Louis ROBERTS (Binghamton, Center for medieval and early Renaissance studies, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1994), 67-79.
'Discusses the damaged grisaille fresco cycle, executed 1439-1442, at the Augustinian hermitage at Leceto near Siena. The images depict S. Augustine and hermit saints' (BHA).

Livorno

10361 MAI, Eufrasio - DAL CANTO Fabrizio, Gli Agostiniani e la chiesa di S. Giovanni Battista in Livorno. Livorno, PP. Agostiniani, 1996 (174, ill.).
L'histoire du couvent, depuis 1187, et description de l'église.

Massa Marittima

10362 NORMAN, Diana, "In the beginning was the word". An altarpiece by Ambrogio Lorenzetti for the Augustinian hermits of Massa Marittima. — *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 58 (München-Berlin, 1995), 478-503, 11 ill.
'Through a study of iconography and textual evidence, explains the theological and devotional significance of L's *Maestà* altarpiece (Massa Marittima, Palazzo del Podestà, Pinacoteca), and suggests a date for the work of ca. 1335-37. Shows that the painting, which survives only in part, was commissioned by the Augustinian hermits of Massa Marittima,

for their church of S. Pietro in Orto (S. Agostino). Examines the iconography of saints and virtues depicted in the work, associating the figures represented with Augustinian theology, and demonstrates that the order which commissioned it likely had a deep familiarity with the writings of *Augustine*, possibly through the intermediary of Fra *Simone Fidati*, a member of the Tuscan order of Augustinian hermits, who wrote treatises in the vernacular on specifically Augustinian themes' (BHA).

Milano

10363 *Politica, vita religiosa, carità*. Milano nel primo Settecento. Milano, Jaca Book, 1997 (294, 13 pl.).

Milano (S. Marco)

10364 *La chiesa di San Marco in Milano*, a cura di Maria Luisa GATTI PERER. Cinisello Balsamo (MI), Silvana, 1998 (324, 180 ill.col., 80 ill.b/n.).

Milano (S. Maria Incoronata)

10365 GATTI PERER, Maria Luisa, Cultura e spiritualità dell'Osservanza agostiniana: l'Incoronata di Milano. — *Arte Lombarda* (Milano, 1999), no. 127, 7-67, 59 ill., 22 tav. color.

Modena

10366 BARACCHI, Orianna, Madonna di s. Agostino e Madonna della Fossa. — *Atti e memorie* - Deputazione di storia patria per le antiche provincie modenesi 17 (1995), 85-120, 3 ill.

'Cette étude s'organise en deux chapitres: le premier est consacré à l'image de la Madone peinte à fresque dans l'église S. Agostino de Modène, qui est attribuée à Tomaso da Modena et que l'on a proposé d'identifier comme étant l'image miraculeuse connue comme la Madonna della Fossa; un examen sérieux des archives et de l'histoire de l'édifice ne permet nullement de confirmer ces assertions. La deuxième partie de l'étude est consacrée à ce que l'on sait de l'image miraculeuse de la Madonnina della Fossa' (BHA).

10367 *I Luoghi sacri dell'arte*: itinerari nelle chiese modenesi di proprietà comunale, ed. Claudio FRANZONI e Luciano RINI. Modena, Museo d'arte medievale e moderna, 1994 (111, ill., plans).

'Eight essays on the history, art and architecture, 12th-20th cs., of churches (e.a. S. Agostino) in Modena and its environs' (BHA). S. Agostino (antico "Pantheon degli Estensi"): 7, 11, 26, 47, 52, 54-67 (± 8 ill.), 79.

Montecosaro

10368 *Montecosaro*. Percorsi di storia, contributi di G. PACI e.a. Montecosaro, Comune di Montecosaro, 1995 (341, ill.).

Monteleone (aujourd'hui Vibo Valentina)

10369 TRIPODI, Antonio, Il convento dell'Annunziata, poi di Sant'Agostino di Monteleone, ora Vibo Valentina. — *Analecta Augustiniana* 62 (Roma, 1999), 213-244, 3 ill.
L'histoire de S. Agostino (1423-1809), depuis transféré à S. Chiara (des Clarisses) de 1821 à 1881. En appendice 6 documents (1650-1879).

Montelparo

10370 CROCETTI, G., Montelparo. Negrar, Il segno, 1990 (166).

Monticiano

10371 CALOSSI, Carlo, Monticiano. La storia, l'arte. Siena, Ed. Cantagalli, 1996 (50, ill., cartes).
Le couvent des augustins, l'église SS. Pietro e Paolo (S. Agostino), 1292-1782, et B. Antoine Patrizi († 1311): 17-35.

Napoli (S. Agostino)

10372 DE FALCO, Carolina, Progetti settecenteschi per la trasformazione del presbiterio di S. Agostino alla Zecca e l'intervento di Giuseppe Astarita [entre 1756 et 1770]. — *Napoli Nobilissima* 34 (1995), 161-178, 12 ill.
Avec 9 documents: 175-178.

10373 ZEZZA, Andrea, Documenti per la "Cona magna" di Sant'Agostino alla Zecca (Girolamo Santacroce, Polidoro da Caravaggio, Bartolomeo Guelfo, Marco Cardisco). — *Prospettiva*. Rivista di storia dell'arte antica et moderna (1994), no. 75-76, 136-152, 19 ill.
'Publishes documents dated 1524-1569 concerning the Gattola family and their chapel in S. Agostino alla Zecca, Naples, casting light on the altarpieces of 1527 (commissioned from Girolamo Santacroce, Polidoro da Caravaggio, and Bartolomeo Guelfo) and 1533 (by Marco Cardisco, dismembered in the 18th c.); considers Polidoro's activity in Naples in the 1520s. and his relationship to Santacroce; and focuses on the altarpiece of 1533, arguing that the design for the main panel "S. Augustine debating with the heretics" (Naples, Capodimonte) was furnished by Polidoro da Caravaggio' (BHA).

Napoli (S. Giovanni a Carbonara)

10374 ABBATE, Francesco, Il monumento a Ladislao di Durazzo. — *Atti della giornata di studio, Le vie del marmo: aspetti della produzione e della diffusione dei manufatti marmorei tra Quattrocento a Cinquecento*, Centro culturale L. Russo, Pietrasanta, 3 ott. 1992 (Firenze, Giunta, 1994), 17-22, 9 ill.

'Study of the tomb of king Ladislas d'Anjou Durazzo, commissioned by Giovanni d'Anjou for S. Giovanni a Carbonara in Naples, and the question of the roles of the various sculptors contracted by Giovanni di Gante in Lucca 12 Jan. 1428 to work on it; Leonardo and Francesco Riccomanni, Leonardo di Vitale Pardini, and Tommaso di Matteo. Observes that the only one whose artistic personality is known is Leonardo Riccomanni' (BHA). En rapport avec l'exposition dans S. Agostino à Pietrasanta en 1992.

Napoli (S. Nicola da Tolentino)

10375 RICCIARDI, Emilio, Il convento di S. Nicola da Tolentino in Napoli. — *Campania sacra* 28 (1997), 111-144, ill.

'Studio storico-descrittivo del complesso conventuale degli Agostiniani Scalzi sorto sulla collina di S. Elmo di Napoli nel sec. XVII, radicalmente ristrutturato nell'età delle suppressioni' (RSCI).

Noicattaro

10376 AUTIERO, Tommaso OSA, Presenza agostiniana in Noicattaro. Storia e ricordi. Bari, Adda, 1996 (145).

Novara

10377 DAHNK BAROFFIO, Emilia, Biblioteche religiose novaresi verso il 1600 nel censimento della Congregazione dell'Indice (VI). La biblioteca del convento degli agostiniani di S. Nicola. — *Novarien* 25 (1995), 289-318.

'Inventario dei libri (transcritto dal Vat.lat.11285) preceduto da una breve nota sulle vicende tardomedievali del convento di S. Nicola da Tolentino e la sua biblioteca' (RSCI).

Orvieto

10378 *Orvieto: Legge 29.12.1987, n.545*: Interventi per il consolidamento ed il restauro delle strutture di interesse monumentale e archeologico. Roma, Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, 1996 (243, ill., plans).

'Catalogue entries for 15 architectural monuments in Orvieto, restored 1991-1996, e.a. S. Agostino' (BHA).

Osimo

10379 PIRANI, Francesco, Città e società urbana a Osimo tra XIII e XIV secolo. — *Proposte e ricerche* 19/37 (1996), 50-77, ill.
'Tratta anche degli insediamenti degli ordini mendicanti (S. Francesco dei Francescani, S. Lorenzo degli Eremitani e S. Fiorenzo dei Domenicani), che nel corso del sec. XIII svolsero una determinente funzione aggregativa dei nuovi poli di sviluppo urbano' (RSCI).

Padova

10380 BARBIERI, Franco, Donatello e la 'provincia' veneta: dalle "pale plastiche" nel vicentino ad un "incunabolo" palladiano. — *Studi di storia dell'arte sul Medioevo e il Rinascimento nel centenario della nascita di Mario Salmi*: atti del convegno intern. Arezzo-Firenze, 16-19 nov. 1989 (Firenze, Polistampa, 1992), 559-578, 833, 14 ill.
'Endorses the hypothetical reconstruction of Donatello's high altar of the Santo [Antonio] in Padua, presented by Antonio Sartori and Giuseppe Fiocco in 1961... identifies a series of 15th and early 16th c. works in the Veneto based on this model, including... numerous sculptered altarpieces, ramping from the altarpiece of the Ovetari Chapel by Nicolò Pizolo (Padua, Eremitani)'

10381 CALLEGARI, Raimondo, Opere e committenze d'arte rinascimentale a Padova. — *Arte veneta* 49 (1996), 6-29, 24 ill., 5 col.
'... discusses Nicolò Pizolo and reassesses his relationship to Mantegna, especially with respect to the Ovetari chapel (Padua, Eremitani)' (BHA).

10382 *Diocesi di Padova*, ed. P. GIOS (Storia religiosa del Veneto, 6). Padova, Gregoriana libreria editrice, 1996 (602, 2 cartes).

10383 NANTE, Andrea, Un "pulcherrimum tumulum... in sacello medio Ovetariorum". Per una ricostruzione del sepolcro Zabarella nella chiesa degli Eremitani di Padova. — *Bollettino del Museo civico di Padova* 84 (1995), 49-66, ill.
'Attraverso indizi di varia natura, docc. d'archivio e frammenti marmorei sparsi, l'a. tenta la ricostruzione del sepolcro che Paolo Zabarella (1471-1525) volle per sé nella capella Ovetari nella chiesa degli Eremitani. Nelle intenzioni del vescovo padovano il monumento funerario, distrutto nel sec. XVIII, avrebbe dovuto tramandare la sua memoria attraverso l'importante collocazione e l'apparato decorativo di comprendere probabilmente anche un dipinto del Mantegna ora perduto' (RSCI).

10384 ROESLER-FRIEDENTHAL, Antoinette, Ein Porträt Andrea Mantegnas als alter Orpheus im Kontext seiner Selbstdarstellungen. — *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 31 (1996), 149-186, 23 ill.
'Investigates Mantegna's mid-15th c. self-portrait (fresco destroyed 1944) in the Eremitani, Padua, comparing it to Dürer's 1494 drawing "Death of Orpheus" (Hamburger Kunsthalle), suggesting that the Dürer drawing is a portrait of Mantegna. Also studies Mantegna's self-

portrait bust in Mantua, Sant'Andrea; his self-portrait in the Camera Picta of the Castello di S. Giorgio, Mantua, and the self-portrait in his "Presentation in the Temple" (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie). Argues that Mantegna's metaphor of himself as the old Orpheus (the legendary poet who died at the hands of Ciconian women) is key to his artistic self-identity and role as court artist' (BHA).

10385 SEMENZATO, Camillo, Padova: ritratto di una città millenaria. Padova, Programma, 1996 (158, ill.).

Pavia

10386 TOSI, Michele, "Orandum laborandum legendum" nel segno di Colombano: da S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro alla pieve di Alpepiana. — *Archivum bobbiense* (1994-1995), no. 16-17, 7-285, 7 ill., 1 map, 4 plans.

'A study of the diffusion, 7th-8th cs. in north-eastern Italy of Irish monastic culture, brought by S. Columban. Includes information on churches and monasteries in Pavia (including S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro) and in the province of Genoa. Presents the results of excavations of the monastery and church of Alpepiana: documents 713-1647 ' (BHA).

Perugia

10387 LUPI, M., Il clero a Perugia durante l'episcopato di Gioacchino Pecci (1846-1878) tra Stato Pontificio e Stato Unitario (Italia sacra. Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica, 57). Roma, Herder, 1998, XIX-582, 3 cartes.

10388 PAARDEKOOPER, Ludwin, Formules en wat daaraan ontsnapt: sociale representatie of de persoonlijke emoties van een rouwende moeder in een Pinkstervoorstelling van Taddeo di Bartolo? [Formulae and what escapes from them: social representation or personal emotions of a mourning mother in a representation of the Pentecost by Taddeo di Bartolo?]. — *Onverwacht bijeengebracht.* Opstellen voor Ed TAVERNE en Lyckle de VRIES ter gelegenheid van hun 25-jarig jubileum in dienst van de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, ed. J.L. de JONG en E.A. KOSTER (Groningen, Instituut voor Kunst- en Architectuurgeschiedenis, Rijksuniversiteit, 1996), 103-110, 3 ill., 1 plan.

'Discusses Taddeo di Bartolo's altarpiece of the Pentecost (1403), formerly in S. Agostino, Perugia, and now in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria. Argues that the subject and pecularities of its representation can be explained by the fact that it was commissioned by a mother (a certain Angelela di Pietro) for the soul of her son' (BHA).

10389 TURNER, Jonathan, The great fresco mystery. — *Tableau* 18 (Amsterdam, 1995), no. 3, 51-53, 6 ill. en coul.

'Reports on the rediscovery and restoration of an early 16th c. fresco (ca. 1508) of the crucifixion with saints, in the former oratory of the church of S. Agostino, Perugia. Art historians at first attributed the painting to the young Raphael, but subsequently have

suggested instead that it was executed by a group of artists active in Perugia, in particular Lattanzio di Giovanni' (BHA).

10390 *Una chiesa attraverso i secoli*. Conversazioni sulla storia della diocesi di Perugia, II: L'età moderna. A cura di Rita CHIACCHELLA. Ponte S. Giovanni (Perugia), Quatroemme, 1996 (104, ill.).

10391 *Una chiesa attraverso i secoli*. Conversazioni sulla storia della diocesi di Perugia, III: L'età contemporanea. A cura di Luciano TOSI. Ponte S. Giovanni (Perugia), Quatroemme, 1997 (191, ill.).

Piacenza

10392 BUSSI, F., Jules Massenet e altri per la musica della Festa dei Fiori al collegio S. Agostino di Piacenza. — *Bollettino Storico Piacentino* 90 (1995), 3-16, 3

10393 TANZI, Marco, Microstorie malossesche: pratica di bottega e problemi di committenza. — *Dal dissegno all'opera compiuta*. Atti del convegno internaz. Torgiano, ott.-nov. 1987, ed. Mario de GIAMPAOLO (Perugia, Volumnia, 1992), 105-107, 4 ill.

'Surveys 17th and 18th c. accounts of the activity of Malosso and his school; focuses on Malosso's painting of the Immaculate Conception (committed by Teodosio Silvio Burla in 1591 for S. Agostino, Piacenza, now in S. Maria della Steccata, Parma), and related preparatory drawings in the Galleria nazionale of Parma and other collections' (BHA).

Pisa

10394 ALBERTI, A. - STIAFFINI, D., Pisa: saggi di scavo nella chiesa dei santi Iacopo e Filippo in Orticaria. — *Archeologia medievale* 21 (1994), 213-224, ill.

'Un indagine archeologica collegata a recenti restauri da permesso di integrare i dati provenienti dalle fonti scritte circa le varie fasi dell'articolata vita dell'edificio religioso, sorto nel XII secolo, con annesso un monastero (dei monaci pulsanesi dapprima e quindi degli agostiniani, dal 1260 al 1447) particolarmente florido, almeno sino alla metà del XV secolo' (RSCI).

Ravenna

10395 *Storia di Ravenna*, 4: Dalla dominazione veneziana alla conquista francese, a cura di L. GAMBI. Ravenna, Marsilio, 1994 (XII-790).

Reggio Calabria

10396 ACCETTA, Foca, Il convento agostiniano a Reggio. — *Calabria sconosciuta* 20/73 (1997), 59-62, ill.
'Notizie sull'insediamento a partire dal 1590' (RSCI).

Rimini

10397 BASSETTI, Vittorio, Regesto Agostiniano Riminese sino all'anno 1300. — *Analecta Augustiniana* 62 (Roma, 1999), 245-271.
76 regestes (1069-1300). Les augustins y vinrent en 1247.

10398 TURCHINI, Angelo - LUGATO, Claudio - MARCHI, Alessandro, Il Trecento riminese in Sant'Agostino a Rimini (Mirabilia urbis, 1). Cesena, Il Ponte Vecchio, 1995 (135, 74 ill. (16 col.)).
'On the 14th c. mural paintings in the church of S. Agostino, Rimini: whitewashed in the 17th c., they were rediscovered, 1916, and restored 1917-1926. Suggests that they were painted 1315-1318 by Giovanni and his workshop (which included his brothers Giuliano and Zangelo), and were paid for by the Malatesta family, whose coat-of-arms appears. Include catalogue entries for the individual scenes. Also traces the architectural and conservation history (11th-20th cs.) of the church' (BHA).

10399 ZARABINI, Maria Chiara, Note sul Crocifisso ligneo di S. Agostino in Rimini. — *Studi romagnoli* 43 (1992), 333-36.
'Analyzes a sculpted wooden crucifix in the church of S. Agostino, Rimini (restored 1992), which was in the Tempio Malatestiana, Rimini, until 1798. Dates it to the late 13th. c.' (BHA).

Ripatransone

10400 PACINI, D., Istituzioni ed insediamenti medievali nel territorio di Ripatransone. — *Studia Picena* 60 (1995), 77-141, 2 cartes.

Roma

10401 BENZI, Fabio, Sisto IV renovator urbis: architettura a Roma 1471-1484 (Ars fingendi, 2). Roma, Officina, 1990 (318, ill., plans).
'Study of the culture, iconology, and projects involved in Sixtus IV's *renovatio* of the city of Rome, reassesses the role and achievements of Bascio Pontelli, and analyzes the architecture of the Ospedale di S. Spirito in Sassia, the churches of *S. Maria del Popolo*, *S. Agostino*, S. Maria della Pace, and S.Pietro in Montorio, the Sixtine Chapel at the Vatican, and the Ponte Sisto, as well as the palaces, minor ecclesiastical works, cloisters, arcades, and bell towers' (BHA).

10402 BLAAUW, Sible de, Das Hochaltarretabel in Rom bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert: Das Altarbild als Kategorie der liturgischen

Anlage — *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* (Historical studies, 1996). 55 (Assen, 1997), 83-110, 12 ill.

S. Maria del Popolo: 86, 97-101, 103, 108-9; *S. Agostino*: 101, 109-110; *S. Matteo in Merulana*: 109. 'Surveys the architectural and liturgical reasons why retables for main altars in Roman churches did not constitute an "indigenous" tradition. The principal basilicas did not have a main altarpiece, in contrast to some monastic churches, which also tended to have a different disposition... *S. Maria del Popolo* with the sculpted retable by Andrea Bregno (now in the sacristy)' (BHA).

10403 CARAVAGGIO. ed. Mina GREGORI. Milano, Electa, 1994 (161, ill.).
'Ouvrage constitué essentiellement de reproductions en couleurs (souvent avec des agrandissiments de détails) des peintures de Caravaggio' (BHA).

10404 GRIMAL, Pierre, Églises de Rome, photogr. Caroline ROSE. Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1997 (180, ill. color.).

10405 PETER, Christine, Gespräche mit Bildern: Caravaggio in Rom (Kunstgeschichte, 26). Münster, Lit, 1994, XVIII-93, 24 pl.
Notices sur dix-sept tableaux du Caravage, peints essentiellement pour des églises de Rome.

10406 RAABE, Rainald, Der imaginierte Betrachter: Studien zu Caravaggios römischen Werk (Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, 72). Hildesheim-Zürich-New York, Olms, 1996 (164, 33 ill.).
'Alors que dans les *Vitae* du Caravage, notamment celles de Baglione et de Bellori, il est reproché au peintre son manque de maîtrise du *disegno*, l'A. montre au contraire que ces "erreurs" étaient voulues par le peintre afin de créer un lien avec le spectateur. Cette démarche est analysée à travers une dizaine de tableaux du Caravage' (BHA).

10407 *Roma capitale, 1447-1527*, ed. S. GENSINI (Centro di studi sulla civiltà del tardo medioevo San Miniato, Collana di studi e ricerche, 5). Pisa, Pacini; Comune di San Miniato, 1994 (631).
Studies of Rome from the conference held at San Miniato, Oct. 1992. Review in "Nuova rivista storica" 79 (1995), 486-491.

10408 TYLENDA, Joseph N. SJ., The pilgrim's guide to Rome's principal churches. Collegeville, Minnesota, The Liturgical Press, 1993, XII-340, ill., plans.
Des 50 églises, celle de S. Agostino: 88-92, et de S. Maria del Popolo: 218-223.

Roma (S. Agostino)

10409 ALONSO VAÑEZ, Carlos OSA, Una visita de Clemente VIII al convento romano de San Agustín y unos decretos de reforma para toda la Orden. — *Analecta Augustiniana* 60 (Roma, 1997), 341-356.
La visite du Pape se passa le 26 janvier 1600 et les "Decreta pro reformatione", ici édités, p.349-350, sont datés le 25 juillet 1599.

10410 BECK, James, Is Michelangelo's Entombment in the National Gallery, Michel-Angelo's? — *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 127 (1996), 181-198, 9 ill. Rés. en français.

'La National Gallery de Londres a récemment réaffirmé dans un exposition tenue d'octobre 1994 à janvier 1995 que la *Mise au tombeau* était une oeuvre de jeunesse de Michel-Ange, oeuvre datée autour de 1500. Dans cet article l'auteur réfute catégoriquement cette attribution' (BHA). Cf. le no 8641.

10411 GONZÁLEZ SANTOS, Javier, Un boceto de Lanfranco para la sacristía de Oviedo. — *Paragone. Arte* 47 (1996), 197-203, 3p. de pl., 3 ill.(col.).

'Reports that the ceiling fresco of the "Assumption of the Virgin" by Francisco Martínez Bustamante in the sacristy of the cathedral of Oviedo is based on an oil sketch by Giovanni Lanfranco in the collection of the cathedral, showing his design for the ceiling of the Buongiovanni chapel in *S. Agostino, Rome*, painted in 1616. Notes that the *bozzetto* was acquired in Rome by the canon Gregório González López y Marrón, who was persuaded to sell it to the *capitulares* of the cathedral of Oviedo to serve as the basis for Martínez Bustamente's fresco, executed in 1734' (BHA).

10412 SAMPERI, Renata, La chiesa di S. Agostino a Roma: considerazioni e ipotesi per una rilettura delle vicende architettoniche nei secoli XIV e XV. — *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura, Università di Roma* 22 (1993), 37-60, 22 ill., diagr., plans.

'Argues from the close analysis of documents and the architectural evidence, that the church of S. Agostino, Rome, was built continuously, mid 14th c.-1483. The proportions, spatial conception, etc., of the structure were established in the 14th c., and the additions (e.g. the cupola, semi-circular apse, facade, etc.) in line with new developments were made in the late 15th c. (Earlier scholars concluded that the church was built in the 14th c. and completely rebuilt in the 15th, incorporating parts of the earlier church). The church was completed (1479-1483) by Jacopo da Pietrasanta and Sebastiano da Firenze, with the patronage of cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville. Appendix: a document of 1483' (BHA).

10413 TREFFERS, Bert, In agris itinerans: L'esempio della Madonna di Loreto del Caravaggio — *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* (Historical studies, (1996) 55 (Assen, 1997), 274-292, 8 ill.

Tableau dans l'église S. Agostino, Roma. 'Dismisses theories according to which the model for the Virgin was a woman of doubtful reputation; discusses the type of the Madonna of Loreto, the meaning of the pilgrims and the architecture depicted, here identified as the holy house of Loreto' (BHA).

10414 ACCROCCA, Felice, I codici Romani della "Legenda di santa Chiara" in volgare. — *Collectanea Franciscana* 63 (1993), 55-70. Zusammen-fassung: 69-70.

'Describes the codices containing these legends: MSS Bibliotheca Angelica, 2211; Convento di S. Isidoro 1/86; Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, fondo Rossi - sezione Corsiniana 301' (MBI).

10415 ANDREWS, Robert, The "Defensorium Ockham". — *Franciscan Studies* 54 (1994), 99-122.

'Discussion of this anonymous work on Aristotle's "Categoriae", including an edition of chapter 15 from the sole Ms. known to contain the work: MS *Roma, Biblioteca Angelica*, 1017' (IMB).

10416 *Bibliographie annuelle du Moyen Age tardif* 9 (Turnhout, 1999).

Quelques Mss signalés dans la *Biblioteca Angelica de Rome*: No.192: Albertus de Saxonia, Quaest. in Physicam, Ms 1964 (a. 1390), ff. 1-58v; no.1166: Engelbertus de Admont, Opusculum de ortu, processu et fine regnorum et praecipue regni seu imperii Romani, Ms 739 (XVe s.), ff.1-27v; no.2468: Johannes Andreas de Bussis, Plinii maioris naturalium historiarum editio, Ms 1097; no.3254: Odo de Castroradulfi, Sermones, Ms 156.

10417 BORGHETTI MARZULLI, Livia, I cataloghi storici della Biblioteca Angelica. — *Il linguaggio della biblioteca*. Scritti in onore di Diego Maltese. A cura di Mauro GUERRINI (Milano, Ed. Bibliografica, 1996), 384-394.

L'a. attraverso la sua indagine sui cataloghi dell'Angelica, da un lato si propone di chiarire i criteri di compilazione dei cataloghi stessi, dall'altro contribuisce a delineare la storia della biblioteca analizzando le successive acquisizioni dei fondi che la compongono' (RSCI).

10418 COCCIA DESOGUS, Paola, Un libro d'Ore francese nella Biblioteca Angelica di Roma. — *Miniatura* 5-6 (1993-1996), 17-26, 114-115, 21 ill. (6 col.). Summary in English.

'A French Book of hours (Roma, Bibl. Angelica, MS 459) is distinguished by rich ornamentation and 15 illuminated scenes at the beginning of the offices and hours. Preceded by a calendar in French, the office of the Virgin (in Latin) conforms to the manner of Rouen. The dedicatory illumination shows an enthroned Madonna and Child with two patrons, identified by their family coats of arms as Robert II de Boissy, a Norman knight, and Roberte de Calleville of Rouen. The two different stylistic trends that appear together in the MS are expressions of the cultural composite of Paris in the first decade of the 15th c.; one recalls the Master of Luçon or a close follower, the other betrays a Flemish provenance for the group in which the beginnings of the "Bedford trend" may be identified. The most likely hypothesis would suggest a date of 1406 for the decoration of the manuscript' (BHA).

10419 CURTI, M. - ZAMPA, P. (edd.), Introduzione alli cinque ordini dell'architettura: trattato della fine del seicento. Roma, Archivio Guido Izzi, 1995 (328, ill.).

'Critical edition of an anonymous architectural manuscript treatise (1669) in the Biblioteca Angelica' (BHA).

10420 MUSTO, Ronald G., Franciscan Joachimism at the court of Naples, 1309-1345: a new appraisal. — *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 90 (1997), 419-486.

'Investigates the impact of Joachim of Fiore on the court of Naples, with reference to the letters of Angelo Clareno and Sancia of Mallorca, the inquisitorial processes against Prince Phillip of Mallorca and his followers, and the thought of King Robert of Anjou, particularly the themes of Transfiguration, historical linearity, and the ethical imitation of Christ. With edition of sermon 19 of Robert of Anjou from Ms Roma, Biblioteca Angelica 150' (IMB).

10421 STEINER, Ruth, Non-psalm verses for introits and communions — *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, ed. Wulf ARLT and Gunilla BJÖRKVALL (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia latina, 36). (Stockholm, Almqvist & Wicksed, 1993), 441-447.

'Examines biblical texts other than psalm verses used in 6 chant Mss.: Paris, B.N., lat.776; lat.780; lat.903; Oxford, Bodleilan Libr., Canon liturg. 366; Ivrea, Bibl. Capitolare 60; *Roma, Bibl. Angelica*, 123' (IMB).

Roma (S. Maria del Popolo)

10422 ACKERMANN, Felix, Berninis Umgestaltung des Innenraumes von S. Maria del Popolo unter Alexander VII. (1655-1659). — *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 31 (1996), 369-426, 39 ill.

'Delineates Bernini's extensive mid-17th c. renovations of the interior, which included the entrance wall, the nave and side aisles, the transept and the transept altars, an organ case, designs for sculptures (among them saints in the nave arcade and angels for the altars), selections of paintings for the altars, and the incorporation of papal iconography. Also contains an appendix on the heraldry represented' (BHA).

10423 ASKEW, Pamela, Caravaggio: outward action, inward vision. — *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, la vita e le opere attraverso i documenti*: atti del convegno intern. di studi, ed. Stefania MACIOCE (Roma, Logart, 1995), 248-269, 368, 23 ill.

'Study of the narrative technique in some of C.'s religious paintings of conversion and calling, executed in Rome, a.o. the Conversion of Paul and the Crucifixion of Peter in S. Maria del Popolo'

10424 BANDINI, Giovanna, Il pavimento maiolicato della capella Basso della Rovere in Santa Maria del Popolo a Roma. — *Le ceramiche di Roma e del Lazio in età medievale e moderna*. Atti del II Convegno di Studi, Roma 6-7 maggio 1994 II (Roma, 1995), 38-52, 172-173.

10425 BORESTI, Massimo - MARRICCHI, Franco, Il prospetto di Santa Maria del Popolo. — *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura, Università di Roma* (1993), no. 21, 75-78, 10 ill., 7 diagrams, 3 plans.

'Presents the results of an architectural analysis (including measured drawings) of the 15th c. facade of S. Maria del Popolo, Rome. Determines that the unit of measure employed corresponds with that traditional to Lombardy' (BHA).

10426 D'AMELIO, Maria Grazia,, "Cupole ovate" del XVI secolo. — *Rassegna di architettura e urbanistica* 28 (1994-1995), no. 84-85, 47-58, 11 ill.

'L'ovale concilie les aspects symboliques du cercle et les avantages liturgiques de la disposition longitudinale: l'origine de la coupole ovale est retracée et suivie à travers les traités d'architecture, dans les réalisations depuis la première, mise en place par Vignola dans l'oratoire S. Andrea Apostolo sur la Via Flaminia à Rome en 1551-1553' (BHA). Cf. le no.10427, 10436.

10427 DAVID, Paola Rafaella, Sant'Andrea del Vignola a Roma: restauri esterni. — *Bolletino d'arte* 80 (Roma, 1995), no. 89-90, 167-175, ill., 4 dépliants.

Concerne la restauration pendant les années 1992-1994. Église succursale de S. Maria del Popolo.

10428 FRALE, Barbara, Ceramiche di età medievale e moderna a Roma e nel Lazio. — *RR. Roma nel Rinascimento* 10 (1994), 283-284.

'Summarizes a paper "L'impiantito della cappella Basso della Rovere in S. Maria del Popolo a Roma", presented by Giovanna Bandini at a conference (Roma, Università degli studi di Roma La Sapienza, 6-7 May 1994) on Medieval and Renaissance ceramics in Rome and Lazio. Bandini attributes the majolica pavement (in a chapel commissioned by Girolamo Basso della Rovere in S. Maria del Popolo, Rome) to local ceramists, and dates it ca. 1480-1500' (BHA). Cf. le no. 10424.

10429 GIJSBERS, Pieter-Matthijs, 'Resurgit Pamphilij in Templo Pamphiliana Domus'; Camillo Pamphilj's patronage of the church of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale. — *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* (Historical Studies, 1996) 55 (Assen, 1997), 298-335, 24 ill.

S. Maria del Popolo, Cappella Chigi: 309-310.

10430 MASI, Francesca, Nuovi contributi per un disegno di Antonio Pollaiolo. — *Critica d'Arte* 59 (1996), no. 5, 43-52, 10 ill.

'Dates the drawing by Antonio Pollaiolo entitled "Prisoner brought before a judge" (London, Brittish Museum) to ca. 1470-1475 on grounds that it was the source for a miniature of "Children before a putto seated on a Throne" by Francesco di Antonio del Chierico (Roma, Bibl. Vat. Ms Urb. lat. 224), as well as a drawing attributed to Pinturicchio, "Youth brought before a judge" (Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung) here identified as a preparatory study for a monochrome fresco in S. Maria del Popolo, Rome' (BHA).

10431 MERKEL, Ettore, I mosaici del Cinquecento veneziano, 1a pt. — *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 19 (1994), 73-140, 136 ill.

'First part of a survey of 16th c. Venetian mosaicists and their works, mainly in the Basilica of S. Marco; principal mosaicists discussed are Piero di Zorzi. Luigi de Pace (works in the Chigi chapel, S. Maria del Popolo, Rome) and Francesco and Valerio Zuccato' (BHA).

10432 OST, Hans, Peter Paul Rubens' Kreuzigung Petri in der Peterskirche zu Köln. — *Studien zur niederländischen Kunst*: Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Justus MÜLLER HOFSTEDE --- *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 55 (1994), 139-158, 13 ill., 1 plan.

'Investigates the history of the commission for the large altarpiece in the Cologne church of S. Peter, and studies the iconography of the painting in the context of the representation of the crucifixion of S. Peter in the renaissance and baroque periods. Shows in particular that Rubens' s composition depends on that of Caravaggio's painting of the same subject, in his first version of the crucifixion for the Cerasi chapel at S. Maria del Popolo, Rome. Explains that Caravaggio's first version, which shows the inverted, crucified saint from a nearly frontal view, was found inappropriate for its intended location in the chapel, and was replaced by a version in which the cross appears at an angle. Shows that the earlier version none the less influenced artists in Rome and elsewhere in Europe' (BHA).

10433 PAARDEKOOPER, Ludwin, The monument to Maria Flaminia Chigi Odescalchi, 1771-1772. — *Labyrinthos* 15-16 (1996-1997), 261-315, 20 ill.

'Study of the funerary monument to Maria Flaminia Chigi Odescalchi, princess of Bracciano, designed by Paolo Posi, in S. Maria del Popolo, Rome; based on documents dated 1767-1797 transcribed in appendices. Compares preparatory drawings in the Chigi archive in the Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome; also compares funerary monuments by Casanova,

noting the abrupt shift in style from late Baroque and Rococo to Neo-classical sculpture' (BHA).

10434 *Il restauro della Cappella Basso della Rovere*. S. Maria del Popolo. Roma, S. Maria del Popolo, 1996 (61, ill.).

Contenu: STRINATI, Claudio, La Cappella Basso della Rovere: considerazioni per una nuova attribuzione: 7-16; ANTELLINI, Simona, La Cappella Basso della Rovere: inquadramento architettonico e raffigurazione: 17-33; *Eadem*, Il cantiere di restauro: 37-55.

10435 RIEGEL, Nicole, Capella Ascanii: Coemiterium Julium: zur Auftraggeberschaft des Chors von Santa Maria del Popolo in Rom. — *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 30 (1995), 191-219, 19 ill.

'Treats the apse/choir of S. Maria del Popolo which Julius II commissioned from Bramante. The choir is essentially a funerary chapel, designed to contain the "Tomb of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza" and the "Tomb of Cardinal Girolamo Basso della Rovere", both by Andrea Sansovino. Assesses scholarly opinion and reviews issues concerning the structure and its decoration; considers patronage motives, iconography, Bramante's concept, the tradition of "mausoleum-choirs" and the program of Julius II' (BHA).

10436 VICIOSO, Julia, Il tempietto del Vignola († 1573). — *Bolletino d'arte* 80 (Roma, 1995), no. 89-90, 59-110, 38 ill.

L'église de S. André, Via Flaminia, Rome, construite en commémoration de la rencontre de Pie II avec la relique de la tête de l'apôtre, le 12 avril 1462. Cette relique fut portée de Patras à Ancona et de là à Rome par le cardinal *Alexandre Oliva* OSA. En 1561 l'église fut élévée par Pie IV en paroisse, dépendante de celle de S. Maria del Populo. P. 95-97: Documents 11-13 tirés du Fonds Convento S. Maria del Populo, Arch. Gén. OSA, Miscellanea I et II, sur les travaux à l'église (1817, 1847) et la construction du campanile (1852); p.110: "In eo celebratur diebus dominicis et festivis per fratrem Conventus B. Mariae de Populo, cuius haec Ecclesia est membrum dependens".

10437 ZUCCARI, Alessandro, Storia e tradizione nell'iconografia religiosa del Caravaggio. — *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, la vita e le opere attraverso i documenti*: atti del convegno intern. di studi, ed. Stefania MACIOCE (Roma, Logart, 1995), 289-308, 369, 10 ill.

'Study of C's paintings of martyrdoms and the question of his adherence to official hagiographic tradition in the formulation of his religious imagery' (BHA).

San Gimignano

10438 AHL, Diana Cole, Benozzo Gozzoli. New Haven-London, Yale Univ. Press, 1996, VII-340, ill.

Catalogue raisonné en anglais. Edition bilingue Italiano-inglese: Ciniselli Balsamo (MI), Silvana (352, 123 ill.col., 223 ill.b/n.).

10439 *Bibliografia di San Gimignano*. A cura di Isabella GAGLIARDI e.a. Città di San Gimignano, 1995 (375).

'La bibliografia divisa in due grandi sezioni, storica e storico-artistica, comprende sia la storia della religiosità e delle istituzioni ecclesiastiche, sia la storia delle singole chiese e insediamenti religiosi, come risulta in entrambi i casi dagli indici tematici' (RSCI).

10440 CASALI, Giovanna, L'evoluzione della città tra XIV e XVI secolo (Biblioteca dell'Archivio storico italiano, 26). Firenze, Olschki, 1998 (174, 13 ill., 1 carte).

10441 OPITZ, Marion, Benozzo Gozzoli 1420-1497. Köln, Köneman, 1998 (120, 118 ill.col.).
San Gimignano, S. Agostino: 62-91.

San Leonardo al Lago

10442 RADAN, George T., Archaeological excavations at San Leonardo al Lago and Santa Lucia di Rosia. — *Analecta Augustiniana* 60 (Roma, 1997), 149-172, 8 ill.
Rapport des fouilles des anciens ermitages près de Sienne, faites en 1969-1982.

San Marco in Lamis

10443 GUIDA, Antonio, S. Agostino, una dimenticata domus-ecclesiae nei pressi di Stignano. — *Arte cristiana* 83 (Milano, 1995), 217-218, 4 ill.
'S. Agostino à San Marco in Lamis, près d'un sanctuaire marial sur les pendes du Gargano, fait penser à une de ces domus-ecclesiae nombreuses à avoir été construites par les ermites du 12e -13e s. qui suivaient la règle de saint Augustin. Les deux chapelles communicantes font voir des restes de peintures murales du 18e s.' (BHA).

Sant'Angelo in Pontano

10444 CAPPONI, Franco, Sant'Angelo in Pontano. Notizie storiche, I: Dalle origini alla fine del sec. XV. Negrar, Il segno, 1992 (457, ill.).

Sarnano

10445 MARENGO, Silvia Maria, "Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae" a Sarnano. — *Studia Picena* 60 (1995), 43-51, ill.
'Si dà notizia di sei lastrine marmoree di provenienza romana murate nelle chiese di S. Francisco e S. Agostino di Sarnano (Macerata)' (RSCI).

Senigallia

10446 MENCUCCI, Angelo, Senigallia e la sua diocesi: storia, fede, arte. I: Senigallia dalle origini ad oggi, 3 vol. Fano, Fortuna, 1994 (1740, 2562, 1448, ill.).

'Includes sections on saint's cult, religious orders, confraternities, and sacred sites in the diocese' (BHA).

Siena

10447 CANNON, Joanna, The creation, meaning, and audience of the early Sienese polyptich: evidence from the friars. — *Italian altarpieces* 1250-1550: Function and design, ed. Eve BORSOOK and Fiorella SUPERBI GLOFREDI (Oxford, Clarendon press, 1994), 41-79, ill.
'Discusses the Augustinians, the Carmelites, the Servites, and the Franciscans. With black-and-white plates at pp.63-79' (IMB).

10448 GERSBACH, Karl A. OSA, A disturbance at Sant'Agostino, Siena, January 1565. — *Conventos Agustinos*. X Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Orden de San Agustín (Madrid, 20-24 de octubre de 1997), ed. Rafael LAZCANO OSA, I (1998), 633-649.
Avec 2 documents (1565).

Soverato

10449 PISANI, Domenico, La Pietà di Antonello Gagini. Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 1995 (111, ill.).
'On the sculpture Pietà (Soverato Superiore, Chiesa arcipretale, 1521) by Antonello Gagini. The work was commissioned by Giovanni Martino d'Aquino for the Augustinian monastery *Santa Maria della Pietà* (Calabria region), and was restored, 1968. Analyzes the iconography (S. Thomas Acquinas teaching) of the relief sculpture on the base of the group. Also describes the other works of art (16th-18th cs.) from the monastery (abandoned, 1803). Includes a transcription of the life of Gagini from Francesco Susinno's *Vita dei pittori messinesi*, and an appendix of documents, 1520-1792' (BHA).

Sulmona

10450 MATTIOCCO, Ezio, Sulmona: città e contado nel castasto del 1376. Pescara, Carsa, 1994 (336, 27 ill.).

Tarquinia

10451 BRUNORI, Ennio, Sant'Agostino alla Fontanella. — *Bollettino dell'anno - Società tarquinese di arte e storia* 22 (1993), 211-237, 22 ill.
'Identifies the architectural remains of the 17th c. church and monastery of S. Agostino alla Fontanella, Torre Sant'Agostino, presents documents (1639-1710) that describe it, and discusses the architectural history of this coastal site, where S. Augustine is believed to have met the Christ Child' (BHA).

10452 BRUNORI, Ennio, Sant'Agostino alla Fontanella di Tarquinia. Tarquinia, 1994 (32, ill.).

10453 DEL LUNGO, Stefano, La città e il castello di Tarquinia. — *Bollettino dell'anno - Società tarquinese di arte e storia* 23 (1994), 31-54, 4 ill., 3 maps.

'Traces the urban history (6th-14th cs.) of the medieval city of Tarquinia, located a few miles from modern Tarquinia (then called Corneto). Medieval Tarquinia (now an archaeological site known as Castellina) was destroyed (early 14th c.) by its rival, Corneto' (BHA).

Terni

10454 *Istituzioni, chiese e cultura a Terni tra Cinquecento a Settecento.* Atti del Seminario, Terni, 15-17 marzo 1995. A cura di Tania PULCINI. Terni, Provincia di Terni, ISTES, 1997 (295, ill.).

Tolentino

10455 SCHULZ, Anne Markham, Nanni di Bartolo e il Portale di S. Nicola. Con un saggio di Luciano BELLOSI e interventi di Brunella TEODORI e Giorgio SEMMOLONI. Firenze, Centro Di, 1997 (292, 230 ill.).

'Examines the oeuvre of the sculptor Nanni di Bartolo, in the light of the recent 1986-1989 restoration of his scupltural decoration [commissioned (1432) by the military leader Nicolò Mauruzi, completed under the patronage of his brother, Battista, in 1435] of the main portal of the church of S. Nicola da Tolentino, Tolentino. Includes essays by Luciano Bellosi on Nanni's Madonna sculptures; Brunella Teodori on the conservation of the portal; and Giorgio Semmoloni, transcribing the will (1434) of Nicolò Mauruzi' (BHA).

Tolfa

10456 MANNINO, Natalina, Il santuario di Santa Maria della Sughera a Tolfa. — *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, Università di Roma (1994), no. 23, 19-38, 23 ill., diagr., plans.

'Traces the architectural history (1501-20th c.) and closely analyzes the typology of the church and Augustinian monastery of S. Maria della Sughera near Tolfa. (The complex was commissioned by Agostino Chigi, who had business interests in the nearby aluminium mines). Notes that without documentary proof, the attribution by earlier scholars to Baldassare Peruzzi and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, remains hypothetical. Appendix: documents 1504-1929' (BHA).

10457 MANNINO, Natalina, S. Maria della Sughera a Tolfa. L'architettura di un santuario mariano. Roma, (près l'A.: Via G. Lunati, 23, 00149 Roma), 1997 (167, 145 ill., dessins, facs., plans).

Augustin Chigi (1466-1520), fameux banquier siennois, enterré à S. Maria del Popolo, Rome, en 1504 fait construire pour les ouvriers dans ses mines d'alun à Tolfa (Civitavecchia) un santuaire octogonal: S. Maria della Sughera (=chêne-liège), attribué à Donato Bramante. La charge d'âmes fut confiée aux augustins, qui y construirent un couvent, achevé en 1523 et habité par eux jusqu'à 1921. L'A., architecte, descrit

abondamment l'histoire de la construction de l'église et du couvent avec plusieurs dessins et photographies et appuyée par 21 documents d'archives (1504-1919).

Torino

10458 *Storia di Torino*, éd. R. COMBA, vol. 2: Il basso medioevo e la prima età moderna (1280-1536). Torino, Accademia delle Scienze; Einaudi, 1997 (XXV-850).

Le couvent de Torino est nommé pour la première fois en 1452 dans le registre du prieur général Julien de Salem.

Treviso

10459 BRIZIARELLI, Giuliana - GIBBS, Robert, Correzioni alla riconstruzione delle storie di sant'Orsola di Tomaso da Modena e considerazioni sull'architettura degli Eremitani. — *Arte veneta* 48 (1996), 90-93, 4 ill.

'Presents a revised graphic reconstruction of the cycle of the life of S. Ursula by Tomaso da Modena in *S. Margherita, Treviso*, incorporating the remaining fragment in situ and detached fragments conserved in the Casa de Noal and S. Caterina, Treviso (includes a catalogue of 11 fragments), compares the architecture of S. Margherita with that of the Eremitani in *Padua*' (BHA).

10460 *Diocesi di Treviso*, a cura di L. PESCE (Storia religiosa del Veneto, 4). Padova, Gregoriana, 1994 (467, cartes).

Venezia

10461 *Gli Agostiniani a Venezia e la Chiesa di S. Stefano*. Atti della giornata di studi nel V Centenario dalla dedicazione della Chiesa di Santo Stefano, Venezia, 10 nov.1995. Venezia, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1997 (VII-326, ill., cartes).

Contenu: Mario MATTEI OSA, Dall'eremitismo alla 'Regola': 1-26 [Sur la formation de l'Ordre et S. Jean Bon]; Franco Dal PINO, Formazione degli Eremiti di Sant'Agostino e loro insediamento nella Terraferma Veneta e a Venezia: 27-85 [ca. 1200-1300]; Carlo DELCORNO, La predicazione agostiniana (sec. XIII-XV): 87-108; Aldo STELLA, L'agostiniano cardinale *Girolamo Seripando* tra ortodossia e protestantesimo. Nuove prospettive storiografiche: 109-120; Antonio FOSCARI, La costruzione della chiesa agosiniana di Santo Stefano. Innovazioni e conformismi nell'architettura veneziana nel primo Quattrocento: 121-158; Giovanni CANIATO, L'insediamento eremitano nelle contrade di Sant'Anzolo, San Vidal e San Maurizio. Sviluppo urbano dell'area di S. Stefano tra il basso medioevo e l'epoca moderna: fonti e indicazioni preliminari: 159-235 [édition de 8 documents 1275-1786]; Marie Agnese CHIARI MORETTO WIEL, La chiesa di Santo Stefano: il patrimonio artistico: 237-287; Giulio CATTIN, La tradizione liturgico-musicale degli Agostiniani. Alcuni compositori a Santo Stefano in Venezia: 289-302 [Ludovico Zacconi (1555-1627), Stefano Antonelli († après 1570), Hippolito Baccusi († 1609), Agostino Diruta († après 1646), Stefano Filippini (ca. 1600-1690), Tiburzio Massaini († après 1609),

Giovanni Batt. Cesena († ca. 1621), Carlo Milanuzzi († après 1643)]; Indici dei nomi, dei documenti d'archivio e dei manoscritti: 303-326.

10462 BARZATI, Antonella, Ordini religiosi e biblioteche a Venezia tra Cinque e Seicento. — *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento* 21 (1995), 141-228.

'È analizzata e puntualmente descritta la situazione delle biblioteche dei religiosi (personali e conventuali) sulla base della nota inchiesta promossa dalla congregazione dell'Indice nel 1599-1600' (RSCI).

10463 *Chiesa di Santo Stefano di Venezia, arte e devozione*. Testi di Maria Agnese CHIARI MORETTO WIEL, Andrea GALLO e Ettore MERKEL. Venezia, Marsilio, 1996 (59, ill.).

10464 GREEN, Michèle, La Scuola di Santo Stefano in Venezia: sede delle ultime storie di Vittorio Carpaccio. — *Studi veneziani* 29 (1995), 143-166, ill., diagrams, 2 plans.

'Traces the history, 1298-1806, of the Scuola di S. Stefano, Venice and of the architecture, art and furnishings of the building (constructed 1432-1437) where this confraternity had its offices. (The Scuola was closely linked to the Augustinian monastery of S. Stefano). Hypothetically reconstructs the plan of the building, and the disposition of Carpaccio's cycle of the Life of S. Stephen (1511-1520) in the main room. (Carpaccio's paintings are now dispersed in various collections)' (BHA).

10465 WORTHEN, Thomas, Tintoretto's paintings for the Banco del Sacramento in S. Margherita. — *Art bulletin* 78 (1996), 702-732, 19 ill.

'Study of T's paintings for the Venetian parish church of S. Margherita (Last Supper, Christ washing the Feet of the Apostles, and Agony in the Garden, now in *S. Stefano*, Venice) which were designed to go in an aisle above the *banco* (bench or desk) of a Confraternity of the Sacrament, as were his paintings of the Last Supper in S. Marcuola, S. Simeon Grande, and S. Polo. Examines the physical and conceptual considerations attending a painting made for a *banco*, as well as the problem of designing a large composition for a narrow aisle. The rule books (*mariegole)* of the confraternities have furnished essential information, including previously unknown dates for two of the projects' (BHA).

Vercelli

10466 *Vercelli dal medioevo al Ottocento*. Atti del Convegno, Vercelli, 24-25 maggio 1991. A cura di Maurizio CASSETTI. Vercelli, Associazione Archivi e storia; Archivio di Stato di Vercelli, 1998 (371, ill.).

Veroli

10467 STIRPE, Marcello, Le chiese di Veroli nel 1581. — *Latium* 10 (1993), 221-250.

'Summarizes the contents of a document (pastoral visit, 1581 by Annibale de Grassis, Bishop of Faenza) describing the art and architecture of 24 churches in Veroli, and listing rural churches in the environs' (BHA).

Verona

10468 FLOR, Ingrid, "Vnnser liben Frawen Kronung als in vnnser liben frawen pharkirchen in der Tavel ze Boczen stet": zur Neuaufstellung der Krönung Mariae des Hans von Judenburg im Germanischen Nazionalmuseum 1993, eine Darstellung vom "Veroneser" Typ. — *Anzeiger des Germ.Nationalmuseums und Berichte aus dem Forschungsinstitut für Realienkunde* (1994), 91-110, 18 ill. Summary in English.

'The three sculptural figures of the Coronation of the Virgen. The A. associates the figures with a type of the Coronation which is known from paintings in Tyrol and certain areas of northern Italy, the so-called "Veronese" type, which probably emerged in the late 14th c. within the sphere of Austin Friars in Verona' (BHA).

10469 FLOR, Ingrid, La rappresentazione dell'Incoronazione della Vergine Maria e l'iconografia di "tipo veronese". — *Arte cristiana* 87 (Milano, 1999), 17-32, 15 ill. Summary in English.

About 1400 the iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin was renewed by including the Trinity. The dominant figure of the Eternal Father characterizes the so-called "north-Italian type", Christ is showed as mediator and Mary symbolizes the humility. It seems to have been conceived by the *Austin Friars of Verona*. During the Great Schism this Order was deeply engaged in the fight for the Roman pope and the unity of the Latin Church, for which the image of the Coronation of the Virgin is used as a symbol for the " unitas Ecclesiae". The interpretation is based on texts of St. Augustine as collected by *Augustine Trionfo* and later completed by *Bartholomew of Urbino* in the *Milleloquium S. Augustini*. The fresco in the church of S. Eufemia, Verona was discovered in 1969, taken from the wall, and restored. It is ascribed to Martino da Verona and preserved in the same church.

10470 KARET, Evelyn, The drawings of Stefano da Verona reconsidered. — *Arte Lombarda* (Milano, 1999), no. 125, 5-45, ill.

Verona, église S. Eufemia: Augustine enthroned and prophets: 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 14, 36, 38.

10471 MILLER, Maureen C., Chiesa e società in Verona medievale [trad. dall'inglese] (Biblioteca dei Quaderni di storia religiosa, 2). Verona, Cierre, 1998 (303).

Vicenza

10472 *Diocesi di Vicenza*, a cura di E. REATO (Storia religiosa del Veneto, 5). Padova, Gregoriana, 1994 (436, cartes).

MALTE

10473 BERG, Warren G., Historical dictionary of Malta (European Historical Dictionaries, 10). London, Scarecrow Press, 1995, XXI-163, ill.

PAYS-BAS

10474 *Bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland*, I: Noord- en Midden-Nederland red. Peter Jan MARGRY en Charles CASPERS. Amsterdam, P.J. Meertens-Instituut; Hilversum, Verloren, 1997 (886, ill., cartes, plans).

Lexicon des lieux de pélerinage dans les Pays-Bas. L'église des augustins d'*Appingedam*, Ste Croix (14e-16e s.), par Folkert BAKKER & Remi van SCHAÏK: p.171; Le couvent OSA de *Culemborg*, St. Nicolas de Tolentino (1946-1968), par Albéric de MEIJER: p.259-261; Le couvent OSA de *Middelburg*, S. Sacrement (1374-1574, ensuite à Louvain), par Charles CASPERS & Peter SIJNKE: p.553-556; Paroisse de *Nieuw-Namen*, St. Nicolas de Tolentino (1861-aujourd'hui) par Ottie THIERS: p.569-571; Le couvent OSA de *Nijmegen*, St. Nicolas de Tolentino (1937-1963), par Albéric de MEIJER: p.595-597.

10475 *Bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland*, II: Provincie Noord-Brabant, red. Peter Jan MARGRY en Charles CASPERS. Amsterdam, P.J. Meertens-Instituut; Hilversum, Verloren, 1998 (1017, ill., cartes, plans).

Paroisse Ste Rita de *Boskant* (Sint Oedenrode), Ste Rita de Cascia (1957-aujourd'hui), par Albéric de MEIJER: 138-140; L'église des augustins d'*Eindhoven*, St. Nicolas de Tolentino (1891-aujourd'hui), par Albéric de MEIJER: 258-264; ibidem, Ste Rita de Cascia (1950-aujourd'hui), par Albéric de MEIJER: 264-267; Paroisse Ste Gertrude de *Wouwse Plantage*, St. Nicolas de Tolentino (1893-aujourd'hui), par Paul van GEEST: 964-966.

10476 *Bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland*, III: Provincie Limburg, red. Peter Jan MARGRY en Charles CASPERS. Amsterdam, P.J. Meertens-Instituut; Hilversum, Verloren, 2000 (1200, ill., cartes, plans).

Paroisse St. Jean Baptiste à *Oud-Valkenburg*, Ste Rita de Cascia (1959-aujourd'hui), par Antoine JACOBS: 702-705, 4 ill. Néanmoins la statue vénérée de Ste Rita (s. XVIII) originalement représentait Ste Scholastique avec livre et crosse d'abbesse. La crosse a été remplacée par une croix et sur le livre est placée une couronne d'épines. Sur la base on lit: Sint Rita.

10477 DAVERVELD, Joseph P.H., Plaatsingslijst van de Archieven van de Orde der Augustijnen Provincie Nederland (1451)-1895-1990(-1995). Nijmegen, Stichting Dienstencentrum Kloosterarchieven in Nederland, 1996 (XXIV-205) (pro manuscripto).

2e édition avec Ad J.C. van HUIJGEVOORT, 1895-1990 (1997). Nijmegen, Stichting Dienstencentrum Kloosterarchieven in Nederland, 1998 (XXIV-218) (pro manuscripto).

10478 *Jaarboek Katholiek Documentatiecentrum*. Nijmegen, K.D.C., 1996.

Dans ce volume: SCHREUDER, O., Wijsbegeerte aan de Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen 1923-1995: 107-124; VUGHT, J.P.A. van, De geschiedenis van zusters, paters en broeders. Geschiedschrijving over het religieuze leven in Nederland in de laatste twee eeuwen: resultaten tot nu toe en wensen voor de toekomst: 125-163.

10479 *Romeinse bescheiden voor de geschiedenis der Rooms-Katholieke kerk in Nederland 1832-1914*. Archiefwijzer van Romeinse archivalia, samengesteld door J.P. de VALK, I: Chronologische lijst

van documenten; II: Archieven, overzichten en indices (Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, grote serie, 230-231). Den Haag, Instituut voor Nederlandse geschiedenis, 1996 (XLII-827; VI-632).

Les augustins: II, p.111; 212-213 (1854-1855); 327 (Arch.Gén.OSA); 345 (1885-1935); *Joseph Caiazzo* (1805-1883), procureur gén. OSA, plus tard archev. d'Otranto: II, p.213 (1855); *Augustin Ciasca* (1835-1902), secr.Congr.de Prop.Fide: I, p.631 (=no.4840:1896), (=no.4844: 1896); II, p.447; *Corneille de Kruyf*, père des Zouaves (1813-74): I, p.399 (=no.3027: 1867); 402 (=no.3047: 1868); *Sébastien Martinelli*, card. (1848-1918): II, p.234 (1904), p.235 (1911); *Augustin Naudts* (1761-1844): I, p.18 (=no.149: 1833); II, p.98-99: (1832-33); *Arnhem*, refus de l'archev. d'Utrecht aux augustins d'un fondation en cette ville (1899): I, p.656-57 (=nos.5028, 5030, 5037); II, p.28 (1899); 142-3 (1899); *Eindhoven*, sur l'érection d'un collège (1898): II, p.297; *Groningen*, station missionnaire: I, p.2 (=no.17: 1832); 5 (=no.35: 1832); 17 (=no.138: 1833); 37 (=no.298: 1835); 38 (=no.304: 1836); 40 (no.326: 1836); 42 (= no.336: 1836); 42 (=no.338: 1836); 43 (=no.343: 1837); 44(=no.349: 1837); 83 (=no.615: 1841); 88 (=no.653: 1841); 93 (=no. 686: 1841); 93 (=no.688: 1841); 105 (=no.778: 1842); II, p.113 (1841); *Nijmegen*, station missionnaire: I, p. 154-55 (=nos.1143-44: 1846); *Witmarsum* sur l'érection d'un couvent et noviciat: I, p. 719 (=no.5562: 1902); II, p.299 (1900), 301 (1902).

10480 ROOZE-STOUTHAMER, C., Hervorming in Zeeland (ca. 1520-1572). Goes, De Koperen Tuin, 1996, 600, ill., cartes). Summary: 447-453.

Les augustins de *Middelburg*: 30-5, 73-4, 79, 111, 233, 376, 499, 507, 511; *Eustachius Velthaen*, prieur († 1546): 79, 111-2, 121, 133, 470; *François d'Ypres* († après 1525): 52, 54-6, 74-5, 109, 465; *Jean de Vaernewyck* († après 1533): 73-5, 79, 109, 161, 465; *Pierre Daensius de Gand* († après 1537): 110, 467, 469; *Jacques de Buyzere d'Ypres* († 1572): 158, 226, 236, 337; *Jean Crabbe* (1540-1598): 221; *Laurent de Villavicencio* (ca. 1519-1583): 168, 346, 366; *Martin Luther*: 39, 41-3, 45, 48-9, 51-2, 71, 74-6, 110, 117; Les couvents d'*Antwerpen*: 56; de *Bruges*: 168; de *Gand*: 73-110; de *Louvain*: 73; de *Wittenberg*: 39, 47-9, 70, 74, 110; *London*, Austin Friars, Dutch Reformed Church: 438.

10481 WEILER, Anton G., Volgens de norm van de vroege Kerk. De geschiedenis van de huizen van de broeders van het Gemene leven in Nederland (Middeleeuwse studies, XIII). Nijmegen, Centrum voor Middeleeuwse studies Kath. Univ. Nijmegen, 1997 (XXVI-262).

Les maisons des Frères de la Vie commune dans les Pays-Bas. *Barthélemy de Dordrecht*: 2; *Adrien d'Appeltern*, év. suffragant d'Utrecht: 147. Dans la liste des Mss. conservés: 196-222: *Bindo de Siena*, Distinctiones exemplorum novi et veteris testamenti abbreviatae: 208; *Verba Aegidii Romani*: 209; *Henri de Friemar*: 219.

Amsterdam

10482 BARENDS, Frederik F., Geloven in de schaduw. Schuilkerken in Amsterdam. Gent, Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1996 (64, ill. en couleurs, cartes).

Les stations missionnaires des augustins De Posthoorn et De Star: 15, 24, 27, 29, 39, 64.

10483 MEIJER, Albericus Karel de OSA, Augustinian *filiae spirituales* in Amsterdam during the seventeenth century. — *Analecta Augustiniana* 60 (Roma, 1997), 49-80, 5 ill.

Liste détaillée de 70 tertiaires de la station missionnaire augustinienne, dite De Star (l'Étoile), entre 1664 et 1717; aussi des bienfaiteurs de la même.

Dordrecht

10484 BOLLEBAKKER, Hans, De Berckepoort in Dordrecht. — *Heemschut* 75 (Amsterdam, 1998), no. 1, 27-31, ill.
L'ancienne église des augustins: 28, 29, 31.

10485 BOON, A. de, Augustijnenkerk Dordrecht. Bakermat van Kerk en Staat. Dordrecht, près de l'auteur, Bankastraat 342, Dordrecht, 1998 (40, ill. en couleurs).

10486 BRUYN, C.M. de, De wandtapijten in het Dordtse Hof. — *Heemschut* 76 (Amsterdam, 1999), no. 5, 32-33, 2 ill.
Après la dissolution du couvent des augustins en 1572 l'édifice fut destiné par le gouvernement civile comme résidence temporelle pour les princes d'Orange, nommée dorénavant Het Hof (La Cour). Un collecteur d'art de Dordrecht donna trois gobelins du 16e siècle pour la décoration de l'ancien réfectoire, restauré en 1972, lesquels sont descrits dans cet article.

10487 *Geschiedenis van Dordrecht tot 1572*, red. Jan van HERWAARDEN e.a. Dordrecht, Gemeentearchief; Hilversum, Verloren, 1996 (416, ill., cartes).
Le couvent et l'église des augustins (ca. 1282-1572): 35, 78, 169, 280, 300, 312, 324-25, 327-33, 340, 353-54, 361, 396, 398.

10488 *Geschiedenis van Dordrecht van 1572-1813*, red. Willem FRIJHOFF e.a. Dordrecht, Gemeentearchief; Hilversum, Verloren, 1998 (436, ill., cartes).
L'ancien couvent et l'église des augustins: 39, 47, 48, 54-55, 58, 60, 98, 109, 198, 206, 229-31, 233, 271-72, 280-81, 284, 289, 296, 315, 337, 370, 374, 389.

10489 HAVERS, Emile, De Berckepoort en haar bewoners. — *Heemschut* 75 (Amsterdam, 1998), no. 1, 32-33, ill.
L'ancien couvent et l'église des augustins à Dordrecht: 32-33.

10490 NELEMANS, A., Sepulture ofte Graftboeck van de Augustijnenkerck te Dordrecht. Sliedrecht, Oudheidkundige vereniging "Sliedrecht", werkgroep genealogie, 1998 (XIV-223, ill., facsim., plans).
Description des sépulcres de ca. 8000 personnes enterrées dans l'ancienne église des augustins entre 1588-1829 et de quelques-unes du moyen âge. Les augustins: 28-29, 34-35, 43-45, 133, 188-191.

10491 *De rekening van de grafelijkheid van Holland* uit de Beierse periode, uitg. door de Werkgroep 'Holland 1300-1500', serie I: De hofrekeningen en de dijkgraafsrekeningen van de Grote Waard: 1358-1361 (Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, grote serie, 237). Den Haag, Instituut voor Nederlandse geschiedenis, 1997, LII-666, 11 facs.
P. 34: Item des vridaghes na Sinte Jansdach Decollatio (31.8.1358) te Dordrecht miin here (Albrecht van Beieren) selve in siin hant ghegheven, also hi ten Augustinen te rade ghinc

ghelikerwiis als die brief hout LX scilde, maken VI lib.grote; p.69: Item des selfs daechs (vridaghes na der Elf Duzent Maechden dach = 26.10.1358) den Augustinen Tordrecht ghegheven, daer mijn here daghelix misse hoerde X s.gr.; p.122: Item des selfs daechs (9.1.1359) ghegheven II Augustinen die voer mire vrouwen (Machteld van Lancaster) ende mijns heren tafel quamen bidden II s.gr.; p.134: Item des saturdaechs op onser Vrouwen dach ter Lichter (2.2.1359) tot Dordrecht den Augustinen by mijns heren bevelen ghegheven X s.gr.; p.568: Item des dinxdaghes op Sinte Bertelmeeus avont (23.8.1362) inden Haghe bi den hoefmeyster ghegheven broeder Martiin, een Augustiin van Dordrecht, die mier vrouwen biecht van Hongheren (Margaretha van Hongarije, zuster van hertog Albrecht) ghehoert hadde XII d.groot.

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10561 SEGARRA LAGUNES, Maria Margarita, Sistemi tradizionali di consolidamento in Mexico. — *IV Congresso nazionale: "Consolidamento e recupero dell'architettura tradizionale dagli interventi singoli agli interventi d'insieme urbano"*, ed. Federica GALLONI (Roma, Kappa, 1992), 395-405, 16 ill.
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10562 TOVAR DE TERESA, Guillermo, Los escultores mestizos del barreco Novohispano: Tomás Xuárez y Salvador de Ocampo (1673-1724). México D.F., Banca Serafín, 1990 (175, ill. en couleurs).
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10563 ZAHINO PEÑAFORT, L., Iglesia y sociedad en México 1765-1800. Tradición, reforma y reacciones. México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1996 (239).

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10564 AYALA, Jorge OSA, Chalma. Su Señor, su santuario, su convento, sus ferias, sus danzas, sus leyendas y tradiciones, 2a ed. México, D.F., Impresos Tiolva, 1993 (94, ill.).
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10565 BARAJAS GARCÍA, Jaime OSA, El santuario convento de San Miguel en Chalma: análisis fundacional. — *Conventos Agustinos*. X Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Orden de San Agustín (Madrid, 20-24 de octubre de 1997), ed. Rafael LAZCANO OSA, II (1998), 701-724.
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10567 DEBROISE, Olivier, Imaginario fronterizo - identidades en tránsito: el caso de los murales de San Miguel Itzmiquilpan. — *Arte, historia e identidad en América: visiones comparativas* (17 Coloquio Internacional de Historia del arte, Zacatecas 1993) ed. Gustavo CURIEL e.a. (México D.F., Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Inst. de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1994), 155-172, 13 ill.
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10569 RODRÍGUEZ CASTAÑEDA, Miguel Fernando, Construcciones agustinas en la Sierra Alta: El impacto trascendental de los conventos agustinos de Metztitlán [1540-1560]. — *Conventos Agustinos*. X Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Orden de San Agustín (Madrid, 20-24 de octubre de 1997), ed. Rafael LAZCANO OSA, II (Roma, Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, 1998), 651-671, 8 ill.col.

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10570 ESTRADA DE GERLEIO, Elena Isabel, Las fuentes escriturarias del Templo en un altar efímero agustino de 1667. — *Discursos sobre el arte*: XV Coloquio Intern. de Historia del Arte (Ciudad de México 1991), ed. Juana GUTIÉRREZ HACES. (México D.F., Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Inst. de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1995), 211-229.

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10571 VARGAS LUGO, Elisa - VICTORIA, José Guadalupe, Un edificio que canta: San Agustín de Querétaro (Colección Documentos de Querétaro, 14). Querétaro, Qro, Eds. del Gobierno del Estado de Querétaro, 1989 (96, ill.).

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10754 GEITH, Karl-Heinz, Un texte méconnu. La traduction française de la 'Vita Jesu Christi' de Michel de Massa — *Le Moyen Age dans la Modernité*. Mélanges offerts à Roger DRAGONETTI, éd. Jean R. SCHEIDEGGER e.a. (Nouvelle bibliothèque du Moyen Age, 39). Paris, Champion, 1996, 234-249.
'Argues that the hagiographic text which circulated widely in the 15th c. derived not, as often believed, from Ludolf of Sachsen's 'Vita Christi' but from Michael de Massa's translation of the 'Meditationes vitae Christi', formerly attributed to S.Bonaventura' (IMB).

Henri de Friemar sr (ca. 1245-1340)

10755 CASAGRANDE MAZZOLI, Maria Antonietta, I manoscritti datati della provincia di Trento (Manoscritti datati d'Italia, 1). Firenze, Ed. del Galluzzo, 1996, (XXIII-108, 87 ill.).
Henricus de Frimaria, Sermo de Corpore Christi, MS Trento, Bibl. Communale 1573 (an.1448), ff.59-107v:42 et pl. XXXVI.

10756 LIGHT, Laura, Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Houghton Library. Harvard University, Cambridge (Mass.), I: MSS.Lat. 3-179. Binghamton (N.Y.), Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995, (XXXV-347, 67 pl.).
Henricus de Frimaria, Sermones de tempore, MS.Lat. 15 (XVe s.), ff.6-173v: 18-20 et pl.36.

10757 MIERAU, Heike Johanna - SANDER-BERKE, Antje, Studien zur Überlieferung der Flores temporum (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Studien und Texte, 14). Hannover, Hahn, 1996 (XXX-141).
Henricus de Frimaria, De decem praeceptis, MS München, Bayer.Staatsbibl., lat.3070 (XVe s.), ff.1-45: 118-19.

10758 VECCHIO, Silvana, Le prediche e l'istruzione religiosa. — *La predicazione dei Frati dalla metà del '200 alla fine del '300.* Atti del XXII Convegno intern., Assisi, 13-15 ottobre 1994 (Spoleto, Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1995), 301-335.
P.332, n.67: Henri de Frimaria écrivit un 'Tractatus decem preceptorum' et une 'Expositio orationis dominicae' qui eurent une immense diffusion.

Jean de Sulmona († après 1341)

10759 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Jean de Sulmona. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 27 (Paris, 1998), col. 664-65.

Jacques Folquier († après 1345)

10760 YPMA, Eelcko OSA, Jacques Folquier. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 26 (Paris, 1996), col. 669-70.

Jacques de Verona (ca. 1290 -après 1347)

10761 AUBERT, Roger, Jacques de Vérone, auteur d'un 'Liber peregrinationis' en Terre Sainte. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 26 (Paris, 1996), col. 767-68.

Bernard Oliver (ca. 1290-1348)

10762 BEATTIE, Blake, The preaching of the cardinals at Papal Avignon. — *Medieval Sermon Studies* 38 (1996), 17-37.
Bernard Oliver: 22-25 et n.48, 29 (MS Cambridge, Pembroke Coll., 87 (in domo card. Petri Gómez, inter 1337 et 1345)).

10763 *Bibliographie annuelle* 7 (voir les nos.10596, 10597, 10598 et 10599), no.882: Bernardus Olivarius, Sermones, MS Valencia, Bibl.Cathedralis lat.215, olim 258 (XIVe s.), ff.72-78 [coram papa Avenionensi... an.1334] et ff.105-113 [en la fête de S.Benoît 1345 ou 1346].

B. Simon Fidati de Cascia (ca. 1295-1348)

10764 CIOLINI, Gino OSA, Cristologia di Simone da Cascia nel "De gestis Domini Salvatoris". — *Santa Rita da Cascia († 1447/1457)*. Storia-devozione-sociologia. Atti del Congresso Internazionale in occasione del I° centenario della canonizzazione 24 maggio 1900-24 maggio 2000, Roma, Ist.Patristico Augustinianum 24-26 sett. 1998 (Roma, Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, 2000), 83-107.
Voir le no.10768.

10765 ECKERMANN, Willigis OSA, Simon Fidati von Cascia OESA († 1348): Europäische Theologie im lateinischen Mittelalter. — *Augustiniana* 47 (1997), 339-356.

10766 ECKERMANN, Willigis OSA (ed.), Simon Fidati de Cascia OESA, 'De gestis Domini Salvatoris, vol.1, cooperantibus Franz-Bernhard STAMMKÖTTER e.a.; vol.2, cooperantibus Virginie RIANT et Catrin FINSTERHÖLZL (Cassiciacum, Suppl.12-13). Würzburg, Augustinus-Verlag, 1998 (CLXXXII-378 et XIV-450).

10767 ECKERMANN, Willigis OSA (ed.), Simon Fidati de Cascia OESA, 'De gestis Domini Salvatoris', vol.3, cooperantibus Virginie RIANT et Catrin FINSTERHÖLZL (Cassiciacum, Suppl.14). Würzburg, Augustinus-Verlag, 1999 (XII-398).

10768 ECKERMANN, Willigis OSA, Der Evangelienkommentar "De gestis Domini Salvatoris" des Simon Fidati von Cascia OESA († 1348). — *Santa Rita da Cascia († 1447/1457)*. Storia-devozione-sociologia. Atti del Congresso Internazionale in occasione del I° centenario della canonizzazione 24 maggio 1900-24 maggio 2000, Roma, Ist.Patristico Augustinianum 24-26 sett. 1998 (Roma, Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, 2000), 73-81.

10769 MENESTÒ, Enrico, Fidati, Simone (Simone da Cascia). — *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 47 (Roma, 1997), 406-410.

10770 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Simon Fidati von Cascia. — *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*[3] 9 (Freiburg, etc., Herder, 2000), col. 602.

Gérard Carrara de Bergamo († 1355)

10771 ELM, Kaspar, 'De praestantia religionis S.Augustini'. Eine als verloren geltende Quaestio quodlibetica des Augustiner-Eremiten Gerhard von Bergamo († 1355) — *Kolloquium des Zentraldirektion der Monumenta Germaniae Historica* am 28./29. Juni 1996, hrsg. v. Rudolf SCHIEFFER (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Schriften, Bd.42: Mittelalterliche Texte: Überlieferung - Befunde - Deutungen). Hannover, Hahn, 1996, 155-172.
Concerne un convolut, le Ms S 58 sup. de la Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milano, provenant du couvent *S.Maria Incoronata*, Milano, et écrit par *Antoine Parrochi* (s.XV²). Le Ms contient e.a. deux traités de *Gérard de Sienne*; un Expositio super decretali de Canone Missae de *Bernard Oliver*; et la Quaestio disputata parisius in quolibet Magistri *Gerardi de pergamo* ord.fr.heremitarum s.Augustini et determinata per ipsum anno domini 1333 (fol.153). A la difference de plusieurs de ses confrères contemporains Gérard ne défend pas la descendance directe de l'OESA de *St. Augustin*.

Jacques de Pamiers († 1350?)

10772 AUBERT, Roger, Jacques de Pamiers. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 26 (Paris, 1996), col. 715-16.

Guillaume Amidani de Cremona (ca. 1270-1356)

10773 MIETHKE, Jürgen, Wilhelm von Cremona. — *Lexikon des Mittelalters* IX (München-Zürich, 1998), col. 170.

10774 PIALA, G., Marsilio da Padova, Guglielmo Amidani e l'idea di sovranità popolare. — *Veritas* 38 (1993), 297-304.

10775 PLATELLE, Henri, Villana, Guillaume de (Guillaume de Crémone). — *Catholicisme* XV (Paris, 2000), col. 1134-35.

Hermann de Schildesche (ca. 1290-1357)

10776 DOLEZALEK, Gero R., Lexiques de droit et autres outils pour le "ius commune" (XIIe-XIXe siècles) — *Les manuscrits des lexiques et glossaires de l'Antiquité tardive à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Actes du colloque intern. organisé par le "Ettore Majorana Centre for

Scientific Culture" Erice, 23-30 sept. 1994 (Textes et études du Moyen Âge, 4). Louvain-la-Neuve, Fédération Intern. des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1996, 353-376.
Hermannus de Schildesche: Introductorium iuris (ca. 1330-32): 374-75.

10777 RANO GUNDÍN, Balbino OSA, Tommaso d'Aquino: la posizione di S.T. e di S.Agostino riguardo all'obbedienza e alla castità (Hermann di Schildesche). — *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione* IX (Roma, 1997), col. 1213-15.

Thomas de Strasbourg († ca. 1300-1357)

10778 GOTTSCHALL, Dagmar, Bruder Thomas OESA. — *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexicon* 9 (Berlin-New York, De Gruyter, 1995), col. 808-809.
'möglicherweise mit Thomas von Strassburg zu identifizieren'.

10779 WITTE, Karl Heinz, Thomas von Strassburg. — *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexicon* 9 (Berlin-New York, De Gruyter, 1995), col. 889-92.

10780 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Thomas von Strassburg. — *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* XI (Herzberg, Bautz, 1996), col. 1406-08.

10781 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Thomas von Strasburg. — *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 8 (München-Zürich, 1996), col. 724.

10782 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Thomas de Strasbourg, Theologe. — *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 3. völlig neu bearb. Aufl. 9 (Freiburg, etc., Herder, 2000), col. 1535-36.

Jean de Lana de Bologna († 1357)

10783 MATTHES, Elke, Die juristischen Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, I: Foliohandschriften (cod.iur. 2227-2482). Stuttgart, Hauswedell, 1996 (XXII-151).
P.49: MS. 2319 (XVe s.), ff.340-344v: Iohannes de Bononia, Quodlibet I, qu.11: Utrum indulgencie defunctis valeant.

10784 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Jean de Lana. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* XXVII (Paris, 1998), col. 208.

Grégoire de Rimini (ca. 1300-1358)

10785 BIARD, J., La science divine entre signification et vision chez Grégoire de Rimini. — *Vestigia, Imagines, Verba*. Semiotics and Logics in medieval theological texts (XIIth-XIVth cs.), ed.by Costantino MARMO (Turnhout, Brepols, 1997), 393-408.

10786 DOLNIKOWSKI, Edith Wilks, Thomas Bradwardine: a view of time and a vision of eternity in fourteenth-century thought (Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 65). Leiden-New York-Köln, Brill, 1995 (IX-250).
Grégoire de Rimini: 111, 155-6, 185, 212, 214, 217.

10787 JAMES III, Frank A., Peter Martyr Vermigli [1499-1562] and Predestination. The Augustinian Inheritance of an Italian Reformer. Oxford, Clarendon press, 1998 (XIV-290).
Part II: The intellectual origins of Vermigli's doctrine of predestination. Early foundation: Paul and *Augustine*: 93-105; Medieval intensification: Thomas Aquinas and *Gregory of Rimini:* 106-131.

10788 KAHNERT, Klaus, Entmachtung der Zeichen? Augustin über Sprache (Bochumer Studien zur Philosophie, 29). Amsterdam-Philadelphia, Grüner, 2000 (IX-271).
Grégoire de Rimini: 5, 176-185, 245.

10789 KANDLER, Karl-Hermann, Christliches Denken im Mittelalter bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts (Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen, I/11). Leipzig, Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1993 (144).
Grégoire de Rimini: 131-134.

10790 MEIJERING, E.P., Klassieke gestalten van christelijk geloven en denken. Van Irenaeus tot Barth. Amsterdam, Gieben, 1995.
Dans ce livre: *Augustinus*: 69-85; *Gregorius van Rimini*: 137-154.

10791 SMITH, Kevin, Ockham's influence on Gregory of Rimini's natural philosophy. — *Dialexeis* 1996-97 (Leukosia, Cypre, 1999), 107-144, 2 fig.

10792 Varisco, Novella, La 'Ratio Anselmi' nell'interpretazione di alcuni pensatori medievali. — *Rivista di Filosofia Neo-Scolastica* 90 (Milano, 1998), 5-27.
Grégoire de Rimini: 25-26.

Jacques Bussolari († après 1360)

10793 FEO, Michele, L'epistola come mezzo di propaganda politica in Francesco Petrarca. — *Le forme della propaganda politica nel Due e nel Trecento*. Relazioni tenute al Convegno intern. organizzato

dal comitato di studi storici di Trieste, dall' École française de Rome e dal Dipartimento di storia dell'Università degli studi di Trieste, Trieste, 2-5 maggio 1993. A cura di Paolo CAMMAROSANO (Rome, École française de Rome, 1994), 203-226.

'Entro il quadro dei messaggi politici affidati allo stile epistolare dal Petrarca, l'a. prende in considerazione anche l'epistola metrica indirizzata a Benedetto XII per celebrare la grandezza perduta di Roma e sollicitare il ritorno del papa alla sua sede, nonché le lettere di propaganda politica contro *Iacopo Bussolari* OSA e contro il vescovo di Augusta Marcovaldo' (RSCI).

Jean Chigi de Lecceto (1300-1363)

10794 AUBERT, Roger, Jean Chisi de Macereto. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 26 (Paris, 1997), col. 1406.

Jean de Malines († après 1363)

10795 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Jean de Malines. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* XXVII (Paris, 1998), col. 251-252.

Alphonse Vargas de Toledo († 1366)

10796 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Vargas, Alfons Toletanus. — *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 12 (Herzberg, Bautz, 1997), col. 1120-1122.

10797 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Vargas, Alfonsus Toletanus. — *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 8 (München-Zürich, 1997), col. 1412.

B. Jacques de Cerqueto († ca. 1284-1367)

10798 AUBERT, Roger, Jacques de Cerqueto, Bh. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 26 (Paris, 1996), col. 644.

Nicolas de Louny (ca. 1300-1371)

10799 EBERHARD, Winfried, Nikolaus von Laun (de Luna). — *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 3.Aufl. 7 (Freiburg, etc., 1998), col. 857.

Jean Waldeby (ca. 1315-1372)

10800 Jean Waldeby. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 27 (Paris, 1999), col. 793-94.

Jean Klenkok (ca. 1310-1374)

10801 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Jean Klenkok. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* XXVI (Paris, 1998), col. 193-196.

Jean de Vitpech († après 1375)

10802 Jean de Vippach ou de Vitpech. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 27 (Paris, 1999), col. 786.

10803 JOHANN VON VIPPACH OESA, Die 'Katharina divina'. Ein Fürstenspiegel des 14. Jahrhunderts, eingeleitet und hrsg. v. Michael MENZEL (Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, 99). Köln-Wien, Böhlau, 1989 (VII-335).

Jean de Corbechon († après 1376)

10804 AUBERT, Roger, Jean de Corbechon. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 26 (Paris, 1997), col. 1437-38.

10805 SALVAT, Michel, Jean Corbechon, traducteur ou adapteur de Barthélemi l'Anglais? — *Traduction et adaption en France à la fin du Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*. Actes du Colloque organisé par l'Université de Nancy II, 23-25 mars 1995, éd. Ch. BRUCKER (Paris, Champion, 1997), 35-46.

Jordan de Quedlinburg, Saxonia (ca. 1299-1380)

10806 ANDERSSON, Roger, From Erfurt and Lyons to the parish church of Björkvik: The friars of Vadstena abbey as cultural transmittors. — *Mediaeval Studies* 60 (Toronto, 1998), 185-218.
Jordain de Quedlinburg, Sermo 357 (Expositio evangelii dominice septime post Pentecosten (de falsis prophetis)): 198-202, 204.

10807 SAAK, Eric Leland, Jordani de Quedlinburg Opera Omnia. — *Medieval Sermon Studies* 36 (1995), 43-49.

10808 SAAK, Eric Leland, Quilibet christianus. Saints and society in the sermons of Jordan of Quedlinburg OESA — *Models of holiness in medieval sermons. Proceedings of the Intern.Symposium*, Kalamazoo 4-7 May 1995, ed. by Mayne KIENZLE a.o. (Textes et études du Moyen Âge, 5). Louvain-la-Neuve, Fédération Intern. des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1996, 317-338.

Facinus d'Asti († ca. 1380)

10809 BODNÁR, István, Facinus d'Ast, Opera philosophica I: Tractatus de maximo et minimo. — *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 64 (Paris, 1997), 405-437.
Edition du texte, selon le Ms Fribourg Cordeliers 26: 417-437.

10810 BODNÁR, István, Facinus de Ast, Opera philosophica II: Quaestiones super libros Physicorum. — *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 65 (Paris, 1998), 331-414.
Edition du texte, selon le Ms Fribourg Cordeliers 26: 332-413; Index Quaestionum: 414.

Jean de Schaftholzheim († 1381)

10811 Jean de Schaftholzheim. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 27 (Paris, 1998), col. 601-02.

10812 SCHMIDTKE, Dietrich, Strassburger Augustinereremit, 'Feigebaumpredigt' (XIVe s.). — *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, 2. völlig neu bearb. Auflage hrsg. von Kurt Ruh u.a. 9 (Berlin-New York, De Gruyter, 1995), col. 373-375.
'Vermutlich Johannes von Schaftholzheim † 1381'. Cf. le no. 10829.

Jean de Brakel (1330- 1385)

10813 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Jean de Brakel. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 26 (Paris, 1997), col. 1328-29.

Jean Erghome (ca. 1330-après 1386)

10814 RIGG, A.G., A history of Anglo-Latin literature 1066-1422. Cambridge, University Press, 1999.
P.265-68 et n.90-95 (p.382): Johannes de Bridlington (?), Prophetia. Présentation, illustrée de passages du texte. L'oeuvre a été attribuée à Jean Erghome.

10815 TAYLOR, John, English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century. Oxford, Clarendon press, 1987 (XII-349).
Jean Erghome: 6, 20, 23, 33, 92-93, 145, 221, 236-37, 240-41, 257; *Guillaume Flete*: 226.

Augustin de Scarperia (ca. 1320-après 1387)

10816 D'ACHILLE, Paolo, Le traduzioni italiane del *De civitate Dei* e loro significato storico. — *Il 'De civitate Dei'. L'opera, le interpretazioni, l'influsso*. A cura di Elena CAVALCANTI (Roma, Herder, 1996), 469-499.
Augustin della Scarperia: 470, 473-74; *Jean Laurent Berti*: 478.

Jean de Salerno (1317-1388)

10817 AUBERT, Roger, Jean de Salerne. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 27 (Paris, 1998), col. 573-74.

Matthieu de Saxe de Zerbst († après 1390)

10818 GLANDAU, Thomas, Matthäus v. Sachsen (v. Zerbst). — *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*[3] 6 (Freiburg, etc., 1997), col. 1485.

Jean Hiltalingen de Bâle (Basel) (1330-1392)

10819 Jean de Hiltalingen. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* XXVII (Paris, 1998), col. 140.

Jean Kedington († après 1392)

10820 LARSEN, Andrew E., The Oxford "School of Heretics": the unexamined case of Friar John. — *Vivarium* 37 (Leiden, 1999), 168-177.
John Kedington, master of theology, during a debate at the university, winter 1357, declared that the Mendicant Orders had a greater right to tithes than rectors of churches, that the king had the right to take away the temporalities from clerics of bad living, and that the university was a "gymnasium haereticorum". He was removed from office and had to pay a fine of 100 shillings. This case must be seen in the context of the debate over lordship which erupted in 1356 between Archbishop Fitzralph of Armagh and the Mendicant Orders, especially the Austin Friars. *Geoffroy Hardeby*: 171, 176.

Pierre Gracilis († aprés 1393)

10821 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Petrus Gracilis, Theologe. — *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 3.Aufl. 8 (Freiburg, etc., 1999), col. 124-25.

Louis Marsili (ca. 1340-1394)

10822 GIAMBONINI, Francesco, Prima revisione per Giovanni dalle Celle and Luigi Marsili, Lettere (Firenze 1991) and their edition of Ms. Vallombrosa, Bibl.dell'Abbazia, III.61. — *Rinascimento* serie2, 34 (1994), 145-155.
Cf. no. 7451.

Jean de Wackerzele († après 1397)

10823 AUBERT, Roger, Jean de Wackerzeele. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 27 (Paris, 1999), col. 792-93.

10824 BALIGAND, Françoise - CARPENTIER-BOGAERT, Catherine, Sainte Barbe. Légende et traditions. Lewarde, Centre historique minier de Lewarde; Douai, Musée de la Chartreuse; Bethune, Musée d'etnologie régionale, 1997 (166, ill.).
'Ouvrage consacré à l'iconographie de s.Barbe du Moyen Age au 20e siècle, ainsi qu'à son culte, en particulier en France du Nord, comme patronne des artificiers et des mineurs' (BHA).

10825 DIJK, Mathilde van, Barbara's borsten nader beschouwd. - *Het zaad der middeleeuwen*, ed. Mathilde van DIJK en Anneke MULDER-BAKKER. — *Jaarboek voor vrouwengeschiedenis* 16 (Amsterdam, 1996), 58-71, ill.
'Studies the reading of s.Barbara's martyrdom (i.e. cutting off her breasts) in Birgittine houses, with a fragment edition of a Life of S.Barbara from MS. 's-Gravenhage, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 133.B.13 (nunnery of Coudewater at Rosmalen), probably deriving from the *Compilatio de s.Barbara* by Johannes van Wackerzele' (IMB).

10826 MINNEN, B., Jan van Wakkerzeel (2e helft 14e eeuw) en de legende van Sint-Barbara. — *Hogt.* Haachts oudheid- en geschiedkundig tijdschrift 8 (1993), 166-173.

Barthélemy de Venise († 1400)

10827 BARTHOLOMAEI VENETI OSA, Registrum generalatus II: 1387-1389, quod edendum curavit Arnulfus HARTMANN eiusdem Ordinis (Fontes Historiae Ordinis Sancti Augustini, prima series: Registra

Priorum Generalium, 4). Romae, Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, 1998 (XII-476).
Continuation du no.8953.

10828 BARTHOLOMAEI VENETI OSA, Registrum generalatus III: 1389-1393, quod edendum curavit Arnulfus HARTMANN eiusdem Ordinis (Fontes Historiae Ordinis Sancti Augustini, prima series: Registra Priorum Generalium, 5). Romae, Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, 1999 (XII-513).

Un Ermite de Strasbourg (XIVe s.)

10829 SCHMIDTKE, Dietrich, Strassburger Augustinereremit. — *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexicon* 9 (Berlin-New York, De Gruyter, 1995), col. 373-75.
Probablement à identifier avec Johannes de Schaftholzheim, cf. le no. 10812.

Henri de Regensburg (XIVe s.)

10830 SCHNELL, Bernhard, 'Vocabularius Lucianus'. — *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexicon* 10 (Berlin-New York, De Gruyter, 1997), col. 475-478.
Ce vocabulaire d'un augustin anonyme a été attribué à Henri de Regensburg (XIVe s.) par A. Zumkeller, Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner-Eremitenordens in mitteleuropäischen Bibliotheken (Würzburg 1966), p.165-68.

Jean de Várad (XIVe s.)

10831 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Jean de Várad, Varadiensis. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 27 (Paris, 1998), col. 753.

1401-1500

10832 BRANDMÜLLER, Walter, Das Konzil von Konstanz 1414-1418, vol.2: Bis zum Konzilsende (Konziliengeschichte, Ser.A.:Darstellungen). Paderborn, Schöningh, 1997 (XXIII-458).

10833 SAVELLI, Rodolfo, Aspetti del dibattito quattrocentesco sui monti di pietà: consilia e tractatus. — *Banchi pubblici, banchi privati e monti di pietà nell'Europa preindustriale*. Amministrazione, tecniche operative e ruoli economici (Genova, Società ligure di storia patria, 1992), 542-560.
E.a. opposition des augustins

10834 TURRILL, Catherine, Of Saints and their images: Ercole de' Roberti's Altarpieces for the Lateran Canons Regular of St. Augustine. — *Proceedings of the PMR Conference* 18 (Villanova, PA, 1993-94, publ. in 1996), 163-191, 4 ill.
Concerne la controverse entre les Chanoines et les Ermites de St.Augustin sur la représentation de *St.Augustin* au 15e siècle: 166-68.

Jean Merkelin (ca. 1330-après 1400)

10835 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Jean Merkelin. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* XXVII (Paris, 1998), col. 289-290.

Pierre de Castelletto († aprés 1403)

10836 LEVIN, William R., The iconography of charity redux: the origins of two little-known symbols for amor proximi in fifteenth century Italian art. — *Fifteenth century studies* 20 (1993), 119-199, 32 ill.
'Explores the sources of two attributes associated with personifications of charity, the lighted candle and the arrow, in religious art and writings of the 15th c. Focuses on two examples of funerary art: the tomb of Cardinal Marino Bulcano (Rome, S.Francesca Romana, ca. 1400), which includes the candle motif, and a manuscript, illumination by Michelino da Besozzo, Giangaleazzo Visconti in Adoration before the Madonna and Child, Virtues and Angels (Paris, B.N., Ms Lat.5888, *Pietro da Castelletto*, Funeral oration for Giangaleazzo Visconti, 1403), which includes two figures of charity, one with a burning candle, the other holding an arrow' (BHA).

Werner de Friedberg († après 1405)

10837 BRACHA, Krzystof, *Errores* augustinianina-eremity Wernera z Friedbergu w swietle inkwizcji heidelberskiej z 1405 r. (*Errores* des Augustiners-Eremiten Werners von Friedberg im Lichte der Heidelberger Inquisition aus dem Jahre 1405). — *Klasztor w spolecześtwie sredniowiecznym i nowozytnym* (De ordinum religiosorum in societate medii et recentioris aevi partibus) edd. Marcus DERWICH et Anna POBÓG-LENARTOWICZ. (Opole-Wroclaw, Uniwersytet Wroclawski, 1996), 471-481, Zusammenfassung: 480-81.
Werner Dividis de Friedberg du couvent de *Landau* fut condamné par l'inquisition de Heidelberg à cause de ses erreurs "in der Frömmigkeit, Missbräuche im Kultus, der Aberglaube, der Lichtgläubigkeit, der Naivität im Glauben".

Jean de Retz (ca. 1360-1408)

10838 Jean de Retz. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* XXVII (Paris, 1998), col. 502.

Simon de Cremona (ca. 1335 -ca. 1415)

10839 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Simon von Cremona, Theologe. — *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 3. völlig neu bearb. Aufl.9 (Freiburg, etc., Herder, 2000), col. 601.

Jacques Legrand (ca. 1360-1415)

10840 Jacques Legrand, Jacobus Magni (ca. 1360-1415). — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 26 (Paris, 1996), col. 689.

10841 COULSON, Frank T., A checklist of newly discovered manuscripts of Pierre Bersuire's Ovidius moralizatus. — *Scriptorium* 51 (1997), 164-186.
Jacques Legrand, Sophilogue, MS. Trier, Staatsbibliothek 1975/642 (XVe s.), ff.1-120v: 184.

10842 MÜLLER-OBERHÄUSER, Gabriele, Buchmarkt und Laienlektüre im englischen Frühdruck: William Caxton und die Tradierung der mittelenglischen Courtesy Books — *Laienlektüre und Buchmarkt im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Thomas KOCK und Rita SCHLUSEMANN (Gesellschaft, Kultur und Schrift, Mediävistische Beiträge, 5). Frankfurt/Main, Lang, 1997, 61-107.
'Examines Caxton's Book of Courtesy and among others Jacques Legrand's *The Book of Manners'* (IMB).

Jean de Blois († après 1415)

10843 YPMA, Eelcko OSA, Jean de Blois. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 26 (Paris, 1997), col. 1309-10.

Jean de Höxter (ca. 1335 -après 1419)

10844 Jean de Huxaria (Höxter). — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 27 (Paris, 1998), col. 743.

Jérôme de Siena (1335/40-1420)

10845 Jérôme de Sienne. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 27 (Paris, 1999), col. 1057-58.

Hermann Schwab de Mindelheim (ca. 1360-1420)

10846 KADLEC, Jaroslav, Schwab, Hermann, von Mindelheim. — *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexicon* 8 (Berlin-New York, 1992), col. 885-87.

Jean de Rynstetten (1350/51-1421)

10847 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Jean de Rinstetten. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* XXVII (Paris, 1998), col. 508-09.

B. Jean Becchetti († 1421)

10848 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Jean Becchetti de Fabriano, Bh. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 26 (Paris, 1997), col. 1280-81.

Phillipe degli Agazzari (ca. 1339-1422)

10849 SANFILIPPO, Carla Maria, Nota introdottiva e nota biografica a Filippo degli Agazzari, Assempri; Filippo Agazzari, gli Assempri, a cura di Carla M. SANFILIPPO. — *Racconti esemplari di predicatori del Due e Trecento*, a cura di G. VARININI e G. BALDASSARI (Roma, Salerno Edit., 1993), t.3, 251-81; 285-485.

Georges Ströbel de München († après 1425)

10850 WORSTBROCK, Franz Josef, Strobel, Georg, von München. — *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexicon* 9 (Berlin-New York, De Gruyter, 1995), col. 450-53.

Jean Zachariae (ca. 1360-1428)

10851 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Jean Zachariae. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 27 (Paris, 1999), col. 825-27.

Paul de Venise (ca. 1369-1429)

10852 CONTI, Alessandro D., Il sofisma di Paolo Veneto: "Sortes in quantum homo est animal" — *Sophisms in medieval logic grammar*. Acts of the 9th European Symposium for medieval logic and semantics, held at St.Andrews, June 1990, ed. Stephan READ (Nijhoff Philosophy Series, 48). Dordrecht, Kluwer, 1993, 304-318.
Appendix: Paulus Nicolettus Venetus, Sophismata 41 (Venetiis 1493).

10853 CONTI, Alessandro D., Esistenza e verità. Forme e strutture del reale in Paolo Veneto e nel pensiero filosofico del tardo Medioevo (Nuovi studi storici, 33). Roma, Ist. Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1996 (VI-324).

10854 CONTI, Alessandro D., Paul of Venice on individuation. — *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales - Forschungen zur Theologie und Philosophie des Mittelalters* 65 (Köln-Leuven, 1998), 107-132.
Gilles de Rome: 108, 110-12, 117, 118, 123, 124.

10855 FROVA, C. - NIGRI, R., Un' orazione universitaria di Paolo Veneto. — *Annali di storia delle Università italiane* 2 (1998), 191-97, 2 ill.

10856 MURDOCH, John E., Infinite times and spaces in the later middle ages — *Raum und Raumvorstellungen im Mittelalter*, hrsg. v. Jan A. AERTSEN und Andreas SPEER (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 25). Berlin-New York, De Gruyter, 1998, 194-205.
Paul de Venise: 199-201, 205.

10857 NUCHELMANS, Gabriël, Secundum/tertium adiacens. Vicissitudes of a logical distinction. — *Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen. Mededelingen, afd. Letterkunde nieuwe reeks* 55 (Amsterdam-Oxford-New York, 1992), 329-384.
Paul de Venise: 355-56, 360, 374.

10858 NUCHELMANS, Gabriël, Studies on the history of Logic and Semantics, ed. by E.P. BOS (15 studies in English, 1 in German, 1 in French). Aldershot, Ashgate Variorum, 1996 (348).
E.a. Paul de Venise.

Gobelinus Bolant de Wesel († après 1433)

10859 EICKELS, Hans van, Die Verzeichnisse der Wachszinsigen des Stiftes Xanten im 15. Jahrhundert. — *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* 197 (1994), 93-108.
Gobelinus Bolant de Wesel, év. de Gardar (Groenland): 104-106.

Thierry de Vrie (Vrye) (ca. 1370-après 1434)

10860 THEODORICUS de VRIE (Vrye) OSA, Sermones de b.Maria virgine.Ms.Osnabrück, Bischöfliches Archiv, Hs.Frenswegen 18(a.1448-1456), ff.1-120v. — *Bibliographie annuelle du Moyen Age tardif* 6 (Turnhout, Brepols, 1996), 508 (=no.3729).

10861 ECKERMANN, Willigis OSA, Theoderich Vrie, Theologe. — *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 3. völlig neu bearb. Aufl. 9 (Freiburg, etc., Herder, 2000), col. 1408.

10862 LEUSCHNER, Joachim (†) - COLBERG, Katharina, Vrie, Dietrich. — *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexicon* 10 (Berlin-New York, De Gruyter, 1997), col. 543-46.

10863 PABST, Bernhard, Prosimetrum. Tradition und Wandel einer Literaturform zwischen Spätantike und Spätmittelalter. 2 Vols. Köln, Böhlau, 1994 (X-600; VIII-601-1184).
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Augustin Favaroni de Rome (ca. 1360-1443)

10864 PRÜGL, Thomas, Die Ekklesiologie Heinrich Kalteisens OP in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Basler Konzil. Mit einem Textanhang (Veröffentlichungen des Grabmann-Institutes zur Erforschung der mittelalterlichen Theologie und Philosophie, N.F., 40). Paderborn, 1995 (401).
Augustin Favaroni de Roma.

B. Antoine d'Amandola (1355-1450)

10865 MATTEI, Mario OSA, La profanazione del Corpo del B.Antonio d'Amandola compiuto dai soldati francesi nel 1798. — *Analecta Augustiniana* 61 (Roma, 1998), 43-72.
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Jean Spies († 1455)

10866 STUDT, Birgit, Spies, Johannes († 1455). — *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexicon* 2. völlig neu bearb. Aufl., hrsg. v. Burghart WACHINGER 9 (Berlin-New York, De Gruyter, 1995), col. 138-142.

Gabriel Sforza (1423-1457)

10867 COLOMBO, Filippo, Le visite pastorali a Domo Valtravaglia. — *Loci Travaliae* 7 (1998), 67-111.
'Elencazione, ordinata cronologicamente, delle visite pastorali effettuate nella pieve milanese di Valtravaglia dal tempo dell' arcivescovo Gabriele Sforza (1455) ad oggi. Per ciascuna si dà un sintetico cenno' (RSCI).

10868 NIEDERMEYER, Uwe, Sforza, Carlo (Gabriele), erzb. von Milano (1454). — *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 3. völlig neu bearb. Aufl. 9 (Freiburg, etc., Herder, 2000), col. 536.

Jean Goldener († 1456/57ou † 1474)

10869 AMMER, J., Die Zielsetzungen der Erzbruderschaft zur Schmerzhaften Mutter Gottes beim Campo Santo Teutonico im Lichte ihrer Statuten. — *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 93 (Freiburg i. Br., 1998), 62-78.

10870 SCHULZ, Knut, Die Anfänge der Bruderschaft des Campo Santo Teutonico (bis zum ersten Viertel des XVI.Jahrhunderts). — *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 93 (Freiburg i. Br., 1998), 38-61.
Jean Golderer OESA, év.tit. d'Acre, fondateur de la confrérie de N.D. de la Piété au Campo Teutonico, Rome.

Conrad de Zenn (ca. 1375-1460)

10871 ZSCHOCH, Hellmut, Zenn, Conrad von. — *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 14 (Herzberg, Bautz, 1998), col. 410-12.

Jean Capgrave (1393-1464)

10872 JOHN CAPGRAVE OSA, Ye solace of Pilgrimes. Una guida di Roma per i pellegrini del Quattrocento. Introd. e trad. di Daniela GIOSUÈ. Roma, Ed. Roma nel Rinascimento, 1995 (231).

10873 AUBERT, Roger, Jean Capgrave. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 26 (Paris, 1997), col. 1370-71.

10874 GIOSUÈ, Daniela, L'immagine di Roma tra mito e realtà. Il "Solace of Pilgrimes" di John Capgrave. — *Studi Romani* 40 (1992), 12-22.

10875 GOLDING, Brian, Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order c.1130-c.1300. Oxford, Clarendon press, 1995, (XV-508, 1 carte.).
Jean Capgrave, Life of St.Gilbert: 452-54; les augustins de Stamford: 176, 449.

10876 LUCAS, Peter J., John Capgrave, friar of Lynn. — *Historian* 44 (1994), 23-24, ill.
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10877 LUCAS, Peter J., Towards a standard written English? Continuity and change in the orthographic usage of John Capgrave OSA (1393-1464) — *English Historical Linguistics* 1992. Papers from the 7th Intern.Congress in English Historical Linguistics, Valencia, 22-26 Sept.1992, ed. Francisco FERNÁNDEZ e.a. (Amsterdam Studies in the theory of linguistic science, Series IV. Current issues in linguistic theory, 113). Amsterdam, Benjamins, 1994, 91-104.
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10878 LUCAS, Peter J., An author as copyist of his own work: John Capgrave OSA (1393-1464). — *New science out of old books*. Studies in manuscripts and early printed books in honour of A.I. DOYLE, ed. Richard BEADLE and A.J. PIPER (Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1995), 227-248, ill.
'Discusses MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 408; London, B.L., Add. 36704; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 423, art.5 (SC 2322 E); San Marino (California), Huntingdon Library, HM.55; Cambridge, Univers.Library, Gg.4.12 and Oxford, Balliol College, 189' (IMB).

10879 LUCAS, Peter J., From Author to Audience. John Capgrave and Medieval Publication. Dublin, University College Dublin Press, 1997 (XVII-333, 27 facs.).
Recueil de 13 études publiées entre 1969-1995 et revues pour cette publication.

10880 NARDELLA, Cristina, La Roma dei visitatori colti: dalla mentalità umanistica di maestro Gregorio (XII-XIII secolo) a quella medioevale di John Capgrave (XV secolo). — *Archivio della Soc. Rom. di Storia Patria* 119 (1996), 49-64.
'Le descrizioni di Roma dei due visitatori inglesi, sconosciuto il più antico, frate agostiniano l'altro, sono ascrivibili al genere dei *Mirabilia* e denotano un attegiamento assai diverso

circa le vestigia della classicità. Interessante la differenza di giudizio sulla distruzione di manufati dell'antichità pagana da parte dei papi, con riferimento sopratutto alla figura di Gregorio Magno' (RSCI).

10881 WATSON, Andrew G., A descriptive catalogue of the medieval manuscripts of All Souls College, Oxford. Oxford, University Press, 1997 (XXIII-298, ill.).

P.34: *Iohannes Capgrave*, De fidei symbolis: MS All Souls Coll. 17 (an.1460-64), ff.1-109v; *Idem*, The solace of pilgrimes: MS All Souls Coll. 17 (an.1460-64), f.1rv, f.112rv (fragments).

10882 WINSTEAD, Karen A., John Capgrave and the Chaucer tradition. — *Chaucer review* 30 (1996), 389-400.

'Discusses Capgrave's affinities with Chaucer, and compares the structure and style of Capgrave's *Life of St.Katherine* with Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*' (IMB).

Osbern Bokenham (1393-après 1467)

10883 BOURGNE, Florence, Translating saints' lives into the vernacular: *translatio studii* and *furta sacra* (translation as theft). — *The medieval translator - traduire au Moyen Age*, 5 (Proceedings of the International Conference of Conques, 26-29.7.1993, ed. Roger ELLIS and René TIXIER). Turnhout, Brepols, 1996, 50-63, ill. Summary in French: 50.

'Examines Osbern Bokenham's *Legends of Hooly Wummen*, an English translation of Jacobus de Voragine's Golden Legend and compares it with the South English Legendary and with Jean de Vignay's Légende Dorée' (IMB).

10884 DELANY, Sheila, The friar as critic: Bokenham reads Chaucer — *Medievalitas*. Reading the Middle Ages, ed. by Piero BOITANI and Anna TORTI (J.A.W. Bennett Memorial Lectures, ser. 9). Cambridge, Brewer, 1996, 63-79.

'Considers Chaucer's Legend of Good Women as a structural model for Bokenham's *Legends of Holy Women*, a collection of 13 female verse lives' (IMB).

10885 DELANY, Sheila, Bokenham's Claudian as Yorkist propaganda. — *Journal of Medieval History* 22 (1996), 83-96.

'Discusses the first translation of Claudian's *De consulatu Stilichonis* into English, probably the work of Osbern Bokenham and argues that it shows strong support for Richard, duke of York at a difficult moment in his career, and suggests encouragement of his dynastic ambitions' (IMB).

10886 JANKOWSKI, Eileen S., Reception of Chaucer's 'Second Nun's Tale': Osbern Bokenham's 'Lyf of S.Cycyle'. — *Chaucer review* 30 (1996), 306-318.

'Discusses this work by an Augustinian Friar of Stoke Clare with formal part of his collection of saints' legends, 'Legendys of Hooly Wummen', and especially the extent to which Chaucer's story of s.Cecilia as told by the Second Nun may have influenced Bokenham. Appendix lists correspondences between the two works' (IMB).

10887 JENKINS, Jacqueline, 'Such peple as be not letterd in scripture': Poular devotion and the legend of St.Katherine of Alexandria in

late medieval England (Ph.D. The University of Western Ontario, Canada, 1996, 315 pp.). — *Dissertation Abstracts International A* 58 (1997/98), 450.

'This thesis discusses Osbern Bokenham's "Lyf of S.Katherine" included in 'The Legendys of Hooly Wummen', *John Capgrave*'s 'Life of St.Katherine of Alexandria', and two previously unedited versions of the legend (MS Harley 4012 and MS Longleat 55)'.

10888 JOHNSON, Ian, Tales of the true translator: medieval literary theory, anecdote and autobiography in Osbern Bokenham's 'Legendys of Hooly Wummen'. — *The medieval translator - traduire au Moyen Age* 4, ed. by Roger ELLIS and René TIXIER. (Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 1994), 104-124.

'Discusses the influence of vernacularised literary theory and autoreferential and/or anecdotal materials written by a translator, not only about his experiences of translating but also about the intended reception and purposes of his work' (IMB).

10889 KRAEMER, Alfred Robert, "More incommon with the lives of saints": Malory's grail seekers and fifteenth-century English hagiography (Ph.D. The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1997, 218 pp.). — *Dissertation Abstracts International A* 58 (1997/98), 1273.

'This dissertation shows that the response of fifteenth-century readers to Sir Thomas Malory's "Tale of the Sankgrael" is likely to have been informed by their knowledge of the generic features of saints' lives, particularly the vernacular saints' lives writen by three noted 15th century English hagiographers: Lydgate, Bokenham and Capgrave.'

B. Isaïe Boner (ca. 1400 - 1471)

10890 SZELINSKA, Waclawa, Isaias Boner von Krakau (um 1400-1471), I: Professor an der Krakauer Universität [auf polnisch]. — *Analecta Cracoviensia* 29 (1997), 597-623; II: 30-31 (1998-99), 571-589. Résumé en allemand.

Jérôme de Napoli (ca. 1420-1472)

10891 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Jérôme de Naples, théologien, év. d'Oppido Mamertina. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 27 (1999), col. 1045-46.

Jean de Haeght († après 1476)

10892 *Dirk Bouts (ca. 1410-1475)*. Een Vlaams primitief te Leuven. Tentoonstellingscatalogus, red. Maurits SMEYERS. Leuven, Peeters, 1998 (587, ill.).

Jean de Haeght OSA († après 1476) du couvent de Louvain, adviseur de Bouts pour les tableaux 'La justice de l'empereur Otton III' à l'hôtel de ville de Louvain: 138, 204-8, 268, 532-55. Son portrait se trouve au tableau 'Le supplice de l'innocent' (maintenant Bruxelles, Musée des Beaux-arts) dans le groupe à droit. Le Sacrament de miracle de Louvain (jadis de *Middelburg* 1374): 510-512.

Martin (Alphonse) de Córdoba (1400-1476)

10893 CABRE, Lluís - RENEDO, Xavier, 'Et postea aplicetur thema'. Format in the preaching of St.Vincent Ferrer OP. — *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 66 (1996), 245-256.
Martin de Córdoba: 245, 247-48, 254-55.

Henri Rietmüller de Liestal († 1478)

10894 WORSTBROCK, Franz Josef, Rietmüller (aus Liestal), Heinrich † 1478. — *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexicon* 2. völlig neu bearb. Aufl. hrsg. v. Kurt RUTH e.a. 8 (Berlin-New York, De Gruyter, 1992) col. 75-76.

B. André de Montereale (1397-1479)

10895 *Beato Andrea da Montereale 1397-1997*. VI Centenario della nascita. L'Aquila, Istituto regionale di ricerca, sperimentazione ed aggiornamento educativo d'Abruzzo, 1997 (234, ill.).
Contenu: Raffaele COLAPIETRA, Il maestro Andrea da Montereale ed il Quattrocento. Collegamenti e riferimenti storici: 11-21; Antonio VERINI, Il beato Andrea da Montereale: 23-63; Ivana FIORDIGIGLI, Lungo il corso dei secoli: Beatus Andreas de Monte Regali: 65-212; Appendice antologica: 213-234.

St. Jean de Sahagún (ca. 1430-1479)

10896 Jean de Sahagún, Saint. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 27 (Paris, 1998), col. 530-31.

10897 CUENCA COLOMA, Juan Manuel OSA, Sahagún. Monasterio y villa, 1085-1985, 2a ed. Valladolid, Estudio Agustiniano, 1993 (XXVI-496, ill.).
Voir le no. 5584. St.Jean de Sahagún: 77, 110, 116-20, 239-56, 359, 444-45, 451, 467.

10898 LUNA, Pablo, San Juan de Sahagún. Ángel de la paz (Perfiles, 15). Madrid, Ed. Revista Agustiniana, 1998 (93).

Jean Bauer de Dorsten (ca. 1420-1481)

10899 AUBERT, Roger, Jean de Dorsten. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 26 (Paris, 1997), col. 1480.

Ambroise Massari de Cori († 1485)

10900 BENZIGER, Wolfram, Zur Theorie von Krieg und Frieden in der italienischen Renaissance. Die 'Disputatio de pace et bello' zwischen Bartolomeo Platina und Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo und andere anlässlich der Pax Paolina (Rom 1468) entstandene Schriften (Europäische Hochschulschriften, III: Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften, 702). Frankfurt/M., Lang, 1996, 3 tomes en 1 vol., VIII-236 (étude), LX-144 (édition), VI-115 (traduction).
Ambroise de Chora, Sermo de pace (an.1470): I, 181-85; II, 135-144; III, 109-115. Mss connues: Bologna, B.Un.1719, ff.246-248; Modena, Bibl.Estense 894, ff.73v-79v; Paris, B.Nat.lat. 5621, ff.97-101v.

Jean de Bury St.Edmond's, de Clare (ca. 1400-après 1486)

10901 AUBERT, Roger, Jean de Bury Saint Edmond's. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 26 (Paris, 1997), col. 1355.

Jacques Pérez de Valencia (1408-1490)

10902 AUBERT, Roger, Jacques (Pérez) de Valence. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 26 (Paris, 1996), col. 764-65.

Guillaume Becchi (ca. 1411-1491)

10903 FABRI, Lorenzo - TACCONI, Maria, I libri del Duomo di Firenze. Codici liturgici e Biblioteca di Santa Maria del Fiore (sec. XI-XVI). Firenze, Centro Di, 1997 (253, ill.).
Guillaume Becchi, Abbreviato II Sententiarum 'Augustini de Roma', MS. Firenze, Bibl.Laur., Edili 14 (XVe s.), ff.1-215:114; *Idem*, Commentarius in Sententias, MS. Firenze, Bibl.Laur., Edili 42(XVe s.), ff.1-56: 117; *Idem*, Commentarius in Politicam, MS. Firenze, Bibl.Laur., Edili, 154 (XVe s.), ff.1-110: 146.

10904 STAICO, Ubaldo, Esegesi aristotelica in età medicea. — *La Toscana al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico*: Politica e Economia Cultura

Arte. Convegno di Studi promosso dalle Università di Firenze, Pisa e Siena, 5-8 nov.1992, vol. III (Pisa, Pacini, 1996), 1275-1322.
'Esamina in particolare commenti alla *Politica* dei umanisti fiorentini Donato Acciaiuoli e Guglielmo Becchi' (IMB). *Guillaume Becchi*: 1301-1311, 1319-20.

Adam de Montaldo († après 1493)

10905 MIGLIO, Massimo - MADDALO, Silvia, Arsenal 667: scrittura del passato e immagini del presente. Benvenuto da Imola e fratello Adamo — *Filologia umanistica*. Per Gianvito RESTA II (Medioevo e Umanesimo, 95). Padova, Antenore, 1997, 1289-1314, 10 pl.
'Le 'Romuleon', compilation d'histoire romaine rédigée à Bologna entre 1361 et 1364 par Benvenuto da Imola, subit un remaniement à la fin du XVe s. Le MS. Paris, Bibl.de l'Arsenal 667, présente une syntaxe modernisée. Il pourrait s'agir d'Adam de Montaldo car à deux reprises des vers sont attribués à un frater Adam. *Carmen ad Virginem*, attribué à Adam: 1291' (*Bibliogr. annuelle*, voir le no.10598, VIII, nr.10-11).

Jean de Meppen (ca. 1440-1496)

10906 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Jean de Meppen. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* XXVII (Paris, 1998), col. 287-288.

Aurèle Lippo Brandolini (ca. 1454-1497)

10907 RUMMEL, Erika, In defence of 'theologizing humanists'. Aurelio Brandolini's 'In sacram Ebreorum historiam... prefatio'. — *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 44 (1995), 90-106.
Aurèle Brandolini dédia son livre au card.François Piccolomini (le futur pape Pie III).

Valentinus de Grünberg († après 1497)

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10971 SCHNEIDER, Joachim - WORSTBROCK, Franz Josef, Streitel, Hieronymus. — *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters.*

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11324 VIGO GUTIÉRREZ, Abelardo del, Economía y moral. La reventa en los moralistas españoles del Siglo de oro. — *Burgense* 37 (Burgos, 1996), 289-307.
Michel Barthélemy Salón: 301-303, 306.

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11325 Commemorazione del Ven.P.Giovanni di S.Guglielmo (1552-1621). — *Presenza Agostiniana* 25 (Roma, 1998), no. 3-5, 49-67.
La scala dei quindici gradi: 55-67.

Jean Márquez (1565-1621)

11326 MÁRQUEZ, Jean OSA, El governador cristiano. Respuesta a la consulta del Consejo de Castilla sobre la licitud y justicia de la aprobación de nuevos tributos. Edición, introducción y selección F. LÓPEZ GOICOECHEA ZABALA. San Lorenzo del Escorial, Ed. Escurialenses, 1998 (276).

11327 LÓPEZ DE GOICOECHEA ZABALA, Francisco Javier, Política y religión en el pensamiento de Juan Márquez (1565-1621). — *Cuadernos Salmantinos de Filosofía* 23 (1996), 275-301.

11328 LÓPEZ DE GOICOECHEA ZABALA, Francisco Javier, Sociedad, Principado y Derecho en *El Governador Cristiano* (1612) de Juan Márquez. — *La Ciudad de Dios* 210 (El Escorial, 1997), 141-214.

11329 LÓPEZ DE GOICOECHEA ZABALA, Francisco Javier, Génesis, estructura y fuentes de *El Governador Cristiano* (1612) de Juan Márquez. — *Revista Agustiniana* 39 (Madrid, 1998), 499-556.

11330 LÓPEZ RODO, Laureano, Márquez, antítesis de Maquiavelo. — *Anales de la Real Academia de Ciencias Morales y Políticas* 47 (1994-95), no. 72, 149-164.

Rodrigo de Loayza (1540-1621/22)

11331 BERG, Hans van den OSA, El "Memorial de las cosas del Pirú tocantes a los indios" del agostino Rodrigo de Loayza, 1586 (Crónico del fracaso de un proyecto colonial). — *Yachay*. Revista de cultura, filosofía y teología (Cochamba, Bolivia, 1995), no. 22, 9-56.

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B. Jacques Matsouwo Denchi († 1622)

11332 *Jacques Matsouwo Denchi*, Bh. japonais: mis à mort à Nagasaki le 19 août 1622 comme compagnon de l'augustin Pierre de Zúñiga. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 26 (Paris, 1996), col. 695.

Sébastien de St. Pierre (1565-1629)

11333 ALONSO VAÑEZ, Carlos OSA, Una relación del P.Sebastián de San Pedro OSA sobre los agustinos y la embajada a Persia de Luis Pereira de Lacerdo. — *Archivo Agustiniano* 81 (Valladolid, 1997), 149-166.

Sébastien de St.Pierre, év. de Meliapor (1565-1629). Edition de la Relación, Lisboa nov.24, 1606 (Arch.Gen. de Simancas, Estado, vol.438, s.n.): 155-166. Les augustins furent *Melchior des Anges* (1543-1644) et *Guillaume de St.Augustin* († 1614).

Basile Ponce de León (1570-1629)

11334 DOMÍNGUEZ, Fernando, Ponce de León, Basilio. — *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 3.Aufl. 8 (Freiburg, etc., 1999), col. 412.

Jérôme de Saon († 1629)

11335 *Jérôme de Saon*, prédicateur, professeur à la faculté de théologie de Barcelone. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 27 (Paris, 1999), col. 1056.

B. Jean Mutsunoo Chozaburo (1612-1630)

11336 PIROTTE, J., Jean Chozaburo Bh., tertiaire, martyr. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 26 (Paris, 1997), col. 1406-7.

B. Martin de St. Nicolas (1598-1632)

11337 TSUCHIMOTO-TROPPER, Tokie, Martin Lumbrérez v. hl.Nikolaus OAR. — *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*[3] 6 (Freiburg, etc., 1997), col. 1424-25.
Martyr à Nagasaki (Japon) 1632.

Alphonse de Méntrida († 1637)

11338 SÁNCHEZ TÉLLEZ, Carmen, La lengua Visaya en el Vocabulario de Alonso de Méntrida (1637). - *La medicina en las lenguas americanas y filipinas prehispánicas*. (Alcalá de Henares, Public. de la Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, 1994), 139-149.

Jacques Jeanne (ca. 1585-après 1637)

11339 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Jeanne, Jacques. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 27 (Paris, 1999), col. 951.

Barthélemy de los Ríos (ca. 1580-1652)

11340 DOMÍNGUEZ, Fernando, Ríos y Alarcón, Bartolomé de los. — *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 3.Aufl. 8 (Freiburg, etc., 1999), col. 1196.

Jean-Marie Elena (ca. 1600-après 1654)

11341 BRUZZONE, Gian Luigi, Giovanni Maria Elena, teologo agostiniano seicentesco. — *Analecta Augustiniana* 63 (Roma, 2000), 141-159.
Édition des 7 lettres de Jean-Marie Elena (ca. 1600-après 1654), écrites à Paris, 1651-1654 et adressées au *P.Angelico Aprosio*, sont préservées dans la Bibl.Univ. de Genova, Ms. E.VI.20, ff.377-388.

Étienne García († après 1657)

11342 JARAMILLO ESCUTIA, Roberto OSA (ed.), Fray Esteban García. Libro Quinto: Crónica de la Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de México (Cronistas y ecritores agustinos americanos, 4). México, Organización de los Agustinos de Latinoamérica, 1997 (XXVIII-480).

Ferdinand de Valverde († après 1657)

11343 Martínez, Gregorio OSA (ed.), Un manuscrito inédito de Fernando de Valverde. Transcripción y notas. — BIRA 19 (Lima, 1992), 217-241.
Concerne: Relación de las exequias y honoras fúnebres, hechas al Cathólico Rey de las Españas y las Indias, Don Philippo Tercero nuestro señor, que está en la gloria por esta nobilissima Ciudad de los Reyes. Compuesta por el padre fray Hernando de Valverde de la misma ciudad (1621). London, B.M. Cod.Add. 13974, ff. 135-148; 476-491.

Fabien de S.Marie Madeleine Cerrati (1579-1659)

11344 SQUERZONI, Serafino di S.Giuseppe OAD, Padre Fabiano Cerrati da S.Maria Maddalena (1579-1659). Fondatore dei conventi dei SS.Giuseppe, Tecla e Rita di Ferrara e dei SS.Agostino e Mauro di Comacchio. A cura di Flaviano LUCIANI e Giorgio MAZURKIEWICZ OAD. Ferrara, Industrie grafiche, 1996 (129, ill.).
'Transcrizione della biografia del p.Cerrati, contenuta nella "Memoria del ingresso dei PP.Scalzi di S.Agostino della Congregazione d'Italia nella città di Ferrara li 11 febbraio 1623 et della fondatione del monasterio di S.Giuseppe sino al presente anno 1690 li 25 agosto", compilata dal P.Squerzoni (1612-1681), uno dei primi ferraresi ad entrare nella

congregazione degli agostiniani scalzi. Il ms. è conservato nel convento dei SS.Giuseppe, Tecla e Rita a Ferrara' (RSCI).

Philippe Visconti (1596-1664)

11345 ACCETTA, Foca, Le "confessioni" e "confusioni" di un agostiniano milanese presule in Calabria. La corrispondenza di Filippo Visconti, vescovo di Catanzaro (1657-1664). — *Analecta Augustiniana* 62 (Roma, 1999), 5-124.
Philippe Visconti, 1596-1664 fut prieur général de l'ordre (1649-1655). Édition des 115 lettres (1658-1661), conservées aux Archives Générales OSA, Rome dans le MS Cc 13: 38-116 et la "Relazione ad Limina 1661": 117-124.

Jean Grégoire de Jésus Marie Uleana († 1670)

11346 Jean-Grégoire de Jésus-Marie OAD. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 27 (Paris, 1999), col. 890.

Jean Mantelius (1599-1676)

11347 MANTELIUS, Johannes OSA, Historiae Lossensis. (Archives générales du Royaume et Archives de l'Etat dans les provinces. Reprints, 69). Bruxelles, Archives Générales du Royaume, 1996, 2 vols. in 1 ([XII]-306-[12]; [II]-172-[3]).
Réimpr. anastatique de l'édition Leodii 1717.

Laurent de St. Nicolas (1595-1679)

11348 DÍAZ FERNÁNDEZ, Antonio José, Fray Lorenzo de San Nicolás y la iglesia de Novés, Toledo. Espacio, tiempo y forma. — *Historia del arte* 9 (1996), 107-125, 4 ill.
'Analyse historique de la reconstruction de l'église paroissiale de S.Pedro dans la ville de Novés entre 1650 et 1680 environ. Différents documents d'archives inédits permettent ici l'attribution de projet de l'édifice à Lorenzo de San Nicolás vers 1651' (BHA).

11349 DÍAZ MORENO, Félix, Tratados españoles de arquitectura en el fondo antiguo de la universidad Complutense. — *Anales de historia del arte* 5 (1995), 189-203, 2 ill.
'Présentation des éditions du 16e et 17e s. de six traités d'architecture espagnols conservés dans la bibliothèque de l'universidad Complutense de Madrid... e.a. "Arte y uso de la arquitectura" de *Lorenzo de San Nicolás*' (BHA).

11350 LORDA, Joaquín, La Cornisa del Recoleto y otros motivos madrileños en Puebla. — *Academia* (Madrid, 1996), no. 83, 141-165, 10 ill.

'L'auteur étudie ici l'emploi au Mexique au 17e s. de motifs architecturaux et décoratifs madrilènes, que l'on trouve dans les portails de la catrédrale de Puebla mais aussi dans les rétables sculptés qu'elle abrite. L'un des ces motifs est la corniche inventée par l'architecte Fray Lorenzo de San Nicolás, publiée sous le nom de *Cornisa del Recoleto* dans la seconde partie du traité *Arte y uso de la arquitectura en 1665*' (BHA).

11351 SUÁREZ QUEVEDO, Diego, Toledo y Fray Lorenzo de San Nicolás: precisiones sobre la iglesia de las Gaitanas. — *Anales de historia del arte* 4 (1993-94), Homenaje al profesor Dr. D. José María de AZCARATE y RISTORI, 275-284, 2 ill.

'La comparaison des éditions de 1639 et 1665 du traité d'architecture de Fray Lorenzo de San Nicolás, *Arte y uso de la architectura*, permet ici de préciser la chronologie de la construction de l'église conventuelle de las Gaitanas de Tolède et de connaître ce qui a réellement été respecté du projet dessiné initial de cet architecte: essentiellement la coquille du choeur et les stucs des voûtes. C'est le maître d'oeuvre Diego de Benavides qui est responsable des travaux en 1646 puis Juan de Herrera en 1656. Le contrat de 1646 est reproduit à la suite' (BHA).

Angelico Aprosio (1607-1681)

11352 BRUZZONE, Gian Luigi, Corrispondenti teatini di p.Angelico Aprosio (1607-81). — *Regnum Dei. Collectanea Theatina* 50 (1994), 259-295.

11353 BRUZZONE, Gian Luigi, Lettere di Mauro Promontorio OSB, vescovo di Ventimiglia. — *Benedictina* 42 (1995), 402-469.

'L'epistolario (1655-78), qui edito, si compone di 86 lettere, attualmente conservate presso la Bibl.Univ. di Genova, indirizzate dal Promontorio all'agostiniano Angelico Aprosio, fondatore dell'omonima biblioteca di Ventimiglia' (RSCI).

11354 BRUZZONE, Gian Luigi, Cinque lettere inedite di Girolamo Palantieri iunior OFMConv. — *Il Santo*, serie 2, 38 (1998), 417-426.

'Presenta la figura del predicatore francescano Palliantieri (1620ca.-1685ca.) e ne documenta l'amicizia con l'agostiniano ligure Angelico Aprosio (1607-1681). In appendice cinque lettere inedite (1673-75) del Pallantieri all'Aprosio' (RSCI).

11355 BRUZZONE, Gian Luigi, Corrispondenti piacentini del P.Angelico Aprosio. Lettere inedite di Giovan Pietro Crescenzi Romani e Gian Battista Calici. — *Bollettino Storico Piacentino* 93 (Piacenza, 1998), 91-112.

11356 MEDIOLI, Francesca, Alcune lettere autografe di Arcangela Trabotti: autocensura a immagine di sé. — *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 32 (1996), 133-155.

'Monaca scrittrice veneziana Trabotti, lettere familiari e di complemento, Venezia 1650. Le 7 lettere edite in appendice sono indirizzate all'agostiniano Angelico Aprosio (1607-1681), tratte dalla sua raccolta di manoscritti che si conserva presso la Bibl.Univ. di Genova' (RSCI).

11357 RIZZO, Gino, Lettere di Giuseppe Battista al padre Angelico Aprosio. — *Studi secenteschi* 38 (1997), 267-318.

'Vengono presentate e pubblicate 51 lettere autografe (1646-1674) spedite dal Battista (Gottaglie, 1610-75), poeta e letterato, all'agostiniano Aprosio (1607-1681)' (RSCI).

Chrétien Lupus (1611-1681)

11358 SCHRAMA, Martijn OSA, Lupus (de Wulf), Christianus OSA. — *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*[3] 6 (Freiburg, etc., 1997), col. 1126.

Louis Torelli (1609-1683)

11359 BRUZZONE, Gian Luigi, Per Luigi Torelli storico agostiniano. — *Analecta Augustiniana* 61 (Roma, 1998), 125-150.
En appendice édition de 6 lettres de Torelli à *Angelico Aprosio*, 1661-1667.

Fulgence Lafosse (ca. 1640-après 1684)

11360 NORMAND, L., Lafosse, Fulgence († après 1684). — *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française* 19 (Paris, 1995), col. 224.

Michel van Hecke (1620-1687)

11361 CEYSSENS, Lucien OFM, Le P.Michel van Hecke à Rome (1670-1687). — *Augustiniana* 49 (1999), 367-377.

11362 MARINUS, Marie Juliette, Emmanuel Schelstrate et Anvers. — *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 66 (Roma, 1996), 37-51.
Michel van Hecke: 45.

11363 SCHWEDT, Herman H., Emmanuel Schelstrate († 1692) nella Roma dei santi e dei libertini. — *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 66 (Roma, 1996), 53-80.
Michel van Hecke: 59-60; *Henri de Noris*: 80.

Jean Jérez († 1688)

11364 PIROTTE, Jean, Jérez, Juan, missionnaire aux Philippines. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 27 (Paris, 1999), col. 1008.

Étienne Filippini (ca. 1600-1690)

11365 CERAMI, Antonella, Filippini Stefano (l'Argentina), organista, compositore († après 1686). — *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 47 (Roma, 1997), 713.

Louis Della Casa (1628-1693)

11366 SACRÉ, Dirk, Tricot poreusa e tutti quanti. — *Kleo* (Tijdschrift voor oude talen en antieke cultuur) 27 (Leuven, 1997), no. 1, 42-45.
Critique littéraire (en néerlandais) d'un poème latin de Louis Della Casa OSA (1628-1693), publié dans l'article de Gian Luigi Bruzzone en *Analecta Augustiniana* 59 (1996), 5-55 (voir le no.9386).

Ange Le Proust (1624-1697)

11367 Sr.Stanislas-Kostka (LAPLUME) - Sr.Jean-Mathias, Ange Le Proust (1624-1697) et la Société des Hospitalières de Saint-Thomas de Villaneuve. — *Itinéraires augustiniens* (Bonnelles, janvier 1997), no. 17, 33-40, 1 ill.

11368 Sr.Stanislas Kostka LAPLUME, Père Ange Le Proust OSA (1624-1697) de la Communauté de Bourges ou Province de Saint Guillaume dite à Paris 'Les Petits Augustins': Edition de textes et manuscrits, 2e serie: Spiritualité. — *Revista Agustiniana* 40 (Madrid, 1999), 265-317.

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11369 CEYSSENS, Lucien OFM, Le sort de la bulle Unigenitus. Recueil d'études offert à Lucien Ceyssens à l'occasion de son 90e anniversaire. Présenté par M. LAMBERIGTS (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, 104). Leuven, University Press; Peeters, 1992, XXVI-641, 1 ill.
Recueil de 15 études du P.Ceyssens publiées entre 1985-1990. *Grégoire Ackerboom* (ca. 1671-1733): 566; *Bernard Désirant* (1656-1725): 399; *Jean Libens* (1675-1747): 564; *Philippe Wavre* (1654-1720): 415.

Henri de Noris (1631-1704)

11370 BRUZZONE, Gian Luigi, Nove lettere inedite di fra Enrico Noris. — *Analecta Augustiniana* 62 (Roma, 1999), 179-211.

Les neuf lettres (1673-1680) éditées se trouvent dans la Biblioteca Universitaria de Genova, MS. E VI 20, ff.14-32, jadis dans la Biblioteca Aprosiana à Ventimiglia, en possession du P. *Angelico Aprosio*.

11371 WERNICKE, Michael OSA, Noris, Enrico. — *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 3.Aufl. 7 (Freiburg,etc., 1998), col. 907.

Antolín de Alzaga (1677-1706)

11372 VILLORIA PRIETO, Carlos, Fray Antolín de Alzaga: Un modelo de misionero en Filipinas en el siglo XVIII. — *Archivo Agustiniano* 83 (Valladolid, 1999), 115-135, 1 ill.

Abraham a S. Clara (1644-1709)

11373 ABRAHAM A S. CLARA OAD, Stern so aus Jacob aufgangen Maria, (Rarissima litterarum. Nachdrucke seltener Originalwerke aus dem 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert, 1, hrsg. von Gerhard DÜNNHAUPT). Stuttgart, Hiersemann, 1994 (VIII-X-142).

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11374 BREUER, Dieter, Abraham a Sancta Clara. — *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 4. Aufl. 1 (1998), col. 76-77.

Alvaro de Benavente (1646-1709)

11375 COLLANI, Claudia von, Benavente, Alvaro de. — *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 14 (Herzberg, Bautz, 1998), col. 749-50.

'Begründer der Chinamission der Augustiner, Apost.Vic. von Jiangxi, tit.b. von Askalon (1696)'.

Balthasar de S.Maria de Isasigana (1665-1717)

11376 VILLORIA PRIETO, Carlos, La labor del agustino vasco Baltasar de Sant María de Isasigana en Filipinas (1665-1717). — *Archivo Agustiniano* 82 (Valladolid, 1998), 407-426, 1 facs.

Pierre-Lambert Le Drou (1640-1729)

11377 HILLENAAR, Henk, Le Drou, Pierre Lambert. — *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*^{3} 6 (Freiburg, etc., 1997), col. 701.

Gaspar de St. Augustin (1651-1724)

11378 GASPAR de S. AGUSTÍN OSA, Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas. Bilingual edition by Pedro G. Galende OSA, transl. by Luis Antonio MAÑERU. Manila, San Agustín Museum, 1998 (1175).
Cf. le no.11379.

11379 OFILADA MINA, Macario, Philippine history from an Augustinian point of view. — *Philippiniana Sacra* 34 (Manila, 1999), no. 100, 167-175.
A propos de Gaspar de S. Agustín OSA, Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas, ed. Pedro García Galende (voir le no. précédent).

Bernard Désirant (1656-1725)

11380 CEYSSENS, Lucien OFM, François Martin (1652-1722), Professeur à l'Université de Louvain. — *Augustiniana* 46 (1996), 371-404.
Bernard Désirant: 379, 383-4, 388, 391-2; *François Farvaques*: 376; *Chrétien Lupus*: 376, *François Pauwens*: 381.

11381 CEYSSENS, Lucien OFM, Hennebel et son journal romain [1692-1700]. — *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 66 (Roma, 1996), 141-169.
Bernard Désirant: 145, 148-9, 151, 160, 162-4, 166, 168; *Pierre Lambert Ledrou*: 160, 168; *François Pauwens*: 164, 165, 167; *Gérard Melyn*: 165; *Nicolas Serano*, prieur général: 165-6.

Bonaventure de S.Rosalie (1665-1730)

11382 PASTORINO, Pietro OAD, P.Bonaventura di S.Rosalia (1665-1730). — *Presenza Agostiniana* 26 (Roma, 1999), no. 1, 20-23, 1 portr.

Jean Théodore Vázquez (1672-1736)

11383 VÁZQUEZ, Juan Teodoro OSA, Crónica continuada de esta provincia de N.P.San Agustín del Perú. Primera parte, ed. Benigno UYARRA CÁMARA OSA, vol.I. Lima, Colegio de S. Agustín, 1997 (308 + CXLIV).
Cf. le no.7950.

11384 VÁZQUEZ, Juan Teodoro OSA, Crónica continuada de esta provincia de N.P.San Agustín del Perú. Segunda Parte, vol.II. Lima, Colegio de S. Agustín, 1997 (497 + XXIII et CXXII).

11385 BERG, Hans van den OSA, La "Crónica continuada de la provincia de San Agustín del Perú" de Juan Teodoro Vázquez. — *Yachay*.

Revista de cultura, filosofía y teología 12 (Cochabamba, Bolivia, 1995), no. 22, 59-79.

Diego de Bergaño (1690-1747)

11386 SÁNCHEZ TÉLLEZ, Carmen, La lengua Pampanga en el Vocabulario de Diego de Bergaño (1732). - *La medicina en las lenguas americanas y filipinas préhispanicas*. Alcalá de Henares, Public. de la Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, 1994 (pp.153-163).

Alexandre Cacho de Villegas († 1748)

11387 VILLORIA PRIETO, Carlos, Un berciano en Filipinas: Alejandro Cacho de Villegas. León, Universidad; Secretariado de Publicaciones, 1997 (399, ill., facs.).

Emmanuel González de la Paz († après 1758)

11388 BALLESTEROS GARCÍA, Víctor Manuel, La crónica de fray Manuel González de la Paz de la provincia agustina de México. — *Conventos Agustinos*. X Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Orden de San Agustín (Madrid, 20-24 de octubre de 1997), ed. Rafael LAZCANO OSA, I (1998), 163-196.
Chronique (1492-1563) en 3 vol. apparue en 1755.

Ignace Padilla Estrada (1696-1760)

11389 SANTIAGO ACEVEDO, José Luis OSA, Visita pastoral de Fr. Ignacio Padilla OSA a la diócesis de Yucatán (1755-1757). — *Archivo Agustiniano* 81 (Valladolid, 1997), 267-304.
L'augustin mexicain Ignace Padillo Estrada (1696-1760), archev. de Yucatán, 1753-1760. Publication de deux textes, du 26 oct. 1755: 273-286 et du 18 août 1757: 287-304. Cf. le no.9410.

Jean Félix Ossinger (1694-1767)

11390 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Ossinger, Johann Felix. — *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 3.Aufl. 7 (Freiburg, etc., 1998), col. 1169.

Henri Flórez (1702-1773)

11391 VALLEJO GIRVES, Margarita, Enrique Flórez y sus contemporáneos ante la intervención de Gregorio Magno en obispados de la España bizantina. — *Hispania Sacra* 49 (Madrid, 1997), 655-673.

Joseph Aldeboeuf Janin (1715-1794)

11392 YPMA, Eelcko OSA, Janin, Joseph Aldeboeuf, historien, bibliothécaire. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 26 (Paris, 1996), col. 900-1.

Diego Thaddée González (1732-1794)

11393 *Aproximación* a la vida y obra de Fr. Diego Tadeo González ("Delio"). Ciudad Rodrigo, Centro de Estudios Mirobrigenses, 1994.

Dans ce recueil: OLIVERA MIGUEL, Ángel, Fr. Diego Tadeo González, perfiles biográficos: 11-37; CORCHETE GONZALO, Santiago, Delio en la poesía española del siglo XVIII: 39-60; 'Antología poética': 661-685.

11394 VALLEJO GONZÁLEZ, Irene, Fray Diego González (1732-1794). Trayectoria vital y literario (Perfiles, 16). Madrid, Ed. Revista Agustiniana, 1999 (93).

David a S. Cajetano Rutschmann (1726-1796)

11395 KILLIAN, Herbert, Mönch, Uhrmacher und Genie. — *Alte Uhren* 19 (1996), no. 3, 34-40, 8 ill.

'Createur de plusieurs horologes astronomiques à Vienne, David Rutschmann prit le nom, dans l'ordre des Augustiniens, de Frater David à S.Cajetano' (BHA).

1801-1900

Emmanuel Risco (1735-1801)

11396 RODRÍGUEZ ARNÁEZ, José Manuel, Paternidad documental de dos esculturas anónimas de la Academia: reivindicación de D.Esteban y D.Manuel de Agreda. — *Academia* (Madrid, 1996), no. 82, 511-545, 2 ill.

'Nouvelle attribution de deux sculptures dans l'Academia de S.Fernando à Madrid: à Manuel de Agreda, un Bacchus réalisé en 1790; et à Esteban Agreda, un buste du père augustin *Manuel Risco* (vers 1801)' (BHA).

Possidius Zitter (1723-1802)

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ESPAGNE

11482 CADENAS, Sonia, Agustinas Hermanas del Amparo (Génesis de la Congregación y espiritualidad). — *Sínite*. Revista de Pedagogía Religiosa 35 (1994), 523-535.

11483 *Claustros leoneses olvidados*. Aportaciones al monacato femenino. León, Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de León, 1996.

E.a. BURÓN CASTRO, Taurino, La desamortización de los monasterios femininas en la diócesis de Astorga y León: 97-118, 4 ill. Convento de la Encarnación de León; (convento de San José de Villafranca); PANIAGUA PÉREZ, Jesús, La plata labrada española y foránea del monasterio de Agustinas Recoletas de León: 371-388, 33 ill.; PEREIRAS FERNÁNDEZ, María Luisa, Noticias documentales sobre la fábrica, ornato y ajuar de la iglesia conventual de las Agustinas Recoletas (s.XVIII): 399-408, 2 ill.

Madrid

11484 ATERIDO FERNÁNDEZ, Ángel, Una nueva obra de José de Churriguera: el monumento de Semana Santa del Monasterio de la Encarnación. — *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños* 35 (1995), 19-31, 3 ill.

'A l'appui d'un contrat inédit de 1699, reproduit à la suite (Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid), historique de l'exécution du monument éphémère en bois par José Benito de Churriguera pour la célébration de la Semaine Sainte au couvent de la Encarnación de Madrid' (BHA).

11485 BARRIO MOYA, José Luis, La libreria de Don Pedro de Lastres y Aguilar, capellán mayor del Real Convento de la Encarnación de Madrid (1709). — *La Ciudad de Dios* 209 (El Escorial, 1996), 627-668.

Antoine Calepino: 636; *Basile Ponce de León*: 642, 644; *Louis de León*: 643; *Gaspar de Villarroel*: 646; *Thomas de Villanova*: 646; *Jean Rivius*: 653; *Constituciones de las recoletas agustinas de Madrid*: 657; *Jean Márquez*: 660.

Madrigal de las Altas Torres

11486 JIMÉNEZ LOZANO, José, Madrigal de las Altas Torres. Monasterio de Nuestra Señora de Gracia. León, Edilesa, 1994 (32, ill. en couleurs).

L'ancien palais de Don Juan II de Castilla, lieu natal d'Isabel la Católica (1451), par ordre de Charles V donné aux augustines (1525), qui avaient un couvent au dehors de la ville. Celles-ci donnèrent le couvent, aujourd'hui en ruine, aux augustins, où *Louis de León* mourut le 23 août 1591.

11487 SIERRA de la CALLE, Blas OSA, Las Agustinas de Madrigal de las Altas Torres. Historia, vida y arte. — *VI Jornadas de Patrimonio*

Cultural de los Religiosos Españoles (Madrid, Ed. Confer, 1997), 51-88.

11488 VEGA CARNICERO, Jacinto de la - GONZÁLEZ HERNÁNDEZ, Nuria, Madrigal de las Altas Torres. El secreto de Madrigal. Valladolid, Ambito Eds., 1996 (129).
Le palais de Juan II de Castilla, aujourd'hui monastère des Augustines: 45-69; couvent des Augustins de Extramuros: 101-108.

11489 ZURDO MANSO, Firmo - CERRO CALVO, Esther del, Madrigal de las Altas Torres. Recuerdos para una historia. Madrigal de las Altas Torres (Avila, 1996), 173.
Monastère des Augustines: 57-63; couvent de S.Agustín extramuros: 85-87; *Louis de León*: 115; 'El Pastelero de Madrigal': 121-24 (*Anne d'Austria*).

Medina de Pomar (Burgos)

11490 APARICIO LÓPEZ, Teófilo OSA, Medina de Pomar y un convento de Agustinas. Historia viva. Valladolid, Estudio Agustiniano, 1995 (148, ill.).

Tafalla

11491 BENITO DOMÉNECH, Fernando, Anotaciones al pintor flamenco Pablo Schepers. — *Academia* (Madrid, 1991), no. 73, 459-470, 9 ill.
'Nouvelle contribution à l'étude de la vie et de l'oeuvre du peintre flamand Pablo Schepers (Esquert), documenté à Saragosse à partir de 1559 en compagnie de son compatriote Rolan de Mois. L'A. propose ici une révision de son catalogue d'oeuvres, en particulier en ce qui concerne son intervention dans le retable dit de La Oliva (*Tafalla, convento de Agustinas Recoletas*) exécuté à partir de 1572 en collaboration avec Mois. En outre, nouvelle attribution de l'artiste d'une *Vierge du pillier avec S.Jacques et un jésuite* signée et datée de 1575 (Valence, collection privée)' (BHA).

Toledo

11492 CANABAL RODRÍGUEZ, Laura, Las religiosas agustinas en Toledo. Medios de adquisición patrimonial (s.XIV-XVII). — *Archivo Agustiniano* 83 (Valladolid, 1999), 137-159.
En appendice 3 documents (1407-1423).

FRANCE

11493 BERNARD, Jean, Un monde oublié: le couvent des Viantaises ou: Mademoiselle de Viantais et son couvent. — *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Touraine* 44 (1995), 467-486, 4 ill.

'Étude historique et description des bâtiments encore existantes de ce couvent de Loches fondé en 1643 par Cathérine-Angélique Boursault de Viantais. L'analyse de ce couvent augustin est menée à l'appui d'un document connu sous le nom de *Coutumier et cérémoniaire* datant des années 1643 à 1712 et conservé à Tours, Bibl.municipale. La vie de la premiere prieure et fondatrice est longuement évoquée' (BHA).

ITALIE

11494 *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. by Daniel BORNSTEIN and Roberto RUSCONI, transl. by Margery J. SCHNEIDER. Chicago-London, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1996 (X-334, ill.).

Originally publ. as: Mistiche e devote nell'Italia tardomedioevale. Napoli, Liguori, 1992. Dans ce livre: BENVENUTI PAPI, Anna, Mendicant Friars and Female Pinzochere in Tuscany: From social marginality to models of sanctity: 84-103, (les *augustins*: passim, *Cristiana de S.Croce*: 85, 87, 88, 92; *Julie de Certaldo*: 87, 91); MENESTÒ, Enrico, The Apostolic Canonization Proceedings of *Clare of Montefalco*, 1318-1319: 104-129 [voir le no.9536]; FARGONI, Chiara, Female Mystici, Visions and Iconography: 130-164, 11 ill. (*Claire de Montefalco*: 131-32, 134, 136-37, 144, 147, 152, 154-56, 159, 162, 164; *Rita de Cascia*: 134, 156); ESPOSITO, Anna, St.Francesca and the Female Religious Communities of fifteenth-century Rome: 197-218 (Mantellate di *Margherita Martelluzzi in S.Agostino, Roma*: 205-207. De cet groupe aussi: Maria di Giovanni di Cola di Paolo, Bensivenuta di Cola di Paolo, Stefania di Giovanni d'Albano, Beatrice de Magliano, Rita di Jacobo Coluzia, Fra *Cesario Orsini di S.Maria del Popolo* [† après 1431], sa femme Antonia et sa fille Francesca, Pacifica Salvati]; ZARRI, Gabriella, Living saints: a typology of female sanctity in the early sixteenth century: 219-303 (*Veronica de Binasco*: 225-27, 235, 240, 242, 244, 249-58, 261-63, 279, 282-83, 286; *Arcangela Panigurola* [1468-1525]: 226-27, 232-239, 242-47, 263-64, 274-278, 290, 297-98; *Jérôme Regino* [† après 1518]: 269). Voir aussi: *Claire de Montefalco*: VII-VIII, IX, 11, 14, 65-66; *Hélène d'Udine*: 14; *Simon Fidati de Cascia*:19.

Bologna

11495 MASETTI-ZANNINI, Gian Lodovico, All'interno d'un monastero: Santa Maria degli Angeli. — *Strenna storica bolognese* 43 (1993), 287-308, ill.

'Su struttura, organizzazione, monacazioni, educandato e vita interna di questo monastero agostiniano femminile di Bologna, nei. secc. XVI-XVIII' (RSCI).

Cascia

11496 *La basilica di S.Rita*. Mezzo secolo di storia, a cura di Toti CARPENTIERI. Cascia, Monastero di S. Rita, 1997 (69, ill.).

L'histoire et description de la basilique de Ste Rita à Cascia (1947-1997).

11497 *Breve racconto* della vita e dei miracoli della Beata Rita. Dipinti del XVII secolo del Monastero di Santa Rita. Testi di Pietro AMATO, Mario BERGAMO, Toti CARPENTIERI. Cascia, Monastero di S. Rita, 1993 (55, ill. en coul.).

11498 CARPENTIERI, Toti, Arte e architettura nel Santuario di Cascia. Luigi Filocamo. Opere, documenti e testimonianze. Cascia, Monastero di S. Rita, 1995 (54, ill.).

11499 CARPENTIERI, Toti, Arte e architettura nel Santuario di Cascia. Gisberto Ceracchini. Opere, documenti e testimonianze. Cascia, Monastero di S. Rita, 1996 (54, ill.).

11500 CARPENTIERI, Toti, Arte e architettura nel Santuario di Cascia. Silvio Consadori. Opere, documenti e testimonianze. Cascia, Monastero di S. Rita, 1996 (54, ill.).

11501 CARPENTIERI, Toti, Arte e architettura nel Santuario di Cascia. Luigi Montanarini. Opere, documenti e testimonianze. Cascia, Monastero di S. Rita, 1997 (54, ill.).

11502 CASCIANO, Giustino OSA, Guida al Santuario di S.Rita. Cascia, Monastero di S. Rita, 1995 (72, ill.).
Aussi en allemand, anglais, espagnol, français et portugais.

11503 SABATINI, Omero, Il convento della Beata Rita a Cascia. — *Giovanni V di Portogallo, 1707-1750*, e la cultura romana del suo tempo, ed. Sandra VASCO ROCCA e Gabriele BORGHINI (Roma, Argos, 1995), 200-201, 3 ill.
'The donations of João V to the convent of Cascia, 1723-1747, including a silver ex-voto mask with his portrait, and a new wing that was unfinished at the time of his death in 1750' (BHA).

Firenze

11504 FANTOZZI MICALI, Osanna - LOMBARDI, Franco - ROSELLI, Piero, Il monastero di San Gaggio a Firenze: la storia, il piano di ricupero. Firenze, Alinea, 1996 (166, ill., diagr., plans).
'Traces the history (14th-20th cs.) of the architecture and art of the Augustinian convent of S.Gaggio (founded 1345, rebuilt and enlarged, 16th-17th cs.), Florence. Presents a report on the conservation and a project for the restoration and reuse of the building. Appendix: documents 1351-1915' (BHA).

Pistoia

11505 FERI, Rita, Il monastero pistoiese di S.Maria della Neve o delle Vergini. — *Bollettino storico pistoiese* 96 (1994), 3-29, ill.
'L'a. ricostruisce la storia, l'organizzazione interno, il patrimonio fondario e architettonico del cenobio agostiniano, fondato dall'opera di S.Iacopo e dal comune nel 1376. Arricchito con i beni di S.Maria Mater Iacobi (1453) e assorbite le monache di S.Nicola di Tolentino (1692), venne riformato dalle salesiane di Massa in Valdinievole (1736) e dotato di una scuola pubblica in età napoleonica. Fu soppressa nel 1881' (RSCI).

San Gimignano

11506 NORMAN, Diana, The case of the Beata Simona: iconography, hagiography and misogyny in three paintings by Taddeo di Bartoli. — *Art History* 18 (1995), 154-184, 16 ill.

'Both Taddeo di Bartoli's major commissions for the Pieve (Collegiata) of San Gimignano included within their (early 15th c.) painted programs specific reference to a wellknown local religious figure: the Beata Simona. The reason for including this particular holy woman was her local influence and reputation, both as founder of the *Augustinian convent of S. Maria Maddalena* and as intercessor on behalf of San Gimignano and its community. In the case of the murals of the contra-façade chapel, it also appears that Taddeo was commissioned to devise painted imagery which explicitly combined commemoration of the Beata Simona with a pictorial reiteration of the stringent regulation of female morality and sexuality which prevailed within San Gimignano' (BHA).

Vercelli

11507 CASSETTI, Maurizio, L'antico monastero di S.Maria delle Grazie in Vercelli sede dell'Archivio di Stato. — *Archivi e storia* 12 (1994), no. luglio-dic., 99-132, ill.

'Notizie di carattere informativo sulle vicende del monastero delle agostiniane sorto intorno al 1461 e, dopo varie assegnazioni, destinato a sede dell'Archivio di Stato nel 1980. In appendice, elenco delle badesse (1642-1797)' (RSCI).

11508 *Il monastero della Visitazione a Vercelli*. Archeologia e storia. A cura di Gabriella PANTÒ (Quaderni della sopraintendenza archeologica del Piemonte. Monografie, 5). Alessandria, Ed. dell'Orso, 1996 (359, ill.).

'La ristrutturazione della sede attuale dell'Archivio di Stato di Vercelli da permesso di ricuperare numerosi dati archeologici del complesso che ospitò dapprima una comunità di clarisse, quindi un gruppo di agostiniane (1485), a cui subentrarono le monache della visitazione (1641)' (RSCI).

11509 *Katalog* der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München: Die Handschriften aus St.Emmeram in Regensburg, Bd.I: Clm 14000-14130, neu beschrieben von Elisabeth WUNDERLE (Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibl. Monacensis, IV, Series nova, Pars 2/1). Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1995 (XXVII-450).

Clm 14053, pap. 1497-1524, f.49v-51v: *Vita Helenae Uticensis* (sic), *Vita Clarae Montisfalconis*.

Jeanne de Montefalco († 1291)

11510 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Jeanne de Montefalco, soeur aînée de Ste Claire. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 27 (Paris, 1999), col. 946.

Ste. Claire de Montefalco († 1308)

11511 CAMPORESI, Piero, Het onvergankelijke vlees. Heil en heling in de middeleeuwen en vroeg-moderne tijd, trad. Annie van REST. Nijmegen, SUN, 1994 (335).
Titre originel: La carne impassibile. Salvezza e salute fra Medioevo e Controriforma. Milano³, Mondadori, 1991. *Claire de Montefalco*: 17-21, 23, 24, 29, 31.

11512 MANCINI, Franco, Un *identikit* mistico: La monaca santa di Iacopone (Lauda, (XVI) 37). — *Omaggio a Gianfranco FOLENA* (Padova, Editoriale Programma, 1993), 315-335.
'With reference to the process of canonisation of Chiara da Montefalco' (IMB).

11513 PACIOCCO, Roberto, Sul rapporto tra i francescani e la santità feminile nel Trecento: i suggerimenti offerti dalla vicenda di Chiara da Montefalco. — *Chiesa e il secondo ordine*. Il fenomeno francescano femminile nel Salerno. Atti del Convegno di studi in occasione dell'VIII centenario della nascita di S.Chiara, Nardò, 12-13 nov.1993. A cura di Giancarlo ANDENNA e Benedetto VETERA (Galatina, Congedo, 1997), 85-98.

11514 *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. Daniel BORNSTEIN and Roberto RUSCONI. Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1996.
Danc ce livre: Enrico MENESTÒ, The apostolic canonization proceedings of Clare of Montefalco, 1318-1319: 104-129; Anna BENVENUTI PAPI, Mendicant friars and female pinzochere in Tuscany: from social marginality to models of sanctity: 197-218.

11515 NEDDERMEYER, Uwe, Klara von Montefalco. — *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*³ 6 (Freiburg, etc., 1997), col. 112-13.

B. Julie de Certaldo (1319-1367)

11516 RIGAUX, Dominique, La donna, la fede, l'immagine negli ultimi secoli del medioevo. - *Donne e fede*. Santità e vita religiosa in Italia, ed. Lucetta SCARAFFIA e Gabriella ZARRI. Bari, Laterza, 1994 (XVI-552).
E.a. Giulia da Certaldo.

B. Rita de Cascia (ca. 1370-1447/57)

11517 *Santa Rita da Cascia* († 1447/1457). Storia-devozione-sociologia. Atti del Congresso Intern. in occasione del 1° centenario della canonizzazione [24 maggio 1900-24 maggio 2000], celebrato a Roma, 24-26 sett.1998 (Studia Augustiniana Historica, 13). Roma, Inst. Hist. Augustinianum, 2000 (439, ill.).

Contenu: Vittorino GROSSI OSA, Presentazione: 7-8; Miguel Ángel ORCASITAS OSA, Saluti ai congressisti: 13-14; Claudio LEONARDI, L'agiografia umbra e Rita da Cascia nei secoli XIV e XV: 17-24; Marco VANNINI, Il cuore nella mistica medievale femminile: 25-31; Francesco SANTI, La devozione all'umanità di Cristo e la questione "De pretiosissimo Sanguine Christi": 33-52; Michele CASSESE, La "theologia cordis" in *Lutero* e nel pietismo di N.L. von Zinzendorf: 53-80; Deborah ODDICINO, Umanesimo e santità nella spiritualità di Santa Rita da Cascia: 81-89; Willigis ECKERMANN OSA, Der Evangelienkommentar "De gestis Domini Salvatoris" des *Simon Fidati von Cascia* OESA († 1348): 91-101; Gino CIOLINI OSA, Cristologia di *Simone da Cascia* nel "De gestis Domini Salvatoris": 103-131; Mario SENSI, Il ritratto della Passione di Cristo sulla cassareliquiario di S.Rita: 135-167; Gustavo CUCCINI, Iconografia ritiana antica: 169-186; Angelo TURCHINI, Iconografia e devozione di Santa Rita negli ex voto di Cascia: 187-204, 8 tav.; Vittorino GIORGETTI, Il Comune di Cascia al tempo di Santa Rita attraverso la documentazione d'archivio: 205-218; Franco CUOMO, Simbologia di S.Rita (api, rose, conversione del marito): 219-231; Pietro ZOVATTO, Santa Rita da Cascia nei libretti devoti e nel santino: 233-268; Carlos ALONSO OSA, I processi per la canonizzazione di Santa Rita da Cascia: 269-280; Paolo GHEDA, Alcune coordinate della devozione a Santa Rita in *Italia*: 281-293; Aldo GORINI, La devozione a Santa Rita nella pietà *ligure*: 295-303; Gianfausto ROSOLI - Luciano TOSI, La devozione a Santa Rita nei paesi europei e oltreoceano. Primi risultati di una ricerca: 305-328; Antonio ITURBE SÁIZ OSA, La iconografía de Santa Rita en *España* e *Hispanoamérica*: 329-335; Costanzo GARGNONI OFMCap., La "spina" di Santa Rita e le stigmatizzazioni del suo tempo: 339-358; Paolo MARIANESCHI, Ipotesi mediche sulle stimmatizzazioni e sulla "spina" di Santa Rita da Cascia: 359-376; Jože BAJZEK - Guglielmo MALIZIA, Analisi socio-religiosa dei pellegrinaggi a Cascia: 377-391; Giulio MARINOZZI, Ricognizione dei resti del corpo di Santa Rita da Cascia: 395-401, 6 foto; Indice: 403-422; Tavole illustrative, color.: 423-439.

11518 CAMPO del POZO, Fernando OSA, Vida de Santa Rita de Casia, Abogada de imposibles y Patrona de los Funcionarios de la Administración social. Zamora, Ed. Montecasino, 1998 (112, ill.).

11519 *Celebrazione eucharistica* in onore di Santa Rita da Cascia. Incontro con il Santo Padre Giovanni Paolo II e omaggio alle sacre spoglie della Santa presenti in Piazza San Pietro, 20 maggio 2000. A cura della Curia Generale OSA. Roma, Curia Gen. OSA, 2000 (95, 7 ill. col.).

Notices biographiques de St. Rita en italien, français, espagnol, anglais, allemand et portugais: 9-28.

11520 GORINI, Aldo, La devozione a S.Rita da Cascia in Liguria. Cascia, Monasterio di Santa Rita, 1997 (108, ill.).

'Accurata raccolta di tutte le testimonianze del culto ritiano nella regione che ebbe notevole incremento durante i secc. XIX e XX. Utili gli indici dei nomi dei luoghi e delle chiese' (RSCI).

11521 *La devozione a S.Rita da Cascia in Italia*, a cura di Pietro BORZOMATI e Angelo VINCENTI OSA. Cascia, Monastero di S. Rita, 1997 (373, ill.).

11522 LEMOINE, Jo, Rita, la sainte des impossibles, 6e éd. Paris, Médiaspaul, 1996 (159, ill.).
Voir le no.6627.

11523 LEMOINE, Jo, Sainte Rita, si proche de nous. Paris, Médiaspaul, 1997 (224).

11524 *Religiosidad Popular en España*. Actas del Simposium (Col. Instituto Escurialense de Investigaciones Históricas y Artísticas, 9). San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 1997 (2 vols., 1667; 1078).
E.a. CAMPO del POZO, Fernando OSA, Santa Rita, abogado de imposibles y patrona de los Funcionarios de la Administración Local en España: vol.I, 487-510; CARMONA MORENO, Félix OSA, Santa Rita en la religiosidad popular de Mallorca: vol.I, 511-532.

11525 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Rita. — *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 3.Aufl. 8 (Freiburg, etc., 1999), col. 1201.

B. Christine de Spoleto (ca. 1435-1458)

11526 BALESTRINI, Fausto, La questione storica della Beata Cristina, terziaria agostiniana morta a Spoleto nel 1458. — *Brixia sacra*. Memorie storiche della diocesi di Brescia 3a serie, 1 (1996), 14-37.
'Ripercorrendo criticamente la documentazione e la bibliografia relativa alla beata Cristina Semenzi da Calvisano, l'a. ne traccia anche un essenziale profilo biografico' (RSCI).

Barbe Swerts († 1463)

11527 ROCCA, Giancarlo, Swerts, Barbara († 1463). — *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione* IX (Roma, 1997), col. 793.
Fondatrice des soeurs noires de Lier.

B. Madeleine Albrici (ca. 1400-1465)

11528 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Maddalena Albrici, Selige. — *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*[3] 6 (Freiburg, etc., 1997), col. 1175.

B. Véronique de Binasco (1445-1495)

11529 MATZ, Jean-Michel, La "vie" en français de la bienheureuse Véronique de Binasco († 1497). Sainteté, politique et dévotion au temps des guerres d'Italie. — *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Age* 109 (1997), 603-631.

La Vita de Véronique, écrite en 1517 par Isidore de Isolani OP, fut traduite quelques années plus tard par *Louis Chantereau* OSA qu'il dédia à Louise de Savoie; la Bibliothèque municipale d'Angers en conserve l'exemplaire unique, Ms 823 (243ff). Chantereau réorganisait le texte latin entièrement, tant dans la forme, que par le contenu, introduisant longs développements en faveur de la vie cloîtrée en de la spiritualité des augustins. Ainsi la Vie en français, pas encore éditée, doit être regardée comme une *Vita secunda* de Véronique de Binasco.

11530 ZUMKELLER, Adolar OSA, Veronika von Binasco. — *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 12 (Herzberg, Bautz, 1997), col. 1277-1278.

Anne de Jesús († après 1621)

11531 *Ana de Jesús*. Cartas (1590-1621). Religiosidad y vida cotidiana en la clausura feminina del Siglo de Oro, ed. Concepción TORRES (Acta Salmanticensia. Estudios Filológicos, 259). Salamanca, Universidad, 1995 (124).
Contient 25 lettres dirigées à Diego de Guevara († 1633).

Anne d'Autriche (1568-1629)

11532 YÁÑEZ NEIRA, Damián, IV centenario del Pastelero de Madrigal (1595-1995). — *Anuario Jurídico y Económico Escurialense* 28 (El Escorial, 1995), 577-659.

11533 YÁÑEZ NEIRA, Damián, Doña Ana de Austria, abadesa de las Huelgas de Burgos. — *Anuario Jurídico y Económico Escurialense* 29 (El Escorial, 1996), 1035-1078.

Marie-Anne de St. Siméon (1569-1631)

11534 SANTIAGO GODOS, María Victoria, El retrato de Sor Mariana de San Simeón, fundadora de las agustinas de Murcia. Estudio, conservación y restauración. — *Conventos Agustinos*. X Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Orden de San Agustín (Madrid, 20-24 de octubre de 1997), ed. Rafael LAZCANO OSA, II (1998), 809-820, 11 ill.

Marie-Anne de St. Joseph Manzanedo (1568-1638)

11535 DÍEZ, Jesús OAR, Constituciones de la Madre Mariana de San José. — *Recollectio* 20 (Roma, 1997), 151-215.

Dorothée Torrella Escrivana († 1638)

11536 RANO GUNDÍN, Balbino OSA, Torrella Escrivana, Dorothea († 1638). — *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione* IX (Roma, 1997), col. 1262-63.
'Confonditrice con S.Giovanni de Ribera delle monache Agostiniane scalze'.

Anne Tinoco Bolaños (1594-1651)

11537 APARICIO LÓPEZ, Teófilo OSA, Doña Ana Tinoco Bolaños y el convento de Ntra.Sra. de la Paz de Frenegal de la Sierra. — *Archivo Agustiniano* 81 (Valladolid, 1997), 203-228.
Anne Tinoco OSA (1594-1651) et le monastère des augustines conceptionistes de Frenegal.

Marie-Anne Augustine Tardá (1643-1711)

11538 RANO GUNDÍN, Balbino OSA, Tardá, María Ana Teresa. — *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione* IX (Roma, 1997), col. 824.
Tardá, en religion Augustine (1643-1711), fondatrice des Augustines "Beate" de Barcelona.

Jeanne de l'Incarnation (1672-1715)

11539 Jeanne de l'Incarnation OAR. — *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* 27 (Paris, 1999), col. 941.

Anne Catherine Emmerick (1774-1824)

11540 BANGERT, Michael, Entfremdet und entrückt: Ein Anweg zu Anna Katharina Emmerick. — *Geist und Leben* 70 (1997), 108-125.

Assumption Galán de S.Cayetano (1867-1901)

11541 APARICIO LÓPEZ, Teófilo OSA, Sor Asunción Galán de San Cayetano. Valladolid, Sever-Cuesta, 1997 (155).
Soeur Asunción Galán, du monastère des augustines de Frenegal de la Sierra, 1867-1901.

Raphaelle de la Passion Veintemilla (1836-1918)

11542 RANO GUNDÍN, Balbino OSA, Veintemilla Villacís, Rafaele de la Pasion. — *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione* IX (Roma, 1997), col. 1823-24.

Veintemilla (1836-1918), fondatrice des Augustines Filles du SS.Salvateur.

B. Marie-Thérèse Fasce (1881-1947)

11543 BOVONE, Alberto - NOWAK, Edward, Beatificationis et canonizationis Ven. Servae Dei Mariae Teresiae (in saec.: Mariae Ioannae Fasce) monialis professae Ord.S.Augustini Abbatissae monasterii S.Ritae a Cassia (1881-1947), decretum super miraculo. — *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 90 (1998), 236-238.

11544 JOHANNES PAULUS II, Venerabili servae Dei Mariae Teresiae Fasce caelitum beatorum adduntur honores. — *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 91 (1999), 340-342.

11545 PAPALINI, Mauro, Blessed Maria Teresa Fasce, Abbess of the Augustinian Monastery of Saint Rita of Cascia. Her life, her spirituality. Cascia, Monastero di S. Rita, 1997 (109, ill. b/n color.).
Aussi en allemand, espagnol et français.

Rosa Mercedes (de) Castañeda y Coello (1856-1950)

11546 APARICIO LÓPEZ, Teófilo OSA, Teresa del Sagrado Corazón. Un alma misionera con ansias infinitas de reparación. Roma, Religiosas Reparadores del Sagrado Corazón, 1997 (278, ill.).
Rosa Mercedes de Castañeda (Lima 1856-Roma 1950), fondatrice des Religiosas Reparadores del S.Corazón.

Caridad Alvarez (1943-1994)
Esther Parriega (1949-1994)

11547 MARTÍN Sánchez, José María OSA, Fidelidad a la misión en tiempos de persecución. — *La Escuela Agustiniana* 50 (1995), 4-15.

11548 UNCITI, Manuel de, Sangre en Argelia. Madrid, Ed. PPC, 1996 (387).

11549 VAQUERO, Germán, Hasta luego... si Dios Quiere. Esther y Caridad, mártires en Argel. Dossier. Madrid, 1995 (314).

V. HAGIOGRAPHIE - ICONOGRAPHIE

Saint-Augustin (354-430)

11550 *Agostino presbitero (391-1991)*. Atti del convegno storico celebrativo di Cassago Brianza, sett.1991. Cassago Brianza, Associazione storico-culturale di S.Agostino, 1992 (197, ill.).

11551 *Agostino vescovo (395-1995)*. Cassago Brianza, Associazione storico-culturale di S.Agostino, 1996 (254, ill., facs.).

Dans ce livre: e.a. Luigi BERETTA, Il monachesimo agostiniano femminile delle origini nei secoli XIII-XIV: 43-56; Ivo RIGAMONTI, *S. Chiara da Montefalco* e la beata *Cristiana da Santa Croce*: due esempi di santità agostiniana del XIII secolo: 57-71; *Vita di S.Agostino*: 219-237.

11552 *Augustine through the Ages*. An encyclopedia. General editor Allan D. FITZGERALD OSA. Grand Rapids (Mich.)-Cambridge (UK), Eerdmans, 1999 (IL-902).

Dans ce livre: SAAK, Eric L., *Aegidius Romanus*: 14-15; STONE, Harold S., Cult of Augustine's body (*Pavia*): 256-259; SAAK, Eric L., *Gregory of Rimini*: 406; KREY, Philip D., *Martin Luther*: 516-518; SAAK, Eric L., *Milleloquium Sancti Augustini*: 563; Di BERNARDINO, Angelo OSA, *Monnica*: 570-571; LAWLESS, George OSA, *Regula*: 707-709; MADIGAN, Kevin, *Regula*, Use after Augustine: 709-710; SAAK, Eric L., Scholasticism, Late - *Late medieval Augustinianism*: 754-759; GROSSI, Vittorino OSA - FITZGERALD, Allan D. OSA, *Seripando, Jerome*: 768-770.

11553 *Augustine in Iconography*. History and Legend, ed. by Joseph C. SCHNAUBELT OSA and Frederick Van FLETEREN (Collectanea Augustiniana, 4). New York-Washington DC-Bern, etc., Lang, 1999 (XXI-750, ill.).

Contenu: Van FLETEREN-SCHNAUBELT, Prolegomena - Literary sources for the iconography of *saint Augustine*: 3-62; Joannes STILTINGH (1703-1765), The account in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Body of St.Augustine (transl. by Schnaubelt-Van Fleteren): 65-111, 1 ill.; Silvia LUSUARDI, Il complesso episcopale di Milano e il battesimo di Agostino: un punto di vista archeologico: 113-145, 6 ill.; George RADAN, The Basilica Pacis of Hippo: 147-188, 10 ill.; Robert J. ROWLAND Jr., The Sojourn of the Body of St.Augustine in *Sardinia*: 189-198, 1 ill.; Benedict HACKETT OSA, San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, *Pavia*: 199-222, 4 ill.; Ennio BRUNORI, L'Eremo della Trinità "de *Centumcellis*": 223-268, 16 ill., en appendice 7 documents (1243-1667); Annamaria DUCCI, L'Eremo di *Rupecava nei Monti Pisani*: Tracce per una definizione di "storia globale": 269-331, 3 ill.; Benedict HACKETT OSA, The Augustinian Hermitage of *Lecceto*: 333-356, 5 ill.; Diane Cole AHL, Benozzo Gozzoli: the Life of Saint Augustine in *San Gimignano*: 359-382, 5 ill.; Edmund COLLEDGE OSA, The Augustine Screen in Carlisle cathedral: 383-430, 22 ill., reprint from *Augustiniana* 36 (1986), 65-100; George T. RADAN, The *Lecceto* frescoes: the Augustinian cycle: 431-465, 9 ill.; Mark W. SULLIVAN, Tito Troja, An Augustine cycle in *Philadelphia* [USA, 1897-1898]: 467-503, 8 ill.; Patricia FORTINI BROWN, Carpaccio's St.Augustine in his study [ca. 1502, Venezia, Scuola di S.Giovanni degli Schiavoni]: A portrait within a portrait: 507-547, 8 ill.; Meredith J. GILL, "Remember me at the altar of the Lord": *St.Monica's* gift to Rome: 549-576, 5 ill. [concerne son tombeau à *S.Agostino, Rome*]; Kenneth B. STEINHAUSER, Augustin moralisé: Some observations on Florence, Laurenziana, Plut.12, Cod.17: 577-593, 9 ill. [concerne le Ms du De Civitate Dei, ca. 1120]; Louise MARSHALL, Augustinian exegesis in the Old Testament cycle of the Chiesa del Tau, Pistoia [s.XIV]:

595-634, 9 ill. [l'église des hospitaliers de St.Antoine, abbé]; Charles R. MOISCHECK, Augustinian influences in the iconography of the Certosa di Pavia: 635-685, 6 ill.; Margaret FLANSBURG, The south chapel fresco cycle of *Sant'Agostino, Fabriano*: 687-705, 3 ill. [cycle du XIVe s.]; Idem, The sacristy frescoes of Sant'Agostino, Montefalco: 709-726, 5 ill. [cycle du XIVe s.].

11554 BAGEMIHL, Rolf, On reading (into) Botticelli's Saint Augustine. — *Source*. Notes in the history of art 16 (New York, 1997), no. 2, 16-19, ill.

'Disputes Richard Stapleford's interpretation of Botticelli's fresco of *S.Augustine* in Ognisanti, Florence (*Art bulletin* 76 (1994), 69-80 [voir le no.9571] especially his reading of the words on a page behind the saint's head and his deduction of the subject matter of various books from the colors of their bindings. Argues that the presumed patron, Giorgio Antonio Vespucci, may have had a role in the iconography; also endores the general view that the fresco represents Augustine's visionary apprehension of the death of S.Jerome' (BHA).

11555 BONNER, Gerald, St.Augustine of Hippo. Life and Controversies, 3rd ed. Norwich, The Canterbury Press, 1997 (430).

Cf. le no.6667.

11556 CALVO SERRALLER, Francisco, El Greco: Entierro del conde de Orgaz. Madrid, Electa, 1994 (143, ill.).

'Etude de l'Enterrement du comte d'Orgaz (Toledo, S.Tomé) dans laquelle l'auteur rappelle les circonstances de la commande et analyse la composition du tableau, les personnages représentés (e.a. *Saint Augustin*) et la fortune critique de l'oeuvre. Cette étude est accompagnée de photographies en couleur mettant en relief de nombreux détails du tableau' (BHA).

11557 CASIRAGHI, Liliana, Brianza romana. Cassago Brianza, Associazione storico-culturale di S.Agostino, 1992 (103, ill., dessins, cartes).

Fouilles du Rus *Cassiciacum*.

11558 CLARK, Mary T. R.S.C.J., Augustine. Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Press, 1994 (XXIV-136).

11559 CONOCI, Otello - PICCOLOMINI, Remo OSA, Sant'Agostino, testimone di Dio, fratello di tutti. Prefazione di Carlo CREMONA. Roma, Città Nuova, 1997 (182).

11560 CUENCA COLOMA, Juan Manuel OSA, Augustín de Hippona, pesos y armonías. Valladolid, Estudio Agustiniano, 1996 (68).

11561 DAGEMARK, Siver, Prayer as a hagiographic motif in 'Vita Martini' and 'Vita Augustini'. - *La preghiera nel tardo antico* (1999), 361-388.

Sulpicius Severus, Vita s.Martini et *Possidius, Vita Augustini*.

11562 DOTSON, Esther Gordon, An Augustinian interpretation of Michelangelo's Sistine ceiling. — *Michelangelo: selected scholarship in English*, ed. by William E. WALLACE pt.I:vol.2 (New York-London, Garland, 1995), 169-202, pt. II: vol. 2 (New York-London, Garland, 1995), 203-227.

11563 ELM, Eva, Die *Vita Augustini* des Possidius. "The work of a plain man and an untrained writer?". Wandlungen in der Beurteilung eines hagiographischen Textes. — *Augustinianum* 37 (Roma, 1997), 229-240.

11564 ESTAL, Gabriel del OSA, San Agustín y su concubina de juventud. Madrid, Eds. Escurialenses, 1996 (138).

11565 FLECKNER, Uwe, Der Gottesstaat als Vedute: Jan van Eycks Madonna des Kanzlers Nicolas Rolin. — *Artibus et historiae* 17 (Firenze-Wien, 1996), 133-158, 222, 10 ill.(3 col.) Summ. in English.

'Attempt to link the form and content of Jan van Eyck's *Madonna of the Chancellor Rolin* (1435, Paris, Musée national du Louvre) to a fundamental and uniform iconographical concept. Discusses the landscape and scenic bipartition of the painting as evidence of the central role played by S.Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* in its central theological reference and examines that text's influence on all pictoral and compositional elements of the painting. Notes the importance of S.Augustine's writings at the court of the Duke of Burgundy in the 15th c. Identifies S.Augustine's historical theology and above all his doctrine of grace, as determining aspects of the Louvre painting' (BHA).

11566 GEERLINGS, Wilhelm, Augustinus. Freiburg i.Br., Herder, 1999 (123).

11567 GORDON, Dillian, The 'missing' predella panel from Pesellino's Trinity altar-piece. — *Burlington Magazine* 138 (1996), 87-88, ill.

'Discusses the altarpiece commissioned for the church of the Compagnia dei Preti (Pistoia), begun by Pesellino and now in the National Gallery (London) and its missing panel. Argues that the *Vision of St.Augustine* in the Ermitazh St.Petersburg is the missing piece, and is the work of Filippo Lippi' (IMB).

11568 HARRISON, Carol, Augustine. Christian truth and fractured humanity. Oxford, University Press, 2000 (250).

11569 JOANNIDES, Paul, An overlooked Guercino looked over: the place of St.Augustine in the artist's oeuvre. — *Apollo* 143 (1996), no. 411, 18-19, 2 ill.

'Argues that a painting of *S.Augustine with SS.Monica and Agnes* in S.Pietro in Vincoli, Rome, should be returned to Guercino's oeuvre. The ascription to Guercino goes back to at least 1674, and was unbroken until 1986 when P.Bagni published his volume on artists who worked with Guercino. Bagni then suggested the picture was by Zallone' (BHA).

11570 KREUZER, Johannes, Augustinus (Reihe Campus, Einführungen, 1088). Frankfurt-New York, Campus Verlag, 1995 (182).

11571 LAJAILLARDIE, André, Saint Augustin, une vie (Les carnets de Fêtes et Saisons, 31). Paris, Le Cerf, 1998 (63).

11572 LANCEL, Serge, Saint Augustin. Paris, Fayard, 1999 (793).

11573 MENDES ATANAZIO, Manuel Cardoso, Iconologia del Seppellimento del Conde d'Orgaz. — *El Greco of Crete*. Proceedings of the intern. symposium held on the occasion of the 450th anniversary of the artist's birth. Iraklion, Crete, 1-5 sept.

1990, ed. Níkos HATZENIKOLÁOU. (Erákléon, Demos Erakleiou, 1995), 255-258, 2 ill.

'Note sur *l'Enterrement du comte d'Orgaz* [avec S.Augustin], mettant en évidence les allusions aux décisions doctrinales au concile de Trente sur la justification par les oeuvres et sur la hiérarchie de l'Eglise. L'A. montre que le tableau a une valeur apologétique' (BHA).

11574 MORALES, Tomás, San Agustín y Santa Mónica. — *Semblanzas de Testigos de Cristo para los nuevos tiempos* (Madrid, Ed. Encuentro, 1994), 293-318.

11575 MÜHLENBERG, Ekkehard, Augustin. — *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 1 (Tübingen, Mohr (P. Siebeck), 1998), col. 959-967.

11576 NUCCI, Lucia, Il parato detto "di sant'Agostino" conservato nel museo della cattedrale di Cagliari: un'ipotesi di studio. — *Kermes* 10 (1997), no. 28, 53-75, ill.

'Analyzes the history, materials, design and conservation of a set of silk vestments (Cagliari, cath.S.Maria, museo capitolare) with applied patches of historiated Chinese (T'ang dynasty) silk, and north African textiles with geometric patterns. The garments have been traditionally held to be the burial clothes of S.Augustine. Dates them to be 10th-11th cs., and refutes the hypothesis that they belonged to the saint. Proposes that the silk was imported to Algeria from China, made into liturgical vestments (in Algeria), and sent on to Cagliari. Discusses commercial contacts between Sardegna, Africa and China' (BHA).

11577 PRICE, Richard, Augustine (Fount Christian Thinkers). London, Harper Collins Publishers, 1996 (XIII-96).

11578 REISEN, Hans W.C.M. van, Augustinus, bisschop van Hippo: beknopt overzicht van zijn leven en werk, 3e druk. Eindhoven, Augustijns Instituut, 1997 (36, 1 ill.).

11579 *Rus Cassiciacum*. Archeologia e storia. Cassago Brianza, Associazione storico-culturale di S.Agostino, 1995 (320, ill., facs., cartes).

11580 SCHRAMA, Martijn OSA, Augustinus: de binnenkant van zijn denken. Zoetermeer, Meinema, 1999 (265).

11581 SGARBI, Vittorio, Carpaccio metafisico. — *Arte documento* (1992), no. 61, 103-107, 6 ill.

'Argues that Carpaccio was the most cultivated Venetian painter in the 15th c., and interprets the detailed imagery of *St.Augustine in his study* (Venice, Scuola di S.Giorgio degli Schiavoni) as a synthesis of his culture' (BHA).

11582 STEGER, Denise, Die bildliche Darstellung der vier grossen lateinischen Kirchenväter vor ihrer Sanktionierung unter Papst Bonifacius VIII. im Jahre 1298. — *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 94 (Rom-Freiburg, 1999), 209-227, 12 ill.

11583 STELLA, Vico (ps. de Roberto Fastella) OSA, Agostino. L'inquieto mendicante della Verità. Roma, L'Agostiniana, 1997 (193, ill. en coul.).

11584 UCCIANI, Louis, Saint Augustin ou le livre du moi. Paris, Ed. Kimé, 1998 (215).

11585 *Who was Augustine?* Text written by Tarsicius van BAVEL OSA, illustr. selected by Michael F. Di GREGORIO OSA, ed. by John E. ROTELLE OSA. Strasbourg, Ed. du Signe, 1996 (48, ill. en coul.).
Aperçu historique sur St.Augustin, la Règle et les augustins et augustines dans le monde. En espagnol, trad. Pablo BOCANEGRA OSA, coord. Rafael LAZCANO OSA. Strasbourg, Ed. du Signe, 1996.

11586 WILLS, Garry, Saint Augustine. A Penguin Life. Harmondsworth (GB), Viking Penguin, 1999 (XX-152).

11587 ZIRPOLO, L.H., The impact of St.Augustine's writings on the arts: the Sacchetti Chapel as exemplar. — *Augustinian Studies* 29 (Villanova, PA, 1998), 83-109, 7 ill.

Sainte-Monique (332-387)

11588 AUGUSTINUS, Aurelius OSA, Meine Mutter Monika, hrsg. v. Agostino TRAPÈ. München, Verlag Neue Stadt, 1998 (109).
Titre originel: Mia madre (Roma, 1983), voir le no. 5363, trad. Hans Beyrink.

11589 CHIESA, Paolo, Recuperi agiografici veneziani dai codici Milano, Braidense, Gerli ms.26 e Firenze, Nazionale, Conv.Soppr.G.5. 1212. — *Hagiographica* V (Spoleto, 1998), 219-271.
P.235: Milano, Bibl.Braidense, Gerli ms.26 (s.XV), Vitae Sanctorum, no.62, ff.203v-206r: De sancta *Monica* matre sancti Augustini. (Tratto da Agostino, Conf.IX, 8, 17-12, 32). P.252: Firenze, Bibl.Nazionale Centrale, Conv.Soppr. G.5. 1212 (Camaldoli s.XV), Vitae Sanctorum, no.60, ff.205r-206v: In sancte *Monice* matris beatissimi Augustini. Ex tractatu VIIII libro Confessionum. Mense lunii [Maii ?] die quarto.

11590 CLARK, Elizabeth A., Rewriting early Christian history. Augustine's representation of Monica. — *Portraits of spiritual authority* 1999, (3-23).

11591 *La Escuela Agustiniana* 52 (Madrid 1995).
Dans ce numéro: Ulpanio ÁLVAREZ OSA, *Santa Mónica*, una mujer fuerte en un entorno pagano: 19-30; Antonio ITURBE OSA, Reflexiones de un profesor con sus alumnos antes la beatificación del P.Anselmo POLANCO en Roma (1 de octubre de 1995): 36-42; José María TORRIJOS OSA, El *Colegio Mayor Elías Ahuja*: una institución agustiniana: 43-47.

11592 RING, Gerhard OSA, Die Begegnung als Gnade. Die Begegnung Augustins mit seiner Mutter Monika. — *Cor Unum* 54 (Würzburg, 1996), 8-12.

11593 SOLA CHERVIN, Ronda de, Donne sante. Storia di duecento donne. Roma, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1995 (343).
E.a. Ste Monique, Ste Rita.

11594 STRITZKY, Maria Barbara von, Monnica. — *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 3.Aufl. 7 (Freiburg, etc., 1998), col. 413-4.

11595 WRIGHT, David F., Monica's baptism, Augustine's deferred baptism, and Patricius. — *Augustinian Studies* 29 (Villanova, 1998), 1-17.

TABLES

Les chiffres renvoient aux numéros de la bibliographie.
Les noms des personnes imprimés en italiques n'appartiennent pas à l'Ordre des Augustins.
Les personnes qui ont vécu avant 1500 sont régistrées par leur prénom, celles qui sont mortes après 1500 par leur nom de famille. En quelques cas on a fait des renvois.
Dans la *Table des Lieux*, le nom des villes et villages signifie la présence d'un couvent ou de personnes individuelles, cités dans la bibliographie.
Dans l'ordre alphabétique ä, ö et ü sont classés comme ae, oe et ue; Mc comme Mac.

Abréviations

(*A*)	Autriche
AA	Augustiniani ab Assumptione
(*B*)	Belgique
B.	Bienheureux, Bienheureuse
BHA	Bibliography of the History of Art - Bibliographie de l'Histoire de l'Art
(*C*)	Cuba
(*CH*)	Suisse
(*CO*)	Colombie
(*CZ*)	République tchèque
(*D*)	Allemagne
(*E*)	Espagne
(*EAK*)	Kenya
(*EC*)	Équateur
(*F*)	France
(*GB*)	Angleterre
(*I*)	Italie
IMB	International Medieval Bibliography (Leeds)
(*IND*)	Inde
(*IRL*)	Irlande
jr	junior
(*MEX*)	Mexique
N.D.	Notre Dame
N.S.	Nostra Signora, Nuestra Señora
(*NL*)	Pays-Bas
OAD	Ordo Augustinensium Discalceatorum
OAR	Ordo Augustinianorum Recollectorum
O(E)SA	Ordo Fratrum (Eremitarum) S. Augustini
OCarm	Ordo Carmelitarum
OCD	Ordo Carmelitarum Discalceatorum
OCist	Ordo Cisterciensium
OFM	Ordo Fratrum Minorum
OFMCap	Ordo Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum
OP	Ordo Praedicatorum
OPraem	Ordo Praemonstratensium
OSB	Ordo S. Benedicti
(*P*)	Portugal
(*PE*)	Pérou
(*PI*)	Philippines
(*PL*)	Pologne
Pp	Papa
(*RB*)	Bolivie
(*RCH*)	Chile
RSCI	Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia (Roma)
SJ	Societas Jesu
SPB	Sister of the Precious Blood
Sr	Soeur, Sister
St, Ste	Saint, Sainte
(*USA*)	États Unis d'Amérique

Abbate, Francesco: 10374.
Abbondanza, Rocchina A.: 11207.
Abbruzzese, S.: 9823.
Abellán, José Luis: 10997.
Abraham a S. Clara OAD (1644-1709): 9907, 10009, 10600, 11373-11374.
Abulafia, David: 1630.
Accetta, Foca: 10263-10265, 10396, 11207, 11345.
Accrocca, Felice: 10414.
Acidini Luchinat, Cristina: 10336, 10341.
Acitores, Federico: 10592.
Ackerboom, Grégoire (ca. 1671-1733): 11369.
Ackermann, Felix: 10422.
Adam de Montaldo († après 1493): 10599, 10905.
Addeo, Augustin Félix (1876-1957): 10353.
Aegidius - voir: Gilles.
Aertsen, Jan A.: 10702.
Agatha Mary SPB: 9892.
Agnoletti, Ercole: 10312.
Agostini, Grazia: 10309.
Agricola (Kastenbauer), Étienne (ca. 1491-1547): 9856, 11184-11185.
Aguadé, Nieto S.: 9847.
Agüera Ros, José Carlos: 10177-10178.
Aguilar, Jean de (1602-1663): 10595.
Ahl, Diana Cole: 10438, 11553.
Akerboom, Theodorus Henricus Maria: 10992, 10998.
Aladro-Font, Jorge: 11252.
Alarcón, Louis de (ca. 1490-1550): 10911.
Alberigo, Giuseppe: 10612, 10920.
Albert de la SS. Trinité OAD (ca. 1736-1804): 9901.
Albert de la SS. Trinité OAD (ca. 1765-1855): 9901.
Albert de Padova († 1328 ou 1323): 10274, 10596-10597, 10622.
Alberti, A.: 10394.
Alberti, O.P.: 10266.
Albertin de Mantova († après 1347): 10686.
Alcalá, Ángel: 11249, 11253.
Alcalde di Arriba, Santiago (1955-): 10999.
Aleix de Barcelona: 10709.
Alexandre Pp IV: 9857.
Alexandre de S. Elpidio († 1326): 10228, 10599, 10640, 10686.
Alexandre degli Schifanoi d'Ancona († après 1467): 10686.
Alexandre Oliva de Saxoferrato (1407-1463/67): 10436.
Alexiou, Stylianos: 10144.
Alfeche, Mamerto (1947-): 10034.
Aller Alonso, Domingo (1936-): 10575.
Almeida, Christophe de (ca. 1620-1679): 10600.
Alonso Vañez, Carlos (1930-): 9827-9829, 10104, 10042, 10085, 10168, 10409, 10578-10580, 10910, 11333, 11435, 11480, 11517.
Alphonse Galeghi de Arenis († après 1494): 10686.
Alphonse Vargas de Toledo († 1366): 10228, 10596-10597, 10640, 10648, 10654, 10659, 10665, 10796-10797.
Altés, F.X.: 10059.
Alturo Perucho, Jesús: 10141.
Álva, Joseph Antoine († 1813): 10595.
Álvarez, Caridad (1933-1994): 11547-11549.
Álvarez, Maximiliano (1943-):9824.
Álvarez Díez, Ulpiano (1919-): 11591.
Álvarez Fernández, Jesús (1957-): 10065, 10076, 10584-10586.

Álvarez Gutiérrez, Luis (1929-): 11000.
Álvarez Márquez, Carmen: 10689.
Álvarez Turienzo, Saturnino (1920-): 10063, 10690, 11249.
Alzaga, Antolín de (1677-1706): 11372.
Amato, Pietro: 11497.
Amaturo, Matilde : 10325.
Ambroise Massari de Cori († 1485): 10596-10597, 10600, 10640, 10643, 10900.
Ammer, J.: 10869.
Anastasio, Pamela: 10926.
Andenna, Giancarlo: 11513.
Andernich, N.: 9952.
Andersson, Christiane: 11001.
Andersson, Roger: 10806.
Andersson-Schmitt, Margarete: 10594.
Andrault-Schmitt, Claude: 10197.
André, Bernard (ca. 1450-1525): 10595, 10946.
André Biglia (ca. 1395-1435): 10274, 10597-10599, 10624.
André de Montereale, B. (1397-1479): 10895.
André de S. Thomas Lavaretti OAD († après 1654): 10600.
Andreatta, Emanuela: 10337.
Andreatta, Eugenio: 11002-11003, 11036.
Andrés Martín, Melquíades: 10911, 11249, 11264.
Andrews, Robert: 10415.
Ange de Borgo S. Sepolcro, B. (ca. 1254-ca. 1306): 10642.
Ange de Camerino († 1308): 10228, 10596.
Ange de Dobelin († ca. 1420): 10596-10597, 10640, 10649.
Angerer, Martin: 9969.
Anip, R.I.: 10148.
Aniz Iriarte, C.: 9886.
Annaert, Philippe: 11477.
Anne d'Autriche (ca. 1569-après 1629): 11489, 11532-11533.
Anne de Jésus (1590-1621): 11531.
Anoz, José: 11455.
Antellini, Simona: 10434.
Antoine d'Amandola, B. (1355-1450): 10865.
Antoine de Fuentes († 1517): 10936.
Antoine Parrochi (s.XV): 10772.
Antoine Patrizi de Monticiano, B. († 1311): 10371.
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voir: Addeo, Augustin; Alexandre de S. Elpidio; Almeyda, Christophe de; Alphonse Galeghi; Alphonse Vargas; Antolínez, Augustin; Appeltern, Adrien de; Arrué Aguado, Leandre; Augustin de Bressanone; Augustin Favaroni; Barthélemy d'Urbino; Benavente, Alvaro de; Bernard Oliver; Bertieri, Joseph; Boniface de Bosa; Caiazzo, Joseph; Cámara y Castro, Thomas; Camos, Antoine; Castellanos, Nicolas; Chantereau, Louis; Cotes, Louis de; Denys de Borgo S. Sepolcro; Diego de Salamanca; Doyle, Jacques; Eusani, Joseph; Fabi, Charles Nicolas; Ferrero Malo, André; Fiandini, Ambroise; Gabriel Garofali; Gabriel Sforza; Gérard Carrera de Bergamo; Gervasio, Augustin; Gilles de Rome; Gilles de Viterbo; Gobelinus Bolant; Gonzáles de Mendoza, Jean; Guillaume Amidani de Cremona; Guillaume Becchi; Herrero Pérez, Casimir; Hugolin d'Orvieto; Jacques Lisse; Jacques Pérez de Valencia; Jacques de Viterbo; Jean de Formentera; Jean Golderer; Jean Hiltalingen; Jean Lowe; Jean Ludovici; Jean de Meppen; Jean Perger; Jean Tedeschi; Jérôme de Napoli; Landucci, Ambroise; Lasala Nocera, Raphael; Le Drou, Pierre-Lambert; Lierde, Pierre Canise van; López Mendoza y García, Joseph; López de Solís, Louis; Maiques, Michel; Martinelli, Sébastien; Meneses, Alexis de; Michel Rossensis; Minguela y Arnedo, Toribio; Molina y Oviedo, Gaspar; Moreno y Díaz, Ezéchiel; Nicolas de Cascia; Nicolas Palmieri; Padilla Estrada, Ignace; Pérez, Matthieu; Pierre Ulmer; Polanco, Anselme; Possidius, St.; Rocca, Ange; Sébastien de St. Pierre; Seripando, Jérôme; Serra, Jean; Thomas de Villanova; Valdez Noriega, François Xavier; Villarroel, Gaspar de; Visconti, Philippe; Vital Ariensis.
- *Hagiographie*
Saints: Augustin; Guillaume de Malavalle; Jean de Sahagún; Jean Stone; Moreno y Díaz, Ezéchiel; Nicolas de Tolentino; Possidius; Thomas de Villanova.
Saintes: Claire de Montefalco; Monique; Rita de Cascia.
Bienheureux: André de Montereale; Ange de Borgo S. Sepolcro; Antoine d'Amandola; Antoine Patrizzi; Augustin de Tarano; Bellesini, Étienne; Carvalho, Vincent; Chozaburo, Jean; François de Jésus; François de Zumpano; Fréderic de Regensburg; Gutiérrez, Barthélemy; Hachizo, Laurent; Hugolin de Gualdo Cattaneo; Ichizayemon, Mancio; Inchausti, Léon; Isaïe Boner; Jacques de Cerqueto; Jacques Matsouwo; Jacques de Viterbo; Jean Becchetti; Jean Bon; Jean Chigi; Jean Chozaburo; Jean de Rieti; Kahyoyo, Thomas; Kyhyoya, Pierre; Martin de S. Nicolas; Moreno, Julien; Nieves, Élie; Orozco, Alphonse d'; Palacios,

Deogratias; Pierre Jacques de Pesaro; Polanco, Anselme; Rada, Joseph; Simon Fidati de Cascia; Simon de Todi; Soler, Vincent; Sukizayemon, Michel; Zúñiga, Pierre de
Bienheureuses: Christiane de Lucca; Christine de Spoleto; Fasce, Marie-Thérèse; Hélène Valentinis de Udine; Josèphe Marie de Ste Agnès; Julie de Certaldo; Madeline Albrici; Véronique de Binasco.
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- *Martyrs*: 10582, 11332, 11336-11337, 11433, 11436, 11547-11549.
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- *Prieurs généraux*: Alexandre Oliva; Alexandre de S. Elpidio; Ambroise de Cori; Augustin Favaroni de Roma; Augustin de Tarano; Barthélemy de Venezia; Bellelli, Fulgence; Bonaventure de Padova; Christophe de Padova; Della Volta, Gabriel; Denys de Modena; Fuhl, Clément; Gilles de Rome; Gilles de Viterbo; Gioia, Augustin; Grégoire de Rimini; Guillaume Becchi; Guillaume Amidani de Cremona; Hugolin d'Orvieto; Jacques de Orte; Mariano de Genazzano; Martinelli, Sébastien; Nicolas de Cascia; Oliva de Siena, Nicolas; Orcasitas, Miguel Ángel; Pierre Avena; Rubio, Lucien; Serano, Nicolas; Seripando, Jérôme; Thomas de Strasbourg; Trapè, Augustin; Vázquez, François X.; Visconti, Philippe.
- *Provinces et congrégations*:
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Prov. Bohemiae: 10523.
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