

THE OFFICE IN HONOUR OF SAINT AUGUSTINE: AN UNKNOWN WORK OF RUPERT OF DEUTZ

Saint Augustine is one of few saints whose cults did not die with them.¹ Nonetheless, even Augustine was rendered a saint as much by posterity as by his holiness of life. Even the cult of the Bishop of Hippo has its history. Thus, the office used in his honour for his feast only dates from the twelfth century. The words and music of the office were in use as late as the twentieth century with the different religious orders which follow the Rule of Augustine,² while the author of the office of Saint Norbert derived his inspiration from it.³ But who compiled the office of Augustine? And was it commissioned? This essay will first analyse the development of the cult of Augustine up to the twelfth century. Then it will address the question of the identity of the author of the office.

¹ Augustine was highly esteemed even during his life. Thus the generally rather surly Jerome wrote to him in 418 saying: *...in orbe celebraris. Catholici te conditorem antiquae rursum fidei venerantur atque suscipiunt, et quod signum maioris gloriae est, omnes haeretici detestantur*, Ep. 141 (PL 22, 1180). Similarly, when he was on his own sickbed, Augustine was asked to heal a sick person by the laying on of hands, Possidii Vita S. Augustini, c.29 (written between 432 and 437, published in: Vita di Cipriano, Vita di Ambrogio, Vita di Agostino, ed. H. Weiskotten and A. Bastiaensen. Milan, 1975). When the Emperor Theodosius summoned a council in Ephesus in 430, he addressed his invitation to the bishops in letters to the metropolitans. Augustine was the only bishop to receive a personal invitation. In November 430, the Emperor sent the senior official Ebagnius from Constantinople to Hippo to invite Augustine urgently to attend. However, when Ebagnius finally arrived in Carthage, bishop Capreolus had to inform him that Augustine had died some months before (Liberatus Diaconus, Breviarium, c.5, PL 68, 977). Around 500, the monk Eugippius remarked in the preface to his anthology of Augustine's writings that Augustine was much esteemed by the Holy See on account of his teaching (PL 62, 559).

² J. Stiltingh, Cultus sancti Augustini. – Acta Sanctorum VI (1868) 362ff; English translation by J. Schnaubelt in: Augustine in iconography. History and legend, ed. J. Schnaubelt and F. van Fleteren. New York, 1999, pp. 65-110; E. Esteban, De festis et ritibus sacris O.E.S.A. – Analecta Augustiniana 8 (1919/20) and 16 (1937/38); A. Manser, Aus der älteren Geschichte der Augustinusverehrung. – Benediktinische Monatschrift. Zur Pflege religiösen und geistigen Lebens 12 (1930) 287-298 and 387-396; H. Stone, St. Augustine's bones. A microhistory. Boston, 2002.

³ C. van Liempd, De lotgevallen van het Sint Norbertusofficie. – Analecta Praemonstratensia 10 (1934) 48-90.

The Carthaginian calendar

In 1682 Jean Mabillon found an hitherto unknown text on the cover of a manuscript in the library of Cluny which turned out to be a liturgical calendar. The manuscript itself, a commentary on the prophet Isaiah by Saint Jerome, is no longer extant. Fortunately, however, Mabillon published the notes he took of the calendar. It gave the annual feasts of the martyrs and bishops of the church of Carthage: *Hic continentur dies nataliciorum martyrum et depositiones episcoporum quos ecclesia Carthagenis anniversaria celebrant*.⁴ The last name on the list was that of Eugene, the bishop who probably took it with him into exile in Gaul, where he died in Albi in 505.

The calendar gave Augustine's name for 29 August: *iiii kalendas Septembris depositio Restituti et Augustini episcopi*. Restitutus had been Bishop of Carthage around 350. In his 'Indiculus', Possidius (+ after 437) reports a sermon preached by Augustine on the feast of Restitutus, which is no longer extant.⁵ The fact that Augustine's name appears on the calendar proves that he was known and venerated outside his own diocese of Hippo relatively shortly after his death. Close observation of the record reveals that Augustine's name was interpolated after the calendar received its final form. The original calendar has the *genitivus pluralis* where the names of more than one bishop appear on the same day: i.e. *non. Jan. depositio sancti Deogratias et Eugeni episcoporum*. Augustine's name, however, is in the *genitivus singularis*, indicating that it was inserted behind that of Restitutus at a later date. This interpolation, however, cannot have originated in Gaul, since it was known there that 28 August, and not 29, was the day of Augustine's death. This information had passed from Possidius' Vita⁶ to Prosper of Aquitaine's 'Chronicon',⁷ which in turn was the source for all Gallic calendars. Consequently, the calendar must have received its definitive form before Eugene brought it to Gaul.⁸ Early Christian liturgy afforded as much, if not more, importance to the day of interment as to the day of actual death. Therefore, in Carthage, by contrast to the tradition in Gaul, Augustine's death was connected with 29 August.

⁴ J. Mabillon – T. Ruinart, *Vetera Analecta*. Paris, 1682, III, p. 399; *Die drei ältesten Martyrologien*, ed. H. Lietzmann, Bonn, 1911, p. 2; E. Rose, *Communitas in commemoratione*. Liturgisch Latijn en liturgische gedachtenis in het Missale Gothicum. Utrecht 2001 (diss.), p. 330.

⁵ *Indiculus*, ed. A. Wilmart. – *Miscellanea Agostiniana*. Roma, 1930, II, p. 195.

⁶ *Vita S. Augustini*, c.3.

Limoges

During his life, Saint Augustine entertained cordial relations with Paulinus of Nola (+431), a member of the Anicius family to which Bishop Ruricius of Limoges also belonged. Ruricius, still alive in 506, was celebrated in a poem by Venantius Fortunatus.⁹ He erected a church dedicated to Saint Augustine in Limoges, probably as part of a monastery. Ruricius shared the desire of Pomerius Afer (+ after 498) and Caesarius of Arles (+542) to bring Augustine's monastic ideal to Gaul. Since the erection of a sanctuary often indicates the emergence of a new cult, it may be presumed that this was the case in Limoges too.¹⁰

To a certain extent, Augustine was also venerated in Arles, the metropolitan see of Gaul. His name was certainly included on the calendar of the primate of Gaul's church as early as 542, as it was recorded of Caesarius of Arles that he had died "on the day before the feast of the holy Bishop Augustine."¹¹

The oldest portrait of Augustine

In the years between 590 and 604, Pope Gregory the Great had furnished the Lateran palace with a library decorated with frescoed portraits of Greek and Latin Church fathers. Among these images was that of Augustine, portrayed as an elderly man expounding the contents of a voluminous codex opened in front of him. A subscription

⁷ *Aurelius Augustinus episcopus per omnia excellentissimus moritur v kal. Sept., libris Juliani, inter impetus obsidentium Wandalorum in ipso dierum suorum fine respondens et gloriose in defensione christianae gratiae perseverans*, PL 51,595; See MGH Auct. Antiqu. IX, 2, p. 473.

⁸ DACL 15(1950)435-436.

⁹ *Tempore quisque suo fundans pia templa patroni, iste Augustini, condidit ille patri*, Venantius Fortunatus, Epitaphium Ruriciorum (PL 88,157).

¹⁰ In an eleventh-century sacramentary from Limoges Augustine's name is included in the *Libera nos*, the embolism after the *Pater noster*. This is the only known case where it appears in that part of the eucharistic liturgy. The abbey of Saint Martial in Limoges obtained the sacramentary in 1120, but it is likely that it belonged previously to the monastery founded by Ruricius, V. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Paris, 1924, I, p.158.

¹¹ ... *et inter non modicos quos patiebatur dolores, sciscitatus est quam in proximo esset beatissimi Augustini depositionis dies ... Tertio namque die post sancti Genesi festum, id est, sexto kalendarum Septembrium, ante diem depositionis [sic] sancti Augustini antistitis, et post diem dedicationis monasterii sui, ... imminente hora prima ... beatam animam laetus emisit ad Christum*, Vita S. Caesarii Episcopi, PL 67,1041-1042.

proves that the portrait is Augustine's: 'Many fathers treated of many different subjects, but he treated of all subjects by vigorously setting forth their mystical meaning in the Roman language.'¹²

The image in the Lateran palace shows a marked likeness to a portrait on Boethius' diptych, which dates from the second half of the seventh century and is now in the Museo Cristiano in Brescia. Above the middle portrait the name 'Augustine' is inscribed, clearly with the purpose of emphasising his prominence. The inscription in the Lateran library effectively had the same intention, taking Possidius' 'Vita Sancti Augustini' as a model.¹³

The question arises from this as to how these two portraits, both presenting a good likeness of their subject, could be made more than 160 years after Augustine's death. The answer may be that they were both inspired by the same historical source. In 1952 a signet ring was discovered in Numidia bearing Augustine's effigy and dating from 636. It is presently in the Vatican Museums. Although the features of the image on the ring can no longer be discerned clearly, it is not unlikely that the artist who made Augustine's oldest portrait was familiar with a faithful image on a similar ring.¹⁴ The skills of Late Roman seal makers in counterfeiting such portraits are well-attested.

While Augustine was venerated as the teacher of orthodoxy in Carthage, Limoges, Arles, and Rome, his relics were soon to become the centre of their own cult in Pavia.

The translation of Augustine's relics to Sardinia

The translation of Augustine's relics to Sardinia, mentioned for the first time in Venerable Bede's (+735) 'De temporum ratione', is

¹² *Diversi diversa patres, omnia dixit romano eloqu mystica sensa tonens*, F. Verstappen, *Augustinus' oudste portret*. – *Augustinus over de kerk*. Heverlee, 1991, p.19-33. In the fifth and sixth centuries, Augustine was considered to be the first Western theologian to measure up to the great theologians of the Eastern Church. This was also the reason that he was summoned to attend the Council of Ephesus.

¹³ *Vita S. Augustini*, c.7 and 31.

¹⁴ Verstappen, *Augustinus' oudste portret*, p. 28. Later portraits in J. Courcelle, *Revue des études augustinienes* 10(1964)51-96; *Recherches augustinienes* 4(1966)37-48. A portrait of Augustine already existed during his lifetime. When Bishop Victorinus called a synod in 401 after he had usurped the primacy of Numidia, Augustine criticised him in a letter (59,2) to which he affixed his seal: *Hanc epistulam signatam misi anulo, qui exprimit faciem hominis adtendentis in latus* (CSEL 34.2, p.220). Of course this profile needs not necessarily have been that of Augustine himself. Nevertheless, the text of the letter indicates that such signet rings were in general use. They often bore scrupulously faithful portraits.

proof of the fact that he had become the centre of a cult. While writing of a second translation in his own time, between 721 and 725, Bede records the reason for the first translation, which had taken place 'long ago': *Liuthbrandus, audiens quod Sarraceni depopulata Sardinia etiam loca fedarent illa, ubi ossa sancti Augustini episcopi propter vastationem barbarorum olim translata et honorifice fuerant condita, misit et dato magno praetio accepit et transulit ea in Ticinis, ibique cum debito tanto patri honore recondidit.*¹⁵

Augustine died in 430 in Hippo and was buried there in the nave of the Basilica Pacis. His remains were later transferred to a chapel dedicated to Saint Stephen near the cathedral.¹⁶ During excavations in this chapel, conducted by Erwan Marec in 1930, a richly adorned grave was discovered which had evidently been emptied. A sarcophagus containing the remains of an infant had been placed in it. The epitaph was also missing, whereas other graves were still intact. However, in spite of this evidence, no conclusive proof can be given that the excavated tomb was in fact Augustine's initial burial place.

Having laid siege to Hippo for many months, the Vandals finally took the city in 431, after the defendants had agreed on a treaty with King Genseric (428-477). No great devastation followed the fall of Hippo and Augustine's library remained intact.¹⁷ It was not until the reign of King Huneric (+484) that records of heavy persecutions and exile began to appear. The king decreed on 24 January 484 that Arian bishops were to replace the Catholic bishops, and that church buildings were to be handed over to the Arians. Recusants were threatened with exile, and among them Bishop Eugene of Carthage was mentioned by name.¹⁸ Eugene eventually left for Gaul.

Calm returned during Gunthamund's reign (484-496), only to disappear again under the government of his brother Thrasamund

¹⁵ De temporum ratione LXVI (PL 90,571); Martyrologium (PL 94,1023); Chronicon (MGH XIII,321); Paulus Diaconus, De gestis Langobardorum VI,48 (PL 95,655); J. Hallenbeck, The transferal of the relics of Saint Augustine of Hippo from Sardinia to Pavia in the early middle ages. New York, 2000, p. 6 dates the event between 721 and 725. Hallenbeck's critical study is important as a meticulous assessment of the written sources in which the translation is mentioned.

¹⁶ G. Radan, The Basilica Pacis of Hippo. – Augustine in iconography, p. 163-164. E. Rose, *Communitas in commemoratione*, p. 338-339 discusses the special veneration which Saint Stephen enjoyed in Hippo.

¹⁷ H. Dennis, Another note on the Vandal occupation of Hippo. – *Journal of Roman Studies*, 15(1925)263-268.

¹⁸ *Cuncti ordines clericos sed et monachos et laicos CCCC circiter exsiliis durioribus relegat; et Eugenius episcopus Carthaginensis ecclesiae post dira eremi exsilia, plurimis afflictionibus poenisque clarus habetur*, Victor Tunnunensis, *Chronicon* anno 479 (PL 68,946: CC 173A).

(496-523), when persecution was rife. It was directed especially at the bishops, and many of them were exiled. However, the Vandals declined in power during the subsequent reigns of Hilderic (523-530) and Gelimer (530-533). Consequently, Bede's *olim* probably referred to Thrasamund's reign, more precisely to October 498, when yet another wave of exiled African bishops left for Sardinia. Many intensive trade links existed between North Africa and Sardinia at the time.¹⁹ *Catholicorum ecclesias claudit et in Sardiniam exsilio ex omni Africana ecclesia CXX episcopos mitit.*²⁰ The Bishop of Hippo may well have been part of this group. Did he carry the remains of his illustrious predecessor with him?²¹

Some historians have suggested that the barbarians mentioned by Bede were the Vandals, and that Augustine's tomb in Hippo was under threat of desecration at their hands. However, there is no evidence whatever to support these conjectures. Nor is there evidence to confirm the supposition that the exiles brought Augustine's remains to Sardinia because they wished to carry the relics of an important saint with them. If that were the case, the question would have to be answered as to why they did not also bring the relics of Cyprian, or those of Felicity and Perpetua. Moreover, in that case, it would be difficult to understand why Augustine's relics were not returned to Hippo when exile was eventually abolished under King Hilderic's reign.

Remarkably, the translation is recorded in none of the extant sources from the sixth or seventh centuries. Victor of Vita (+ after 484) made no mention of the event, neither did Victor of Tunnuna (+ after 566) in his continuation of Prosper's chronicle, nor did Isidore of Seville (+636). Similarly, the 'Vita S. Fulgentii' is silent about the event, although it did mention Fulgentius' (+527) exile to Sardinia from 507 to 515. During his exile, Fulgentius founded a monastery which followed the Rule of Augustine. It was constructed near the metropolitan cathedral dedicated to Saint Saturninus in Cagliari, the

¹⁹ Thus the seal of the patrician Hypatos, a seventh-century African refugee, bearing Augustine's effigy, was recovered in Sardinia, R. Rowland, *The sojourn of the body of Saint Augustine in Sardinia. - Augustine in iconography*, p. 191 (p. 189-196).

²⁰ Victor Tunnunensis, *Chronicon* anno 479 (PL 68,948); Isidorus Hispalensis, *Historia de regibus Gothorum* (PL 83, 1079).

²¹ Rowland, *The sojourn*, p. 190. According to Stillingh the first translation took place during Thrasamund's reign, at the beginning of the sixth century, English edition Schnaubelt, p. 68. An important, though little known study is A. De Romanis, *La duplice traslazione delle reliquie di Sant'Agostino. - Sant'Agostino. Il santo dottore nella vita e nelle opere*. Roma, 1931, p. 393-419.

island's capital at the time.²² According to tradition, Augustine's relics were placed in a church named 'Sant' Agostino vecchio', which was pulled down in 1884. The crypt of this church was preserved and is still accessible to visitors.²³

Archaeological and historical evidence thus indicates that Augustine was first venerated soon after his death, and that his cult spread swiftly from Hippo to Carthage, Gaul, Rome, and Sardinia. Two traditions may be identified in the early history of his veneration. One tradition, consisting of the cult of his relics, spread from Hippo mainly to Sardinia. The other, consisting of the study of his writings, spread from Hippo mainly to Carthage, Gaul, and Rome. It is most likely that, in Gaul, Augustine's writings were read predominantly in the monasteries and much less, or not at all, by the secular clergy. Consequently, the discovery and veneration of Augustine as a doctor of the Church took place especially in the monasteries of Gaul. This was indeed a discovery, since Augustine was a stranger to readers in Gaul, quite unlike their popular saints such as Martin of Tours. Augustine was first known as a doctor of the Church in the monasteries of Gaul, and as a consequence it was in Gaul that his writings became known and a cult developed.

The translation of Augustine's relics to Pavia

Bede repeated his report that 'the relics of Augustine were recently translated to Pavia on the orders of Liutprand, King of the Lombards' in similar words in his martyrology. He was the first to introduce this second translation as a separate memoria on the liturgical calendar. For the month of August he records: *v kal. Sept. natale b. Hermetis martyris... in Africa depositio [sic] s. Augustini episcopi qui primo de civitate sua propter barbaros in Sardiniam translatus est et nuper a Luitbrando, rege Longobardorum, Ticinum relatus et honorifice conditus est.*²⁴ This report became a fixed formula and was repeated in almost all martyrologies. The fact that Bede recorded both

²² S. Fulgentii Ruspensis Vita (PL 65,143); Acta Sanctorum, Jan. I, p. 32, Rowland, The sojourn, p. 191-193.

²³ DHGE 11(1939)168.

²⁴ Bede, Martyrologium (PL 94,1023). If Bede's *barbari* are interpreted to be the Arabs who caused African Christians to flee in the second half of the seventh century, the translation must be dated much later than the fifth century. However, in his writings Bede himself clearly distinguishes between barbarians and Muslims, B. Hackett, San Pietro in Ciel d'oro, Pavia. — Augustine in iconography, p. 200.

translations on 28 August indicates that he did not know the date of the second translation. It also shows that Augustine's *natale* was not observed in Yarrow.

Boethius, who had been put to death in 524, was venerated in Pavia as a martyr, and a sanctuary had been constructed over his tomb. When Liutprand became King of the Lombards in 712, he founded a monastery dedicated to Saint Peter beside the sanctuary. He subsequently went to great lengths to obtain Augustine's relics in Sardinia, and was even prepared to pay a considerable sum of money to acquire them. It is not known who received his money: either the keepers of the relics or the conquerors of the island.²⁵

The question arises as to what Liutprand's motives might have been for this interest in Augustine. Recent wars, a reconquest by Byzantium and the establishment of Lombard rule had completely redrawn the political map of sixth-century Italy. This political turbulence had caused widespread social upheaval and confusion with regard to territorial claims and social stratification. The Church and the secular government attempted to allay the social unrest by taking recourse to an approved remedy. They set about stimulating the veneration of a saint. The development of a popular cult could provide a forceful encouragement to the population to regain trust, loyalty and public spirit.²⁶ Therefore Liutprand not only pursued the relics of Augustine, but also those of other saints. Accordingly he made a generous gesture by presenting Pavia with an *ornamentum* of several holy martyrs and confessors.²⁷ The second translation of Augustine's relics was therefore inspired by political motives. Pavia was indeed the capital of the kings of Lombardy, but it definitively had to yield to Milan as far as prestige was concerned. The relics of Ambrose were kept in Milan, the saint who had baptised Augustine. Liutprand hoped that the standing of Pavia would be enhanced by the presence of Augustine's relics to such an extent that the city could in effect compete with Milan.²⁸

The fact that Bede did not know the date of the second translation proves that the event did not immediately result in the spread of a new liturgical feast. It is mentioned not only by Bede, but also by

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 197-222. L. Pignelli, *Gli Arabi e la Sardegna. Le invasioni arabe in Sardegna dal 704 al 1016*. Catania, 1976.

²⁶ N. Everett, *The Hagiography of Lombard Italy*. – *Hagiographica* 7(2000)49-126, especially p. 124. See also Hallenbeck, *The transferal*, p. 59-112, 183-205 for Liutprand's political motives in seeking the translation.

²⁷ Everett, *The Hagiography*, p. 69, footnote 59.

²⁸ 'The Vita Siri (8th century), the Laudes Mediolanensis Civitatis, and, to a much lesser extent, the Carmen de Synodo, all seem imbued with a sense of civic pride in their respective cities', Everett, *The Hagiography*, p. 71.

Paul the Deacon (+ c.800): *Luitprandus ... misit et dato magno pretio accepti, et transtulit ea in urbem Ticinensem, ibique cum debito tanti patri honore condidit.*²⁹ Paul recounts Saint Saturninus' benefactions and Liutprand's translation of Augustine's relics in the course of a history of Pavia.³⁰

In Bede's time, only the commemoration of the translation was known in England. However, the cult of Augustine in England burgeoned in the eleventh century, due to the acquisition of an important relic in 1022. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Ethelnoth the Good (+1038), procured a large relic of Augustine's left arm at the price of one hundred talents of silver and one talent of gold at the Council of Pavia. The abbey of Coventry obtained the relic through the mediation of its founders, Count Leofric of Mercia and his spouse.³¹

The date of the second translation is thus unknown. Interestingly, two manuscripts, one from Rheims and the other from St. Gallen, mention 18 October as the date of Augustine's *natale*. This could be an indication that the second translation was connected with this date. It is also possible, however, that the month of October refers to 498, when many bishops were forced to leave North Africa. At any rate, the feast of the translation was kept on 11 October in all liturgical books of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. From the twelfth century onward, apart from the *natale*, a separate feast of the translation was observed in Lombardy on 11 October, in some places on 27 February. A similar feast was kept by the Premonstratensians, the canons of Arrouaise and the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. Since this date does not appear anywhere in sources earlier than the twelfth century, its origins are a matter of speculation.

It may for instance be supposed that the monks of Bobbio, to whom the custody of Augustine's relics at Pavia was originally entrusted, celebrated the feast of the translation on 18 October. Since Augustine's star was beginning to shine at the time, it is not unlikely that the need was increasingly felt for a second commemoration apart from the *natale*. However, in the twelfth century Saint Luke's feast was celebrated on 18 October, and it was unthinkable that the feast of an evangelist would be suppressed by that of a bishop, or indeed that Luke would have to share this day with Augustine. Forced therefore to look for another date, the choice naturally fell on 11 October. That date was the closest free date to 18.

²⁹ Paulus Diaconus, *De gestis Langobardorum*, VI,48.

³⁰ Everett, *The Hagiography*, p. 72.

³¹ PL 179,1164; Hackett, *San Pietro in Ciel d'oro*, p. 201-202.

In 1222, Pope Honorius III relieved the Benedictines of their custody of Augustine's relics and entrusted it to Canons Regular instead.³² It is of service now to examine the history of how Augustine received his place in the liturgical books.

Augustine's name in the liturgical books

The liturgical commemoration of Augustine with prayers proper to it was long unknown in Rome and Gaul, the two centres from which the liturgy in the West received its shape. It was not until the eighth century that Augustine's name first appeared in liturgical prayers. In Rome, 28 August traditionally was the feast of the martyr Hermes. Thus the 'Depositio martyrum', a Roman list of martyrs dating back to 354, placed Hermes' feast on that date.³³ Similarly, Augustine's name is absent from many later Roman evangeliaria and lectionaries, and the Gallic sacramentaries (the 'Missale Gothicum' and the 'Missale Bobbiense') did not provide for a separate Mass for his feast. Remarkably, in spite of the absence of a liturgical cult, Gallic liturgical books often contained prayers derived from Augustine's sermons. Among these the 'Ante oculos tuos, Domine' featured prominently; a prayer which became a popular devotional prayer in the Augustinian family and was later ascribed to Augustine. In its original form, however, it appears to have been a compilation of texts from the Mozarabic 'Liber ordinum'.³⁴

Augustine's *natale* appears only in the 'Martyrologium Hieronymianum', and then as a later interpolation. The manuscript is a pseudo-Jerome, compiled by a priest in Northern Italy in the first half of the fifth century and copied in the abbey of Echternach in the eighth. The copyist added several passages, including one containing Augustine's name.³⁵

³² *Ibidem*, p. 202.

³³ *V kal. Sept. Hermetis in basiliae Salaria vetere*, LThK 5(1996)9; MGH IX, 70. See Rose, *Communitas*, p. 330 for the 'Depositio martyrum'.

³⁴ M. Férotin, *Le Liber ordinum*. Paris, 1904, c.356; *Le Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum et les manuscrits mozarabes*, ed. M. Férotin. Paris, 1912, c.615-616. The 'Ante oculos' was used as a prayer in *die tribulationis*. Bartholomew of Urbino O.E.S.A. ascribed it to Augustine in his *Divi Aurelii Augustini Milleloquium Veritatis* under the heading *tribulatio*, adding: *Qualiter in tribulatione rogandus Deus sit ostendit [Augustinus] in oratione quam fecit dum esset obsessa civitas Hipponensis ab exercitu barbarorum. Quam orationem prout in antiquo libro sub ipsa rubrice reperi, hic posui*. It was propagated by the Augustinian Prior General, Jerome Seripando (+1563), and subsequently included among the optional prayers after Mass as *Oratio S. Augustini* by Pope Urban VIII.

³⁵ *V kal. Sept. in Africa civitate Hippone regio depositio [sic] sancti Augustini episcopi et confessoris*, PL 30, 473; DACL 10(1932)2539. For the 'Martyrologium Hieronymianum', see Rose, *Communitas*, p. 329-330.

It was not before the mid-eighth century that Augustine began to appear in the Proper of Saints, the *Sanctorale*. This occurred for the first time in the abbey of Flavigny, where the existing 'Sacramentarium Gelasianum Vetus' was being edited and supplemented.³⁶ One of the additions was the *natale* of Augustine, whose fame as a theologian was spreading among the monks. As a consequence, the commemoration of Saint Hermes on 28 August had to yield to that of the Church father: *Natale s. Augustini presbyteri [sic!] v kal. Sept., eodem die natale Hermetis*.³⁷ Augustine appears on 28 August in this edited 'Gelasianum', which in turn was the source for the thirty eighth-century Gelasian sacramentaries that are still extant. All copies except two had Augustine's *natale* on the same date. The two exceptions were the manuscripts from Rheims and St. Gallen mentioned previously, which placed the commemoration on 18 October.

The texts of the liturgical prayers for the new feast were derived from existing prayers. They were adapted simply by adding words, leaving them out or changing them where appropriate. Thus the collect was created by interpolating the words *intercedente beato Augustino*. These prayers were later included in the common of saints. For the preface, the monks used the texts of two prefaces for the feast of Saint Laurence on 10 August. Consequently, the text of the new preface had no more than accidental bearing on Augustine's life. Thus the words *ut esset ara et sacrificium*, suitable indeed for a martyr, but not so for a confessor, were retained.

The first appearance of Augustine's feast in a lectionary was in the Comes codex of the abbey of Murbach. This codex was the first to give *Carissimi testifcor* (2 Tim. 4:1) and *Vigilate ergo* (Matth. 24:42) as the traditional readings for the feast. The Comes codex was compiled in the late eighth century, and its calendar still betrayed the influence of Carthage: *iiii k. Sept. deposs. sancti Augustini episcopi*.³⁸

³⁶ The 'Sacramentarium Gelasianum Vetus' ordered the feasts and commemorations according to the liturgical year. It is preserved only in a Gallic manuscript, Bibl. Vat. Reg.Lat. 316 (c.750), Rose, *Communitas*, p. 331-332.

³⁷ P. de Puniet, *Le sacramentaire romain de Gellone*. — *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 50-51(1936-37)43, 79, 134*; E. Bourque, *Etude sur les sacramentaires romains*, tom.I, *Les textes primitifs*. Roma, 1949; tom.II, *Les textes remaniés*, 1: *Le Gélisien du VIIIe siècle*. Québec, 1952, p.225 and 240. In the *Missale Gothicum*, Augustine is even referred to as a deacon, Rose, *Communitas*, p. 87.

³⁸ A. Wilmart, *Le Comes de Murbach*. — *Revue Bénédictine* 30(1913)25; A. Wilmart, *Nouvelles remarques sur le feuillet de Besançon*. *Description du ms. 184*. — *Revue Bénédictine* 30(1913)124.

The lectionary gave 2 Tim. 4:1-8 as the epistle. This pericope also appeared in the Roman, Mozarabic, Gallic and Ambrosian lectionaries, but began there with the preceding verses 2 Tim. 3:16-17. Nevertheless, the later Roman lectionaries followed the Comes in giving 2 Tim. 4:1 as the first verse of the reading. The subsequent pericope, 2 Tim. 4:1-8, was also used for the Mass on the vigil of the feast of one confessor. By choosing this particular biblical passage, the Comes used the pericope reserved for a priest's feast for the Mass for Augustine's feast. It is true that this passage was also used as epistle on the feasts of other saints in the later Roman Missal. But it may be correctly asserted that it was first used as such for the feast of Augustine.

The Comes lectionary gave Matth. 24: 42-47 as the gospel. This passage had hitherto been reserved for the feasts of Saints Marcellus and Eugene and for the feast of the translation of Saint Martin's relics. The later Roman Missal gave Matth. 5:13-19 as the gospel for the feast of Augustine. This passage was taken from the Common of Doctors of the Church. Two opposite developments may thus be identified in the history of the Roman Missal: the epistle, 2 Tim. 4: 1-8, went from the feast of Augustine to the Common of Doctors, and the gospel, Matth. 5: 13-19, went from the Common of Doctors to the feast of Augustine. However, there was as yet no separate office for the new feast.

Augustine in the liturgy: Spain and the Frankish Empire

By contrast with Spain³⁹ and the Frankish Empire, no liturgical cult of Augustine existed in either Milan, Rome, Southern Italy, England or Ireland at the end of the first millennium. The Ambrosian liturgy, which had developed completely independently from the eighth-century 'Gelasianum' as far as the commemoration of Augustine was concerned, had no separate prayers for the saint. In the eleventh century, the Roman basilicas of Saint Peter and Saint John Lateran each had their own traditions when it came to Augustine's feast. Moreover, the martyr Hermes continued to hold the primary place on 28 August in these Roman churches for many centuries. It was not until the thirteenth century that the influence of the mendicant orders caused this situation to be reversed.⁴⁰

³⁹ Le Liber mozarabicus, c.412-421.

⁴⁰ *In natale s. Augustini episcopi et confessoris eodem die s. Hermetis martyris*, M. Andrieu, *Le missel de la chapelle papale à la fin du 13^e siècle*. – *Miscellanea Ehrle*, Roma, 1924, p. 348-376.

In Southern Italy, 28 August appeared as Augustine's *natale* in the late eighth-century calendar of Monte Cassino, although no separate prayers for the feast were provided.⁴¹ In England, the Roman and Southern Italian custom was observed for many centuries, so that Bede's report effectively was Augustine's first appearance in English liturgical records. However, the eighth-century Gelasiana did not become influential in England until the tenth and eleventh centuries. Consequently, it was only then that Augustine's feast began to be observed. By contrast, Augustine's name appeared in the Irish martyrology of Oengus the Culdee as early as 804.⁴²

In the Frankish Empire the tendency around 800 was for greater unity in liturgical practice. Augustine at first appeared only in the Gelasiana, but later also in other sacramentaries. The Frankish Empire saw the most important development of Augustine's cult, though initially centred on the Mass rather than on the divine office. It is possible that the saint's commemoration was at times indeed observed in choir. However, the common of one confessor would probably have been used at such occasions.

By contrast, the Mozarabic liturgy showed a great interest in Augustine as a saint, apart from having incorporated many prayers derived from his writings. Thus the Codex Silensis Sextus from the Benedictine abbey of Silos contained a separate Mass and office for Augustine's *natale*.⁴³ This Codex also provided neums in Visigoth musical notation for these texts. It is not unlikely that this liturgy dates back to the seventh century, before the Moorish invasions. Although obviously the liturgical commemoration of Augustine was observed, his feast did not rank as high as that of saints such as Fructuosus of Braga (+665). This may be concluded from the fact that the office of matins on Augustine's feast had only three nocturnes, whereas that on Saint Fructuosus's feast had four. However, the abolition of the entire Mozarabic liturgy in 1085 at the Council of Burgos meant that this practice exercised no influence on the subsequent development of a liturgy for the feast of Augustine.⁴⁴

⁴¹ E. Loew, *Die ältesten Kalendarien aus Monte Cassino* (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters III,3). Munich, 1908; G. Morin, *Les quatre plus anciens calendriers du Mont Cassin*. – *Revue Bénédictine* 25(1908)486ff and 26(1909)175ff.

⁴² LThK 7(1998)982; *The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*, ed. W. Stokes. London, 1905, p. 179.

⁴³ London British Museum, Add. 30845 (tenth or eleventh century); *Le liber mozarabicus*, c.820.

⁴⁴ LThK 6(1961)1093.

During the course of the eighth century the liturgical cult of Augustine spread steadily to Northern Europe. This happened tentatively at first, as with the copyist of the 'Martyrologium Hieronymianum' in Echternach, but later with increasing self-confidence, as with the martyrology of Yarrow, which was written determinedly by Bede in full certainty of the facts concerning the recent translation of the saint's relics. Nonetheless, even by Bede's reckoning Saint Hermes continued to take the primary place on the calendar for 28 August. The monks of Flavigny and Murbach were the first to assign that honour to Augustine, perhaps because Hermes was not widely known among the Franks. While they may not have aspired to originality, the monks nonetheless drew up prayers, readings and a preface to constitute a Mass proper to Augustine's feast. The spread of their liturgical books brought great renown to Augustine throughout the Frankish Empire.

The interest in Augustine which existed in Echternach, Flavigny and Murbach was kindled mainly by acquaintance with his writings and teaching, and developed quite separately from the cult of his relics. The latter, with which Bede was familiar in Yarrow, had spread from Sardinia to Pavia. However, these two traditions converged in the eleventh century in Northern France. The ideal of the *vita apostolica* flourished and Augustine's Rule was rediscovered as a viable model of apostolic life. This development resulted in an upsurge of liturgical interest in Augustine. The rise of the orders of canons greatly stimulated his veneration,⁴⁵ and their newly found devotion soon demanded a separate office proper to the saint's feast.

A separate office

The new liturgical cult of Augustine was first evidenced by the development of a Mass for his feast day. By contrast, there were no traces of a separate office until the twelfth century, with the sole exception of the Spanish Codex Silensis Sextus mentioned previously. Twelfth-century manuscripts for the first time reveal a separate office, with hymns, antiphons and responsories proper to the feast. This office is known as *Laetare mater nostra Jerusalem*, by the words of the first antiphon of first vespers.

The identity of the author, the origins and the spread of the office have long been shrouded in mystery. A papal bull of 1570

⁴⁵ M. Schrama, *Van Augustinus tot augustijnen eremieten. De overlevering van Augustinus' Regel*. – Zeven eeuwen augustijnen. Gent, 1996, p. 19-29.

identified Saint Thomas Aquinas as the author,⁴⁶ while Xystus Schier, an Augustinian and a historian of the Order, had to admit in 1758 that he did not know the identity of the compiler.⁴⁷ A century and a half later the situation was unchanged when Guido Dreves and Clemens Blume also admitted to ignorance in this matter in their collection of hymns.⁴⁸ It has been Pancratius Langeveld's merit to have made an inventory of the manuscripts which featured the office.⁴⁹ This inventory has made it possible to revisit the issue of the origins of the office using the methods of historical criticism.

The office of Saint Augustine appeared in the liturgical books of several religious orders, such as the Dominican 'Ordinarium', which was adopted between 1254 and 1260.⁵⁰ However, it had appeared much earlier in the lectionary of the abbey of Canons Regular of Saint Léger near Soissons. The abbey of Saint Léger had been affiliated with the congregation of Arrouaise in 1138,⁵¹ and Gervase had established its liturgical practice before 1123. The office also appeared in the Prémontré antiphonary, which predates the definitive liturgical settlement arrived at by Hugh de Fosses (+1164/74). The first general chapter of Prémontré took place in 1137.⁵² The office also appeared in the antiphonary of the abbey of Saint Victor, which was in force from ca. 1140 onwards. Guilduin established the abbey's liturgical practice before 1155.⁵³ Together with Saint Léger, Prémontré, and Saint Victor, Arrouaise was the most important centre of Canons Regular in Northern France at the time.

⁴⁶ *Licet ecclesia* (18 December 1570) addressed to the Canons Regular of the Lateran, Bullarium ...collectio, ed. H. Mainardi – C. Cocquelines, Roma, 1746, tom. IV, pars III, p. 140.

⁴⁷ X. Schier, *Conatus historico-criticus ad officia et festa propria O.E.S.A.* Wien Nat. Bibl., Bibl. Pal. 7238, fasc. 11.

⁴⁸ G. Dreves – Cl. Blume, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, Leipzig, 1886-1912, tom. 52, p. 111; Cl. Blume, *Die Hymnen des Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, tom. II: *Die Hymnen des 12. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 110-113.

⁴⁹ Pancratius (Cornelis) Langeveld OSA (1909-1976). Fr. Langeveld's notes are in the Archives of the Dutch Province of the Order of Saint Augustine in Eindhoven. The Archivist, Dr. A. de Meijer OSA, kindly allowed me to use them.

⁵⁰ *Ordinarium iuxta ritum sacri ordinis fratrum praedicatorum*, ed. M. Guerrini. Roma, 1921, p. 100, no. 414; W. Bonniwell, *A history of the dominican liturgy*. New York, 1945, p. 85.

⁵¹ *Vat. Bibl. Reg. Lat. 593*, fol. 93-102 (mid-twelfth century). Poquet de Laprairie, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint Léger de Soissons*. 1851.

⁵² *L'Ordinaire de Prémontré d'après des manuscrits du XIIIe et du XIIIe siècles*, ed. P. Lefèvre, Louvain, 1941, cap. 14.; P. Lefèvre, *La liturgie de Prémontré*, – *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 62(1948)195ff.

⁵³ F. Bonnard, *Histoire de l'abbaye et de l'Ordre de St. Victor*. Paris 1908; L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits de l'abbaye de Saint Victor*. Paris, 1869.

Remarkably, the office also appeared in the breviary of the Benedictine abbey of Saint Bertin near Saint Omer.⁵⁴ It was added to the breviary together with clear musical notation – in a different hand, but dating from the same time. Moreover, the text was adapted to the Benedictine *cursus*. This text is one of the oldest extant versions of the office. The abbey of Sithiu in the diocese of Therouanne was one of the most famous monasteries of Flanders, and had adopted the name of Saint Bertin around 1100 in honour of its founder, Saint Bertinus (+698). In the eleventh century, the abbey possessed a renowned scriptorium containing four hundred manuscripts, among them twenty-eight of Augustine's works. The community joined the Cluniac Order under abbot Lambert (1095-1125),⁵⁵ while at the same time persuading two abbeys in Liege, Saint James's and Saint Laurence's, to join Cluny as well.

Finally, parts of the office also appeared in a breviary of the abbey of Canons Regular of Saint Loup at Troyes. The manuscript includes the invitatory, several antiphons, responsories and short readings.⁵⁶ In 1104 four priests who had adopted the canonical life according to the Rule of Augustine, received an *aedicula S. Martino nuncupata*, which later developed into the monastery of Canons Regular of Saint Martin. This community was given charge of the church of Saint Loup at Troyes.⁵⁷

An eleventh-century 'Vita S. Augustini'

The writing of a saint's life, just as the veneration of his relics, is a clear indication that the cult of a saint has newly arisen or is in the process of being stimulated. Many lives of Augustine started to appear around the twelfth century: for instance, Philip of Harveng's 'Vita S. Augustini' (Vita IV, ca.1150) was circulated widely.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Arras Bibl. Mun. 269, fol.140, 144, 141 (early twelfth century), V. Leroquais, *Les bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques de France*. Paris, 1934, I, p. 43.

⁵⁵ LThK 2(1958)269-270; MGH XIII, 600-663; DACL 12(1936)2082-2084 and 15(1950)1499-1501.

⁵⁶ Troyes Bibl. Mun. 571, fol.193 (early twelfth century); Leroquais, *Les bréviaires*, IV, p. 216.

⁵⁷ One of the Canons Regular of the abbey of Saint Loup at Troyes, Peter Comestor, preached a series of sermons on Augustine in the years 1135 and 1136 (PL 198,1783-92, 1792-96, 1796-1800).

⁵⁸ N. Weyns, Philippe de Harveng O.Praem. (1100-1183). – *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 12 (1984) 1297-1302. Philip's *vita* appears in PL 203,1205-1234. *Quant aux autres Vita B. Augustini Philippe y a transposé en son style de prose rimée des vitae existantes* (DSp. col.1301). In the prologue, Philip does indeed refer to earlier

Moreover, a longer *vita* of Augustine had been written earlier, at the beginning of the century (*Vita III*), in addition to that of Possidius (*Vita I*) and another, shorter one (*Vita II*), attributed to Ivo of Chartres (1040-1115).⁵⁹

Considering its division into nine passages of approximately equal length, it may be safely presumed that 'Vita II' was intended to be read during matins. The lectionary of Saint Léger shows that it was indeed used in matins of its office for Augustine's feast.⁶⁰ The content of the nine lessons is as follows:

Lectio prima: Augustine's birth and youth; his parents defer baptism in spite of the boy's serious stomach disease; his school days, his difficulties with Greek; when he reads the Hortensius, it changes his interests and causes him to abandon all vain hope.

Lectio secunda: Bishop Ambrose, Augustine's friendship with Alypius and Nebridius; he considers that he is still far from the Lord; when you eat Me, I will not change into you, but you will change into Me (cfr. responsory 11⁶¹); normal light hurts sick eyes (cfr. responsory 12); then he grasps the invisible things of God through comprehensible things (cfr. responsory 13).

Lectio tertia: There is but one hope of progress, namely that he might come to embrace the one mediator between God and men, the man Jesus Christ; Augustine starts to read Saint Paul (cfr. responsory 17); his visit to Simplicianus, the servant of God (responsory 18); he inquires which way he should walk, because his daily pursuits displease him (cfr. responsory 19).

Lectio quarta: He tells Ambrose of his conversion and asks him which books of the Bible he should read (cfr. antiphon 9);

vitae which were still extant: *Quae enim hic de eo dicta sunt alibi, et si non eisdem verbis, eodem tamen sensu scripta sunt, et ibi forte melius, sed brevius hic* (PL 203, 1205). For the content of his *vita*, see: E. Saak, *High Way to Heaven. The Augustinian Platform between Reform and Reformation, 1292-1524*. Leiden, 2002, p. 175-183.

⁵⁹ See Appendix I, p. 633 below.

⁶⁰ *Vita II* may be found in the lectionary of the abbey of Saint Léger (Bibl. Vat. Reg. Lat. 593, fol. 94r-99v), and is followed there immediately by the text of the office. *Vita II* also appears in the following manuscripts in the Paris Bibl. Nat.: Lat. 17627 (eleventh century), Nouv. Acq. Lat. 1606 (eleventh century), Lat. 5592 (twelfth century); in Chartres Bibl. Mun. 190 (twelfth century), and in a manuscript at Saint Peter's, Cambridge (PL 161, XLVI) under the title of 'Excerptiones Ivonis Carnotensis De Confessionibus et Vita b. Augustini'. C. Dereine, *Enquête sur la Règle de Saint Augustin*. – *Scriptorium* 2(1948)36.

⁶¹ Mentioned here are those parts of matins which show a resemblance to the text of 'Vita II'. The order of the content of the responsories and antiphons was also determined by 'Vita II'.

Ambrose advises him to start with the prophet Isaiah (cfr. antiphon 10); but, when he follows this advice, he finds he cannot manage as much as the first chapter (cfr. antiphon 10); when the time comes to put his name forward for baptism, he returns to Milan (cfr. antiphon 15); he is baptised together with his friend Alypius and his son Adeodatus; at that time all concern for fleeting things disappears (cfr. antiphon 16).

Lectio quinta: He founds his monastery and writes the 'Retractationes'.

Lectio sexta: He writes the 'Speculum': a collection containing every instruction and commandment found in the Bible.

Lectio septima: His mother's death, his own preparation for death, and the penitential psalms.

Lectio octava: He heals a sick person during his own last illness.⁶²

Lectio nona: Possidius' epilogue.⁶³

'Vita II' more or less literally follows the text of the Confessions up to the fifth lesson, and from the sixth onward it follows that of 'Vita I.' Moreover, the sequence of the passages is also derived from the Confessions, with the grammatical first person singular being replaced by the third person throughout the text. The style of the text is rather factual and unembellished, because all sentences that were not strictly functional were omitted. Augustine's biographical facts are recounted soberly, with particular consideration for his spiritual life. It would seem that the author of 'Vita II' primarily intended to trace the saint's spiritual development towards the religious life. To achieve this goal he used a collection of biographical facts on the one hand and a number of meditations written by Augustine himself on the other hand. By contrast, Augustine's period as a bishop receives little attention, and then only on account of two works which he wrote during the time of his episcopate, the 'Speculum' and the 'Retractationes'. The *vita* emphasised the exemplariness of Augustine's preparation for death, and recognised his holiness by recounting how he healed a sick person while on his own deathbed. The ninth lesson succinctly recapitulates Augustine's greatness as a saint and a bishop in the words of Possidius' epilogue. Remarkably, the recount of his mother's death immediately precedes that of his own, and though their respective ages are mentioned in the text, no explanation for this circumstance is given.

⁶² See footnote 1 above.

⁶³ 'Vita II' differs from the Confessions on two accounts. Firstly, the *vita* recounts how Monica insisted that the boy Augustine be baptised in view of a sudden stomach illness, and how his father prevented it. Secondly, Simplicianus is called Supplicianus in the *vita* and Alypius Alipidius.

The relation between 'Vita III' and 'Vita II'

A newer *vita* (Vita III) was written by a monk of the abbey of Saint Laurence in Liege: Rupert, the future abbot of Deutz (ca. 1075-1129). This work was thought to have been lost for many centuries, until it was discovered by the Bollandists in a manuscript in the nineteenth century.⁶⁴ It has never been published.⁶⁵ It was mentioned, however, by another monk of Saint Laurence's abbey, Rainer, in his 'De ineptiis cuiusdam idiotae libellus ad amicum primum' (c. 1160). Rainer's work lists the writings of several monks of the abbey, including Rupert: *Igitur cum adhuc esset iunior, scripsit libellum metricum in laudem Spiritus Sancti cuius proficiebat magis aspiratione, quam alicuius magistri eruditione. Item alium de diversis scripturarum sententiis, nicholominus annectens versu heroyco de incarnatione Domini. Uno etiam libello statum nostrae prosecutus est ecclesiae, videlicet a quibus exstructa sit, quae bona vel quae mala de manu Domini ab Evraclo Leodiensium episcopo usque ad Obertum susceperit. De hac eadem quoque materia aliud opusculum saphyco confecit metro. Vitam denique sancti Augustini, necnon et sanctae Odiliae virginis radiante melioravit stilo. De sanctis Theodardo martyre, Goare ac Severo confessoribus cantus composuit. Factus presbiter...*⁶⁶

In the prologue to 'Vita III', Rupert expresses his intention of describing Augustine's life in three parts: how he was called from darkness to the light (derived from books III-VI, IX and XI of the Confessions). How he served as bishop and doctor of the Church (derived from Possidius). How he was called from this vale of tears into the joy of the Lord (derived from Possidius).⁶⁷ The third part only comprises two pages (fol. 80v-81v), whereas the first parts comprise

⁶⁴ Cat. Hagiographicorum Bibl. Reg. Bruxellensis. Brussels, 1889, II, p. 328: ...*vitam s. Augustini, vitam s. Odiliae virginis quae quidem evanuisse videntur* (MGH XII, 624). The text of Rupert's *vita* was found in a Passional (Brussels Kon. Bibl. 9368) and is a fifteenth-century copy from Saint Laurence's abbey.

⁶⁵ See for the version used here (a transcription by Langeveld): Appendix II, p. 637.

⁶⁶ MGH XX, 595ss (595-603). The 'Vita vere apostolica' was not written by Rupert. (PL 170, 642).

⁶⁷ *Merito ergo illum in domo caelestis agricolae dignum honore dixerim, cuius fides atque studium ecclesiasticae agriculturae profuit semper et proderit. Honoranda est lingua in illo gratia Dei, cuius magnitudinem nulla potest lingua verbis prosequi: et in laude ipsius referendum, quomodo vel quibus de tenebris in admirabile lumen suum illum vocaverit, qualiter illum episcopum atque doctorem ecclesiarum fecerit, tandemque a praesenti convalle lacrimarum evocatum tamquam bonum et fidelem servum in gaudium suum introduxerit*, fol. 74s.

eight (fol. 74r–77v) and seven pages (fol. 77v–80v) respectively. ‘Vita III’ is three times the length of ‘Vita II’, and in view of its wording, its comprehensiveness and its structure, it may not be presumed to have been for matins. ‘Vita III’ outlines Augustine’s youth and student days, his ties with the Manichees, his days as a teacher, Monica’s sorrow on account of his errors, his friendship with Alypius and Nebridius, his decision to receive baptism, their prayers together to obtain relief of his toothache, his baptism together with Alypius and Adeodatus, Monica’s joy. The *vita* concludes with a prayer taken from the Confessions.

Remarkably, there are no references to or quotations from books VII and VIII of the Confessions. There are, however, frequent quotations from the first six books, in the order which they have in the Confessions. In numerous lengthy extracts, Augustine himself addresses God while he discloses his own thoughts. The text connecting these passages was written by Rupert, but even its content was derived from the Confessions. Such a mode of composing the *vita* obviously indicates that the author preferred a lively and personal discourse to a sober account of the facts as in ‘Vita II’. Rupert dwelt at length on Augustine’s relationship with his mother Monica, although he did not recount the story of her own life: *de cuius vita et moribus tractare non est operis huius*. Frequently he stressed the grace of Augustine’s conversion: according to God’s plan humble wisdom replaced arrogant philosophy in Augustine.⁶⁸ Perhaps Rupert wished to emphasise divine providence once more when he included the story of the theft of lead of which Alypius had been falsely accused.

It may be deduced from Rainer’s list that Rupert read and edited an earlier *vita*: *Vitam denique sancti Augustini ... radiante melioravit stilo*. This occurred before Rupert’s ordination in December 1108. The *vita* he read must have been ‘Vita II’, although it is difficult to trace its influence on his own subsequent ‘Vita III’. The two texts had no more in common than a number of words and short passages.⁶⁹ Vita III derived its information from the Confessions and

⁶⁸ *Columna nubes in qua thronum suum posuit sapientia Dei; de tenebris in admirabile lumen suum illum vocaverit; versatus sum in tenebris falsitatis; ipse in doctrina pietatis deformiter erraret; eliminari mundanae sapientiae fabricis, ut postea esset tanto acutior quanto doctior, ad confodiendam linguam philosophicae loquacitatis; quia enim antea bonas margaritas quaerens malas invenerat atque haereticas, nunc inventa una pretiosa margarita, unius scilicet Dei vera sapientia; in quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiae et scientiae absconditi.*

⁶⁹ *Beatus Augustinus; Affricanus; Thagastensi; sanctus Ambrosius; quorum Alipius ex eodem quo ipse erat ortus municipio, parentibus primatibus municipalibus Augustino minor natu; Nebridius etiam relicta patria vicina Kartagini, atque ipsa*

from Possidius, but, unlike 'Vita II', did not always follow Augustine's choice of words. Nonetheless, the two *vitae* both mention certain individual biographical facts: Augustine's place of birth, Saint Ambrose, Thagaste as Alypius' place of birth and Carthage as Nebridius's, Augustine's dismissal as a teacher, his baptism together with Adeodatus, his age at the time of death. Nevertheless, 'Vita II' and 'Vita III' only share three common quotations from the Confessions: VI, 11, VI, 17 and IX, 13-14.

'Vita III' does not have 'Vita II's sober, factual style and abounds with stylistic devices, pious reflections and biblical metaphors.⁷⁰ Rupert certainly did not shun rhetorical effect. Some expressions and words used in the text are simply colloquialisms of his day literally translated into Latin, making for a grotesque and sometimes inadvertently comic combination of the vernacular and scholastic Latin. The connecting passages which Rupert placed between the extracts from Augustine are of a markedly lower stylistic standard than the quotations themselves.⁷¹

The intention of 'Vita III' is not so much to outline Augustine's spiritual development in a few sketches, but to give a detailed description of the events of his life. The goal of the text was to illustrate the miracle of how the servant of God Augustine turned from an erring philosopher into an ardent doctor of the Church. The text recounted many more biographical details than 'Vita II'. Nevertheless, it showed a remarkable lacuna with regard to the biographical element by failing to quote at all from books VII and VIII of the Confessions. 'Vita III' differed in this respect from 'Vita II', which reproduced as many passages from these two books as from the others.

Kartagine,...., relicto paterno rure optimo; denuntiavit peractis vindemialibus ut scolasticis suis Mediolanenses venditorem verborum alium providerent ... et insinuavit per litteras sancto Ambrosio pristinos errores suos et praesens votum suum; inde ubi tempus advenit quo se nomen dare oporteret; renatus cum eo Alipius; adiunxerunt etiam sibi puerum a deo datum ex ipso, id est Augustinum carnaliter natum ...; monasterium; secundum apostolicam normam; nihil haberent proprium; manus impositionem sanitatem conferret; anno aetatis suae LXXVI, episcopatus autem XL.

⁷⁰ *Columna nubis, vineam suam, sagittam electam; quam difficile tandem illos a se pharao dimiserit, iam veniendum est ad mare baptismi; sacrosque ingressus est fontes in quibus verus Aegyptius diabolus submersus est; verusque Israel transivit et salvatus est; frangebatur parvulis Christi panem verbi Dei et potans eos puro fonte scripturarum; Fortunatus similis illi Philisteo; et quasi Goliath non parcens rotabat blasphemias in Deum Israel; pastores esse multos qui pascere semetipsos, lac comederent et lanis operirentur, gregem autem et ipsi segnes non pascere; sed qui caecavit latrunculos Syriae sanctum quaerentes Eliseum, fecit et hos amantes errare iste de civitate Dei contra civitatem illorum Sodomam cruentam et impacatam.*

⁷¹ I am grateful to Joost van Neer for pointing this out to me.

However, the author of 'Vita III' supplemented this deficiency by including a succinct abstract in the nineteenth paragraph.⁷²

The office compared to 'Vita II' and 'Vita III'

The fact that biographical data are found not only in 'Vita II' and 'Vita III', but also in the antiphons and responsories of the office of Augustine, calls for a comparative study of the three texts. In the following, the different parts of the office have each been given a number, followed by the first words of the antiphon or responsory:

FIRST VESPERS: 1.ant. *Laetare mater*; 2.ant. *Huius mater*; 3.ant. *Distulit tamen*; 4.ant. *Surgens autem*; 5.ant. *Inventus igitur*; 6.ant.ad magn. *Adest dies celebris*.

MATINS: 7.invit. *Magnus Dominus* (Conf. I,1); 8.ant. *Aperuit Augustinus codicem* (Conf. VIII,29); 9.ant. *Insinuavit ergo per litteras* (Conf. IX,13); 10.ant. *At ille iussit Isaiam* (Conf. IX,13); 11.resp. *Invenit se Augustinus longe* (Conf. VII,16); 12.resp. *Sensit igitur et expertus est* (Conf. VII,22); 13.resp. *Tum vero invisibilia Dei* (Conf. VII,23 and 25); 14.ant. *Verumtamen primam huius lectionem* (Conf., IX,13); 15.ant. *Inde ubi tempus advenit* (Conf. IX,14); 16.ant. *Nec satiabatur illis diebus* (Conf. IX,14); 17.resp. *Itaque avidissime legere* (Conf. VII, 27); 18.resp. *Misit ergo Dominus in mentem* (Conf. VIII, 1); 19.resp. *Volebat enim conferenti* (Conf. VIII,1 and 2); 20.ant. *Flebat autem uberrime* (Conf. IX,14); 21.ant. *Voces igitur illae* (Conf. IX,14); 22.ant. *Adiunctus inde Nebridio* (Conf. IX,17); 23.resp. *Vulneravit caritas Christi* (Conf. IX,3 and 2); 24.resp. *Accepta baptismi gratia* (Conf. IX,23 and 26); 25.resp. *Verbum Dei* (Poss. 31).

LAUDS: 26.ant. *Post mortem matris reversus* (Poss. 3); 27.ant. *Comperta autem eius fama* (Poss. 4); 28.ant. *Factus ergo presbyter* (Poss. 5); 29.ant. *Sanctus autem Valerius* (Poss. 5); 30.ant. *Eodem tempore Fortunatus* (Poss. 6); 31.ant. ad ben. *In diebus eius* (Poss. 28).

SECOND VESPERS: 32.ant. ad mag. *Hodie gloriosus pater*; 33.hymnus *Magne pater Augustine*.

This numbering will enable a comparative reading of the individual parts of the office and the texts of the two *vitae*. This comparison involves identifying the differences and the parallels. It is of

⁷² *Iam quia longum est prosequi, quanta contulerint, quanta quisierint, quam difficile tandem illos a se pharao dimiserit, iam veniendum est ad mare baptismi, per quod transierunt onusti atque suffarinati opibus Aegypti, videlicet pleni omni scientia saeculari. Augustinus, ut dictum est, paterne susceptus a sancto episcopo Ambrosio, et per eum sana Christi doctrina correctus.*

service primarily because the detected disparities will bring to light clues as to the identity of the author. Moreover, a comparative reading will possibly also throw some light on the remarkable lacuna which exists in the text of 'Vita III'.

Parallels between the office and 'Vita II'

The second, third and fourth lessons of 'Vita II' to great extent correspond to different groups of responsories and antiphons from matins: antiphons 9 and 10; the responsories 11, 12 and 13; the antiphons 14, 15 and 16; and the responsories 17, 18 and 19. In composing the office, the author obviously not only used 'Vita II' to provide a cycle of lessons, but also employed the text to compile several groups of antiphons and responsories. The parallels between 'Vita II' and the office may hardly be attributed to Ivo of Chartres. The authorship of the *vita* may perhaps be ascribed to him with some reason, but it is impossible that he could have been the author of the office. Neither the date of the manuscripts in which it is found, nor the history of its spread, nor certainly its musical accompaniment, which apparently stems from the School of Liege, could warrant such a conclusion. The opposite alternative is consequently likely: that the author of the office used 'Vita II.'

Parallels between the office and 'Vita III'

Just as the office corresponds to several parts of 'Vita II', there are also parallels with 'Vita III':

- 1. The second antiphon of vespers is in praise of Saint Monica, Augustine's mother.⁷³ This was the first time in history that an antiphon was devoted to her. Monica is further mentioned as mother in the second responsory of the third nocturne,⁷⁴ in the third antiphon of the third nocturne,⁷⁵ and in the first antiphon of

⁷³ 2.ant. *Huius mater devotissima, quam carne prius pepererat mundo, caritatis visceribus postmodum, multo semine lacrimarum genuit Christo.*

⁷⁴ 24.resp. *Accepta baptismi gratia, positus apud Ostia Tiberina, cum matre sua colloquebatur soli valde dulciter, et inhiabant ore cordis pariter in superna fluentia fontis vitae; vilescebatque mundus iste...*

⁷⁵ 22.ant. *Adiunctus inde Nebridio et Evodio remeabat ad Africam, quaerens, quis eos ad bene vivendum locus haberet utilius; sed, cum esset apud Ostia Tiberina, pia mater eius defunctus est.*

lauds.⁷⁶ Although she was mentioned often in 'Vita III',⁷⁷ a separate cult of Monica was still unknown at the beginning of the twelfth century. The place afforded to Augustine's mother in 'Vita III' and in the office was still a far cry from the veneration for her which developed after 20 April 1162. On that date her relics were translated from Ostia to the abbey of Arrouaise. The cult of Monica was further stimulated by a 'Vita S. Monicae' written by Walter, a canon of the abbey, to propagate devotion to the saintly mother of Augustine.⁷⁸

- 2. The invitatory of matins is a paraphrase of the first sentences of the Confessions together with the biblical quotation *qui de tenebris vos vocavit in admirabile lumen suum* (1 Peter 2:9). The same combination appears in the prologue to 'Vita III'.⁷⁹
- 3. The second antiphon of lauds speaks of Augustine's forcible ordination to the priesthood,⁸⁰ and is practically identical to Possidius' Vita (c.4), with the exception of the words *licet invitum*. Possidius has *ubertim eo flente* in this place. The expression *licet invitum* also appears in 'Vita III' (*tenentes eum licet invitum renitentem*), as indeed in 'Vita IV'.

⁷⁶ 26.ant. *Post mortem matris reversus est Augustinus ad agros proprios, ubi cum amicis ieiuniis et orationibus vacans, scribebat libros et docebat indoctos.*

⁷⁷ Monica is referred to in seven paragraphs: par.4. *Flebat autem pro illo mater fidelis et pia...*, fol. 74r; par. 10: *nec indicabas mihi nec matri, quae me profectum atrociter planxit et usque ad mare secuta est...*, fol. 74v; par. 13: *iam venerat ad eum mater pietate fortis...*, fol. 75r; par. 23-26: *mater autem eius vidua casta, pia ac sobria ... ut quotquot haec legerint, meminerint ad altare tuum Monicae famulae tuae*, fol. 76v-77r.

⁷⁸ F. Gosse, *Histoire de l'abbaye et de l'ancienne congrégation des chanoines réguliers d'Arrouaise*. Lille, 1786 (reprint, Arras, 1972), p. 550-573; L. Milis, *Een reliekenroof uit de twaalfde eeuw*. – *Spiegel Historiae* 3(1968)685-690. In fact, it is from Walter's account that we know that the office of Augustine was in use in the abbey of Arrouaise in 1162: *Inde cum eisdem veni Arroasiam ubi cum solemnī processione et summa devotione tam clerici quam laici obviam exierunt [20 April 1162]; et cum magna exultatione cantantes responsum 'Accepta baptismi gratia' [24.resp.] in ecclesiam inferentes, super altare quod in honore beatissimi Augustini...specialiter consecratum est, posuerunt, ut quasi superveniens mater prius filii memoriam visitaret*, Gosse, *Histoire*, p. 569.

⁷⁹ See footnote 67 above.; 7.invit. *Magnus Dominus et laudabilis valde, et sapientia eius non est numerus, qui de tenebris gentium lumen ecclesiae suae vocavit Augustinum*, a comparable text to *Et hunc quidem Dei dispensatio, antequam vocaret in admirabile lumen suum, permisit adolescentem errare in tenebris manicheorum, sed in eodem errore mirabili gratia nescientem circumvolabat Spiritus iste...*, *De sancta Trinitate et operibus eius. De operibus Spiritus Sancti*, ed. R. Haacke (CCM 24). Turnhout, 1972, p. 2071.

⁸⁰ 27. ant. *Comperta autem eius fama, beatus Valerius Hipponensis episcopus eum ad se accersiri fecit, et licet invitum presbyterum ordinavit.*

- 4. The second antiphon of lauds⁸¹ shows that the author did not distinguish between the two monastic communities which Augustine established in Hippo: that for laymen in the grounds of the episcopal residence, and that for clerics in the residence itself. The author only knows of one monastery, that for the clergy. 'Vita III' has the same interpretation, while Philip of Harveng on the contrary does distinguish two monasteries in Hippo in his 'Vita IV.' Moreover, in 'Vita III', Possidius' *modum et regulam* has been replaced by *normam...regulam*. By changing these words, the author of 'Vita III' afforded a legal interpretation to the monastic rule, whereas Possidius' choice of words served to emphasise the apostolic norm of Acts 4:32. The author of 'Vita III' clearly considered the monastic rule for the clergy to be a legal document.
- 5. Due to the fifth antiphon of lauds, Augustine's disputation with Fortunatus occupies a relatively important place.⁸² Possidius had much less attention for this event (c.6). However, 'Vita III' concurs with the office in devoting a considerable amount of space to this history: one page of the sixteen which the *vita* numbered.⁸³ By contrast, Philip of Harveng dedicated only a brief chapter to the episode (c.20).
- 6. The metaphor used in the hymn to describe Augustine as the expounder of Scripture to the faithful also appears in paragraph 30 of 'Vita III.' It is the metaphor of Augustine who breaks the bread of the word for the faithful and refreshes them at the pure fountain of Scripture.⁸⁴

The lacuna in 'Vita III'

The reason why a lacuna appears in 'Vita III' cannot be elucidated without first analysing the biographical aspects of the office. In

⁸¹ 28. ant. *Factus ergo presbyter monasterium clericorum mox instituit, et coepit vivere secundum regulam sub sanctis apostolis constitutam.*

⁸² 30. ant. *Eodem tempore Fortunatus presbyter manichaeorum versutia plurimos seducebat, quem sanctus Augustinus in conventu omnium disputens publice superavit.*

⁸³ *Erat in his diebus quidam manichaeorum presbyter Fortunatus...Obmutuit ille et...non audens aiebat se collaturum cum doctoribus, ea in quibus defecisset ipse superatus* (par. 32), fol. 78r-78v.

⁸⁴ 33.hymn. *Frangis nobis favos mellis de scripturis disserens...Tu de verbis salvatoris dulcem panem conficis; et propinae potum vitae de psalmodum nectare.* And in 'Vita III': *...et frangebat parvulis christi panem verbi Dei et potans eos pure fonte scripturarum docebat...* (par. 30).

the antiphons of VESPERS, the biographical facts are incorporated into texts of a meditative character. Thus, the lines that herald Augustine's conversion are of a reflective nature: 2.ant. Monica bore him for Christ through her tears; 3.ant. The grace of baptism was deferred because he desired to comprehend through vain philosophy with his own puffed-up intellect what may only be grasped by the pious through faith; 4.ant. After many errors, his soul finally rose to seek the true Bridegroom, who died for him so that he would not perish, but cling to Him for ever; 5.ant. The watchmen of the city found his soul in this state, and took off his old garb.

The Magnificat antiphon (6.ant.) is of a different nature. It is an exclamation of joy at the coming of the great feast, which calls on the angels, the prophets and the apostles to join in.

The antiphons and responsories of MATINS place full emphasis on Augustine's conversion and baptism. In fact, they do so to such an extent that it has been conjectured that the entire office was originally intended for the feast of his conversion.⁸⁵ The antiphons form a chronological series of expressly biographical facts: 8.ant. During his crisis, Augustine opens the Bible at the verse: 'put on the Lord Jesus Christ' (Rom. 13,13); 9.ant. He writes to Ambrose and asks him which books of the Bible to read; 10.ant. Ambrose advises him to read Isaiah; 14.ant. However, Augustine runs aground as early as the first chapter; 15.ant. He returns to Milan and is baptised there by Ambrose; 16.ant. The sweetness of God's ordinance overwhelms him; 20 ant. He is moved to tears by the psalms; 21.ant. The sound of the psalms reaches into the depths of his heart; 22.ant. He returns to Africa together with Nebridius and Evodius, but his mother dies in Ostia on the Tiber.

The responsories were also ordered chronologically: 11.resp. Augustine considers that he is still far from the Lord. Not you will change Me into you, but you will change into Me; 12.resp. The light is hurtful to sick eyes, but pleasing to healthy eyes; 13.resp. Augustine desires to see the invisible things of God; 17.resp. He begins to read avidly, especially Saint Paul; 18.resp. The Lord inspires him to

⁸⁵ N. Concetti: *De officio et missa in solemnibus festis s.p. Augustini*. – *Analecta Augustiniana* 13(1930)216-246, especially p. 216vv; N. Greubel, *Augustinus in der Liturgie*. – *St. Augustin [Festschrift] zur Jahrhundertfeier dargeboten*. Würzburg, 1930, 70-76, especially p. 70. Greubel does not know who wrote the office, p. 74; E. Wagenhäuser, *Die liturgische Texte am Fest des hl. Vaters Augustinus*. – *Cor Unum* 12(1954)46-51, especially p. 46, according to Wagenhäuser the emphasis on 'Simplicianus' and Augustine's priesthood in the office indicates that it was compiled by a canon, p. 49.

visit Simplicianus; 19.resp. He wants to explain his difficulties to him, so that he may advise him which way is the best for someone in his condition. Different people travel upon the way of God in different ways.; 23.resp. The love of Christ has wounded his heart; 24.resp. After he receives baptism, he engages in sweet conversations with his mother in Ostia on the Tiber; 25.resp. He preaches the word of God powerfully and ardently until the days of his last illness.

Both series, that of antiphons and that of responsories, thus respect the chronology of the story of Augustine's conversion. Moreover, comparative reading has also revealed that the first three responsories adhere perfectly to the lessons, that is to 'Vita II'. 10.ant. is followed by the first lesson and 11.resp., which in turn is followed by the second lesson and 12.resp. and the third lesson and 13.resp. After the first three responsories, the connection becomes less clear. 16.ant. is followed by the fourth lesson and 17.resp, the fifth lesson and 18.resp., the sixth lesson and 19.resp. 22.ant. is followed by the seventh lesson and 23.resp, and the eighth lesson and 24.resp. The ninth lesson, finally, is followed by 25.resp., which do correspond.

The antiphons of LAUDS have a quite different atmosphere from those of vespers. They are based on Possidius and relate chronologically ordered facts. The antiphons of lauds were intended to show what good was wrought by Augustine after his conversion, both with regard to the development of religious life, as with regard to the African Church in general: 26.ant. After his mother's demise, he returns to his parental home to live there together with several friends. Fasting and praying, he writes books and teaches; 27.ant. Valerius has Augustine brought before him on account of his fame, and ordains him to the priesthood in spite of his own protests; 28.ant. Once a priest, Augustine founds a monastery for clerics and begins to live according to the precepts of the apostles; 29.ant. Valerius rejoices greatly at the presence of this godsend, ideally suited to build up the Church by teaching the true doctrine; 30.ant. In those days Fortunatus converts many people to Manicheism. Augustine triumphs over him in a public disputation; 31.ant. ad ben. At that time the barbarians laid siege to Hippo. On account of this, Augustine weeps day and night, but he dies in peace.

This comparative analysis of the biographical aspects of 'Vita II', 'Vita III' and the office evinces the conclusion that 'Vita III' contains more biographical material than 'Vita II', but that 'Vita III' shows a lacuna regarding the episode of Augustine's preparation for baptism which is told in books VII and VIII of the Confessions. Unlike 'Vita II', which quotes book VIII once, 'Vita III' contains no

extracts at all from these books. However, when 'Vita III' and the office are compared, it emerges that both sources, when taken together, provide a complete picture of that period in Augustine's life. Whereas par. 19 of 'Vita III' more or less passes by his preparation for baptism – or provides only a summary of the episode –, the antiphons and responsories of matins go into great detail on this issue.

Three documents have been compared: 'Vita II', 'Vita III' and the office. All three relate to the Confessions, either by quoting from them directly or by deriving thoughts or facts from them. The author of 'Vita II' is not the same person as the author of the office. The author of 'Vita III', however, is. The authorship of the office may consequently be attributed to Rupert of Liege, on the basis of the parallels which exist between 'Vita III' and the office.⁸⁶ Rupert used the text of 'Vita II' in writing 'Vita III' and matins. This may be concluded clearly from the relation which all three documents bear to the Confessions.⁸⁷

The antiphons and responsories of matins thus form an essential supplement to the episode of Augustine's preparation for baptism which is mentioned only incidentally in par. 19 of 'Vita III'. However, this supplement was not derived directly from books VII and VIII of the Confessions, but evidently from the second, third, and fourth lessons of 'Vita II'. The question arises as to why such a striking lacuna appears in 'Vita III'. It may be said in answer that Rupert must have made this omission purposely, intending to complement the *vita* with the text of matins. But what reasons could he have had for this? It is

⁸⁶ Langeveld first identified Rupert as the author: '...de aanhef van het kerkelijk officie ter ere van Augustinus dat in het begin van de twaalfde eeuw door Robertus van Luik vervaardigd werd', P. Langeveld, *De werkende stilte. De oorsprong der grote kloosterorden*. Amsterdam, 1957, p. 104.

'...ook een Vita S. Augustini... dat nauw samenhangt en verwant is met het Augustinusofficie dat in de twaalfde eeuw door de augustijnen-koorheren een snelle en wijde verspreiding vond', P. Langeveld, *Rupert van Deutz. – Liturgisch woordenboek*. Roermond, 1968, col. 2460-61.

⁸⁷ The quotations which appear in both documents are in italics.

The Confessions are quoted as follows in the second, third, and fourth lessons of 'Vita II': the second lesson from Conf: *VII,16; VII,23*; the third lesson from: *VII,24; VII,25; VII,27; VIII,1; VIII,1 and 2*; the fourth lesson from: *IX,13; IX,13 and 14; IX,13; IX,14; IX,14*.

'Vita III' quotes from Conf VI,17 in par. 18, followed by par. 19 without any quotations; followed by par. 20 which quotes from Conf IX,12; par. 21 quotes from IX,13; par. 22 from IX,14; however, the quotations in par. 20-22 do not coincide with those in the fourth lesson.

In the office, the text of matins quotes from Conf.: *VII, 16, VII,22, VII, 23 and 25, VII,27; VIII,29, VIII,1 VIII,1 and 2; IX,3 and 2, IX,13, IX, 14, IX, 17, IX, 23 and 26*.

probable that the answer will be found in a study of Rupert's own biography. However, before turning to this subject, definitive evidence must first be furnished that Rupert indeed wrote the office.

The office in relation to Rupert's other works

The analogies between 'Vita III' and the office all point to Rupert of Liege as the author. This assumption would be considerably strengthened if any parallels between the office and Rupert's other works could be identified. It is consequently of service here to analyse the office further in relation to Rupert's other writings.

- 7. The third antiphon of vespers is directed against the dialecticians.⁸⁸ At the end of the eleventh century, new schools of theology were arising. The struggle between theologians and dialecticians was in full swing when Abelard (+1142) gave it a decisive turn. Rupert's 'De divinis officiis', a document written as early as 1112, witnesses already to his dislike of the use of dialectics in theology. In 1117, Rupert was preparing a debate about this subject with Anselm of Laon (+1117) and William of Champeaux (+1121).⁸⁹
- 8. The Magnificat antiphon of vespers⁹⁰ contains a similar idea to that expressed in the line from the hymn for Augustine: *Quae obscura prius erant, nobis plana faciens*. Rupert also subscribed to the common view that the Church fathers provided further interpretation of the original revelation. The prophets and the apostles were the true witnesses of revelation, they received the *prima gratia dispensandi*. Nevertheless, some truths remained obscure at first, because the time of their disclosure had not yet come. It was the task of the apostolic fathers and the fathers of the Church to set forth these truths. Theirs was the *secunda gratia dispensandi*.⁹¹

⁸⁸ 3. ant. *Distulit tamen diu baptismi gratia, quia tumens inani philosophia volebat humana ratione comprehendere, quod pia mens vivacitate fidei nititur apprehendere.*

⁸⁹ Super quaedam capitula regulae Benedicti (PL 170,482); Rupert de Deutz, Les œuvres du Saint Esprit, tom. I, introd. J. Gribomont (Sources Chrétiennes 131). Paris, 1967, p. 10; J. van Engen, Rupert of Deutz. Berkeley-London, 1983, p. 72-81, 96-105.

⁹⁰ *Adest dies celebris, quo salutis nexu carnis sanctus praesul Augustinus assumptus est cum angelis; ubi gaudet cum prophetis, laetatur cum apostolis; quorum plenus Spiritu, quae praedixerunt mystica, fecit nobis pervia, post quos secunda dispensandi verbi Dei primus refulsit gratia.*

⁹¹ *Secundo post apostolos meriti vel gratiae loco viri apostolici patres orthodoxi et doctores catholici sal dicuntur et sunt, atque lux mundi; quia videlicet sapienter atque fideliter tractando ac retractando sacram legis et prophetarum scripturam,*

- 9. The Magnificat antiphon of the second vespers contains the words: ...*decoratus una stola securusque de reliquia*.⁹² This description of *stola* as festive attire is also found in *Singulis quoque proferri iussit binas stolas* (Gen. 45:22) and in *Et datae sunt illis singulae stolae albae* (Rev. 6:11). According to Rupert, one of these two *stolae* symbolises the immortality of the soul, and the other the immortality of the body.⁹³ This interpretation can also be found in pseudo-Augustine, *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*.⁹⁴
- 10. The references to the Song of songs in the fourth and fifth antiphons of vespers and in the seventh responsory of matins⁹⁵ are clarified in Rupert's commentary on the Song of songs.⁹⁶

quidquid in ea quasi carnaliter sonat, ita sermonem invido condiunt et spiritualiter sapiat, et quod erat clausum pateat, quod obscurum et tenebrosum videbatur, clarum et lucidum fiat, De gloria et honore Filii hominis super Matthaeum, ed. R. Haacke (CCM 29). Turnhout, 1979, p. 115; Van Engen, Rupert of Deutz, p. 56-58. 71-73, 92-115, 335-369.

⁹² *Hodie gloriosus pater Augustinus, dissoluta huius habitationis domo, domum non manefactum accepit in caelis, quam sibi cooperante Dei gratia, manu, lingua, fabrefecit in terris; ubi quod iam sitivit internum, gustat aeternum, decoratus una stola, securusque de reliqua.*

⁹³ *Resurgent enim, et quibus nunc datae sunt singulae stolae albae, tunc dabuntur geminae, ut sint beati tam immortalis beatitudine animae, quam beata corporis immortalitate*, In Apocalypsim (PL 69,953). *Etenim nunc quidem electorum animae, ubi depositio carnis onere feliciter laetantur, una stola, id est, stola suimet beatitudine perficiuntur; ubi autem omnes resurreximus, quicumque immutabimur, binas stolas singulo, id est animae simul et corporis duplicem gloriam obtinebimus*, De sancta Trinitate et operibus eius. In Genesim, ed. R. Haacke (CCM 21). Turnhout, 1971, p. 546.

⁹⁴ *quod duae stolae sunt duae resurrectiones quarum una est animae, quando resuscitatur a vitiis in quibus mortua iacebat; altera corporis quando corpus configuratum erit corpori claritatis Christi* (PL 40,1282). The expression *prima stola* occurs frequently with Augustine, e.g. in De Trinitate, 12,11. See also: *Haec ergo prima stola est quietis atque iucunditatis, qua post mortem carnis anima tantum perficitur, secunda illa erit, cum recepto corpore de animae et carnis immortalitate laetabitur*, Julian of Toledo (+690), Prognosticon futuri saeculi, II,35 (PL 96,495).

⁹⁵ 4. ant.: *Surgens autem post multos circuitus errorum, circuibat civitatem per vicos et plateas, quaerendo verum animae virum, pro quo ne moreretur, dignum iudicaret mori, ut eius semper inhaereret amor.*

5. ant.: *Inventus igitur a custodibus civitatis et pallio vetustatis exutus, diligenter pertrata cum illis veritate, quem desiderabat invenit, et castis amplexibus ardens inhaesit.*

23. resp: *Vulneravit caritas Christi cor eius, et gestabat verba eius in visceribus quasi sagittas acutas: et exempla servorum Dei quos de mortuis vivos fecerat tamquam carbonas vastatores...*

⁹⁶ *Sed qui dilectum suum non invenit, restat, ut surgat, civitatem circumeat, id est, sanctam ecclesiam electorum, mente et inquisitione percurrat, per vicos et plateas quaerat, id est, per angusta et lata gradientes, et aspiciat ut si qua invenire in eis valeat, eius vestigia exquirat...*, In Canticum Canticorum de incarnatione Domini, ed. R. Haacke (CCM 26). Turnhout, 1974, p. 59. *Haec erant iacula ipsorum, et istis percusserunt me et vulneraverunt me percussi ipsi, et vulnerati a me vicissim sagittis acutis...*, ibidem, p. 115.

It is true that certain individual parallels may also be identified between the office and other twelfth-century theologians. Nonetheless, it is only in Rupert's writings that all are found together. A closer study of Rupert's person and work will undoubtedly reveal further parallels,⁹⁷ especially in his style and choice of words, his interest in weeping and visions,⁹⁸ and in 'sweet affections and chaste embraces'.⁹⁹ Consequently, it may be safely assumed that Rupert was the author of the office.

Moreover, it is very likely that Rupert also composed the music to accompany it. The numerical succession of modes in the series of antiphons and responsories is highly reminiscent of the School of Liege. Notwithstanding his intention to create harmony between text and melody, Rupert did not choose the modes on the basis of the contents of the text.¹⁰⁰ Rather, he followed the custom of the School of Liege by connecting the series of antiphons and responsories with the eight modes in their succession: the first antiphon of vespers was composed in the first mode, the second antiphon in the second mode etc. Perhaps this technique holds little artistic appeal to contemporary ears. Nevertheless, the sustained succession of modes does reveal that each of the three component parts of the office (vespers, matins and lauds) were composed as a whole. When composing the music for lauds, however, the composer first employed the plagal modes before using the authentic modes to proceed in reverse order.¹⁰¹ The influence of the School of Liege is clearly distinguishable in the compositions, due to the lengthy texts of the antiphons and the melismatic melodies. The latter possess great ambits, are of an improvised nature and lack a dominant.¹⁰²

Musical composition was highly esteemed in the abbeys of Saints James and Laurence in Liege. Not only Rupert, but also Wazelinus – his pupil and later the seventh abbot – and Gisbert, his brother

⁹⁷ Van Engen, Rupert of Deutz, p. 95-134.

⁹⁸ De gloria et honore, p. 367 and 384; In Canticum, p. 111. For a discussion of Rupert as a visionary, see B. McGinn, *Die Mystik im Abendland*. Freiburg, 1996, II, p. 500-509.

⁹⁹ 5. ant: ...*et castis amplexibus ardentem inhaesit*.

¹⁰⁰ Rupert specifically remarks about the harmony between text and melody, see *De divinis officiis*, ed. R. Haacke (CCM 7). Turnhout, 1967, p. 255.

¹⁰¹ Lauds: 26. ant. in the second mode; 27. ant. in the fourth mode; 28. ant. in the sixth mode; 29. ant. in the eighth mode; 30. ant. in the seventh mode; 31. ant. ben in the fifth mode. Second vespers: 32. ant. ad magn. in the third mode. First vespers: 6. ant. ad magn. in the first mode.

¹⁰² J. Smits van Waesberghe, *Muziekgeschiedenis der Middeleeuwen*, I: *De Luiksche Muziekschool*. Tilburg [1936], p. 150vv, 442-451.

John, and Nizo, all witness to the fact that Saint Laurence's produced many compositions of new offices. Like Saint James's, the abbey was a workshop for offices. A commission for an office meant that both the words and the music were commissioned from the same author.¹⁰³

The question obviously arises as to why Rainer did not mention the office in his list of works. A plausible explanation is that it was not written for his own abbey and consequently did not appear in the liturgical books used in Saint Laurence's. Usually, the text of a new office was distributed to other abbeys by enclosing it with copies of other commissioned texts.¹⁰⁴ When compiling his list of Rupert's writings around 1160, thirty years after the latter's death, Rainer did not discover the office in Saint Laurence's abbey, neither in the books used in the choir nor in the library. However, he did find 'Vita III' there. Evidence for this fact comes from manuscript 9368 in the Royal Library in Brussels, which came from the abbey of Saint Laurence.

The dating of Rupert's works

Rupert, or Robert, was born around 1075 in or in the vicinity of Liege.¹⁰⁵ Around 1082, his parents sent him to the school of Saint

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, p. 390, 394. Rupert wrote about different subjects from the history of music, e.g. about the relation between intervals, *De sancta Trinitate et operibus eius. De operibus Spiritus Sancti*, p. 2048-50. He wrote warmly about how someone's heart may be opened to the grace of the Holy Spirit through the senses rather than through the mere reading of Scripture: *Non dubito plerosque esse, qui huius rei experimentum quantulumcumque assecuti sint et secundum illud exemplum nonnumquam persenserint in auditu sive decantatione laudis, sive orationis bene et morose cum musico modulamine sonantis, quod ipsorum viscera concuteret impetus Spiritus Sancti, inundans affectus divinae inspirationis, vis magna sanctae compunctionis. Fit denique nescio qua naturae vi, ut multo amplius afficiatur audiendo sublimiter canentem ecclesiae chorum cum multitudine sonorum...quam si simplicem eiusdem orationis litteraturam...legam vel audiam*, *De gloria et honore*, p. 156. *Movet enim intus musica, vi quadam et potentia naturali spiritum hominis, et tum decenter convenit cum verbo vel sensu divinae laudis, concutit penetralia cordis, et illam quam accepit homo resuscitat in eo gratiam Spiritus Dei*, *De sancta Trinitate et operibus eius*. In Reg. V, 23, ed. R. Haacke (CCM 22). Turnhout, 1972, p. 1440.

¹⁰⁴ For instance *Ruperti De victoria verbi Dei + Officium de S. Judico*, Brussels Kon. Bibl. 9737-38; *Ruperti In libro Job + Hymni in honorem S. Mariae Magdalenae*, 9935; *Ruperti De gloria et honore Filii hominis + Conversio Otgerii et Benedicti*, 9578-80; *Historia Francorum + Officium Mariae Aegyptiacae*, 9361-67.

¹⁰⁵ J. van Engen, *Rupert de Deutz*. – *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 13(1988)1126-1133; Maria Arduini, *Rupert von Deutz*. – *TRE* 29(1998)474-483; P. Engelbert, *Rupert von Deutz*. – *LThK* 8(1999)1366-1367. I have based this article on Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (1983), who focusses on Rupert as a theologian, not as a musician.

Laurence's abbey on the Mons Publicanus outside Liege. Later he entered the order and made his profession ca. 1091. Rupert received an education in the abbey school and learnt to write verse and prose. Saint Laurence's school reached the pinnacle of its success under the abbacy of Berengarius (1077-1116). However, the abbot and many monks were driven from the monastery in February 1092 by the anti-reformist Bishop Othbert. They went to the daughter house of Saint Hubert and from there to Evergnicourt between Rheims and Laon.¹⁰⁶ The community returned to Saint Laurence's in July 1095. The abbey assumed the discipline and customs of Cluny between 1100 and 1105.

Rupert went through a lengthy crisis between 1100 and 1108. He felt unworthy of the priestly dignity and refused to receive ordination at the hands of Othbert. Simultaneously, he studied the *artes* – especially rhetoric and music – under the supervision of the monk Heribrand,¹⁰⁷ composing several liturgical hymns. Within the abbey, this was a certain way to establish his profile and so to be called to higher duties.¹⁰⁸ It is not unlikely that the 'Vita S. Augustini' came about in this way. Rupert was finally ordained by Othbert in 1108. Subsequently, he went through an extremely productive period of teaching and writing. In the years to come, Rupert only rarely referred again to the works he wrote before ordination.¹⁰⁹

He worked on 'De divinis officiis' from 1109 to 1112, and started 'De Trinitate et operibus eius' afterwards. He completed it in 1116, together with 'In evangelium sancti Johannis'.¹¹⁰ In the summer of 1116 he wrote 'De voluntate Dei', in which he snubbed, not only the School of Laon, but also the students and clergy of Liege.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ Les oeuvres du Saint Esprit, introd. Gribomont, p. 8. Rupert wrote a poem against Bishop Othbert in 1095, *Carmina exulis*, see Van Engen, Rupert of Deutz, p. 30.

¹⁰⁷ ... *et prudens Heribrandus qui et ipse litterarum peritus pueritiae meae magister exstitit*, *De sancta Trinitate et operibus eius* (Epistula ad Cunonem), ed. R. Haacke (CCM 21). Turnhout, 1971, p. 121.

¹⁰⁸ Van Engen, Rupert of Deutz, p. 30.

¹⁰⁹ 'Ordination also divided the minor works of his early years from his major ones and quite probably composition in verse from commentary in prose', *ibidem*, p. 54.

¹¹⁰ Rupert probably succeeded Heribrand as the abbey's scholast. The fact that he suddenly interrupted 'De sancta Trinitate' to write 'In evangelium sancti Johannis' is probably an indication of this. 'In evangelium sancti Johannis' shows traits of Rupert's teaching, *ibidem*, p. 103-105. Rainer also reports that Rupert taught, MGH XX, 595, 597.

¹¹¹ For the animosity which Rupert had aroused in Liege, see Van Engen, Rupert of Deutz, p. 158ff., 167, 215ff. He was forced to go into exile twice on account of the tense situation in Liege: from 1116 to 1117 he stayed in the abbey of Siegburg, and in 1119 in Cologne.

This work caused such a furore in Liege, that he had to flee to Siegburg, where the abbot Kuno was sympathetic to him. However, he was summoned to appear before a commission of theologians in Liege in the spring of 1117 to give account for his by now notorious 'De voluntate Dei'. In the same year he travelled to Laon to dispute with Anselm, who died before his arrival, and to Châlons-sur-Marne to dispute with Bishop William of Champeaux.

Between 1119 and 1120 he rewrote the 'Vita S. Heriberti' at the commission of Marcward, abbot of Deutz near Cologne.¹¹² Heribert was the founder of the abbey of Deutz, which in its turn was originally a daughter house of Siegburg. Rupert eventually succeeded Marcward as abbot of Deutz. Between 1121 and 1128 he wrote the 'Passio beati Eliphii' and between ca. 1125 and 1128 the 'Sermo de S. Pantaleone.'

Rupert had met the Archbishop of Cologne, Frederic of Schwarzburg (+1131) through the mediation of the abbot Kuno. Frederic asked him in 1119 to write a commentary on the Book of the Apocalypse. In the autumn of 1120 Frederic appointed him abbot of Deutz. In 1121, Rupert completed 'In Apocalypsim'. At Christmas 1124 he was in Rome. In 1125, he completed both 'In Canticum Canticorum de incarnatione Domini' and 'Super quaedam capitula regulae Benedicti', and started work on 'De gloria et honore Filii hominis super Matthaeam', which was completed in 1127. He worked on 'De glorificatione Trinitatis et processione Spiritus Sancti' from March to August 1128, and died on 4 March 1129 in the abbey of Deutz, where he was buried.

Abbot Kuno, who became Archbishop of Ratisbon in 1126, was the main propagator of Rupert's writings. Just as Hugh of Saint Victor was a worthy exponent of the theology of the Victorines, and Bernard of the monastic theology of the Cistercians, so Rupert was the exponent of the monastic theology of the Benedictines.¹¹³

¹¹² The 'Vita S. Heriberti' (PL 170,389-428; Vita Heriberti, ed. P. Ditter. Bonn, 1976), like the 'Vita S. Augustini' and the 'Vita S. Odiliae', is the revision of an existing *vita*. Rupert acknowledges this in the prologue: *Tu mihi hoc opus, venerande pater Marcward, imposuisti, quatenus sancti archipraesulis Heriberti vitam virtutibus splendidam, sed prioris, ut tibi videbatur, styli rubigine subobscuram, novo rescriberem styli.*

¹¹³ Ca. 1146, Arno of Reichersberg ascribed this honour to Rupert in his *Scutum canonicorum* (PL 194,1519), Van Engen, Rupert of Deutz, p. 4.

The place of the office in Rupert's work

Most points of contact between the office of Augustine and Rupert's other works are found in *De divinis officiis* (1112), *De voluntate Dei* (1116), *De sancta Trinitate* (1116), *In Apocalypsim* (1121), *Super quaedam capitula regulae Benedicti* (1125), *In Canticum* (1125) and *De gloria et honore* (1127). The assumption could indeed arise from the parallels between the office and these writings, that Rupert must have worked on the office during the same productive period in which these other works were completed.¹¹⁴

However, this assumption is challenged by the fact that Rupert wrote 'Vita III' before his ordination, that is, before 1108. Since it has been established already that a close textual relationship exists between 'Vita II', 'Vita III' and the office, it is most likely that Rupert completed the office before 1108. It is true that the similarities mentioned above between the office and Rupert's other writings may be found mainly in works completed after his ordination. It is also true that Rupert only became famous, if not infamous, as a theologian after his ordination. Nevertheless, the supposition is justified that Rupert had already developed his theological thought to some extent before his ordination, even though he would take this development further only afterwards.

Moreover, the musical composition of the office enables a more precise dating of the work in the chronological range of Rupert's writings. It is certain that matins were completed at the same time as vespers and lauds. Rupert admittedly attempted to distinguish vespers, matins, and lauds from each other both musically and textually – especially the responsories 23 *Vulneraverat*, 24 *Accepta baptismi* and 25 *Verbum Dei* differ melodically and musically. Furthermore, the order of the modes indicates that each part was intended as a separate entity. Nevertheless, the office as a whole still forms a clear musical unity.¹¹⁵ It was indeed the custom in the twelfth century that the same author wrote both the text and the music of a commissioned office. It may be safely concluded from the foregoing that Rupert adhered to this practice and is the author of both text and music. Moreover, in view of the work's modest length, it is not likely that a great span of time passed between its commencement and its completion.

¹¹⁴ Thus several verbal parallels may also be distinguished between *In evangelium sancti Johannis* and *De divinis officiis*, 'but such repeated phrases can be found all through Rupert's work', *ibidem*, p. 134.

¹¹⁵ I am grateful to Anthony Zielhorst for pointing this out to me.

A return to 'Vita III' and the text of matins

The relation between 'Vita III' and the lacuna has been mentioned already, but no explanation has yet been offered. Perhaps some further speculation concerning the chronological correlation between 'Vita III' and an early collection of texts will clarify the situation. Rupert would have used this collection to examine his soul. The lacuna, created deliberately by Rupert, is an indication that he intended the text of 'Vita III' and the collection of extracts from the Confessions to form a single coherent entity. Taking further the assumption that Rupert selected the texts for the office in two stages, the following hypotheses are plausible. In the first stage, Rupert would have compiled a collection of texts. This collection justified the omission in 'Vita III'. All this occurred during a period in which the young monk Rupert was privately studying the life of Augustine, without any special commission to do so or to write an office. In the second stage, an office had been commissioned, and Rupert would have widened his collection with a view to fulfilling the terms of the commission.

The first stage was before Rupert's ordination. It is clear from Rainer's list that Rupert occasionally wrote works as a young monk. He wrote short historical documents, some verse and musical compositions. Rupert himself mentions a *libellum hymnorum* which he wrote in honour of the Holy Spirit: ... *scribendo libellum hymnorum in laudibus Spiritus Sancti...sic incipiens magnam intus versabam materiam per angustum foramen ubertim prodire non valentem, dum metricis pedibus verba ligando ut in scholaribus assuetus eram longum in paucis sermonibus laborem assumerem*.¹¹⁶ It may consequently be assumed that Rupert had already created a collection of texts derived from 'Vita II'. He then studied the biography of Augustine and re-edited 'Vita II', simply for reasons of piety or as a try-out, and without the intention to write an office.¹¹⁷ It is not unlikely that Rupert collected a series of texts from 'Vita II' during the years of personal crisis preceding his ordination. These extracts especially concerned Augustine's preparation for baptism and could bear him up during his own preparation for the important decision he had to take. Very possibly he then decided to study the Confessions and re-edit and improve the

¹¹⁶ De gloria et honore, p. 380-381.

¹¹⁷ Rainer recounts how he himself was caught experimenting with musical composition during the lessons by the scholast, Smits van Waesberghe, *Muziek-geschiedenis*, p. 447-449.

short 'Vita II' to suit his own needs and circumstances. While thus compiling 'Vita III', he simply passed over the episode of Augustine's preparation of baptism (par. 19), since he already had a collection of texts dealing with that part of the saint's biography.

This collection of texts used by Rupert to mirror his own situation fits in quite well with the description of his own youth. Had the collection been compiled after 'Vita III', Rupert would have had no reason to interrupt the work so abruptly at such a crucial part. Therefore, it is quite probable that Rupert left out the episode of the preparation for baptism because he already had his collection and was planning to put it to some special use. Perhaps he considered setting it to music or perhaps he had already done so and intended the composition and 'Vita III' to be moulded into a single whole. It is indeed also possible that Rupert considered writing an oratorio in honour of Augustine, both as a preparation for his own ordination and as a way of creating a profile for himself in the abbey.¹¹⁸

In conclusion, it may be said that 'Vita II' provided the point of departure for the entire enterprise. Using this *vita*, Rupert assembled a collection of extracts for personal reading. Then he wrote 'Vita III' – for devotional reasons, as a try-out or to impress his fellow monks – planning to combine it with the collection of texts to form an oratorio. This explains why he omitted an important part of Augustine's biography from 'Vita III': it was covered already by his collection. The *vita* and the collection belonged together and complemented each other. In later years, when Rupert was composing an office for the feast of Augustine, he used part of his juvenile work and 'Vita II' to create the text of matins. In doing so, he used his collection of extracts separately from 'Vita III'. As a consequence, this work was handed down on its own. It must be admitted, however, that this hypothesis remains no more than speculation.

'Magis aspiratione quam alicuius magistri eruditione'

In 'De gloria et honore', Rupert shows to what extent he identified his own life story with Augustine's. His confession of the eight

¹¹⁸ The abbey of Saint Laurence had a tradition of oratorios. Lambert, abbot from 1061 to 1069, not only compiled the office for the feast of Saint Heribert of Cologne, but also set the *Vita S. Heriberti* to music. Musical activity in the monastery was not confined to the writing of new offices. It is known, for instance, that Gisbert, besides composing several hymns, wrote music to accompany the story of Joseph in Egypt and several episodes from the life of King David, *ibidem*, p. 443.

years before his ordination, years of anxiety and depression, commences with the image of Babylon holding the Church captive.¹¹⁹ Rupert dedicated the work to abbot Kuno, who had become Archbishop of Ratisbon in 1126. Kuno had asked him why he had written so many works. In his response, Rupert speaks of the most difficult time of his life and compares it with the years Augustine spent searching for God.¹²⁰ Rupert's account speaks of a time of apparitions and visions. He knew beforehand that this period would take eight years, for he had been told in a vision: *Adhuc octo annis victurus es et non plus*.¹²¹ He believed at first that the time of his death had been foretold, and so these years became a time of waiting.¹²²

However, in the eighth year Christ appeared to him, speaking to him and making a gesture as if to embrace him: *apprehendi quem diligit anima mea, tenui illum, amplexatus sum eum, diutius exosculatus sum eum*.¹²³ This convinced him that he would not die, but rather that he must strive to achieve a greater understanding of the depth of the mysteries of Christ ... *quot sacramentorum eius profunda deinceps clarius intellegere deberem*.¹²⁴ Rupert thus assumed a life of constant study and writing. Then his fear of the priesthood also disappeared, leaving him prepared and motivated to receive ordination shortly afterwards, *hunc sacrum, licet indignus, ordinem suscepi*.¹²⁵ The first book he wrote following ordination was 'De divinis officiis'.

It has been argued in the foregoing that at least part of the text of Augustine's office had already been prepared before Rupert's ordination. Rupert used a body of text that already existed when he compiled the office. In effect, there are several weighty arguments to indicate that he completed the entire office before his ordination. 1. As

¹¹⁹ ... *sedebam iuxta flumen magnae Babylonis, iuxta fluvium Chobar, quod interpretatur gravitudo vel gravitas. De illa namque Babylone loquor, cuius est rex vel princeps, in qua tyrannizavit spiritualis Nabuchodonosor, scilicet diabolus, iugumque suum aggragavit super filios quoque civitatis dei viventis Hierusalem caelestis...*, De gloria et honore, p. 368, r. 201-207.

¹²⁰ Rupert tells his life story in De gloria et honore XII (p. 363-396). His portrait was included in an edition of De divinis officiis (CCM 7) and Les oeuvres du Saint Esprit (SC 131): *Hic aperit typicosa nove signacula legis! quam statuit sub carne novi presentia regis*. H. Silvestre, Que nous apprend Renier de Saint-Laurent sur Rupert de Deutz? - Sacris Erudiri 22(1982)49-97.

¹²¹ De gloria et honore, p. 374, r. 435.

¹²² *Eodem ergo tempore sollicitus fuit; secundo quoque anno vel tertio, in mortis expectatione suspensus, quarto, quinto et sexto similiter, ibidem*, p. 374, r. 444.

¹²³ *Ibidem*, p. 383, r. 759.

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 383, r. 772.

¹²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 383, r. 779.

far as the content of Rupert's ideas is concerned, there is no reason why he could not have completed the office before the time of his fame, because he had developed the key concepts of his thinking much earlier. 2. Music appears exclusively in Rupert's juvenile curriculum. Rainer says of those years: *Igitur cum adhuc esset iunior, scripsit libellum metrice in laudem Spiritus Sancti cuius proficiebat magis aspiratione, quam alicuius magistri eruditione*. Does Rainer imply here that Rupert's early compositions were remarkable more for their creator's good intentions than for their quality? Certainly the melodies of the office leave the impression of being the fruits of an immature musical mind: they are uniform, somewhat artificial and they lack imagination. 3. It is doubtful whether Rupert would have had the time to occupy himself with a musical project in his later years, since his commission to teach and write assumed all of his time. It is true that he did have time for other occupations during one particular period of his life after ordination. From 1117 to 1119 he had to flee in the face of malicious threats and consequently postponed his writing. It is not likely, however, that he was in the mood for musical composition during those years.

An office for Canons Regular

While the textual predecessor of the office for the feast of Augustine may have been intended for Rupert's private devotional use, the office in its complete form was neither intended for private devotion, nor indeed for Rupert's own abbey. Otherwise Rainer would have come across it when compiling his list, and Rupert would have used a Benedictine *cursus* of 12 responsories and 21 antiphons, in stead of following the canonical custom of 9 responsories and 22 antiphons. Moreover, Rupert would not have acclaimed the Rule of Augustine so highly in song if it were intended for his own Benedictine abbey, nor would he have overseen the fact that Augustine also founded a monastery for laity in addition to that for clergy. Perhaps someone in Rupert's entourage drew his attention to the increasing demand for an office for the feast of Augustine in the new abbeys of Canons Regular. Perhaps, indeed, Rupert was asked to write such an office.

The spread of his work shows that the office was known in the whole of France some decades after it was completed, especially with the canonical orders in the North, and via the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre as far away as Jerusalem. A study of the spread of

the manuscripts and the textual variations contained in them reveals that the text of the office was disseminated from the congregation of Arrouaise. Before the office reached Paris in the thirteenth century, it had been spread mostly from Arrouaise. In fact, there was an altar dedicated to Saint Augustine in the abbey church of Arrouaise.¹²⁶ But does the fact that it was spread from Arrouaise necessarily indicate that there was direct contact between Rupert and the abbey? In that case, the abbey would have commissioned the office from Rupert. However, this hypothesis entails certain difficulties.

The most important of these is that Rupert's biography reveals several rather heated and unresolved disputes with canons. These disputes mainly took place between 1112 and 1125. This period consequently does not seem the most likely to expect a favourable response from Rupert to any request from the new clerical monks. It is true that he was personally acquainted with several canons while he still lived in Saint Laurence's abbey. These canons would have belonged to the adjoining canonical abbey of Saint Giles, which was also situated on the Mons Publicanus. Saint Giles had originally been a hermitage, but it had been transformed into an abbey of Canons Regular around 1115. Rupert defended certain monastic practices against the canons as early as in 'De divinis officiis'. The fact that these matters drew his attention at all is an indication of the presence of several collegiate churches in Liege, but also of the foundation of new canonical houses outside the town.¹²⁷ Moreover, the widely-read 'Altercatio monachi et clerici quod liceat monacho praedicare'¹²⁸ is also attributed to Rupert. This work, the text of an acerbic dispute with Saint Norbert about the question as to whether monks were permitted to preach, was written between 1120 and 1122.

In his work 'Super quaedam capitula regulae Benedicti' (1125) Rupert expressed his annoyance at the fact that canons had started to follow the bad example of their brothers in Northern France by calling their superior 'abbot' and giving him a crozier: '*...qui dicit: Ego sum Augustini, pastorali virga investiri et abbas in ecclesia velit nominari. Nam et in superioribus Franciae locis hoc maxime iam coeptum est fieri, et miramur plerique unde ratio vel auctoritas sumpta sit.*'¹²⁹ Gervase was the first to call himself 'abbot' when he became

¹²⁶ See footnote 78 above.

¹²⁷ C. Dereine, *Les chanoines réguliers au diocèse de Liège avant Saint Norbert*. Brussels, 1952.

¹²⁸ PL 170,537-542. For Rupert's troubled relations with Norbert, see *Super quaedam capitula regulae Benedicti*, PL 170,490.

¹²⁹ PL 170,526.

provost of Arrouaise on 8 May 1121.¹³⁰ He did so in order to emphasise the monastic character of the order.

However, it was not uncommon for houses of Canons Regular – in this case Arrouaise – to commission offices intended for their own liturgy from monks of an older order. The canons belonged to a new order, which as yet lacked the culture and indeed the ability to compile an office itself. At that time, Arrouaise, which was recognised only in 1097 as a foundation by the bishop of Arras, was not much more than a hermitage with a hospice attached to it. In 1106, Bishop John of Therouanne consecrated the stone church. It was not until Gervase that the house became an abbey. In 1138, the abbey of Saint Léger in Soissons was affiliated with Arrouaise, eleven years after a great number of canonical abbeys were affiliated with Arrouaise in the same year of 1127.¹³¹

Most new orders of Canons Regular in the twelfth century came around to organising their liturgy definitively only several generations later, at the time of the third or fourth successor to the founder. Thus the liturgy of Saint Victor was organised by Guilduin before 1155, even though its antiphonary had been used since 1140. The antiphonary of Prémontré also dated from before the definitive drawing up of the liturgy under Hugh de Fosses (+1164/74). The first general chapter was held in 1137. Gervase settled the abbey's liturgical practice before 1123. He highly valued the sung office and played an important part in its organisation.¹³² It is, therefore, not improbable that the demand for an office of Augustine sprung from the drawing up of proposals for the 1121 general chapter for new constitutions and liturgical arrangements by the first leaders of Arrouaise, Conon (+1122) and Gervase. Conon had been made a cardinal during the Council of Troyes in 1107, and shortly afterwards was appointed papal legate to Syria and Jerusalem. He attended the Council of Beauvais in 1114. He travelled widely while amassing a huge treasure of relics for his abbey, and died on 9 August 1122. Perhaps Conon mediated the commission for the office.¹³³ Since

¹³⁰ L. Milis, Gervasio. – *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione* 4(1977)1113-1114. Gervase resigned the abbacy in 1147, but only died in 1171.

¹³¹ See Milis, *Orde van Arrouaise*, p. 27, 55 and footnote 51 above.

¹³² Gosse, *Histoire de l'abbaye*, p. 32ff; S. Axters, *Geschiedenis van de vroomheid in de Nederlanden*. Antwerpen, 1950, I, p. 242-251. 'Vers 1116 on fait un pas décisif vers l'organisation communautaire définitive de la maison; *canonicus* remplace dorénavant dans les chartes '*eremita*', *Constitutiones canonicorum regularium ordinis Arroasiensis*, ed. L. Milis (CCM 20). Turnhout, 1970, p. VII.

¹³³ *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. II, p. 116; C. Dereine, *Conon de Préneste*. – DHGE 13(1956)461-471.

Rupert had the reputation of being an admirer of Augustine¹³⁴ and a liturgist,¹³⁵ it was quite natural that a new order should have requested the services of someone like him.

John of Therouanne

It is probable that there was another mediator apart from Conon. It is indeed true that Rupert's relations with the canons were rather less cordial in his later years than in his youth. This does not, however, preclude the possibility that he was on friendly terms with individual canons even later.¹³⁶ Thus Rupert always kept on good terms with John, Bishop of Therouanne (+1130).¹³⁷ Rupert met him once, though the exact date is unknown, and wrote about this encounter in 'Super quaedam capitula regulae Benedicti'.¹³⁸ His discussions with Bishop John concerned the question as to whether the canons occupied a higher place in the spiritual order than the monks. The Bishop took it in bad part that Rupert had characterised the movement of the Canons Regular as *inferior, latior, laxior*.¹³⁹ This was hardly surprising, since John was the great champion of the cause of the Canons Regular in Flanders. A pupil of Ivo of Chartres, he had left the monastery for the canonical life and became bishop of Therouanne in 1099. He was a keen supporter of the Gregorian Reform.¹⁴⁰ Rupert 'thought highly of Bishop John of Therouanne ("*religioso et venerabili viro*") and noted favourably those canons who chose today to live the common life'.¹⁴¹ Therouanne, Saint Bertin – which lay in

¹³⁴ Rupert called the Church father a 'column' and a 'prop of truth': *Iste est Augustinus, columna et firmamentum veritatis, et vere columna nubis* (De sancta Trinitate et operibus eius (CCM 24), p. 2071. Nevertheless, he assured readers that he was no uncritical admirer: *Proinde non ita simus incauti adulatorem beati Augustini*, In evangelium sancti Johannis, ed. R. Haacke (CCM 9). Turnhout, 1969, p. 341, r. 1603.

¹³⁵ Smits van Waesberghe, Muziekgeschiedenis, p. 392, 442-446.

¹³⁶ 'As a leading member of his community and a likely candidate one day for an abbacy, Rupert doubtless undertook missions from time to time for his abbey', Van Engen, Rupert of Deutz, p. 159.

¹³⁷ John is also known as John of Waasten or John of Warneton, *Ibidem*, p. 159, 309-310, 318, 323, 331.

¹³⁸ 'Ante annos aliquot...', PL 170,536-537.

¹³⁹ Van Engen, Rupert of Deutz, p. 310.

¹⁴⁰ L. Milis, L'ordre des chanoines réguliers d'Arrouaise. Bruges 1969; LThK 5(1960)1092; MGH XV, 2, 1140-1145.

¹⁴¹ Van Engen, Rupert of Deutz, p. 318; Super quaedam capitula regulae Benedicti (PL170,536). 'L'influence de Théroutanne sur Arrouaise a été très considérable... à partir du moment où Jean de Warneton, l'archidiacre d'Arras, monta sur le siège épiscopal, Constitutiones, p. XXVIII-XXIX and LXXI-LXXII.

John's diocese —, Arrouaise, and Liege met in the person of John, as indeed they did in the oldest extant manuscript containing the office of Augustine, the breviary of Saint Bertin. It is regrettable that a closer dating of both Rupert's encounter with John and of the manuscript is impossible.¹⁴²

The monks of Saint Bertin had convinced the two abbeys of Saints James and Laurence of Liege to join the Cluniac movement. Liturgical relations must have existed between the three abbeys from that date onwards. The fact that three offices from Liege appear in the breviary of Saint Bertin witnesses to this. Moreover, Saint Bertin and Arrouaise had agreed to form a bond of prayer in this period, although the exact date is unknown.¹⁴³ Finally, John and Gervase had always maintained warm relations with Arrouaise.¹⁴⁴ This fact explains why Liege, Saint Bertin and Arrouaise were closely associated. Apart from Gervase of Arrouaise and Conon, Cardinal of Praeneste from 1107 onward, it could thus also have been John of Therouanne, who mediated between Arrouaise and Rupert in the affair of the commission. In view of the still rather vague lines which go from Rupert's juvenile work in Liege to Arrouaise, it is probably prudent to speak of mediation rather than of a commission as such.

Another canon of Arrouaise, Achard, travelled to Jerusalem in the entourage of Conon during his mission to Jerusalem. Achard stayed behind and in 1112 became prior of the chapter founded by Godfrey of Bouillon on the Templum Domini near the former mosque of Omar. When official documents were being drawn up, Achard often acted as a witness for the king or the Latin patriarch. The Order of Templars was founded in 1118 during his priorate. Achard was especially devoted to the cause of restoring the treasures of the temple. With that object in view he composed 'Templum Solomonis', a poem describing the history of the temple. He died around 1137.¹⁴⁵

It is likely that the office *Laetare mater nostra Jerusalem* was sung for the first time in the mother house of the congregation of Arrouaise.¹⁴⁶ It is also quite probable that the same office, quite

¹⁴² Arras Bibl. Mun. 269, see footnote 54 above.

¹⁴³ The weight of this piece of evidence must not be exaggerated. Gosse, *Histoire de l'abbaye*, p. 66, does not even mention the year in which it took place.

¹⁴⁴ Milis, *Orde van Arrouaise*, p. 54.

¹⁴⁵ E. Ledos, Achard. — *Dictionnaire de biographie française* 1(1932)283-285.

¹⁴⁶ *Constitutiones*, no. 110: 'In festo s. Aug. ad vesp. Antiphona 'Laetare mater' cum caeteris antiphonis et psalmis de feria, responsorium 'Vulneravit', hymnus

soon after its completion, was sung not only in Saint Bertin, but also in the Templum Domini, that is, in Jerusalem itself.¹⁴⁷

'Magne Pater', commemoratio de sancto Hermete, ad matutinas novem lectiones fiunt de vita ipsius sive libro Confessionum, scil. 'Retinebant me nugae'; see also no. 38 and 121.

¹⁴⁷ The patron of the abbey of Arrouaise was Saint Nicholas (Milis, Orde van Arrouaise, p. 27), and it was not known by the name of 'Temple of Jerusalem', P. Lehmann, *Die mittellateinischen Dichtungen der Prioren des Tempels von Jerusalem Acardus und Gaufridus*. - MGH Schriften des Reichsinstituts für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde. Festgabe Karl Strecker. Stuttgart, 1941 (1952, second edition).

Appendix I

VITA S. AUGUSTINI

(codice Reg. Lat. 593 Bibliothecae Vaticanae desumpta; adhibita est orthographia codicis)

lectio prima

Beatus itaque augustinus ex provintia affricana civitate thagastensi. de numero curialium honestissimis valde parentibus oriundus fuit. Cuius carnalis pater patricius. mater vero monica noncupata est. Iste puer nutritus sub //fol.94v// diligentia et litteris imbutus. in scolam missus ad plenum eruditus est. Una autem dierum nimio dolore stomachi vexatus: anxie valde laborabat. Hortante beata matre ut baptizaretur renuente gentili patre eius: baptismum dilatum est. Interim vero miserante dei gratia: dolore quiescente sanatus est. Cuius mundatio ad hoc dilata est: quasi necesse esset ut ad hoc sordidaretur si viveret: quia maius peccatum esset si post baptismum peccaret. Grecas namque litteras quibus docebatur oderat: latinas satis diligebat. Interea pervenit in librum quendam ciceronis cuius linguam pene omnes mirantur: pectus non ita. Sed liber ille ipsius exortationem continet ad philosophiam: et vocatur hortensius. Ille vero liber mutavit affectum eius. et ad ipsum dominum preces eius et vota convertit: ac desiderabilia eius. fecit alia. Viluit ei repente omnis vana spes: et immortalitatem sapientie concupiscebatur estu cordis incredibili. et insurgere ceperat: ut ad dominum rediret.

//fol.95r//

lectio secunda

Omni quippe die dominico audiebat augustinus sanctum ambrosium verbum veritatis recte populo disserentem. sepiusque in sermonibus suis dicentem. Littera enim occidit: spiritus autem vivificat. Et colloquebatur cum karissimis sibi amicis. alipidio et nebridio. mutuas questiones. Quorum alipidius ex eodem quo ipse erat ortus municipio. parentibus primatibus municipalibus augustino minor natu. Nam et studuerat apud augustinum cum in suo oppido docere cepit. et postea cartagine et diligebat eum multum. Qui etiam aliquando romam ierat. Nebridius etiam relicta patria vicina kartagini atque ipsa kartagine relicto paterno rure optimo: abiit mediolanum querens augustinum. Quo invento: erant pariter hi tres nutantes in consilio quisnam esset tenendus modus vite. Reverberavit enim deus infirmitatem aspectus eius radians in eum vehementer: atque contremuit amore et horrore et invenit se longe esse a deo in regione dissimilitudinis tamquam audiret vocem dei de excelso. Cibus sum grandium cresce et manducabis me. Nec tu me mutabis in te. sicut cibum carnis tuae: sed tu mutaberis in me. Et cognovit quoniam pro iniquitate eruditur hominem et tabescere fecit sicut haraneam animam eius. Et sensit et expertus est non esse mirum quod palato non sano pena est panis: qui sano suavis est. Et oculis egris. odiosa lux: que puris est amabilis. Tunc vero invisibilia dei per quae sunt intellecta conspexit. sed aciem figere non valuit. et reperiens infirmitate redditus

solitis non secum ferebat nisi ama[n]tem] memoriam et quasi olefacta desiderantem que comedere nondum valet.

//fol.95v//

lectio tertia

Et querebat viam roboris comparandi quid esset idoneum ad fruendum deum nec inveniebat donec amplecteretur mediatorem dei et hominum hominem jhesum christum. Non enim tenebat dominum jhesum humilis humilem nec cuius rei magistra esset eius infirmitas noverat. Quid enim sacramenti haberet verbum caro factum est: nec suspicari quidem poterat. Itaque avidissime arripuit venerabilem stilum. spiritus dei et pre ceteris apostolum paulum: et perierunt ille questiones in quibus aliquando visus est adversari sibi et non congruere testimoniis legis et prophetarum textus sermonis eius. Et apparuit ei una facies eloquiorum castorum et exultare cum tremore didicit. Post hec inmisit dominus in mentem eius visumque est ei bonum pergere ad supplicianum servum dei. Audiebat enim quod a iuventute serviret deo. Jam vero tunc senuerat et longa etate in tam bono studio sectande vie dei multa expertus multa edoctus ei videbatur et vere sic erat. Unde ei ut proferret volebat conferenti secum estus suos quis esset aptus //fol.96r// modus sic affecto ut ipse erat ad ambulandum in via dei. Videbat enim plenam ecclesiam. et alius sic ibat: alius autem sic. Ei autem displicebat quod agebat in seculo. et oneri ei erat valde: non iam inflammantibus cupiditatibus ut solebant spe honoris et pecunie ad tolerandam illam servitutem tam gravem. Jam enim illa non delectabant pre dulcedine dei et decore domus eius.

//fol.96v//

lectio quarta

Denuntiavit peractis vindemialibus ut scolasticis suis mediolanenses venditores verborum alium providerent: et quod deo ipse servire iam decrevisset. Et insinuavit per litteras sancto ambrosio pristinos errores suos et presens votum suum ut ipse moneret quid de libris sanctis legere deberet: quo percipiente tante gratie paratior aptiorque fieret. At ille iussit ysaïam prophetam quod pre ceteris evangelii vocationisque gentium sit prenunciator apertior. Verumtamen ille primam huius lectionem non intelligens totumque talem arbitrans distulit repetendum: excercitator in dominico eloquio. Inde ubi tempus advenit quo se nomen dare oporteret: relicto rure mediolanum remeavit. Placuit et alipio renasci in christo: pariter cum ipso. Adiunxerat etiam sibi puerum adeo //fol.97r// datum ex augustino carnaliter natum. Annorum enim XVci erat et ingenio preveniebat multos doctos viros: et erat patri horri illud eius ingenium. Nam est liber eius: qui scribitur de magistro. iste puer ibi cum patre loquitur. cum esset annorum XVci: sed cito de terra abstulit eum deus. Et baptizati sunt a sancto ambrosio: et fugit ab eis sollicitudo vite preterite. Nec satiabatur augustinus illis diebus dulcedine mirabili considerare altitudinem consilii divini: super salutem generis humani.

lectio quinta

Factusque presbyter monasterium intra ecclesiam mox instituit. et cum dei servis vivere cepit secundum modum et regulam sub sanctis apostolis constitutam maxime ut nemo quicquam proprium in illa sotietate haberet sed essent eis omnia communia. et distribueretur unicuique sicut opus erat. quod iam ipse prior fecerat cum de transmarinis ad sua remeasset. //fol.97v// Ante proximum vero diem obitus sui a se dictatos et editos recensuit libros sive eos quos primo tempore sue conversionis adhuc laicus sive quos presbyter sive quos episcopus dictaverat et quecumque in his recognovit aliter quam se haberet ecclesiastica regula a se fuisse dictata et scripta cum adhuc ecclesiasticum usum minus sciret minusque sapuisset a semetipso et reprehensa et correcta sunt. Unde etiam duo scripsit volumina quorum titulus est de recensione librorum.

lectio sexta

Preceptos etiam sibi quosdam libros ante diligentiores emendationem et nonnullis fratribus conquerebatur licet eos post modum emendasset. Imperfecta etiam quedam librorum suorum preventus morte dereliquit. Quique prodesse omnibus volens et valentibus multa legere et non valentibus ex utroque divino testamento veteri et novo premissa prefatione precepta divina ad vite regulam pertinentia excerpsit atque ex his unum //fol.98r// codicem fecit ut qui vellet legeret atque ex eo vel quam obediens deo inobediensque esset agnosceret: et hoc opus voluit speculum appellare.

//fol.98v//

lectio septima

Ergo die nono egritudinis sue. L. et VIto anno etatis sue: XXXmo et tercio etatis augustini. anima illa religiosa et pia carne soluta est. Sane ille sanctus in vita sua proluxa pro utilitate ac felicitate sancte ecclesie divinitus condinata nam vixit annis septuaginta sex: in clericatu autem vel episcopatu annis ferme XLta. dicere nobis inter familiaria colloquia consuaverat post perceptum baptismum etiam laudatos christianos et sacerdotes. absque digna et competenti penitentia exire de corpore non debere quod et ipse fecit ultima qua defunctus est egritudine. Nam sibi iusserit psalmos daviticos qui sunt paucissimi de penitentia scribi ipsosque quaterniones iacens in lecto contra parietem positos diebus sue infirmitatis intuebatur et legebat. et ubertim ac iugiter flebat.

//fol.99r//

lectio octava

Novi quoque etiam eundem presbyterum et episcopum pro quibusdam energuminis patientibus ut oraret rogatum eumque in oratione lacrimas fundentem Deum rogasse: et demones ab hominibus recessisse. Itemque ad egrotantem lecto vacantem quondam cum suo egroto venisse et rogavisse ut eidem manus inponeret quo sanus esse posset: respondisse si aliquid posset sibi

hoc utique primitus prestitisset: et illum dixisse visitatum se fuisse sibi per somnum dictum esse. Vade ad augustinum episcopum ut eidem manum imponat: et salvus erit. Quod dum cumperisset facere non distulit: et illum infirmum, continuo dominus sanum ab eodem discedere fecit.

//fol.99v//

lectio nona

Et ne intentio eius a quoquam impediretur ante dies ferme decem quam exiret de corpore: a nobis postulavit presentibus ne quis ad eum ingrederetur nisi his tantum horis quibus medici ad inspiciendum intrabant vel cum ei refectio inferretur et ita observatum et factum est: et omni illo tempore orationi vacabat. Verbum dei usque ad ipsam suam extremam egritudinem inpretermisse alacriter et fortiter sana mente sanoque consilio in ecclesia predicabat. membris omnibus sui corporis incolumis et integro aspectu atque auditu et ut scriptum est. nobis astantibus et videntibus et orantibus dormivit cum patribus suis et nutritus in bona senectute et nobis coram positus pro eius commendanda corporis depositione sacrificium eo oblatum est et sepultus est. Testamentum fecit nullum quia unde faceret pauper dei non habuit. Ecclesie bibliothecam omnesque codices diligenter posteris custodiendos semper iubebat. Si quid vero ecclesia vel in sumptibus vel in ornamentis habuit fidei presbyteri qui sub eodem domus ecclesie curam gerebat dimisit. Nec suos consanguineos vel in proposito vel extra constitutos: in sua vita et morte vulgi more tractavit: quibus dum adhuc superesset. id si opus fuit quod et ceteris erogavit: non ut divicias haberent sed ut aut non: aut minus egerent. Erat enim non solum eruditus scribe in regno celorum de tesoro suo proferens nova et vetera. et unus negotiatorum qui inventa preciosa margarita que habebat venditis comparavit verum etiam ex his ad quos scriptum est: sic loquimini et sic facite et de quibus salvator dicit. qui fecerit et docuerit: hic magnus vocabitur in regno celorum.

Appendix II

VITA S. AUGUSTINI auctore RUPERTO TUITIENSI

(codice 9368 fol.74v-82v Bibl.Reg.Bruxellensis desumpta; adhibita est orthographia linguae classicae ac interpunctio moderna; textus divisio est nostra)

VITA SANCTI AUGUSTINI YPPONENSIS EPISCOPI, QUAM COMPO-
SUIT MAGISTER ROBERTUS ABBAS TUICENSIS ET MONACHUS
HUIUS LOCI

1. Quid gratiae, quid honoris beato Augustino debeat Ecclesia Christi, omnis qui recte sapit intelligit. Ipse est enim columna nubis in qua thronum suum posuit sapientia Dei, de cuius ore tamquam de nube plena aquis, Christus vineam suam, id est sanctam Ecclesiam caelestis doctrinae pluviis irrigare non desinit. Noverunt hoc palmites boni in quibus fidei pulchritudo numquam deflorescit, quam pleniter ejus aquis irrigati sint, quantoque studio vulpes parvulas quae demoliebantur vineas iste persecutus sit et ceperit. Merito ergo illum in domo caelestis agricolae dignum honore dixerim, cuius fides atque studium ecclesiasticae agriculturae profuit semper et proderit. Honoranda est itaque in illo gratia Dei, cuius magnitudinem nulla potest lingua verbis prosequi: et in laude Ipsius referendum, quomodo vel quibus de tenebris in admirabile lumen suum illum vocaverit, qualiter illum episcopum atque doctorem ecclesiarum fecerit, tandemque a praesenti convalle lacrimarum evocatum tamquam bonum et fidelem servum in gaudium Suum introduxerit.

2. Hic itaque beatus Augustinus natione Affricanus oppido Tagastensi christianis parentibus ortus, claro genere quo erat editus factus est clarior, arborque bona radice sua in suis fructibus dulcior.

3. Verum adhuc adolescens cum necdum veterem hominem deposu-
//fol.74r// isset, neque novum per baptismum in Christo induisset, incurrit Manichaeorum sectam perfidam atque sordissimam. Sicut ipse in scriptis suis Domino confitens ait: ¹ "cum te, Domine, Deus, non secundum intellectum mentis quo me praestare voluisti belluis, sed secundum sensum carnis quaererem: offendi illam mulierem audacem, inopem prudentiae, juxta aenigma Salomonis, sedentem super sellam in foribus, et dicentem: panes occultos libenter edite et aquam furtivam dulcem bibite. Quae me seduxit, quia invenit foris, habitantem in oculis carnis meae: et talia ruminantem apud me, qualia per illam vorassem".

4. Flebat autem pro illo mater fidelis et pia, amplius quam flent matres corporae funera. Cumque conturbata pro illo lugeret, et sempiternam ejus salutem in gemitibus parturiret: consolatus est eam Pater misericordiarum Deus, veram per soporem dignatus illi ostendere visionem, quam ipse refert hoc modo: ² "Vidit se stantem in quadam regula lignea et advenientem ad se

¹ Conf. Lib.III.11.

² Conf. Lib.III.19.

juvenem splendidum, hilarem atque aridentem sibi, cum esset illa tristis et moerore confecta. Qui cum causas ab ea quaesisset moestitiae suae, atque illa respondisset, perditionem meam se plangere", jussit ille quo secura esset, atque admonuit, ut attenderet et videret: ibi filium esse ubi et ipsa esset. "Quod illa ubi attendit vidit me juxta se in eadem regula stantem".

5. Hoc visum ³ "cum mihi narrasset, et ego ad id trahere conarer, ut illa se potius non desperaret futuram esse quod eram ego: continuo sine aliqua haesitatione: non, inquit, non enim mihi dictum est: ibi tu, ille ubi; sed ubi tu, ille ibi." "Novem ferme anni secuti sunt, quibus in illo limo profundi versatus sum in tenebris falsitatis, cum saepe surgere conarer et gravius alliderer".

6. ⁴ "Docebam autem in illis annis artem rhetoricam", "non quo discipuli mei contra caput agerent innocentis, sed aliquando pro capite nocentis".

7. Quanti autem quamquam ardentis fuerit ingenii in omnibus artium liberalium disciplinis, ipse non ut arrogans, sed ut integratum sese divinis beneficiis accusans declarat his verbis: ⁵ "cum non dares", inquit, Domine Deus, "auditui meo gaudium et laetitiam nec exultarent ossa quae humiliata non erant", "quid mihi proderant, quod annos ferme natus XX., cum in manus meas venissent Aristotelicae quaedam quas appellant decem Categorias, quarum nomina cum eas rhetor Carthaginensis magister meus buccis typo crepantibus commemoraret, et alii qui docti habebantur, tamquam in nescio quid magnum et divinum inhiabam, legi eas solus et intellexi".

8. Et post pauca: ⁶ Quoscumque libros legere potui "de arte loquendi aut //fol. 74v// disserendi, quidquid de dimensionibus figurarum, de musicis, de numeris, sine magna difficultate nullo hominum tradente intellexi". Haec ideo commemorat ut se accuset, quod cum ingenio agili sine ullo adminiculo humani magisterii tot nodosissimos libros enodaret, ipse in doctrina pietatis deformiter erraret.

9. Deus autem in cuius manu sunt filii excussorum sicut sagittae in manu potentis, ipse hunc quem positurus erat sibi quasi sagittam electam, disponebat, confrari, formari, atque eliminari mundanae sapientiae fabricis: ut postea esset tanto acutior quanto doctior, ad confodiendam linguam philosophicae loquacitatis. Cum autem contemplavit ei qui illum praescivit et praedestinavit, ut vocaret atque justificaret eum per gratiam baptismi, tunc misericordia ejus quae hactenus a longe circumvolabat eum appropinquavit, ut aversum converteret et sub umbra alarum suarum erroneum corrigeret.

10. Egit ergo ut Romam pergeret suadentibus amicis et ibi potius doceret quod docebat Carthagini. De qua profectione sua loquitur ipse cum Deo inter caetera: ⁷ "Quare abirem, et illuc irem, tu sciebas Deus; nec indicabas

³ Conf. Lib.III.20.

⁴ Conf. Lib.IV.2.

⁵ Conf. Lib.IV.27-28.

⁶ Conf. Lib.IV.30.

⁷ Conf. Lib.V.15.

mihi nec matri, quae me profectum atrociter planxit, et usque ad mare secuta est. Sed fefelli eam violenter me tenentem, ut aut revocaret, aut mecum pergeret; et finxi me amicum nolle deserere, donec vento facto navigaret. Et mentitus sum matri et illi matri et evasi: quia et hoc dimisisti mihi misericorditer, servans me ab aqua maris plenum exsecrandis sordibus, usque ad aquam gratiae tuae, qua me abluto siccarentur flumina maternorum oculorum, quibus pro me quotidie rigabat terram sub vultu suo. Et tamen recusanti sine me redire, vix persuasi ut in loco, qui proximus erat nostrae navi memoriae beati Cypriani maneret ea nocte. Sed ea nocte clanculo ego profectus sum: illa autem mansit, orando et flendo. Et quid petebat, Deus meus, tantis lacrimis, nisi ut navigare me non sineres? Sed tu alte consulens, et exaudiens cardinem desiderii ejus, non curasti quod tunc petebat, ut me faceres quod semper petebat. Flavuit ventus et implevit vela nostra, et littus subtraxit aspectibus nostris, in quo mane illa insaniebat dolore, et querelis et gemitu implebat aures tuas contemnentes ista; cum et me cupiditatibus meis raperes ad finiendas ipsas cupiditates, et illius carnale desiderium justo dolorum flagello *va-//fol.75r//* pularet. Amabat enim secum praesentiam meam more matrum, sed multis multo amplius: et nesciebat, quid tu illi gaudiorum facturum esses de absentia mea."

11. ⁸ Et paulo post: Veniens, inquit, Romam, "ecce excipior flagello aegritudinis corporalis, et ibam jam ad inferos, portans omnia mala quae commiseram, et in te, et in me." Quo vulnere si feriretur cor matris, numquam sanaretur. Et hoc illa nesciebat, et tamen pro me absens orabat. "Recreasti ergo me ab illa aegritudine, et salvum fecisti filium ancillae tuae; tunc interim corpore, ut esset cui meliorem atque certiore salutem dares animae".

12. ⁹ Profectus ergo Romam jungebatur falsis illis atque fallentibus Manichaeis. Postquam autem missus est a Mediolano Romam ad praefectum urbis, ut illi civitati rethoricae magister provideretur, ambivit ipse Augustinus, ut dictione proposita probatum se praefectus tunc Symmachus mitteret. Et venit ad Mediolanum ad Ambrosium episcopum, Dei cultorem, in optimis virtutibus orbi terrae notum, cuius tunc eloquia strenue ministrabant adipem frumenti dominici, et laetitiam olei, et sobriam abrietatem populo Dei.

13. ¹⁰ Jam venerat ad eum mater pietate fortis, terra marique illum secuta et de periculis omnibus de Deo segura. Diligebat autem illum virum sanctum Ambrosium sicut angelum Dei; per quem sperabat filium ad fidem perducere catholicam, atque ad fontem aquae salientis in vitam aeternam.

14. ¹¹ Erant tunc cum eo familiarissimi Alipius et Nebridius; quorum Alipius ex eodem quo ipse municipio erat ortus parentibus primatibus, eo minor natu. Gurges autem morum Carthaginensium, quibus theatra ferverent

⁸ Conf. Lib. V.16-18.

⁹ Conf. Lib. V.23.

¹⁰ cfr. Conf. Lib. VI.11.

¹¹ Conf. Lib. VI.11.

spectacula, absorbuera eum insania Circensium. De quo ipse Augustinus: ¹² Tu, inquit, Domine, "qui praesides omnibus quae creasti, non eum eras oblitus futurum inter filios tuos antistitem sacramenti tui. Et ut tibi aperte tribueretur ejus correctio, per me quidem illam, sed nesciente me operatus es. Nam quodam die cum sederem loco solito et coram me adessent discipuli, venit, salutavit, sedit atque in ea quae agebatur animum intendit. Et forte lectio in manibus erat, quam dum exponerem, opportune mihi adhibenda videretur similitudo Circensium, quo illud quod insinuabam, et jucundius et planius fieret, cum irrisione mordaci eorum quos illa captivasset insania. Scis tu, Deus noster, quod tunc de Alipio ab illa peste sanando non cogitaverim. At ille in se rapuit, meque illud non nisi prop- //fol.75v// ter se dixisse credidit. Et quod alius acciperet ad mihi succensendum, accepit honestus adolescens ad sibi succensendum et ad me ardentius diligendum". "Etenim post illa verba proripuit se ex illa fovea tam alta, qua libenter demergebatur, et cum mira voluptate caecabatur; et excussit animum forti temperantia et resiliuerunt ab eo omnes sordes Circensium et amplius illuc non accessit".

15. Refert autem de hoc eodem, quod praesenti operi non incongrue videtur inserendum, quia commodum, est exemplum ad rem dubiam diligenter investigandam, et neminem temere condemnandum. Nec longa erit digressio audire de Alipio loquentem Augustinum; quod ab ipso sit descriptum; praesertim cum ambo pariter de Aegypto ascenderunt, ambo pariter mare rubrum baptismi transierunt. Cum inquit ¹³ "Adhuc studeret, jam me audiens apud Carhaginem et meridie cogitaret in foro quod recitaturus erat, sicut exerceri scholastici solent, sivist eum comprehendi ab aeditimis fori tamquam furem. Non arbitror aliam ob causam te permisisse, Deus noster, nisi ut ille vir tantus futurus jam inciperet discere, quam non facile in cognoscendis causis homo ab homine damnandus esset temeraria credulitate. Quippe ante tribunal deambulabat solus cum tabulis ac stylo, cum ecce adolescens quidam ex numero scholasticorum fur verus securim clanculo apportans, illo non sentiente ingressus est ad cancellos plumbeos, qui vico argentario desuper praeminet et praecidere plumbum coepit. Sono autem securis audito, submurmuraverunt argentarii qui subter erant, et miserunt, qui apprehenderent quem forte invenissent. Quorum vocibus auditis, relicto instrumento ille discessit, timens ne cum eo teneretur. Alipius autem qui eum non viderat intrantem, exeuntem sensit, et celeriter vidit abeuntem. Et causam scire cupiens ingressus est locum, et inventam securim stans atque, admirans considerabat. Cum ecce illi qui missi erant, reperiunt eum solum ferentem ferrum cuius sonitu exciti venerant: tenent, attrahunt: congregatis inquilinis fori, tamquam furem manifestum se comprehendisse gloriantur et inde iudicii offerendum ducebatur".

16. ¹⁴ "Sed hactenus docendus fuit. Statim enim, Domine, subvenisti innocentiae cuius testis eras solus. Cum enim duceretur vel ad custodiam vel

¹² Conf. Lib. VI.12..

¹³ Conf. Lib. VI.14.

¹⁴ Conf. Lib. VI.15.

ad supplicium, fit eis obviam quidam architectus, cuius maxima cura erat publicarum fabricarum. Gau- //fol.76r// dent illi eum potissimum occurrisset, cui solebant ipsi venire in suspicionem ablatarum rerum quae perissent de foro, ut quasi tandem jam ille cognosceret a quibus haec fierent. Verum autem viderat homo saepe Alipium in domo cuiusdam senatoris, ad quem salutandum ventitabat. Statimque cognitum manu apprehensa semovit a turbis, et tanti mali causam quaerens, quid gestum esset audivit. Omnesque tumultuantes qui aderant et minaciter frementes jussit venire secum. Et venerunt ad domum illius adolescentis qui rem commiserat. Puer vero erat ante ostium; et tam parvus erat, ut nihil exinde domino suo metuens, facile posset totum indicare. Cum eo quippe in foro fuit pedisequus. Quem postea recoluit Alipius, architecto intimavit. At ille securim demonstravit puero, quaerens ab eo cuius esset. Qui confestim: nostra, inquit. Deinde interrogatus, aperuit caetera. Sic in illam domum translata causa, confusisque turbis quae de illo triumphare jam coeperant, futurus dispensator verbi tui, et multarum in Ecclesia tua causarum examinador, experientior instructorque discessit”.

17. Hunc ergo, inquit ¹⁵ “Romae inveneram, et adhaesit mihi fortissimo” desiderio, “mecumque nutabat concilio, quisnam esset tenendus vitae modus”.

18. ¹⁶ “Nebridius etiam qui relictā patriā vicinā Carthaginī, atque ipsa Carthagine, ubi frequentissimū erat, relicto rure paterno optimo, relicta domo, et non secutura matre, nullam ob aliam causam Mediolanum venerat, nisi ut mecum viveret, in flagrantissimo studio veritatis atque sapientiae”. “Et erat ora trium egentium, et inopiam suam sibimet invicem anhelantium, et a te expectantium, ut dares eis escam in tempore opportuno”.

19. Iam quia longum est prosequi, quanta contulerint, quanta quisierint, quam difficile tandem illos a se Pharaō dimiserit, jam veniendum est ad mare baptismi, per quod transierunt onusti atque suffarinati opibus Aegypti, videlicet pleni omni scientia saeculari. Augustinus, ut dictum est, paterne susceptus a sancto episcopo Ambrosio, et per eum sana Christi doctrina correctus, valdeque dulci eloquentia viri delectatus, et maxime provocatus exemplo Victorini quondam urbis Romae rethoris, cuius laudabilem conversionem a sancto viro Simpliciano didicerat et christianum defunctum audierat, rupit omnes moras et excussit se currens et sitiens ad Deum fontem vivum, sicut deciderat cervus ad fontes aquarum.

20. Arreptus est tunc acri dolore dentium, sicut ipse ait loquens ad Deum: ¹⁷ “Nec oblitus sum”, inquit, “nec silebo flagelli tui asperitatem, et misericordiae tuae celeritatem mirabilem. Dolore dentium tunc cruciabas me. Et cum in tantum ingravesceret ut non valerem loqui, ascendit in cor meum admonere omnes meos qui aderant, ut deprecarentur te pro me, Deum salutis omnimodae. Et scripsi hoc in cera et dedi eis, ut legeretur. Mox,

¹⁵ Conf. Lib. VI.16.

¹⁶ Conf. Lib. VI.17.

¹⁷ Conf. Lib. IX.12.

ut genus supplici affectu fiximus, fugit dolor ille. Sed quis dolor? aut quomodo fugit? Expavi, fateor, Domine meus, Deus meus, nihil enim tale ab ineunte aetate expertus fueram”.

21. ¹⁸ Denuntiavit post haec, ut scholastici[s] suis Mediolanenses venditorem verborum alium providerent, eo quod Deo servire ipse delegisset. Et insinuavit per litteras antistiti Christi, viro sancto Ambrosio pristinos errores suos et praesens votum suum.

22. ¹⁹ Inde ubi tempus advenit quo eum nomen suum dare oportuit Mediolanum accessit. Dato ergo nomine suo suscepit nomen Domini novus homo: sacrosque ingressus est fontes, in quibus verus Aegyptus diabolus submersus est: verusque Israel transivit et salvatus est. O quantum erat in caelo gaudium angelis Dei in inventione dragmae tam pretiosae tamquam fulgentis, cum renovaretur juvenus aquilae, quae acutis oculis et illustratis Christi lumine usque ad nubes evolare; atque tenebrosas aquas in nubibus aeris libero arbitrio intuitu perspiceret. Quantum gaudebat mater Ecclesia in generationem talis filii, tamque eo tempore necessarii, cum a rabidis canibus vestimenta ejus scinderentur, atque a malignis piscibus, id est perfidis haereticis retis ejus rumperentur. Renatus est cum eo Alipius jam indutus humilitate congruus Christi sacramentis, adeo ut Italicum solum glaciale nudo pede tere-ret fortissimus domitor corporis. Adjunxerunt etiam sibi puerum a Deo datum ex ipso, id est Augustino carnaliter natum, cuius mater et ipsa totam se Deo voverat. Annorum ferme erat XV. puer a Deo datus et ingenio praeveniebat multos graves et doctos viros. Unde et Augustinus breviter commendans illum: “horrori”, inquit, “mihi erat illud ingenium”. “Est liber qui inscribitur: de Magistro: ipse ibi loquitur mecum”. “Cum esset annorum XVI. multa in eo mirabiliora expertus sum. Cito, Domine Deus, de terra abstulisti eum et nunc securior recordor illum”. Cum his gaudebat Augustinus assumptos in adoptionem filiorum Dei, adscriptus inter filios Sponsi, filios crucis Christi.

23. Mater autem ejus vidua casta, pia, atque sobria, quales Deus amat, quae filium per multos gemitus atque juges lacrimas iterum parturierat, cum quidem pareret tristitiam habuerat; nunc autem jam non numerat pressurae propter gaudium quia natus erat homo in Deum. De cuius vita et mo-
//fol.77r// ribus tractare non est operis huius. Maxime cum omnia illa ex ver-bis piissimi filii ejus noscantur. Hoc tantum dixisse sufficiat, quia completo hoc desiderio suo, pro quo solo vivere volebat, quod solum videre desidera-bat, scilicet quod ad sacramentum Christi Augustinus filius suus transierat, et pro errore assumpserat veritatem, Quinquagesimo et sexto anno aetatis suae, tricesimo et tertio aetatis filii, anima illa religiosa et pia corpore soluta est.

24. Gratulatur autem testimonio ejus filius pius, dicens: ²⁰ “Quod in ea ipsa ultima aegritudine, obsequiis meis interblandiens, appellabat me pium et commemorabat grandi dilectionis affectu, numquam se audisse ex ore meo jaculatum in se durum aut contumeliosum sermonem”.

¹⁸ cfr. Conf. Lib. IX.13.

¹⁹ cfr. Conf. Lib. IX.14.

²⁰ Conf. Lib. IX.30.

25. Item post aliqua, dum ejus merita commemorat, sic Domino Deo memorabili pietate supplicat: ²¹ “Ego”, inquit, “laus mea et vita mea, Deus cordis mei, sepositis paulisper bonis ejus actibus, pro quibus tibi gaudens gratias ago, nunc pro peccatis matris meae deprecor te: exaudi me per Medicinam vulnerum nostrorum, quae pependit in ligno, et sedens ad dexteram tuam te interpellat pro nobis”.

26. Item post pauca: ²² “Inspira, Domine Deus meus, servis tuis, fratribus meis, filiis tuis, dominis meis, quibus et voce et corde et litteris servio: ut quotquot haec legerint, meminerint ad altare tuum Monicae famulae tuae, cum Patricio quondam ejus conjugē, per quorum carnem introduxisti me in hanc vitam; quemadmodum nescio”.

27. Ipse autem cognoscens Deum, immo cognitus ab eo, decrevit post sanctum baptismum nullum ulterius cum fallaci saeculo habere negotium, sed esse sine sollicitudine, sine uxore, sine filiis, absque domibus, absque agrorum possessione. Quis enim antea bonas margaritas quaerens malas invenerat atque haereticas, nunc inventa una pretiosa margarita, unius scilicet Dei vera sapientia, tanto eam ardentius amabat quanto pulchriorem invenerat. Et quanto desiderio dixerit sapientiae: soror mea es, et prudentiam vocaverit amicam suam: haec orationis ejus verba declarant: ²³ “Obsecro, Pater, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum, virum dexterae tuae, filium hominis, quem confirmasti tibi Mediatorem tuum et nostrum, per quem nos quaesisti non quaerentes te, quaesisti autem ut quaeremus te”, “per Eum te obsecro, qui sedet ad dexteram tuam et interpellat pro nobis, in quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiae et scientiae absconditi: “placeat in conspectu misericordiae tuae invenire me gratiam in conspectu tuo: ut aperiantur pulsanti mihi interiora sermonum tuorum”. Hoc exemplo Salomonis postulavit; verum non exemplo illius in nocte, sed in die accepit: quia ipse //fol.77v// usque in finem cum sapientiae lumine perseveravit.

28. Jam omiserat negotium litterarum propter quod mare transierat; fuitque consilii redire in Africam post tres annos, ex quo Italiam advenerat. Rediit ergo de transmarinis partibus tamquam negotiator dives et inclitus deferens secum quod non portaverat aurem fidei pretiosum, et quod in lucrum expenderet commissum sibi a Domino caelestis sapientiae talentum. Factumque est gaudium super hoc Africanis ecclesiis, sicut quondam discipulis Christi super inopinata mutatione Sauli. Et sicut tunc Judaei, sic et nunc confundebantur homines impii et derelicti a salute Manichaei.

29. ²⁴ Erat tunc in ecclesia Ypponensi pontifex Valerius, vir per omnia sanctus ac Deo dignus; sed linguae officio parum praesidii ferebat populo Dei contra ipsos vel alios oblatratores veritatis. Homo enim natura graecus in aliena lingua eloquentiae palmam contra loquaces obtinere non poterat. Ideoque summopere desiderabatur presbyter, qui scientia doctus,

²¹ Conf. Lib. IX.35.

²² Conf. Lib. IX.37.

²³ Conf. Lib. XI.4.

²⁴ cfr. POSS. Vita.7.

eloquio fluens, quod in hac parte deerat, ecclesiae illius vice suppleret. Dum ergo die quadam praedictus episcopus de tali viro perquirendo populum exhortaretur, ecce tamquam a Deo missus adstabat in medio eorum Augustinus. Cuius universi scientiam, facundiam, sanctumque scientes officio convenire propositum, tenentes eum licet invitum renitentem, seque cum lacrimis indignum profitentem, sancto pontifici ordinandum obtulerunt. Erat enim humilis et parvus in oculis suis, quales excelsus Dominus respicit, et recumbebat in novissimo loco, vocatus ad nuptias, ideoque nunc dicebatur ei a Domino: amice ascende superius. Itaque coactus humili cervice suscepit jugum Domini, et ejus oneris fortiter subiit laborem, cuius humiliter timuit dignitatem.

30. ²⁵ Et quia jam erat rebus nudatus et pauper spiritu, quales in evangelio suo beatificat Dominus, continuo construxit monasterium ad habitandum sibi cum pusillo grege fratrum, qui ejus exemplo provocati simile supplere propositum, ut secundum, apostolicam normam communiter viventes, nihil haberent proprium. Quibus etiam scripsit regulam, sermone brevem, praeceptis gravem qui velut per angustam incedentes viam, quanto devotius tanto facilius, pergerent ad vitam. Interea parens jussionibus episcopi sui serviebat humiliter tam voce quam litteris populo Dei, et frangebat parvulis Christi panem Verbi Dei, et potans eos puro fonte scripturarum, docebat ut caverent se nosas et putentes aquas haereticorum.

31. ²⁶ Reprehendebatur autem in hoc venerabilis episcopus a nonnullis comprovincialium episcoporum, eo quod hactenus non fuisset consuetudinis in Africanis ecclesiis presbyteros coram episcopis verbum facere ad populum. At ille gloriam quaerens Christi non sua, fatebatur humiliter impossibilitatis suae causam, et facti sui prudenter reddebat rationem. Alebat se commissarum animarum communi utilitati prospicere, et quod non posset per seipsum, id necessario perficere velle per alium. Praeterea consuetudinem hanc esse in orientalibus ecclesiis, ut coram episcopis populum doceant presbyteri, quibus ab ipsis episcopis ea potestas data fuerit. Itaque jure fieri, quod ex aequo et bono valeret apud se, alias autem etiam consuetudine. Ita ratione reddita laborabat Augustinus ut ceperat in ministerio verbi, et erat sermo oris ejus quasi impetus fluminis, qui laetificat civitatem Dei. Nonnulli autem episcoporum utile secuti exemplum, fecerunt sibi episcopi etiam adjutores in hac parte presbyteros quos elegerunt.

32. ²⁷ Erat in his diebus quidam Manicaeorum presbyter Fortunatus, similis illi Phylisteo, qui blasphemavit Deum Israel, quia magnitudine linguae confusus, quasi fortibus armis, et grandi mole corporis, humiles servos Christi provocabat saepius ad conflictum sermonis. Adeunt ergo Augustinum Ipponenses omnes cives, atque peregrini catholici, Donatistis quoque pariter adjunctis, certamen iniret, si forte manu fortis Christus per os ejus adesset, et alienigena percusso auferret opprobrium ab Israel. Manichaei

²⁵ cfr. POSS. Vita.8.

²⁶ cfr. POSS. Vita.9.

²⁷ cfr. POSS. Vita.10-12.

enim et Donatistae necnon et reliquae haereses, ut vere geminina viperarum invicem persequuntur, invicem mordent, atque dissidentium, tantummodo contra catholicam Ecclesiam una acie, uno eodemque animo dimicant. At ille non in se sed in illo confidens qui dixit: non vos estis qui loquimini, sed Spiritus Patris vestri qui loquitur in vobis, in verbo ipsius, si vellet Manichaeus, ille sese in congressum ire promisit. Timebat haereticus ille contra talem, quem optime noverat, subire certamen, sed provocatus a catholicis, stimulatus a suis, pudorem suum non ferret si solo metu refugisset. Procedunt in medio. Ambo docti, ambo famosi: hic assertione veritatis, ille falsitatis. Ingens utrimque spectaculum: Ille qui posuerat in caelum os suum, loquebatur iniquitatem in excelsum, et quasi Goliath non parens rotabat blasphemias in Deum Israel. Contra hic, habens in pera profundes memoriae limpidissimos lapides sumptos de torrente scripturarum, percussit atque confregit erectam superbiae frontem, dejectumque in terram suis armis expolians, ut ait quidam tam doctus quam fidelis: pollutam rigide transfixit cuspide linguam. //fol.78v// Igitur obmutuit ille, et iniquitas oppilavit os suum, et oppipare [sic!] non audens aiebat se collaturum cum doctoribus ea in quibus defecisset ipse superatus, et siquidem suae sectae nullae rationes subvenire potuissent, tunc demum transiturum se ad eam qua victus erat fidem. Et haec quidem dum adhuc teneretur dixit, sed postquam avolavit tamquam bubo, aut noctua refuga lucis, nusquam in ille regione amplius comparuit. Disputatum est autem per totum biduum, totumque praelium atque intra currentes ictus verborum praesentibus notariis litteris excepti sunt. Eat inde libellus: contra Fortunatum, in quo de Manichaeis commune Christi fides agit tropheum, quando videlicet omnes fugerunt videntes quod cecidisset fortissimus eorum.

33. ²⁸ Augustinus igitur potens in doctrina sana, confluentibus alacriter catholicis, docebat eos cum auctoritate publice et privatim, et ventilabat cornibus ferreis omnes Africanarum haeresium lupos, maxime Donatistas et Manichaeos.

34. ²⁹ Revoluens etiam gentilium ac philosophorum libros, oculis eorum ingerebat deorum quos colebant ignominia, et ita suis ab eo telis confodiebantur, qui crucem Christi aspernabantur tamquam stultitiam. Taliter homo illuminatus a Deo refulgebat cunctis instar lampadis lucens, propriis ne offenderent, impiis ne laterent. Innotuitque nomen ejus ecclesiis Christi transmare et in oriente positis, et sicut uno in corpore uni membro congaudent caetera, sic congaudebant illi ecclesiae, cui talem Christi lucernam paraverat.

35. ³⁰ Interea dum vice sui pontificis adesset omnibus virga fortis et gloriosus, baculus, timere coepit sanctus episcopus idem Valerius, ne sibi auferretur, quia jam ad episcopatum alterius ecclesiae fuerat expetitus. Suam enim, id est Ipponensem, ecclesiam, sicut hac luce praesente illuminatam, sic

²⁸ cfr. POSS. Vita.13.

²⁹ cfr. POSS. Vita.14.

³⁰ cfr. POSS. Vita.15.

remota providebat obscurandam. Hoc itaque timens, antistiti Carthaginensi primati episcoporum secretis intimat litteris cum supplici obsecratione navim sanctae ecclesiae, quam ipse regendam suscepisset, ab alio rectore deinceps regi oportere. Causamque reddens aiebat aevo gravem se esse, corpore infirmum, scientia quoque parum idoneum. Et cum talis vel sereno maris navigationem timeat aggredi, tum maxime periculosum esse, cum ventus esset contrarius, cum fluctus feri maris dispumarent suas confusiones, ac sidera errantia, videlicet haeretici, multas vias ostenderent erroris. Prospiceret ergo periclitantis ecclesiae saluti, quam suo sanguine Christus acquisivit, et Augustinum tamquam maris peritissimum pro se vel secum residere consentiret //fol.79r// ad gubernaculi clavum. Huiusmodi rationes per litteras missis et remissis frequenter, tandem ut petebat ejus consensum voti compos obtinuit.

36. ³¹ Deinde caeteros coepiscopos Ipponem adesse petit, de praecipuis asserens agendum esse negotiis. Megalium quoque primatem episcoporum a Nimidie rogat suppliciter visitatum se advenire. Convenientibus ergo quamplurimis episcopis, congregatis clericis, insperatam coram omnibus causam quae supra dicta est suppliciter exponit. Rogat deinde ipsorum sanctum conventum propter Dominum, quem esse crederet in medio ipsorum, quippe qui in nomine ejus congregati essent: ut desiderium suum Domini Dei utile perficerent. Laudatur ab omni conventu homo Dei, eo quod germane diligit gregem Christi. Dilectionem illam inde comprobari, quod numquam omnibus cum austeritate imperaverit; et nunc, ut non cupidus honoris, pastorem illis utilem acquisierit. Pastores esse multos, qui pascere semetipsos, lac comederent et lanis operirentur, gregem autem et ipse segnes non pascere, et aliis pascendi locum non darent. Accititur deinde Augustinus et jubetur ut episcopatum quem gerebat actibus, loco quoque et nomine suscipiat. Ille diu contradicere et viventis episcopi sedem se numquam occupaturum affirmare. Contra pluribus praelatis in medium transmarinis exemplis acclamantibus clericis, jubentibus et admirantibus episcopis, cavens ne nimia humilitas in pertinacia declinaret consilio acquievit ut obediret. Ordinatus ergo pro episcoporum atque cleri arbitrio, accepit benedictionem a Domino.

37. ³² Ejus rei felicitatem omnem arbitror laudatorum eloquentiam ante ire. Nam coepit non solum suae sed etiam aliis ecclesiis, quocumque vocabatur, adesse doctor facundus, et fidei defensor acerrimus. Et sicut coaxantes ranae, tonante caelo, attonitae conquiescunt, sic Donatistae vel omnes haeretici ad vocem sermonum ejus vel tractatum attoniti, cum indignarentur muttire non audebant. Tractatus autem ejus praesentibus notariis exceptos, magistris suis legendos offerebant. Illi ut vere lupi in vestimentis ovium euntes in illis tractatibus, velut quibusdam carminibus de se compositis, detractam sibi pellem videbant et irascebantur, quia nitidi coram hominibus incedentes, ibi parebat quam essent introrsum turpes.

³¹ cfr. POSS. Vita.16.

³² cfr. POSS. Vita.17.

38. ³³ Et si quid in tractatibus ejus de fide disputantibus in caveis suis oblatrassent, cum id referretur ad Augustinum, provocabat eos ut palam oblocuturi prodirent ad conflictum. At illi jam dudum experti solidum Ecclesiae dentem, metuebant eum velut ancipitem gladium, velut arcum semper //fol.79v// extensum. Et versi in furorem, eo quod rationibus diffiderent, dicebant eum lupum ab omnibus insequendum et occidendum, quem si qui quorum in defensionem sui gregis interemissent, promitterent eos ab omnibus esse culpis absolutos, et dicerent eis quod Moyses filiis Levi: consecrastis manus vestras Domino. ³⁴

39. ³⁵ Ob hoc insaniebant et sanguinem ejus sitiabant Circilliones [sic!] Donatistarum, quos continentes vocant, dirum genus hominum perversum ac violentum. Hi turmatim discurrentes et eo tumultu quo retia Domini ruperant foris in catholicos debacchantes, alios rebus, alios vita privabant, alios quovis membro detruncabant, aliis calcem vivam in oculis mittebant. Inde tam feri tamquam crudeles, etiam suis erant odibiles.

40. ³⁶ Sed cum haec facerent arbitrabantur se nihil fecisse donec Augustinum de terra delevisset. Ejus itaque vias explorantes, aliquotiens armati sederunt in insidiis, ut interficerent transeuntem. Ita quadam die pene inciderat in manus eorum et inducturus erat Ecclesiae incomparabilem luctum. Insidiabantur idem Circilliones et ipse more suo pergebat ad exhortandas catholicas plebes. Sed qui caecavit latrunculos Syriae sanctum quaerentes Eliseum, fecit et hos amentes errare, donec transiret qui quaerebatur, et per aliam viam perveniret in eum quo tendebat locum.

41. ³⁷ Ex eo monasterio quo presbyter factus constituerat, multis ecclesiis presbyteros et episcopos rogatus dederat, qui fide magni, scientia clari, pro muro erant fidelibus Christi.

42. ³⁸ Horum unus Calamensi ecclesiae datus episcopus ab illis Circillionibus insidias passus, comprehensus et rebus cunctis spoliatus, ipse quoque gravissima caede est affectus. Pro his Crispinus Donatistarum, qui Calamae erat episcopus, tenetur, et auraria multa damnatus a iudicibus tandem intercedentis Augustini beneficio liberatur.

43. ³⁹ Itaque Deus laudem Ecclesiae suae non tacebat, cum et per hunc doctorem veritatis dissiparet, quas haeretici texebant, araneorum telas, et per catholicos homines potestatibus praeditos temerarias atque cruentas eorum prurptiones compesceret. Nam et ab Honorio christianissimo imperatore fuerat edictum nullo loco Donatistas haeticos esse debere. Et ne calumniarentur, vim sibi non Dei Justitiam fieri, jussit colligi apud Carthaginem concilium episcoporum, tam Donatistarum quam Catholicorum, ad quod tribunum de latere suo misit atque notarium. In quo omnes ante et pro omnibus defensor fidei fortissimus exstitit per omnia laudabilis Augustinus.

³³ cfr. POSS. Vita.18.

³⁴ Exodus 32,29.

³⁵ cfr. POSS. Vita.19-20.

³⁶ cfr. POSS. Vita.23.

³⁷ cfr. POSS. Vita.21-22.

³⁸ cfr. POSS. Vita.24-25.

³⁹ cfr. POSS. Vita.26.

44. Attamen principes haereticorum quamvis de errore convicti, nec sic poterant ad veritatis cultum //fol.80r// revocari, quoniam adhaeserant antiquo pecorum praeposito mortis, qui pugnantibus sanctis angelis, id est sacerdotibus catholicis, projectus in terram trahebat eam, quam caudae suae adhaeserat tertiam partem stellarum⁴⁰, non caritate sed scientia inflante micantium.

45.⁴¹ De plebibus tamen quas seduxerant, quotidie quamplurimi revertebantur ad catholicam matrem Ecclesiam. Huic scissio [sic!] doctorum quadam die illud mirabile contigit, quod, cum sermonem faceret ad populum verbum Domini, quod fiebat per eum ipso nesciente neque ita in dispositione habente, ventilare coepit haeresim Manichaeorum. Cumque de hoc ipse miraretur utique discipuli ejus, ecce post biduum veniens negotiator quidam, et ad pedes ejus provolutus confitebatur, quod pluribus annis Manichaeorum secta fuisset secutus, et illo die, illoque sermone per ipsum in fide catholica suscitatus. Ille gaudens Domino gratias egit auctori et ordinatori nostrae salutis, in cuius manu sumus et nos et sermones nostri. Ille autem eousque in membris Ecclesiae profecit, ut in aliam regionem profectus, promotus sit ad officium presbyterii.

46.⁴² Pascentius quidam comes domus regiae, per cuius linguam haeresis ariana velut hydria centenorum capitum sibilabat, hunc invictum fidei testem provocavit, multisque interpositis honoratis et nobilibus viris, cum eo contulit et victus est.

47.⁴³ Maximus quoque ejusdem perfidiae signifer et episcopus, cum Gothis ad Africam veniens, quamplurimis potentatibus et praeclaris interpositis viris, cum eo contulit et superatus est. Longum nimis est et paene impossibile singillatim prosequi, quos et cum quibus hic venerabilium litterarum defensor conflictus egerit.

48.⁴⁴ Plena sunt libris ejus armaria, et tam multis ut vix quilibet studiosissimus eos perlegere sufficiat; in quibus tota paene intentio totumque studium ejus est destruere parietes dealbatos haeretica peste pollutos, quorum habitatores Dominus per Moysen esse judicat immundos. Et si de omni armatura, quam suspendit in sanctae Ecclesiae propugnaculis, solus ille cognitus esset liber, quem scripsit de Civitate Dei, sic quoque multam illi gratiam deberent cives ejusdem Civitatis Dei, cunctique milites imperatoris ejus Christi. Nam cum illam Civitatem jam supra montem positam, jam toto mundo conspicuam, cives terrenae et alienae a Deo civitatis abscondere non valentes infamarent, et blasphemii impugnant, ita ut jam usu diceretur in plateis: pluvia desit causa christiani, iste de Civitate Dei contra civitatem illorum sodomam, cruentam et impacatam //fol.80v// fortiter ac fideliter deseruit, et sepulcrum patens oris sorum loquentium mendacium magnis et veris rationibus ex ipsorum maxime libris occlusit.

⁴⁰ cfr. Apoc. 12.4

⁴¹ cfr. POSS. Vita.30-31.

⁴² cfr. POSS. Vita.34-35.

⁴³ cfr. POSS. Vita.36.sqq.

⁴⁴ cfr. POSS. Vita.40.

49. ⁴⁵ His autem sanctis ejus studiis concors erat et vita privata misericors. Hospitalis pauperum refugium; consolatio viduarum ac pupillorum; habensque cum simplicitate columbae astutiam serpentis; prudens erat in discretionem boni et mali; justustribuendo suum jus unicuique pro dignitate cuiusque; fortis et laboris patiens; cum ratione utilitatis moderatus et continens a cunctis cupiditatibus. Obrectatores omnes oderat, et contra hos in mensa sua frugali et parca, tales versiculos scriptos habebat:

Quisquis amas dictis absentum rodere vitam.

Hanc mensam indignam noveris esse tui.

Ut autem ipse ait in libro Confessionum suarum numquam illustrari voluit operatione signorum. Memoriter quippe tenebat et in suis tractatibus saepe commemorabat optimam boni magistri propositionem, quod non dixit: discite a me super mare pedibus ambulare, vel: discite a me mortuos suscitare, sed: quia mitis sum et humilis corde. Verumtamen ne propter humilitatem desereret caritatis compassionem, adhuc presbyter et jam factus episcopus, oblatis sibi infirmis, et his qui a demonibus vexabantur, orabat pro illis et sanabantur, et demones ab obsessis corporibus fugabantur.

50. ⁴⁶ His ita de bonis ejus actibus breviter exactis superest aperire qualiter praesentis vitae militiam finiens transierit ad eum, cui fide non ficta militaverat: Christum regem et Civitatem sanctorum caelestem Jerusalem. In illis diebus virga furoris Domini gens Wandalorum cum Gothis aliisque diversis nationibus ab Hispaniae partibus, navibus in Africam transvecta, velut impetus tempestatis incubuerat civitatibus et ecclesiis Africanis, omnia complens atrocibus malis, caedibus, rapinis, incendiis. Hoc horribili flagello, civitatibus cunctis excidio praeditis, tres erant superstites: Carthago, Cirta, Ippone.

51. ⁴⁷ Harum primam Ipponem obsidio circumdedit. Videns ergo pius pastor Augustinus angustiam dominici gregis a facie circumfrentium ferarum trepidantis, die quadam multis coram positus, altius ingemuit et cunctis audientibus id se rogare Dominum dixit: ut aut manum suam extentam misericorditer retraheret, aut se de praesenti saeculo citius exire juberet. Nam illorum miseriam quibus timebat et sanctae Ecclesiae directionem videre non poterat.

52. ⁴⁸ Ecce autem tertio //fol.81r// mense illius obsidionis correptus febribus decubuit, et in aegritudine quotidie magis ac magis exercebatur, jam jam ut petierat ad Dominum migraturus. Sic aegrotanti quidam infirmus in lecto jacens oblatus est, ut ei per benedictionem et sacrae manus impositionem sanitatem conferret. Qui cum more suae humilitatis diceret, hoc suae non esse virtutis, se quoque sic aegrotum jacere, si quid posset ipse primo sibi medendum fuisse. At ille qui offerebat infirmum mandatum se dixit accepisse per visum quatenus illum deferret ad Augustinum. Quo audito

⁴⁵ cfr. POSS. Vita.41-60.

⁴⁶ cfr. POSS. Vita.61-63.

⁴⁷ cfr. POSS. Vita.64-65.

⁴⁸ cfr. POSS. Vita.66.

nihil cunctatus manum imposuit, benedixit, statimque mirum in modum infirmus contactu infirmi sanus factus surrexit.

53. ⁴⁹ Per idem tempus interrogatus est hic vere legis peritus et scriba doctus in regno caelorum ab Honorato, viro sancto, ecclesiae Thiabensis episcopo, liceret ne sacerdotibus vel caeteris Ecclesiae ministris in tali periculo deserere gregem quem suo sanguine Christus acquisivit. Nam in illa tempestate populo Dei periclitante, illi sese periculo subtrahere deliberabant, idque praetenta quasi utili vel honesta causa, prudenter se facturum existimabant. Alebant opus fore, ut perdita civitate qui de populo superviverent ecclesiasticis officiis ut ministris non carerent; ideoque magis sui quam quorumlibet popularium esse necessariam salutem. Siquidem hoc fecisse Paulum apostolum, cum in sporta submissus est per murum et sic evasit manus persecutorum. Sic ipsum quoque Dominum Herode persequente fugisse in Aegyptum, eundemque postea praecepisse discipulis: cum vos persecuti fuerint in una civitate fugite in aliam. Ad hanc interrogationem rescripsit epistolam satis utilem cunctis Ecclesiae Dei ministris, quam hic propter prolixitatem inserere non libuit. Summa autem ejus est, in communi periculo pastorum et ovium, pastoribus non esse fugiendum. Nam si fugiant, eos non pastores sed mercenarios videri, nec ad eos pertinere de ovibus, qui videntes lupum venientem dimittunt oves et fugiunt. Exemplum apostoli vel ipsius Domini, quod ipsi ad firmamentum suae rationis adhibuissent tunc esse sequendum, cum soli pastores quaeruntur et periculum eorum non est commune cum ovibus.

54. ⁵⁰ Interea beatus servus ille Domini, qui super custodiam suam stans totis noctibus vigilaverat, jam venire, jamque per molestiam corporis Dominum suum pulsare sentiebat. Erat autem ex hilaritate mentis aspectus pulcher et sermo dulcis, et nunc plusquam hactenus habere videbatur illuminatos oculos cordis. Jam enim aspirabat dies et inclinabantur umbrae mortalitatis. Solem quippe justitiae cuius hactenus lumen viderat in luna, videlicet in //fol.81v// praesenti ecclesia, nunc appropinquante jamque in seipso videndum quaedam intellectualis lucis in ejus mente percurrerebatur aurora. In hunc ergo mundos oculos cordis intendens, rogat se non inquietari, neminem ad se nisi certis horis ingredi. Septem poenitentiae psalmos in pariete descriptos habens prae oculis assidue decantabat, faciens ipse quod docuerat semper, neminem quamlibet justum debere finire sine poenitentia. Venit dies et hora qui desiderabatur et aderant discipuli flentes et cum multis lacrimis discessuro tanto petri ultimum vale dicentes. Illisque psallentibus et flentibus illa felix anima, reserata janua corporis, laeta Dominum suum excepit, et inter manus illorum, habitatore discedente, vacua relicta est habitatio corporis, anno aetatis suae LXXVI., episcopatus autem XL. Corpus cum omni honore ut dignum erat sepulturae traditum expectat beatam resurrectionem mortuorum, quam optime credidit, pro qua legitime certavit, de cuius hostibus loquendo et scribendo saepissime triumphavit. Testamentum nullum fecit, quia unde faceret, pauper Christi non habuit.

⁴⁹ cfr. POSS. Vita.67.

⁵⁰ cfr. POSS. Vita.68-69.

55. Exauditus ergo est ne videret mala civitatis suae ut petierat: quae post ejus obitum ab hostibus capta et succensa est. Nunc Deo vivit et nobis non obiit, quia quod legimus ipse loquitur; et in ecclesiis filiis dignitatem magistri semper obtinet, et sicut stella fulgebit in perpetuas aeternitates. Amen.

Zur Einführung

Martijn SCHRAMA OSA

Der 3. Januar 1481 wurde zu einem Feiertag nicht nur für den Erfurter Augustinerkloster, sondern auch für die Erfurter Universität. An diesem Tag wurde in der Augustinerkirche der hochangesehene Theologieprofessor und Canonikus der Augustiner Johannes von Dorsten von seinem Bistum bestattet.

Der Verstorbenen war der Sohn einer angesehenen Bürgerfamilie aus dem benachbarten Dorsten. Er ließ sich im Frühjahr 1437 im Alter von etwa 16 Jahren an der Kölner Universität immatrikulieren als "Famulus" des Patrons Magistri und zumaligen Kölner Dt. med. Bernard von Loh. Siehe diese Tatsache vor ein deutlicher Hinweis auf das weitverbreitete akademische Interesse des jungen Mannes. Ohne schon ein bestimmtes Studienziel im Auge zu haben, suchte er möglichst viel Wissen seiner Zeit in sich aufzunehmen. Sein Interesse richtete sich sehr wohl auf weltliche und kanonische Studien, einschließlich der humanistischen Bearbeitungen der damaligen Zeit, sowie auf gesellschaftliche Forschung und religiöse Fragen.

Ende 19 Jahre nach seinem Kölner Studienbeginn entschloss sich Dorsten im Alter von 21 Jahren, 1454 zur Immatrikulation an der damals weitbekannten Universität zu Erfurt. Dort begann er, schon 33 Jahre alt, an der Aristoteleskathedra des Studiums und wurde im Jahre 1458 als erster von 19 Bewerbern des "magister artium" promoviert. Danach entschloss er sich im Sommer des folgenden Jahres zum Eintritt in das Erfurter Augustinerkloster und wurde dort 1465 zum Priester geweiht. 1463/64 ist er erstmals als Bachelor der Theologie bezeugt. Seine Promotion zum Doktor der Theologie geschah am 14. Oktober 1465. Sofort übertrug ihm der Orden die Leitung des Generalstudiums im Augustinerkloster und den Vorversitätskathedra des Ordens. Der moderne Historiker der Erfurter Universität Wolfgang Erich Kählermann ist der Überzeugung, dass auch andere als Johannes von Dorsten im Lauf der folgenden 16 Jahre als Erfurter Theologie als Prediger und durch seine Schriften stark engagiert aktiv gewesen sein.

¹ Siehe dazu A. Schwan, *Der 15. Juni von Dorsten in Spätliche Lateinische Literatur* 199 (1983) 16-18. Vgl. auch dazu Kählermann, *Über das Studium Erfurtens*, Leipzig 1982.