

ON THE ORIGINS OF THE OESA: SOME NOTES ON THE *SERMONES AD FRATRES SUOS IN EREMO*

History, fiction, and fact are often difficult to distinguish. In the course of time, they blend into one another, with the result that a new history is created. Such was the fate of the origins of the Order of Hermits of Saint Augustine (*Ordo eremitarum sancti Augustini*, OESA; today, OSA). In less than 100 years from the bull of Pope Alexander IV, *Licet ecclesiae catholicae* of 9 April 1256, which brought together various eremitical groups in the Great Union to form the OESA, the historical account of the OESA's foundation had been transformed, and a new image of Augustine had been created. Rather than the monastic bishop of Hippo, as he had been known throughout the Middle Ages and on into the early fourteenth century, Augustine was restyled the hermit founder of his Order of Hermits. Central to this new image of Augustine were Augustine's *Sermones ad fratres suos in eremo*. These sermons, however, are a forgery. Yet the origins of this forgery are an enigma, and most likely will remain so. This is all the more unfortunate since these sermons became intricately and intimately connected with the late medieval understandings not only of the origins of the OESA, but also of Augustine himself, serving as the source of fierce controversy and debate from the mid-fourteenth century to the eve of the Reformation, when eventually the *causa Augustiniana* was itself transformed from concerning the authenticity of Augustine's heritage to the orthodoxy of his theology and how it was being taught in Wittenberg. The medieval understandings of Augustine and the origins of the OESA are no longer accepted as history, and have not been for quite sometime. Yet we must come to grips with the fact that our own understandings are not all that different when it comes down to it, in terms of processes, from those of our medieval ancestors. Understanding is historically conditioned, and our own "historically affected consciousness" is as "playful" as was that of the later Middle Ages.¹ It is thus that I offer here some notes on the origins of the OESA, and on the late medieval understandings and creations thereof, in hope of contributing to the on-going attempt to define and understand ourselves in coming to a more historical understanding of the historical record.²

¹ HANS-GEORG GADAMER, *Truth and Method*, 2nd revised edition, trans. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall (New York, 1993).

² See also my forthcoming study, *Augustinus Noster. Interpreting Augustine and Augustinianism in the Later Middle Ages*, SMRT (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers).

One often reads that the legends concerning Augustine as the founding father of the hermits were by the early fourteenth century already long-standing oral tradition. Yet even Balbino Rano, OSA, claimed that there is no evidence that members of the OESA considered themselves to have been members of an Order established by Augustine before 1308. This, for Rano, was a *terminus post quem*, not a *terminus a quo*.³ Appeals to "oral tradition" are rather convenient. Eschewing textual evidence, they explain how "legends" came to be without having to give any documentation. Yet with the transition from "oral tradition" to textual tradition, we are confronted with the problem of the uniformity and coherence of the preceeding "oral tradition", especially when the textual tradition evidences a lack of uniformity and a lack of coherence. Moreover, we close our eyes to the process of creation, to the process of myth-making. Appeals to an oral tradition of what "must have been" simply deflect the issue of literary fiction. The "fiction" was already there in the supposed "oral tradition". This, though, is a travesty of historical method and approach, and not only obscures, but also denies the creative processes of image "correction", which at times, if not always, slips into the realm of image "creation".⁴ The late medieval Augustine was a created Augustine. For the historian, the most exciting aspect thereof is the analysis of the creation itself, without appeals to a posited "oral tradition" that can explain, and explain away, the newness and excitement of the fictions themselves. It was only in the aftermath of 1327 – when Pope John XXII granted the petition of William of Cremona, the Prior General of the OESA, that the Hermits should have custody of Augustine's

I presented an early version of some of what here follows on the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* in a lecture at Villanova University, hosted by the Augustinian Institute in their lecture series, Lectures in the Augustinian Tradition, under the title: "Creating Augustine: The *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* and the *Collectanea Sancti Augustini* of Jordan of Quedlinburg." I would like to thank Father Thomas Martin, O.S.A. for the invitation, and Father Martin as well, together with Father Karl Gersbach, O.S.A., for their comments on my paper. The section below on the origins of the OESA was privately published in the Newsletter of the Australian Augustinians, and is available on their website, AUGNET. I would like to thank Father Michael Endicott, O.S.A. for that opportunity and for his comments on my work and his support thereof. Without the help, support, and encouragement of Father Gersbach and Father Martijn Schrama, O.S.A., this present work would never have seen the light of day. In addition, I am most grateful to Kristi Palmer, Librarian of the IUPUI University Library, who acquired for me the microfilms needed to complete this project, and to the Department of History and the School of Liberal Arts of IUPUI which provided the funding.

³ BALBINO RANO, O.S.A., *The Order of Saint Augustine* (Rome, 1975), 20-21.

⁴ On the issue of "image correction" and "image creation" see my forthcoming study, *Augustinus Noster*.

body in Pavia – that Augustine was created anew as the founding father of the OESA.⁵

I. The New Augustine

In a fresco in Santa Maria della Misericordia in Bologna, we find an image of Augustine giving his Rule to four hermits. One of the hermits has been identified as Martin Luther. Luther visited Santa Maria della Misericordia on his trip to Rome in 1510 to oppose the proposed union of the observant and conventual branches of the German Augustinians under Johannes von Staupitz. The depictions of the four hermits had shortly thereafter been painted over, only to have been restored in 1931.⁶ Here we find Luther a devoted adherent to the

⁵ See E.L. SAAK, "The Creation of Augustinian Identity in the Later Middle Ages," *Augustiniana* 49 (1999), 109-164, 251-286.

⁶ "Lorenzo Costa assieme a Giacomo Francia affrescò in Santa Maria della Misericordia a Bologna un sant'Agostino in trono che affida la sua regola a quattro discepoli che gli stanno intorno, fra i quali si è voluto riconoscere Martin Lutero. I quattro discepoli rappresentati sono attenti e compunti nell'espressione del viso, consci della responsabilità che si stanno assumendo. Agostino sotto il manto vescovile e la mitra in testa indossa il saio scuro dei monaci agostiniani. La scena si svolge in una camera che si affaccia con due finestre su un panorama agreste semplice ma di grande serenità. L'affresco si trova su un pilastro fra due cappelle nella chiesa della Misericordia. Questa chiesa fu acquistata per mille lire dagli Agostiniani della Congregazione di Lombardia nel 1473 dai monaci Olivetani, che l'avevano lasciata venti anni prima per ritornare a S. Michele in Bosco. La chiesa era in condizioni disastrose, tuttavia la stima di cui godevano gli Agostiniani fece sì che si muovesse la solidarietà del Comune e delle famiglie facoltose di Bologna. L'edificio e il convento ritornarono così al primitivo splendore. In particolare la potente famiglia dei Bentivoglio, che era legata all'altra chiesa agostiniana di S. Giacomo, dove aveva la cappella di famiglia, non mancò di dirottarvi i suoi migliori artisti come il Francia e il Costa. L'affresco è dunque databile attorno al 1510. Questa data corrisponde all'anno in cui Martin Lutero (che dal 1501 al 1505 aveva soggiornato ad Erfurt), in viaggio per Roma, si fermò con il confratello che l'accompagnava, nel convento della Misericordia. Dicono i suoi biografici che lo accolse un inverno gelido e con molta neve. Che uno dei frati ritratti sia proprio Lutero non è scritto da alcuna parte, ma vari indizi lo fanno credere. Innanzitutto il significato dell'affresco è chiaro: Agostino è il grande dottore della Chiesa e fondatore dell'Ordine. Ai suoi piedi vi sono quattro personaggi che a quel tempo sono considerati i più rappresentativi del suo pensiero e della sua scuola. Martin Lutero non era ancora eretico e la sua fama può avere acceso la fantasia del priore o del committente. D'altra il confronto tra le immagini del giovane Lutero e l'affresco mostra somiglianze sorprendenti. E' interessante osservare che non molto tempo dopo, quando ormai Lutero era diventato eretico, il priore, che sapeva molto bene chi fosse quel frate raffigurato ai piedi di Agostino, fece dare una mano di bianco sulla parte inferiore dell'affresco, cancellando tutti e quattro i personaggi. Quetsa operazione non avrebbe avuto senso se non per nascondere qualcosa di scomodo. Solo nel 1931 un

OESA and to his Order's primacy as the true sons of Augustine.⁷ This image is in keeping with Luther's own marginal notes of 1509/1510 on Augustine's *De vera religione*, where Luther cites Augustine's *De vita et moribus clericorum*, and lashes out against Jacob Wimpfeling for denying the authenticity of these sermons and Augustine's monastic life.⁸ The two sermons in question, as the editors of the *Weimar Ausgabe* of Luther's works noted, were part of the pseudo-Augustinian *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*. Luther's defense of their authenticity is nevertheless not without merit. Though these two sermons were part of the pseudo-Augustinian collection, they are actually genuine sermons of Augustine and circulated separately as sermons 355 and 356 under the title Luther cites.⁹

When Luther joined the OESA in 1505, the image of the "new Augustine" was already well established, as can be seen in codex 78A 19a of the *Kupferstichkabinett* in Berlin, which contains an illustrated Life of St. Augustine, known as the *Historia Augustini*.¹⁰ Composed between 1430 and 1440 in central Germany, the *Historia* consists of

primo sommario restauro di pulitura aveva evidenziato la presenza dei quattro frati. Costa dipinse anche una pala con Agostino in San Giovanni in Monte sempre a Bologna nel 1497, per la cappella di Iacopo Chedini. Agostino vi è raffigurato con la Madonna, Giovanni e altri santi. Secondo Vasari Francesco Francia dipinse il santo anche su una tavola per la cappella Bentivoglio in San Giacomo Maggiore a Bologna. Fu eseguita per Giovanni II Bentivoglio, signore di Bologna nel 1499 e raffigura la Vergine fra Floriano, Agostino, Giovanni Evangelista e Sebastiano. Un'altra sua opera si trova alla Pinacoteca di Bologna, un tempo fuor della porta in Strada Castiglione della Misericordia." Associazione Storico-Culturale S. Agostino (hereafter cited as: ASCSA), <http://www.cassiciaco.it/ITA/001ago/pittori/costa.htm>. The website of the Associazione is a rich and wonderful resource. It is, among other things, in effect a virtual research library for Augustinian studies.

⁷ The OESA referred to themselves as the "true sons of Augustine" at least since NICHOLAS OF ALESSANDRIA: "Sed nos sumus filii immediate ab eo [scil. Augustino] geniti, ideo plane portamus signum ipsius, scilicet habitum quo usus fuit statim post conversionem. Numquam enim ultra mare talis habitus visus est qualem portant Canonici regulares, sed omnes religiosi induuntur de nigro et super latam tunicam corigia cinguntur." NICHOLAS DE ALESSANDRIA, *Sermo de beato Augustino*, ed. Balbino Rano, in *idem*, "Los dos Primeras Obras Conocidas sobre el Origen de la Orden Augustiniana," *Analecta Augustiniana* 45 (1982): 352-376; 363.

⁸ D. Martini *Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 61 vols. (Weimar, 1883-1999), 9.12, 7-18. For Wimpfeling, see note 19 below.

⁹ For the sermons, see C. LAMBOT, ed. *Sermones selecti sancti Augustini*. Stromata Patristica et Mediaevalia (Utrecht, 1950), 124-131.

¹⁰ The *Historia Augustini* has been published by the Courcelles in their work, *Iconographie de Saint Augustin. Les Cycles du XV^e Siècle* (Paris, 1969). For their discussion of the *Historia*, see pages 29-64; for the work itself, see plates II-XXXV. It is also available at ASCSA, <http://www.cassiciaco.it/ITA/001ago/Historia/histor.htm> (hereafter cited as *HA*).

123 scenes from Augustine's life. In thirty-nine of those scenes, numbers 39 to 78, we find a very precise emplotment of Augustine's progress from his baptism to his foundation of a monastery within the episcopal compound in Hippo after having been ordained a bishop. This episcopal monastery was Augustine's third monastic foundation. After his baptism (scene 39), Augustine was dressed in the habit of a hermit by Bishop Ambrose (scene 40). Thereafter, together with Monica, Augustine, dressed as a hermit with tonsure, went to stay with Simplicianus and his hermits (scene 41). After Monica persuaded her son to return to Africa (scene 42), Monica and Augustine take their leave of Simplicianus (scene 43), yet before departure, Simplicianus gives Augustine a number of his hermits to accompany him to Africa (scene 44). On their journey, Augustine and his group of hermits visit the Tuscan hermits (scene 47). After the death of Monica (scene 50), upon reaching Africa (51), Augustine is found teaching his hermits (scene 52) and preaching in Hippo (scene 53). He then meets Bishop Valerius (scene 54), who grants him land to establish a monastery (scene 55), which Augustine then does, together with his hermits (scene 56), and then gives his hermits his Rule (scene 57). After having been ordained a priest (scene 71), Augustine builds another monastery and once again gives his hermits his rule (scene 74). Three scenes later, Augustine is ordained bishop, and in scene 78, is shown establishing his third monastic foundation, this one within the episcopal compound. The artist is very clear: Augustine founded his Order of Hermits in Hippo, after having returned from Milan, together with a group of hermits received from Simplicianus, and for these hermits he composed his Rule. In the antepenultimate scene, long after Augustine's death, Pope John XXII is portrayed as telling the Hermits: "We deem it worthy that the father is given to his sons, the head to his members, the master to his students, and the commander to his soldiers,"¹¹ a text taken directly from John's Bull *Veneranda Sanctorum* of 1327,¹² granting the Hermits co-custody with the Canons of Augustine's tomb in San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro in Pavia. According to at least

¹¹ "Dignum estimamus ut pater filiis, caput suis membris, magister suis discipulis, dux suis militibus commendatur." J.-P. COURCELLE, *Iconographie de Saint Augustin*, plate XXXV; ASCSA, HA, 121.

¹² "...quatenus inibi tanquam membra suo capiti, filii patri, magistro discipuli, duci milites, coherentes Deo et ipsi Sancto, auctoritate fulti apostolica, precordialius iubiletis, ubi et Praeceptoris vestri, Patris, Ducis, et Capitis Augustini noveritis reliquias fore sepultas." John XXII, *Veneranda sanctorum*, 20 January 1327, in R. Maiocchi and N. Casacca, eds., *Codex Diplomaticus Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini Papiae*, vol. 1 (Pavia, 1905), 14-15.

one author/artist, this was the true and genuine history of Augustine and his hermits.¹³

In the *Historia Augustini*, we find a representation of Augustine that is in keeping with what I have elsewhere referred to as the “Myth of Augustine”.¹⁴ Moreover, the emplotment of the *Historia Augustini* was in the mid-fifteenth century a timely one. Controversy over possession of Augustine between the Hermits and the Augustinian Canons had been raging off and on since John XXII’s proclamation in favor of the Hermits in 1327. It was heating up once again, beginning in 1474. At issue was how Augustine should be portrayed on the new cathedral being built in Milan, namely, as a Hermit or as a Canon. Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan, interceded and chose the Hermits, which fueled the debate over whether Augustine had first founded his Order of Hermits or his Order of Canons. Both sides produced a new wave of polemical works arguing their case.¹⁵ In 1481,

¹³ The *Historia Augustini* bears a very close relationship to another text edited by the Courcelles, *Vita Sancti Augustini Imaginibus Adornata*, Études Augustiniennes (Paris, 1964). This text is extant in Boston Public Library, MS med. 77 (the Courcelles give the older signature: MS 1483), and JEANNE COURCELLE noted: “Au point de vue de l’iconographie augustinienne, c’est le document le plus complet de la vie de saint Augustin.” *Ibid.*, 11. For a comparison of the *Vita* with the *Historia Augustini*, see my forthcoming study, *Augustinus Noster*.

¹⁴ The “Myth of Augustine” is a term I have employed to refer to the re-creation of Augustine as the eremitical founder of the OESA. This process began after John XXII’s *Veneranda sanctorum* of 1327. Members of the OESA, in the ensuing conflict with the Canons as to which order was the original *Ordo Sancti Augustini*, re-wrote Augustine’s biography to prove that he had first founded his Order of Hermits, before having established his Order of Canons. We can see this development in the Anonymous Florentine’s *Initium sive Processus Ordinis Heremitarum Sancti Augustini* dated 1330, in Nicolas of Alessandria’s *Sermo de beato Augustino* of 1332, in Henry of Friemar’s *Tractatus de origine et progressu Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini* of 1334, and then in Jordan of Quedlinburg’s *Collectanea Sancti Augustini* of 1343 and his *Liber Vitasfratrum* of 1358; see E.L. Saak, *High Way to Heaven. The Augustinian Platform Between Reform and Reformation, 1292-1524*, SMRT 89 (Leiden, 2002), 160-234; and *idem*, “The Creation of Augustinian Identity in the Later Middle Ages,” *Augustiniana* 49 (1999), 109-164, 251-286. Klaus Schreiner has taken exception somewhat to my use of the term “myth”, writing: “Zur Debatte stehen nicht Formen und Funktionen der Traditionsbildung. Es geht nicht um die Erfindung dessen, was Eric Leland Saak nicht gerade glücklich als ‘augustinischen Mythos’ (Augustinian myth), als einen von ‘Mythenbildern’ (mythmakers) ausgedachten ‘Mythos der Ursprünge und Gründungen’ (myth of origins and foundations) bezeichnet hat.” Schreiner, “Ein Herz und eine Seele. Eine urchristliche Lebensform und ihre Institutionalisierung im augustinish geprägten Mönchtum des hohen und späten Mittelalters,” in *Regula Sancti Augustini. Normative Grundlage differenter Verbände im Mittelalter*, ed. Gert Melville and Anne Müller (Paring, 2002), 1-47; 2. See also Schreiner’s booklet, “Nimm, lies.” *Augustinus als Vorbild (exemplar) und Regel (regula) Klösterlicher Buch-und Lesekultur im späten Mittelalter* (Paring, 1998).

Ambrosius de Cora, Prior General of the Hermits, published his *Defensorium Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini*, in which he argued forcefully for the Hermits' position. Ambrosius included as evidence a number of sermons of Augustine that proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that Augustine not only had founded his Order of Hermits first, but had also preferred his Hermits as the best form of religious life.¹⁶ In response, the Augustinian Canon Eusebius Conradus wrote a rebuttal, published together with selected works of Augustine in Venice in 1484. Conradus argued that these sermons were not genuine, and therefore they could not support the cause of the Hermits.¹⁷ The debate became heated enough that Pope Sixtus IV intervened and prohibited

¹⁵ KASPAR ELM, "Augustinus Canonicus-Augustinus Eremita: A Quattrocento Cause Célèbre, in Timothy Verdon and John Henderson, eds., *Christianity and the Renaissance. Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento* (New York, 1990), 83-107.

¹⁶ "Quod autem epistolas negetis esse scriptas ad heremitas, aut illas esse Augustini, id negare non potestis extant enim non solum epistole, sed etiam sermones dignissimi ad heremitas ab Augustino ecclesie doctore sine dubio editi ... Tertia veritas est quod fratres ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini soli vere sunt fratres sancti Augustini non obstante quod multi alii imitentur regulam suam, et quod ordo iste precessit omnes alios ordines preter ordinem sancti Basilii." Ambrosius de Cora, *Defensorium Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini* (Rome, 1481 [without foliation or pagination]).

¹⁷ Eusebius Conradus, *Annotatio brevissime in errorem scribentium sanctum Augustinum fuisse heremita*, in Augustinus, *Opuscula* (Venice, 1484). The edition is without pagination or foliation. It is also available online at: <http://inkunabeln.ub.uni-koeln.de/vdibProduction/> on the website of the Verteilte Digitale Inkunabelbibliothek, a joint project of the University and City Library of Cologne and the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. The online version is paginated and it is to the pagination of the digitalized version that I refer. Here one finds Conradus's work on pages 545B-551A. Conradus writes: "Premonstrabo igitur prima cornua ista que sunt conclusiones septem [sempem *cod.*] christiane veritati contrarie quas frater Paulus Bergomensis ordinis heremitarum in suo libello descripsit quasque frater Ambrosius eiusdem ordinis generalis in septem reduxit in scriptis et illas imitatur et predicat quas ego etiam veritates septem appellabo per antiphrasin propterea quod in illis nihil veritatis comperi potest." *Ibid.*, p. 546B; "Quod ille scripture que sunt sermones ad heremitas et epistola Sigisberti et si que alie sint que dicunt Augustinum fecisse duas regulas eo tempore et eo loco et eo anno domini dictis supra. Ille scripture sunt false et ideo nec in ceteris que dicuntur fides danda est sed ut mendacia sunt respuenda." *Ibid.*, p. 548A; "Sequitur ex dictis alia conclusio falsa qua introducitur Augustinus in sermonibus ad heremitas falso illi attributis." *Ibid.*, p. 548B; "Septima veritas est: Sermones qui intulantur sancti Augustini ad heremitas vere sunt compositi a beato Augustino. Contra: ista conclusio est falsa contra doctrinam catholicam." *Ibid.*, p. 550A. Conradus's arguments were not based on a sophisticated knowledge of Augustine, nor on a detailed examination of the *Sermones* themselves. Indeed, his own erudition regarding Augustine's works is questioned when he followed his response to Ambrosius with the pseudo-Augustinian, *De spiritu et anima*, presented as an authentic work of Augustine; *ibid.*, p. 551B-571B.

all further discussion of the matter.¹⁸ The papal pronouncement, however, did little to quell the furies, and in 1505, the humanist Jacob Wimpfeling argued that Augustine had lived neither as a Hermit nor as a Canon, but was a secular priest and bishop.¹⁹ Though Wimpfeling's position was the most common image of Augustine in the later Middle Ages, namely, the image of Augustine as bishop and father of the church, the bitter feud between the Hermits and the Canons had become a "late medieval *cause célèbre*."²⁰

Yet even before the appearance of the *Sermones*, there were three texts in which we first find the re-creation of Augustine as the founder of the Hermits: the Anonymous Florentine's *Initium sive Processus Ordinis Heremitarum Sancti Augustini*, Nicolas of Alessandria's *Sermo de beato Augustino*, and Henry of Friemar's *Tractatus de origine et progressu Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini*.²¹ The first of these was written c. 1330. Nicolas gave his sermon in Paris in 1332, and it is clear that he knew the *Initium*. Henry composed his *Tractatus* in 1334, and it is most likely that he had a copy of Nicolas' sermon on his desk. Moreover, we find more and more embellishment from the *Initium* to Nicolas, and from Nicolas to Henry, yet they all agreed that Augustine had first founded his Order in Italy.²² There is

¹⁸ ELM, "Augustinus Canonicus-Augustinus Eremita," 86.

¹⁹ JACOBUS WIMPFELING, *De integritate* (Strassburg, 1505), c. 31. On 31 July 1505, Thomas Wolf wrote to Wimpfeling offering his undying support for his position that Augustine had never been a monk in the face of the harsh critique Wimpfeling's *De integritate* received: "Mirari satis non possum, Wympfelinge amicissime, quorundam monachorum audaciam, qui te veluti hereticum criminari contendunt, quod in tuo De integritate libello quaedam in medium adducis, quibus conicere suspicarique licet divum Augustinum nec cuculla indutum nec professione fuisse monachum." Thomas Wolf to Jacobus Wimpfeling, *Jacobi Wimpfelingi Opera Selecta* III/1: *Epistolae*/Jakob Wimpfeling, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 1, n. 185, ed. Otto Herding and Dieter Mertens (Munich, 1990), 495-496.

²⁰ ELM, "Augustinus Canonicus-Augustinus Eremita."

²¹ ANONYMUS FLORENTINUS, *Initium sive Processus Ordinis Heremitarum Sancti Augustini*, ed. Balbino Rano, in "Los dos Primeras Obra Conocidas," 331-351; NICOLAS DE ALESSANDRIA, *Sermo de beato Augustino*, ed. Balbino Rano, in "Los dos Primeras Obra Conocidas," 352-376; HENRICUS DE FRIEMARIA, *Tractatus de origine et progressu Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini*, ed. Rudolph Arbesmann, *Augustiniana* 6 (1956), 90-145. One should also mention in this context the anonymous *Vita Aurelii Augustini* contained in Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS Plut. 90 sup. 48, the same manuscript that contains the *Initium* and Nicolas's *Sermo*. Rano dates the text to between 1322 and 1331, though an earlier date within this period seems more likely. While there are eremitical interpolations, there is nothing in this text to indicate that it played any part in defending the Hermits against the Canons, and there is evidence that speaks against it doing so. See Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, 189-194.

²² SAAK, *High Way to Heaven*, 209-218; see also *idem*, "The Creation of Augustinian Identity in the Later Middle Ages," *Augustiniana* 49 (1999), 109-164, 251-286.

no evidence, prior to these texts, that the legends they relate were already in existence. Henry's account is the most comprehensive, even though both Nicolas and the Anonymous Florentine are more original in re-creating Augustine's foundation of the OESA. Sometime after Henry's treatise, however, a new source was discovered that offered conclusive proof of the Hermits' case against the Canons: the words of Augustine himself, as contained in his sermons to his hermits. Herein we find an emplotment of Augustine's life that countered the accounts of the Anonymous Florentine, Nicolas, and Henry, and that found artistic expression in the *Historia Augustini*.²³ Though the versions of Henry and his confreres remained, the contradicting account found in the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* became the point of contention. Either way, in the later Middle Ages, Augustine was a newly created saint, Augustine was a myth. And consequently, so too were the origins of the OESA.

The *Sermones ad fratres in heremo*, as a collection, were themselves a creation of the early fourteenth century.²⁴ Yet before turning to the question of the origins of these sermons, which had such an influence on the religious life of the later Middle Ages, we first need to re-examine the historical evidence for the origins of the OESA, for only then will we have a foundation upon which to judge the myth-making that occurred in the aftermath of 1327; or in other words, before turning to the myth, what was the history?

II. The Origins of the OESA

In 1956, it was clear: the OESA had been established by the Great Union, evidenced by Pope Alexander IV's bull *Licet Ecclesiae Catholicae*.²⁵ Yet in several studies spanning the decades of the 1970s to the 1990s, Balbino Rano shed much new light on the origins of the

²³ The emplotment of the *Historia Augustini* follows that of JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG's *Vita Sancti Augustini*, which was based upon the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*. For an edition of Jordan's *Vita*, see SAAK, *High Way to Heaven*, 774-810. The Boston manuscript of the *Vita Sancti Augustini Imaginibus Adornata* included texts explicating the scene portrayed. The author based his text primarily on the *Confessions*, Possidius's *Vita Sancti Augustini*, JORDAN's *Vita*, and the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*. I will be detailing these relationships in my forthcoming study, *Augustinus Noster*.

²⁴ See below.

²⁵ See *Augustiniana* 6 (1956), the commemorative volume of the 700th anniversary of the Great Union, which still contains foundational articles for all research on the Augustinian tradition in the later Middle Ages.

OESA and its early traditions.²⁶ One of the results of his work was that the origins of the OESA should be seen as having been established in 1244: "The Order," Rano asserted, "came into being in March 1244 through the uniting of several hermit groups, as decreed by two bulls of Innocent IV, *Incumbit nobis* and *Praesentium nobis*, both issued on the same day, December 16, 1243."²⁷ As a result of Rano's work, an increasingly common school of opinion in the Order today sees its foundation as beginning with the "Little Union", the union of the Tuscan Hermits in 1244. In that context, the Great Union, then, is considered to have been a continuation of the unification of the Augustinian Hermits, and though it represents new departures, it stands in the tradition of the ongoing development of the OESA that had been begun in 1244.²⁸ In effect, the significance of *Licet ecclesiae catholicae* has been relegated to being of secondary importance.²⁹

Does such a presentation, though, fit with the historical record? The late medieval Augustinians had to prove their historicity not only with respect to the conflict with the Canons, but also in light of the prohibition of new orders issued at the Third Lateran Council of 1215, which was repeated in 1274 at the Second Council of Lyon. The newly created OESA had to assert that their origins could be dated before the prohibition, and thus they endeavored to show that the Order could be traced all the way back to Augustine himself. Though the importance of Innocent IV and the "Little Union" did not go unnoticed, and the

²⁶ BALBINO RANO, O.S.A., *The Order of Saint Augustine*; *idem*, "Los dos Primeras Obras Conocidas sobre el Origen de la Orden Augustiniana," *Analecta Augustiniana* 45 (1982): 331-376; *idem*, "San Agustín y los orígenes de su Orden. Regla, Monasterio de Tagaste y Sermones ad fratres in eremo," in *San Agustín en el XVI Centenario de su Conversion 386/87-1987, La Ciudad de Dios, Revista Augustiniana CC* (El Escorial, 1987), 649-727; *idem*, "San Agustín y su Orden Algunos Sermones de Agustinos del Primer Siglo (1244-1344), *Analecta Augustiniana* 53 (1990), 7-93; *Augustinian Origins, Charisma, and Spirituality* (Villanova, 1995).

²⁷ BALBINO RANO, *The Order of St. Augustine*, 2. The date of March 1244 refers to the first General Chapter of the new Order. For the early history of the OESA, see also DAVID GUTIÉRREZ, *The Augustinians in the Middle Ages, 1256-1356* (Villanova, 1984), and most of all, MARIO MATTEI, "Pre-Istoria Agostiniana," in *Omnia religione moventur. Culti, carismi ed istituzioni ecclesiastiche. Studi in Onore di Cosimo Damiano Fonseca*, ed. Pierantonio Piatti and Raffaella Tortorelli (Congedo, 2006), 103-128. Mattei's work is most thorough, yet the early history of the Order, that is the history of the various groups that came to comprise the OESA, is still very much in need of investigation.

²⁸ See, for example, the history of the Order as presented on OSANET: <http://www.osanet.org/whowere/en/default.asp?page=history&language=en§ion=who>.

²⁹ Cf. ALBERIC DE MEIJER and RALPH KUITERS, "*Licet Ecclesiae Catholicae*," *Augustiniana* 6 (1956), 9-36.

fourteenth-century Augustinian friar, Jordan of Quedlinburg, argued that Alexander IV had completed the union of Augustine's dispersed heirs that had been begun by his predecessor, Pope Innocent,³⁰ in the created "Myth of Augustine" the fourteenth-century Augustinians portrayed Augustine himself as having effected the Great Union.³¹ Yet for modern scholars, there is no such need to prove the antiquity of the Order, and the re-dating of the Order's foundation from 1256 to 1244 is simply a matter of the historical record. The question that must be asked, therefore, is to what extent does the "Little Union" of 1244 indeed represent the foundation of the OESA? To answer this question, we must return to the historical evidence.

Though the late medieval members of the OESA viewed themselves as standing in a continuous line of succession from Augustine's first monastic foundation,³² there is little evidence indeed as to what happened to Augustine's monastic community after its dispersion resulting from the raids of the Vandals. The earliest reference we have is the bull of Gregory VIII, *Apostolica nobis licet*, dated December 1187, which granted privileges and indulgences to "the beloved sons, Prior, and brothers of the Order of St. Augustine in the hermitage (*in eremo*) of St. James of Aquaviva near Pisa."³³ In the early thirteenth

³⁰ "Unde beatus Augustinus, volens dispersionem suae Religionis congregari, succedenti ei in Sede apostolica, scilicet domino Alexandro papae IV, in visione apparuit, grandis quidem capite, sed membris exilis. Ex qua visione velut divino oraculo papa comminitus unionem per praedecessorem suum dominum Innocentium inchoatam consummavit." JORDANUS DE QUEDLINBURG (de Saxonia), *Liber Vitas-fratrum* 1,14, ed. Winfridus Hümpfner and Rudolph Arbesmann, Cassiciacum 1 (New York, 1943), 47.80-85 (hereafter cited as *VF*). Here we find not only Jordan's recognition of Innocent's role in the creation of the OESA, but also the most developed version of the "myth of Augustine", or at least a central aspect thereof; for the "myth of Augustine," see note 7 above.

³¹ See E.L. SAAK, *High Way to Heaven*, 160-234; 279-284; see also note 14 above and note 54 below.

³² Though the late medieval Augustinians created a history for Augustine's own monasticism, there is no question that Augustine himself lived a monastic life; see ADOLAR ZUMKELLER, *Das Mönchtum des heiligen Augustinus*, Cassiciacum XI (Würzburg, 1968).

³³ "Dilectis filiis Priori (et fratribus) Ordinis (S.) Augustirti in eremo Sancti (Jacobi) Aquaviva prope Liburnam Pi(sa... nae) D(ioecesis) deg(entibus), Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. (In) Apost(olicae Sedis administratione) Nobis, licet imbecillibus (viribus) collat(a) (decet), ut honestis pet(entium) deside(riis) (cum solita benignitate provideamus). Exhibita siquidem Nobis (iusta) vest(ra) peti(ti)o, dilectissimi (Prior et fratres), in qua... [sequitur pars particularis, quae coniecturis restauranda non est]... (vobis) indul(gentiam unius anni) et quadraginta dierum annuatim (in ann)i(versario dedicationis ecclesiae vestrae) S. Jacobi (indulgemus), (item facultatem) Christi fidelium confessiones audiendi, prae(terea) (in) coemeteria (fideles) sepeliendi quotquot in caemeteriis atque ecclesiis... sepulturam. Nos vestr(is) (pre)cibus inclinati... dictam ecclesiam. Datum Pisis..." BENIGNUS VAN LUIJK, OSA, ed., *Bullarium*

century we find the papacy taking heremital groups in Italy under its protection, though without designating them as the Order of St. Augustine or even as following Augustine's Rule.³⁴ A variant of the official

Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini. Periodus formationis, 1187-1256 (Würzburg, 1964), n. 1; online at: <http://www.tiscali.it/ghirardacci/bullarium/bullarium.htm>. This is the monastery that Nicolas of Alessandria and Henry of Freimar claimed St. Francis "joined" before founding his own order; see SAAK, *High Way*, 214-215. There were, certainly, groups living according to Augustine's Rule previous to 1187. The Augustinian Canons followed Augustine's Rule, as did later the Dominicans. The question here is not the earliest evidence we have for the influence of Augustine's Rule, but rather the origins of an Order of Augustine. The historicity of the Rule itself is not without its problems. Though Luc Verheijen's exhaustive work on the textual traditions of the Rule most persuasively, if not conclusively, proves the authenticity of the Rule, modern scholars have not always taken note; see LUC VERHEIJEN, *La Règle de saint Augustin*. Vol. 1: *Tradition manuscrite*, vol. 2: *Recherches historiques* (Paris, 1967); and idem, *Nouvelle Approche de la Règle de saint Augustin* (Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1980).; see also GEORGE LAWLESS, *Augustine and his Monastic Rule* (Oxford, 1987). In a standard survey of medieval intellectual history, Marcia Colish could still claim that Augustine's Rule was originally a letter to nuns; see M. COLISH, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition, 400-1499* (New Haven, 1997), 52. Augustine's own monastic life has only rarely entered into portrayals and interpretations of Augustine, or medieval Augustinian monasticism for that matter. The best treatment of Augustine's own monastic life is still ZUMKELLER's, *Das Mönchtum des heiligen Augustinus*. Yet a century ago, Ernst Troeltsch argued that Augustine's own monastic life was the first expression of a "Christian cultural ethic." See TROELTSCH, *Augustin, die christliche Antike und das Mittelalter. Im Anschluss an die Schrift "De Civitate Dei,"* (Berlin, 1915); and SAAK, *High Way to Heaven*, 6-7.

³⁴ We see this, for example, in the bull, *Iustis petentium*, of Innocent III, dated 18 October 1205: "Dilectis filiis fratri L. eremite et fratribus eius de radice Montis Nevoniensis, Salutem etc. Iustis petentium desiderio dignum est Nos facilem praeberere assensum, et vota, quae a rationis tramite non discordant effectu prosequente complere. Quapropter dilecti in Domino filii devotionem, quam erga B. Petrum et Nos ipsos habere noscimini, attendentes personas vestras cum omnibus bonis tam ecclesiasticis quam mundanis, quae in praesenti rationabiliter possidetis aut in futurum iustis modis, praestante Domino, poteritis adipisci, sub B. Petri et nostra, felices recordationis Innocentii Papae praedecessoris nostri vestigiis inhaerentes, protectione suscipimus. Specialiter autem possessiones, quas nobilis mulier Italia et filii eius eidem eremo in eleemosynam concesserunt aut eas iuste et pacifice possidetis, vobis et per vos domui vestrae auctoritate Apostolica confirmamus et praesentis scripti patrocinio communimus. Nulli ergo omnino etc. Datum Laterani VIII Kalendas Aprilis, Pontificatus nostri anno septimo." VAN LUIJK, *Bullarium*, n. 2. This bull was reissued by Honorius III on 18 October 1217, addressed "Dilectis filiis Oberto priori et fratribus Eremi de Morimundo, Salutem etc." *Ibid.*, n. 8. Similar privileges and protection were extended to the Hermits of Brettino, which became part of the Great Union establishing the OESA in 1256, though again without mention of AUGUSTINE: "Dilectis filiis Priori et Fratribus Ecclesiae Eremi de Bricinis, Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Sacrosancta Romana Ecclesia devotos et humiles filios ex assuetae pietatis officio propensius diligere consuevit, et ne pravorum hominum molestiis agententur, eos tanquam pia mater suae protectionis munimine confovere. Ea propter, dilecti in Domino filii, vestris iustis postulationibus grato concurrentes assensu, personas vestras et locum, in quo divino estis obsequio mancipati, cum omnibus bonis, quae in

title of the Order, given by Pope Alexander IV in the Great Union of 1256, is found already in 1228 in the bull of Gregory IX, *Conquesti sunt*, addressed to the Archdeacon of Aretino concerning the rights and privileges of "the prior and brothers of the hermits of Rosia, of the Order of St. Augustine."³⁵ In December of the same year, Gregory IX granted the request of a group of hermits in the diocese of Bretino to live according to the Rule of St. Augustine, absolving them from the observance of their previous order. What is significant here is that Gregory acknowledges that these hermits founded a "new Order", based on the Rule of Augustine.³⁶ Seven years later, on 13

praesentiarum rationabiliter possidetis aut in futurum honestis modis (dante Domino) poterit adipisci, sub Beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus. Specialiter autem ecclesiam S. Blasii de Bricinis cum pertinentiis suis, possessiones et alia bona vestra sicut ea omnia iuste ac pacifice possidetis, vobis et per vos eidem ecclesiae vestrae auctoritate apostolica confirmamus et praesentis scripti patrocinio communimus. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostrae protectionis et confirmationis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit indignationem Omnipotentis Dei et Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum. Datum Laterani VI Kalendas Decembris, Pontificatus nostri anno primo." Gregory IX, *Sacrosancta Romana Ecclesia*, dated 26 November 1217. *Ibid.*, n. 11.

³⁵ "Dilecto filio archidiacono Aretino, Salutem etc. Conquesti sunt Nobis prior et fratres heremitarum de Rosia, Ordinis S. Augustini, quod de Radicundula, de Radi de Montanea, de Mantiano et de Sancto Quirico de Toni universitates hominum. Rusticucius de Rosia, Mercatante et Brachius, filii quondam Baldizoni de Monte Chiani, fratres laici Volterranae et Senensis dioecesis super terris, domibus, vineis, oliveriis, possessionibus et rebus aliis iniuriuntur eisdem. Ideoque discretionis tuae per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus, patribus convocatis, audias causam et, appellatione remota, debito fine decidas, faciens quod decreveris per censuram ecclesiasticam firmiter observare, proviso ne in universitates praedictas excommunicationis vel interdicti sententias proferas, nisi a Nobis super hoc mandatum receperis specialem. Testes autem qui fuerint nominati, si de gratia, odio vel amore subtraxerint, censura simili appellatione cessante compellas verum testimonium perhibere. Datum apud Urbem Veterem Nonis Martii, Pontificatus nostri anno primo." GREGORY IX, *Conquesti sunt*, dated 7 March 1228. *Ibid.*, n. 14.

³⁶ "Dilectis filiis Fratribus Eremitae de Bricinis Fanensis Dioecesis et aliis Fratribus Eremitae ipsi subiectis, Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum olim, sicut intelleximus, motu proprio quendam novum Ordinem inveneritis et ad ipsius observantiam vos duxeritis astringendos, quia tandem illo relicto, cum non esset de Ordinibus approbatis, Beati Augustini regulam receperitis eamque cupitis in perpetuum irrefragabiliter observare, Nos vestris supplicationibus inclinati vos ab observantia praedicti Ordinis absolventes, a vobis perpetuis temporibus inviolabiliter observari concedimus regulam memoratam. Nulli ergo etc. Datum Perusii VI Idus Decembris, Pontificatus nostri anno secundo." GREGORY IX, *Cum olim sicut intelleximus*, dated 8 December 1228. *Ibid.*, n. 15. The previous Rule that had been followed was most likely the Rule of St. Benedict. On 28 March 1244, Innocent IV released the Tuscan Hermits from obedience to the Rule of St. Benedict, placing them under the Rule of St. Augustine: "Dilectis filiis Prior et fratribus heremitis in Tuscia Ordinis S. Augustini, Salutem etc. Cum a Nobis petitur, quod iustum est et honestum, tam vigor acquitatis, quam ordo

March 1235, Innocent issued his bull *Quae omnium conditoris*, confirming the constitutions of the new order.³⁷ On 24 September 1243, Innocent further granted the Hermits of Brettino the rights to hear confessions and preach, and stipulated that within three months of the death of their prior general, a new prior general must be elected. Innocent referred to their Order as a *pia religio*, and recognized the offices of visitators, definitors, prior generals, and the existence of General Chapters, or in other words, much the same structure that soon was to be had by the OESA.³⁸ Rano claimed that Innocent had granted such

exigit rationis, ut id per sollicitudinem officii nostri ad debitum perducatur effectum. Exhibita siquidem Nobis vestra petitio continebat, quod cum Regulam B. Augustini vobis concedendam duxerimus, ut a vobis et successoribus vestris perpetuis futuris temporibus observetur, ac per dilectum filium nostrum Richardum S. Angeli Diaconum Cardinalem a promissione, quam de observando Ordine S. Benedicti vel quocumque alio feceratis de speciali mandato nostro sitis penitus absoluti, Nos absoltionem ipsam ratam et gratam habentes, illam auctoritate Apostolica confirmamus et praesentis scripti patrocinio communimus. Nulli ergo omnino etc. Datum Laterani V. Kal. Aprilis Pont. nostri anno primo." Innocent IV, *Cum a nobis*, dated 28 March 1244. *Ibid.*, n. 36.

³⁷ "Dilectis filiis Priori et Fratribus Eremi de Bricinis Fanensis Dioecesis, Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. 1. Quae omnium Conditoris honorem et profectum continent animarum amore praecipuo diligentes, eo quod quidquid in desiderio praeter illa geritur apud Dei sapientiam pro nihilo reputetur, dignum fore providimus, ut in iis, quae intuitu salutis aeternae cupitis, Nos favorabiles ad Redemptoris gloriam habeatis. 2. Sane praesentata Nobis vestra petitio continebat, quod vos vitia carnis cupientes extinguere, ut succedente virtutum gratia possitis perennis vitae bravium obtinere, deliberatione provida statuistis, ut semper in communi refectorio comedentes, a festo Exaltationis Sanctae Crucis usque ad festum Resurrectionis Dominicae, praeterquam in diebus Dominicis (exceptis positus minutis in necessitate fratribus) ieiunetis; bis in die reliquo tempore comesturi, praeterquam in quarta et sexta feria ac temporibus aliis ab Ecclesia constitutis, nisi prior, qui pro tempore fuerit, aliter cum fratribus duxerit dispensandum. 3. Debiles quoque ac iter agentes ad observantiam dicti ieiunii minime teneantur, praeterquam in sexta feria Quadragesimae S. Martini et temporibus aliis per Ecclesiam constitutis. 4. Insuper fratres, quorum unusquisque cultellum habeat non acutum, ab esu carnum et condimento sanguinis [*melius sagiminis*], praeter infirmos, penitus abstinebunt. 5. Caseum et ova tribus diebus in hebdomada comesturi, exceptis Quadragesima Sancti Martini ac Septuagesima et solemnibus ieiuniis per Ecclesiam constitutis, in quibus nec iter agentes caseum et ova comedant, licet illis vescendi singulis aliis temporibus liberam habeant facultatem. 6. Statuistis praeterea ut a vobis annis singulis celebretur Capitulum generale, in quo diffinitores a Priore et visitatoribus eligantur. Ipsi vero diffinitores cum visitatoribus anni praeteriti, corrigendi et reformandi tam in capite quam in membris, quae correctionis et reformationis officio noverint indigere, liberam habeant potestatem. 7. Item quod visitatores etiam ordinentur, qui omnia loca fratrum visitent, corrigant et reforment, prout secundum Deum et Beati Augustini Regulam, secundum quam statuistis Domino in perpetuum famulari, viderint expedire. 8. Ceterum humiliter attendentes quod Regnum Dei non in pretiosa veste consistit et quod induit paupertatis habitum Conditor singulorum, laudabiliter statuistis, ut fratres vestri Ordinis de colore seu valore vestium minime contententes semper in eis vilitatem observent, et quattuor tui-

privileges to the unified Tuscan Hermits in his bull *Vota devotorum* of 23 March 1244, thus establishing the sequence: first the foundation charter, then the first General Chapter, and then the granting of the privileges to preach and hear confessions.³⁹ Yet the text of *Vota devotorum* is the same text as that of Innocent's bull of the same title issued 24 September 1243 with the only exception being that the later bull is addressed "To the beloved sons, Prior, and brother hermits in Tuscany of the Order of St. Augustine,"⁴⁰ whereas the former is addressed "To the beloved Prior and brothers of Brettino."⁴¹ Moreover, just two and one half months before the supposed "foundation charter" of the OESA, Innocent issued a charter of privileges to the Hermits of Brettino, establishing their right to follow the Rule of St. Augustine and exempting them from lay or ecclesiastical interference.⁴²

cis, una cuculla et duobus scapulariis sint contenti; item quilibet frater cingatur desuper ampla corrigia non consuta et illa contentus existat; item quod non utantur lineis indumentis, nec extra eremum possessiones, praeter hortum et silvam, habere praesumant. Super habendis caligiis, calceis et similibus prior secundum suum arbitrium potestatem habeat disponendi. 9. Item quod nullus in mensa fratrum recipiatur, nisi religiosus extiterit vel constitutus in aliqua praelatura. Quare Nobis humiliter supplicastis, ut statutum huiusmodi apostolico dignaremur munimine roborare. 10. Nos igitur vestris iustis precibus inclinati statutum ipsum auctoritate Apostolica confirmamus et praesentis scripti patrocinio communimus, iure dioecesanorum episcoporum in omnibus semper salvo. 11. Nulli ergo etc." Datum Perusii III Idus Martii, Pontificatus nostri anno octavo." *Ibid.*, n. 19.

³⁸ "Dilectis priori et fratribus de Brictinis, Fanensis dioecesis. 1. Vota devotorum Ecclesiae, quae fructum salutis aeternae continere perspicimus, quo potiora sunt omnibus, libenter ad effectus deduci gratiam procuramus. Hinc est quod Nos vestris piis desideriis annuentes ut de licentia et assensu dioecesanorum ac rectorum parochialium ecclesiarum fratres sacerdotes Ordinis vestri recurrentium ad ipsos confessiones audire ac eis paenitentiam intingere salutarem necnon ut illi ex eisdem, quibus virtutum Dominus contulit scientiam praedicationis et gratiam, possint populis proponere verbum Dei vobis auctoritate praesentium concedimus facultatem. 2. Caeterum, quia per Nos providi cupitis quod vestra pia Religio digna spiritualibus proficere incrementis sibi pro tempore oportune commodum provisionis acceleret et diutina dispendia vacationis ignoret, statuimus, ut obeunte te, fili prior, vel tuorum quolibet successorum, visitatores qui a Priore ac diffinitoribus vestri Ordinis annuatim in generali capitulo statuuntur, convocatis universis et singulis prioribus locorum ad heremum vestram spectantium, ab eis per electionem canonicam et concordem de priore faciant providi, ita ut ultra tres menses heremus ipsa priore non vacet. Ad quod si forte iustum impedimentum in causa non fuit, dicti priores et fratres ab eisdem visitatoribus per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione postposita, compellantur. Nulli ergo etc. Datum Anagninae VIII Kalendas Octobris, Pontificatus nostri anno primo." *Ibid.* n. 27.

³⁹ RANO, *The Order*, 3.

⁴⁰ "Dilectis filiis Priori et fratribus eremitis in Tuscia Ordinis S. Augustini, Salutem etc," VAN LUDK, *Bullarium*, n. 34.

⁴¹ See note 38 above.

⁴² See VAN LUIJK, *Bullarium*, n. 28.

So what are we to make of all this? If the foundation charter of the OESA was Innocent IV's bull *Incumbit nobis* of 16 December 1243, there has to be some legitimation, some evidence that *Incumbit nobis* was different from previous bulls. Why would not *Cum olim intelleximus* of Gregory IX (December 1228) recognizing the Hermits of Brettino as a "new order" following the Rule of St. Augustine serve just as well, especially in light of the later constitutions and privileges? Rano dates the foundation of the OESA to 1244 based on *Incumbit nobis* as the Order's foundation charter, but *Incumbit nobis* does not go as far as does *Licet ecclesiae*. True, it united the Tuscan Hermits, with the exception of the Williamites, and that is not without significance.⁴³ *Incumbit nobis* also placed the Tuscan Hermits under the protection and guidance of Cardinal Richard Annibaldi, and Annibaldi has been seen as the major force behind of Great Union of 1256.⁴⁴ The question, though, is whether such a move represents the foundation of a new order such as the OESA. Though the united Tuscan Hermits had houses outside of Italy "in places beyond the Alps,"⁴⁵ it was only after the Great Union of 1256 that the OESA became a truly international Order with a centralized administration governing all houses of Augustinian hermits. *Incumbit nobis* was not as comprehensive as was *Licet ecclesiae*, but then why not go back to *Cum olim intelleximus*? The influence of Cardinal Annibaldi is certainly a factor to consider, but is it sufficient to claim that therefore the origins of the Great Union are to be found with his protectorate of the Tuscan Hermits? Rano argued that the term *Ordo St. Augustini* was originally virtually synonymous with *Regula St. Augustini*, distinguishing those followers as the *ordo canonicus* from the *ordo monasticus*, as were the Benedictines, and it is not without significance in this light that several papal bulls specifically relieve the addressed eremitical groups from adherence to the Rule of St. Benedict to follow the Rule of St. Augustine. Yet *Incumbit nobis* is addressed: "To all the hermit sons constituted in Tuscany, with the exception of the Williamites,"⁴⁶ whereas

⁴³ For the Williamites, see KASPAR ELM, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Wilhelmtenordens* (Cologne, 1962).

⁴⁴ See SAAK, *High Way to Heaven*, 44-48. See also FRANCIS ROTH, O.S.A., "Cardinal Richard Annibaldi. First Protector of the Augustinian Order (1243-1276)," *Augustiniana* 2 (1952), 26-60, 108-149, 230-247; 3 (1953), 21-34, 283-313; 4 (1954), 5-24.

⁴⁵ See INNOCENT IV's bull *Religiosam vitam eligentibus* of 31 May 1253: "Dilectis filiis Priori et fratribus eremitis in ultramontanis partibus constitutis, tam praesentibus quam futuris, regularem vitam professis, in perpetuum." VAN LUIK, *Bullarium*, n. 104.

⁴⁶ "Dilectis filiis universis Eremitis, exceptis Fratribus S. Guilelmi, per Tusciam constitutis, Salutem etc." INNOCENT IV, *Incumbit nobis*, 16 December 1234. *Bullarium*, n. 32.

Licet ecclesiae is explicit that it is forming all hermits therein mentioned into "one profession and regular observance of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine."⁴⁷ The title itself is a new departure: in previous bulls, the various groups of Italian hermits were designated as the "hermits of brother John the Good, of the Order of St. Augustine," or as the "hermits of Brettino, of the Order of St. Augustine," or as "the brother hermits of Rosia, of the Order of St. Augustine." *Incumbit nobis* states that all the hermits in Tuscany should assume "the one Rule and order of St. Augustine,"⁴⁸ yet does not establish a new Order or title.⁴⁹ The first reference we have to the *Ordo Eremitarum Sancti*

⁴⁷ "Propterea dudum a Nobis mandatum Apostolicum emanavit ut de singulis domibus vestris, quarum quaedam Sancti Guillelmi, quaedam Sancti Augustini Ordinum, nonnullae autem fratris Johannis Boni, aliquae vero de Fabali, aliae vero de Bricinis censebantur, et apud homines ambiguis interdum nuncupationibus vacillabant, duo fratres cum pleno mandato ad nostram mitterentur praesentiam, quod nostra circa vos salubriter ordinaret dispositio recepturi. Cumque fratres huiusmodi ad Sedem Apostolicam accessissent coram dilecto filio nostro Riccardo S. Angeli diacono cardinali, quem negotio unionis vestrae perficiendo deputavimus vice nostra, sufficientia ad id exhibuere mandata, et in Generali Capitulo vestro in Urbe celebriter congregato, nomine omnium a quibus fuerant destinati et de communi Capituli eiusdem assensu, vos et domos vestras in unam Ordinis observantiam et vivendi formulam uniformem redigi, unumque ex eis ovile fieri Generalis Prioris praesidentia gubernandum unanimiter consenserunt, petentes ut, per gratiam unionis et conformitatis huiusmodi, eis iuxta conceptum votum paupertatis spontaneae perpetua possessionum terrestrium abdicatio remaneret et ipsis baculos vel ferulas deferendi imposita necessitas tolleretur, collata in cardinalem eundem providendi vobis ea vice de Generali Priori totius Ordinis nihilominus potestate. Porro idem cardinalis, nostri auctoritate mandati vivo ad eum sermone directi necnon et concordii eorundem fratrum ac praedicti Capituli consensione suffultus, universas domos et congregationes vestras in unam Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini professionem et regularem observantiam perpetuo cunctavit sub Generalis cura Prioris, canonice instituendi pro tempore prae aliis Provincialibus necnon et conventualibus singularum domorum prioribus, regulariter gubernandas, et, ut novam ovilis Dominici unionem universalis capitis unitas consummaret, te, dilecte fili frater Lanfrance, in Generalem Ordinis eiusdem Priorem et patrem, Spiritus Sancti gratia invocata, praefecit ac etiam, prout a Nobis specialiter in mandatis acceperat, confirmavit; vos universos et successores vestros a baculis vel ferulis deportandis et quod non cogamini ad recipiendas possessiones aliquas vel habendas, decernens perpetuo liberos et exemptos." ALEXANDER IV, *Licet ecclesiae* 3, 9 April 1256. *Ibid.*, n. 163.

⁴⁸ "Nos nolentes vos sine pastore sicut oves errantes post gregum vestigia evagari universitati vestrae per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus in unum vos regulare propositum conformantes, Regulam Beati Augustini et Ordinem assumatis ac secundum eum profiteamini de caetero vos victuros; salvis observantiis seu constitutionibus faciendis a vobis, dummodo eiusdem Ordinis non obvient institutis." INNOCENT IV, *Incumbit nobis*, 16 December 1243. *Ibid.*, n. 32.

⁴⁹ That it was a union of various eremitical groups there is no question. The issue here is that the designation *Ordo Sancti Augustini* was a reference to the *ordo canonicus*, as RANO pointed out. As such it had been in use since at least 1187 (see above, n. 11), and was applied as well to the Hermits of John the Good and the Hermits of

Augustini is in the bull *Dilecti filii, priores et fratres* of Innocent IV, dated 3 August 1252.⁵⁰ Yet Innocent did not consistently use the title *Ordo Eremitarum Sancti Augustini*, and most often used "the Order of St. Augustine" as a designation of a particular group of hermits.⁵¹ Moreover, on 14 April 1253, Innocent wrote "to all priors and brothers of the Order of Hermits," concerning their profession and habit, giving the responsibility for insuring uniformity to the prior general, Lanfranc of Milan, who would soon become the first prior general of the OESA.⁵² Lanfranc was a member of the Bonites (the Hermits of

Brettino. No new title is given the union in 1244, and it is only with *Licet Ecclesiae* that there is a new *ordo*, comprised of the unification of various eremitical groups, all of which were, at least previous to 1256, of the Order of St. Augustine. There is no evidence in the papal bulls previous to *Licet Ecclesiae* to claim that the unification of the Tuscan Hermits in 1244 was a "pre union, union"; the line could also be seen as running from the Bonites to *Licet Ecclesiae*. The privileges granted to the Tuscan Hermits in the bull *Religiosam vitam eligentibus* of Innocent IV, dated 26 April 1244 (*Bullarium*, n. 46) are virtually identical to those granted the Hermits of Brettino in *Quoties a nobis petitur* of 1 October 1243 (*Bullarium*, n. 28). The same privileges were granted to the Hermits of Brettino on 3 November 1245 (*Bullarium*, n. 55) and to the Bonites on 26 April 1246 (*Bullarium*, n. 56). There is no evidence to privilege the Tuscan Hermits as the group of Augustinian Hermits that led to the Great Union. Only a thorough study, however, of the pre *Licet Ecclesiae* history of Augustinian eremitical monasticism can shed definitive light on the question as to the origins of the OESA.

⁵⁰ "Venerabilibus fratribus universis Archiepiscopis et Episcopis praesentes litteras inspecturis, Salutem etc. Dilecti filii Priores et fratres Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini Nobis humiliter supplicarunt, ut eis construendi ecclesias et domos in terris, maneriis et possessionibus, quae sibi a Christi fidelibus conferuntur, ac audiendi et celebrandi divina officia in eisdem ecclesiis et recipiendi ecclesiastica sacramenta licentiam de benignitate solita largiremur; vobis igitur qui locorum dioecesani existitis in hac parte deferre volentes, universitati vestrae per Apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus eis concedatis licentiam postulatam sine iuris praeiudicio alieni. Datum Perusii III Nonas Augusti, Pont. nostri anno decimo." *Ibid.*, n. 97. See also *ibid.*, n. 101.

⁵¹ Thus, for example, the usual form of address can be seen in Innocent's bull *Quia ex apostolici cura* of 19 April 1244: "Dilectis filiis Priori et fratribus Eremitarum Ord. S. Aug. in Tuscia, Salutem etc." *Ibid.*, n. 43.

⁵² INNOCENT IV, *Admonet Nos cura*, dated 14 April 1253. *Ibid.*, n. 102. The form of profession here established was essentially identical to the form of profession of the OESA: "Fratres etiam, qui de caetero in Ordine vestro debuerint profiteri, eidem Priori Generali vel certo eius nuntio profiteantur hoc modo: Ego N. facio professionem et promitto obedientiam Deo et B. Mariae Virgini et tibi Priori Generali Ordinis Eremitarum tuisque successoribus usque ad mortem secundum Regulam B. Augustini et Constitutiones Fratrum istius Ordinis." *Ibid.* Mattei argued that Alexander IV had wanted Philip of Parrana, the Prior General of the Tuscan Hermits to be the new Prior General of the OESA, but that Philip had declined, so that the choice came to Lanfranc. Mattei, "Pre-Istoria Agostiniana," 109-110. Mattei notes that this is known from a work written after 1322, and he cites Rano as his source. The text in question is the Anonymous Florentine's *Initium*; RANO, "Las dos primeras obras conocidas," 345. This is the only known text that reports Alexander's preference for Philip. The

John the Good), and here Innocent addressed the Bonites simply as the Order of Hermits. The first form of profession later used by the OESA was established for the Bonites. The Bonites, the Tuscan Hermits, and the Hermits of Brettino were still three very distinct orders, even if all three individually could be referred to as the Order of Hermits, or as the Hermits of the Order of St. Augustine, and even if Cardinal Annibaldi had a special relationship to the Tuscan Hermits. In all bulls previous to *Licet ecclesiae* the term *Ordo St. Augustini* seems indeed to refer to the "way of life" expressed in the Rule of St. Augustine, as Rano indicated. The primary designation is the designation of the group itself, the brothers of John the Good, the Hermits of Brettino, etc., which are then further designated as "of the Order of St. Augustine." And the same can be said of the "Little Union." With *Licet ecclesiae*, a new use comes to the fore: the Order of St. Augustine is no longer simply a designation for a particular group's way of life, but is the Order that is being established, one Order and one profession, of the Hermits of St. Augustine.⁵³ The possessives should not go

Anonymous Florentine states such in the midst of relating the first known account of Augustine appearing to Alexander in a vision, on account of which Alexander brought about the Great Union: "Insuper tempore Allesandri pape IIII erat prior predicti Ordinis frater Phylippus de Parrana, supernorum amator et lampas luminis virtutum. Cuius tempore predictus papa Alexander ab amore beati Augustini, ei in visione magnus capite et parvus membris apparens, primo anno sui pontificatus predictum Ordinem tam in personis quam in gratiis augmentavit, huic Ordini brictones, fabarios, iambonitas, atque guglielmitas iungendo, gratias numquam similes alicui religioni traditas [condonando], ut in suis privilegiis conteneretur, predictum fratrem Phyllipum volens, ut antea erat, priorem dicti Ordinis preficere, qui obmissis huius rei gratia multis lacrimis fere recusare obtinuit. Et tunc fratrem Lanfrachum de Mediolano, virum prudentem, eis priorem instituit generalem, ut per se suosque, fideles a vitiis et a peccatis franchos faceret, quod plene usque in hodiernum diem faciunt ..." Anon. Flor. *Initium* (ed. Rano, 344-345). It is here too that we find the idea that the Williamites and the Hermits of Brettino were joined to the Tuscan Hermits, a position against which I am arguing here, and for which there is no evidence aside from the *Initium*. The Anonymous Florentine was most desirous to prove Augustine's connection to the Tuscan Hermits, for whom he wrote his Rule in Centumcellis and who formed the first foundation of the OESA. It would only be natural that the Prior General of the Tuscan Hermits would become the first Prior General of the OESA in this light. Especially since this account includes the first textual evidence of Augustine's appearing to Alexander in a vision as the catalyst for the Great Union, Alexander's desire for Philip of Parrano to be the first Prior General must be interpreted in the same vein. This is not a piece of historical evidence; it is mythography. There is more actual historical evidence of Alexander's close relationship to Lanfranc already before the Great Union than there is to any desire of Alexander's to have the new Order led by Philip.

⁵³ Alexander first used the title *Ordo Eremitarum Sancti Augustini* in his bull *Hiis quae pro animarum* of 31 July 1255 (VAN LUIK, *Bullarium*, n. 152), but thereafter returned to the former usage, such as in his bull *Pacis vestrae* of 13 August 1255: "Dilectis filiis... Priori Generali et universis prioribus atque fratribus Eremitarum Ord. B. Augustini." *Ibid.*, n. 154.

unnoted: the Hermits in question are no longer the Hermits of John the Good, or the Hermits of Rosia, or of Brettino; now, for the first time, they are the Hermits of St. Augustine, which form one Order. It is only with *Licet ecclesiae* that we have a social group designated as being "of Augustine", namely, the hermits of Augustine's Order. If one wants to look into the history preceding the Great Union for the origins of the Order, developments with respect to the Tuscan Hermits have no greater claim than do those regarding the Hermits of Brettino or the Hermits of John the Good. While it is certainly important to point to antecedent developments, of which *Incumbit nobis* is one among others, the OESA only came into being with *Licet ecclesiae*.

If the OESA should be seen as having been established by *Licet ecclesiae* and the Great Union of 1256, rather than the "Little Union" of 1244, we still must ask what difference does this make? On the one hand we can only answer that it makes no real difference at all. Whether modern scholars see the OESA as having been established in 1244 or in 1256 does not impinge upon the historical development of the Order thereafter, nor on the Order's contemporary identity. Members of the Order are still the "sons of Augustine". Yet on the other hand, getting the history "right" is not a secondary concern. In returning the Great Union to its historical significance, while not discounting the importance of the "Little Union", we can begin to realize anew that what happened in early April of 1256 was something new, a new departure, and a new creation. Such was recognized as well by the early fourteenth-century Augustinian "mythifiers", though they went one step beyond and sought to provide a connection between the foundation of the Order in 1256, and Augustine's original establishment of his Order of Hermits, in which tradition the members of the OESA in the fourteenth century still stood.⁵⁴ Central to the endeavor of "reclaiming" Augustine were the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*.

⁵⁴ The connection was made by claiming that Augustine was in effect responsible for the Great Union. In the *Initium*, the earliest text including such an account, we read: "... predictus papa Alexander ab amore beati Augustini, ei in visione magnus capite et parvus membris apparens, primo anno sui pontificatus predictum Ordinem tam in personis quam in gratiis augmentavit, huic Ordinis brictones, fabarios, imabonitas, atque guglielmitas iugendo, gratias numquam similes alicui religioni traditas [concondando] ..." *Initium* (ed. Rano, 345). This account would be repeated and embellished by NICHOLAS OF ALESSANDRIA in his *Sermo de beato Augustino* of 1332, by HENRY OF FRIEMAR in his *Tractatus de origine et progressu ordinis heremitarum sancti Augustini* of 1334, and by JORDAN OF QUEDLINBURG in his *Liber Vitasfratrum*; see SAAK, *High Way to Heaven*, 200-217, 280.

III. The *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*

The *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* are known today, when they are known at all, as present in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, which presents the text of the *Sermones* as published in 1685 by the Maurists.⁵⁵ The Maurists included a prefatory warning of the spurious nature of the sermons, which is reproduced in Migne.⁵⁶ Further, they mention that they based their edition on the autograph of the *Collectanea Sancti Augustini* of Jordan of Quedlinburg, with which they collated at least two other manuscripts.⁵⁷ Jordan's *Collectanea*, which he donated to the library of his Order's *studium* in Paris in 1343, has often been seen as the first collection of the *Sermones*. In Migne, the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* consist of seventy-six sermons. The extent to which the Maurists based their edition on Jordan, however, must be questioned when one takes note of the fact that in his *Collectanea* Jordan included only twenty-three *Sermones ad fratres suos in eremo*. Jordan included thirty-five texts under the general rubric *Sermones Sancti Augustini*.⁵⁸ In addition to the twenty-three labeled *Sermones ad fratres suos in heremo*, are six sermons designated as *ad presbyteros suos*, and six *ad populum*.⁵⁹ Included in the Maurist edition are two of the six *sermones Sancti Augustini ad presbyteros suos*, and four of the six *sermones Sancti Augustini ad populum*.⁶⁰ The Maurists followed the Froben edition of Augustine's sermons, done by Erasmus in 1528/29. The Amerbach edition of Augustine's sermons of 1495 was the first

⁵⁵ PL 40, 1233-1358.

⁵⁶ PL 40, 1234-5.

⁵⁷ PL 40, 1235. I am currently preparing a critical edition of Jordan's *Collectanea Sancti Augustini*, the autograph of which is extant in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 251 (hereafter cited as *Jor. Coll.*). Paris, BnF MS lat. 5338 contains a fifteenth-century copy of the *Collectanea*; see SAAK, *High Way to Heaven*, 775-776. For a preliminary edition of JORDAN's *Vita Sancti Augustini*, see *ibid.*, 774-810.

⁵⁸ For the Tabula of Jordan's *Collectanea*, see SAAK, "The Creation of Augustinian Identity," 253-254.

⁵⁹ Two of the texts Jordan includes under the general rubric of *sermones ad presbyteros suos* are not sermons. The first is titled: *De tribus constitutionibus Augustini super proprietate clericorum*, and the second: *Quod tibi liceat habere proprium*, ex libro de vita clericorum; *Jor. Coll.*, fol. 39^{ra-b}.

⁶⁰ The sermons Jordan included as *sermones ad presbyteros* are numbers 5 and 38 in MIGNE; Jordan's *sermones ad populum* are numbers 43, 44, and 76 in MIGNE; The sermon *ad populum*, *De ieiunio et oratione* is listed in Migne's collection under *Sermones suppositicii*, PL 39, 1886-7. In the Tabula of Jordan's autograph, only the first 23 *sermones ad fratres in eremo* are numbered. In the text itself, thereafter the numbering continues but not consecutively and not consistently. This in itself indicates that Jordan was copying these sermons from another numbered collection, or collections.

edition to contain all seventy-six sermons.⁶¹ Between 1343 and 1495, therefore, the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* not only grew from twenty-three sermons to seventy-six, but also incorporated sermons that Jordan had explicitly excluded from the collection, namely, Jordan's *sermones Augustini ad presbyteros suos* and *ad populum* became *sermones ad fratres in eremo*. Moreover, sermons number 27 and 28 of Jordan's collection, designated as sermons *ad presbyteros suos*, are included by the Maurists' in their collection, but these two sermons are in fact genuine sermons of Augustine, numbers 355 and 356, or as sermons 52 and 53 of Migne's collection of the *sermones ad fratres in eremo*. The problem we face, therefore, is not only the origin of these sermons, but also the development of the collection itself. Whereas in 1943, Rudolf Arbesmann noted a list of 23 extant manuscripts of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, though admitting this was incomplete,⁶² in 2002 Kaspar Elm could identify 424 extant manuscripts, based on the Vienna project cataloging the manuscripts of Augustine's works.⁶³ Moreover, as Elm notes, the Vienna project is only two-thirds complete, and does not take into account translations or early printed editions. Thus, Elm concludes, the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* had a greater impact than did even Augustine's Rule itself, extant according to Verheijen in 274 manuscripts.⁶⁴ In this light, what we are dealing with is not some quaint and curious oddity of a rather obscure religious order, but with a major text influencing the religious life as such of late medieval and Renaissance Europe.

Until quite recently it had been assumed that the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* were the work of a single forger. In 1943, in rejecting the perhaps natural assumption that either Jordan himself was the author of these sermons or another Augustinian Hermit had been to defend the OESA in the context of the debate with the Canons, Arbesmann argued: "For two thirds of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, comprising all those collected and used by Jordanus... we find

⁶¹ KARL GERSBACH, O.S.A. is currently working on the printing tradition of the *sermones* and he informed me that the list of seventy-six sermons first appears in Amerbach's edition of Augustine's sermons of 1495, and that the Maurists followed the Froben edition of Erasmus, which included the *Sermones* as spurious.

⁶² VF, xxv.

⁶³ KASPAR ELM, "Sermones ad fratres in eremo. Pseudoaugustinische Lebensregeln für Eremiten und Kanoniker," in *Regula Sancti Augustini. Normative Grundlage differenter Verbände im Mittelalter*, ed. Gert Melville and Anne Müller, Publikationen der Akademie der Augustiner-Chorherren von Windesheim 3 (Paring, 2002), 515-37; 534.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 535. On Augustine's Rule, see LUC VERHEIJEN, *La Règle de saint Augustin*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1967).

that the author is not an Augustinian Hermit but a Benedictine monk who lived long before the time when such a falsification would have served the suspected purpose. A special study of this question will soon appear."⁶⁵ Such a study, however, never did appear, unless Arbesmann was referring to the article of J-P. Bonnes, published in 1945/46, on the sermons of Geoffrey Babion, in which he argued that the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, based on textual parallels and borrowings, were no later than the twelfth century.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, the obscurity of the sermons' origins has simply continued, with varying dates proposed as definitive, ranging from the twelfth century to the fourteenth.

In the late 1980s, Balbino Rano and Katherine Walsh presented persuasive evidence for dating the origins of the sermons to the fourteenth century.⁶⁷ Walsh's argument was that had the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* been extant, they surely would have been used by the anonymous Florentine, Nicholas of Alessandria, and Henry of Friemar for their portrayals of the Order's Augustinian origins.⁶⁸ While an argument "from silence" can never be completely convincing, it is in this case rather persuasive when one takes into account that these authors were vigorously looking for ways to prove the Hermits' case against the Canons, and were certainly drawing upon and embellishing each others' work. Thus, it is first with the anonymous Florentine that we find an association between the original OESA and St. Francis; the assertion that Augustine had first founded his Order of Hermits in Italy before bringing them back to Africa; an account of Augustine appearing in a vision to Pope Alexander IV, which therefore acted as the catalyst of the Great Union of 1256; and a notable argument against the priority of the Canons. All of this lore was then further embellished and strengthened in Nicolas' account, who added the designation of Simplicianus as a hermit, and further still in Henry's.⁶⁹ If any of these authors had known of the sermons, they surely would have used them. If, therefore, we can accept this argument as persuasive, it means that

⁶⁵ VF, xxix.

⁶⁶ J.-P. BONNES, "Un des plus grands prédicateurs du XII^e siècle: Geoffroy du Loroux dit Geoffroy Babion," *Revue Bénédictine*, 56 (1945-46), 174-215.

⁶⁷ BALBINO RANO, "San Agustín y los orígenes de su Orden. Regla, Monasterio de Tagaste y Sermones ad fratres in eremo," *La Ciudad de Dios* 200 (1987), 649-727; KATHERINE WALSH, "Wie ein Bettelorden zu (s)einem Gründer kam. Fingierte Traditionen um die Entstehung der Augustiner-Eremiten," in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, 6 vols., Monumenta Germaniae Historica Schriften 33 (Hanover, 1988-1990), 5:585-610.

⁶⁸ WALSH, "Wie ein Bettelorden," 596-7.

⁶⁹ SAAK, *High Way to Heaven*, 194-218.

the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* originated sometime between 1334 and 1343.

In this light, Walsh highlighted the central importance of the chancellor of Paris, Robert de Bardis, for the origins of the *sermones*.⁷⁰ Arbesmann had noted that two fifteenth-century manuscripts of the *sermones*, one from Berlin and one from Danzig, mention that the sermons were found in Paris by de Bardis.⁷¹ Arbesmann further mentioned the Vatican and Paris manuscripts of de Bardis' collection of Augustine's sermons, claiming that either he had copied from Jordan, or they had both copied from a common source.⁷² Walsh, however, inverted the relationship. She showed that the Vatican manuscript did not date from the fifteenth century, as mistakenly noted in the catalogue, but was a fourteenth-century manuscript and was de Bardis' personal copy, dating to the period of his chancellorship, that is, from 1336 to 1349. Moreover, the Vatican manuscript had numerous sermons added in the margins. "Every entry," Walsh explained, "that would later become part of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, is found unsystematically and haphazardly in the manuscript, as much in the main text as in the margins, namely, as the collector had come across them."⁷³ Thus, Walsh concludes, for de Bardis there was no "standard" collection and he did not designate the sermons as *ad fratres in eremo*. The title, according to Walsh, can most appropriately be considered to have originated with Jordan.⁷⁴

Balbino Rano has gone beyond the argument from silence to present a case that the author of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* knew and used the works of the Anonymous Florentine, Nicholas of Alessandria, and Henry of Friemar.⁷⁵ Rano's two major pieces of textual evidence concern the phrase, *Instigante autem pia matre*, and *Et sic perveni in Africam pia matre defuncta, et aedificavi, ut videtis, monasterium, in quo nunc sumus, in solitudine a gentibus segregatum*, from sermon 21. The textual parallels between these passages and Nicholas of Alessandria's *Sermo de beato Augustino* and Henry of Friemar's *Tractatus*, are such that a direct textual relationship exists.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ WALSH, "Wie ein Bettelorden," 598-600.

⁷¹ VF, xxvii.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ "Jede Eintragungen, die später als Teile der *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* erkannt werden sollten, finden sich unsystematisch und willkürlich verteilt, sowohl im Haupttext wie auch am Rand, also wie sie dem Sammler untergekommen waren." WALSH, "Wie ein Bettelorden," 599.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 600.

⁷⁵ RANO, "San Agustín y los orígenes de su Orden," 711-14.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 711-712.

Moreover, not mentioned by Rano, in sermon 21 we find: *Et placuit deo centarium numerum fratrum mihi donare illuminans corda nostra non solum sanctissimos patres solitarios imitari, sed etiam in hac solitudine more apostolorum omnia communiter possidere, nos servare et postea docere et per me vobis precipere voluit.*⁷⁷ The reference to Augustine having been given one hundred brothers was referring to the "tradition" that Augustine wrote his Rule, and thus founded his first monastic community, in Centumcellis. This assertion, however, is first found in the *Sermo de beato Augustino* of Nicholas of Alessandria.⁷⁸ The author of the *Initium* mentioned Centumcellis, but claimed that this was only one possibility for Augustine's first monastic foundation, and that the precise location cannot be determined.⁷⁹ The *Initium* is the first extant textual reference to Centumcellis, and Nicholas's *Sermo* is the first text that definitively names Centumcellis as the location of Augustine's first monastery.⁸⁰ There is no evidence that the author of

⁷⁷ JOR., *Coll.*, fol. 26^b.

⁷⁸ "Dicti autem heremite in prefata heremo inter Romam et Viterbium in tantum numero et merito satis cito creverunt, quod ibidem C cellas construxerunt iuxta locum qui Centum cellis dicitur et habitatores illius regionis in dicta heremo ecclesiam in honorem Sancte Trinitatis ipsis fratribus edificarunt et ibi in processu temporis fuit primus locus Ordinis heremitarum sancti Augustini." Nicholas de Alessandria, *Sermo de sancto Augustino* (ed. Rano, 365).

⁷⁹ *Initium* (ed. Rano, 338-9).

⁸⁰ The legend that Augustine had first founded his order of hermits in Centumcellis is not as such without evidence. Though there is no documentation of Augustine's foundation, there was a group of hermits in Centumcellis in the monastery of the Holy Trinity, which later tradition had Augustine establishing. In the bull, *Pium est*, dated 16 December 1243, that is, the same date as the "foundation charter" of the OESA (see above), Innocent IV places the hermits of Centumcellis under the care of Richard Annibaldi: "Richardo S. Mariae in Cosmedin Diacono Cardinali, Apostolicae Sedis Legato. Pium est et etiam laude dignum, ut viros religiosos, qui relictis omnibus serviunt soli Deo, dignis attollamus favoribus et foveamus consiliis opportunis, ut nostri suffulti subsidio possint liberius Domino famulari. Cum igitur sicut dilecti filii prior et fratres heremi S. Trinitatis de Centumcellis Nobis exponere curaverint eorum facultates adeo sint tenues et exiles, quod ipsi, relicto sanctae contemplationis otio, coguntur necessaria mendicare. Nobis humiliter supplicaverunt, ut quietius et liberius possint impendere Domino famulatum, ecclesiam S. Severae penitus derelictam, quae iuris et proprietatis Ecclesiae Romanae existit, eis de benignitate Sedis Apostolicae concedere curaremus. De tua igitur circumspectione plenam in Domino fiduciam obtinentes mandamus quatenus, inquisita super praemissis plenius utilitati, si rem inveneris ita esse, concedas eisdem priori et fratribus ac per ipsos eorum Ordini in perpetuum supradictam ecclesiam. Si expedire videris vice nostra contradicere etc. Datum Laterani XVII Kal. Januarii, Pontificatus nostri anno primo." VAN LUIJK, *Bullarium*, n. 31. The following year, in *Iustis petentium*, dated 30 March 1244, Innocent IV takes the hermits of Centumcellis under the protection of the holy see: "Dilectis filiis Priori et fratribus eremi S. Trinitatis de Centumcellis, Salutem etc. Iustis petentium desideriis dignum est Nos facilem praebere consensum et vota, quae

the *Initium* or Nicholas knew the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, and yet the textual parallels indicate that there is a textual relationship. The one hundred brothers Augustine was given in his first monastery in sermon 21 is an attempt to preserve the Centumcellis image, though places the first foundation in the outskirts of Hippo. It seems highly likely that the author of sermon 21 knew Nicholas' *Sermo*. Thus Rano dates the collection, though no definitive answer can be given, between 1347 and 1357.⁸¹ Such a late dating, however, is rather unlikely given Jordan's *Collectanea*.⁸²

a rationis tramite non discordant, effectu consequente complere. Eapropter, dilecti filii in Domino, vestris iustis postulationibus grato concurrentes assensu personas vestras et heremum S. Trinitatis in qua divino vacatis obsequio cum omnibus bonis tam ecclesiasticis quam mundanis, quae in praesenti rationabiliter possidetis aut in futurum iustis modis, praestante Domino, poteritis adipisci, sub B. Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus. Specialiter autem ruralem ecclesiam S. Severae, quam ad Romanam Ecclesiam, ut asseratis, immediate spectantem dilectus filius noster R(ichardus) S. Mariae in Cosmedin Diac. Card. de mandato nostro. considerata tenuitate facultarum vestrarum, vobis contulit intuitu pietatis, prout in eisdem Cardinalis litteris plenius dicere contineri, vobis et eidem eremo per vos auctoritate Apostolica confirmamus et praesentis scripti patrocinio communimus. Nulli ergo etc. Datum Laterani III Kal. Aprilis Pont. nostri anno primo." *Ibid.*, n. 38. There is no mention here of the union of the Tuscan Hermits; cf. supra. On Centumcellis, see ENNIO BRUNORI, "L'Eremo della Trinità 'de Centumcellis'," in Joseph C. Schnaubelt, Frederick Van Fleteren, and George Radan, eds., *Augustine in Iconography. History and Legend. Collectanea Augustiniana* 4 (New York/Washington/Baltimore/Boston/Bern/Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Vienna/Paris, 2003), 223-268. Brunori lists two other documents testifying to Centumcellis. The first is the *Vita Guillelmi* by Albert of Siena, dated between 1157 and 1181 by Brunori, and the second is a sermon of Peter Comester, that had been attributed to Augustine, dated before 1178. Both texts explicitly claim that Augustine had founded his Order of Hermits in Centumcellis. If both of these texts were genuine, it would give evidence of an early date of the legend of Augustine having founded his Order in Centumcellis, that is, previous to the 1330s. Unfortunately, the legitimacy of neither text can be upheld. The text of the *Vita Guillelmi* Brunori cites (see BRUNORI, Appendix I, pp. 244-247) is that published by Michaelis Angelus Carolis in 1582. Michael was himself a member of the OESA. The passages that give proof of Augustine having founded the Williamites in Centumcellis are interpolations. There is no evidence that the early Williamites traced their foundation to Augustine, nor that Centumcellis was a location for the Williamites. The Hermits of the holy Trinity at Centumcellis, placed under the guardianship of Richard Annibaldi, were not the Williamites. Moreover, the Williamites followed the Rule of St. William. Though originally part of the Great Union of 1256 establishing the OESA, the Williamites succeeded from the union in 1266. See ELM, *Beiträge*, 108-119. The second text Brunori offers as evidence is a sermon attributed to Augustine, which Brunori claims was authored by Peter Comester. Brunori cites BALBINO RANO's article, "San Agustín y los orígenes de su orden," 650-651 = [2]-[3]; BRUNORI, endnote 4, p. 239. The reference is actually found in Rano's article on page 683 [35], in footnote 139. Here Rano states that the sermon in question (*sermo* 39, *PL* 198, 1813-1817), may have been composed by Comester, but in any case, was interpollated by Ambrosius de Cora, the Prior General of the OESA who published his *Defensorium Ordinis*

Rano, as had scholars previously, assumed that there was a single forger and/or compiler of the collection. Most recently, however, Kaspar Elm has argued that not only can we not assume there was a "standard" collection of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, but also that we need to realize that these sermons could very well have been written by different authors at different times.⁸³ Simply put, Elm's argument not only makes sense, it also corresponds to the evidence. Elm has pointed to the twelfth-century controversies between the newly emerging Augustinian Canons and secular priests as having provided the model for the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, for in this context too there were forged texts ascribed to Augustine.⁸⁴ Yet what he did not mention, is that at least one of the sermons Jordan included in his *Collectanea*, the unnumbered *sermo ad populum De penitentia*, listed as the thirty-third text of the collection, is extant in manuscript 474B of the Bibliotheque d'la Arsenal in Paris, and dates from the twelfth century. In other words, in Jordan's collection of *Sermones Sancti Augustini* there are two authentic sermons of Augustine, and at least one pseudo-Augustinian sermon from the twelfth century, even if other of the sermons in the collection date from the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The sermon *De penitentia*, however, was not included in the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* by the Maurists, and neither was the sermon immediately preceding it in Jordan's collection, which has been attributed to Caesarius of Arles.⁸⁵ In point of fact, there was not a single forger. Was there, however, a single collector who provided the source of the transmission?

Eremitarum Sancti Augustini in 1481: "... pero hay que anadir que la referencia que se encuentra en este sermón sobre la Regla dada por San Agustín en el Monte Pisano es una int[er]polación y tergiversación; este sermón en su texto verdadero na trae nada del Monte Pisano; trae la interpolación y tergiversación A. Massari de Cori." RANO, "San Agustín y los orígenes de su orden," 683, n. 139. In other words, the explicit references to Augustine having founded his Order of Hermits in Centumcellis came not from Peter Comester, if he was indeed the author of the sermon, but from Ambrosius de Cora in the later fifteenth century. Brunori's article is, nevertheless, with these caveats, a useful guide to the tradition of Centumcellis as the first foundation of the OESA.

⁸¹ RANO, "San Agustín y los orígenes de su Orden," 714.

⁸² The date of 1343 has been assumed as the date of the donation, since Jordan made a visitation to Paris for the prior general in 1343. There is, however, no concrete evidence that Jordan did indeed present his *Collectanea* to the house in Paris in 1343, though he is clear in his prologue that he is giving his work to his brothers in Paris.

⁸³ KASPAR ELM, "Pseudoaugustinische Lebensregeln," 528-9.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 528-34.

⁸⁵ G. MORIN, *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Sermones* (MARETIOLI, 1937), 551-556; as cited by ARBESMANN, VF, xxix.

Though Walsh, Rano, and Elm have furthered our understanding of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, at least by complicating the matter significantly, what has not been noted is that of the twenty-three *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* of Jordan's collection, only two are found in the Vatican manuscript of de Bardis, numbers 19 and 20. Sermon 19 of Jordan's collection, *De vigilia nativitatis Domini*, is found in the margin beginning on folio 51^{rb}. Sermon 20 of Jordan's collection, *De nativitate Domini*, is found in the text beginning on folio 67^{vb}. In both cases de Bardis designated these sermons as *ad heremitas*. Moreover, on folio 290^{va} we find a sermon added in the margin on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and here too de Bardis noted that it is a sermon *ad heremitas*. This sermon is not present in Jordan's collection, nor in that of the Maurists. Jordan was not the source for de Bardis, and the Vatican manuscript of de Bardis' collection, Vat. Lat. 479, was not the source for Jordan, nor does it seem that they shared a common source.⁸⁶

The relationship between de Bardis' collection of Augustine's sermons, Jordan's *Collectanea*, and the textual tradition of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* is yet to be determined. Such an endeavor could very well be made infinitely more difficult, if not impossible, when we note, as did neither Walsh nor anyone else, with one exception,⁸⁷ that the Vatican manuscript of de Bardis' collection is incomplete. Vat. Lat. 479 is a very large manuscript, consisting of 325 folia containing over 300 sermons attributed to Augustine. In the preface to the work, de Bardis explains that he has organized his collection of Augustine's sermons, which he had found in various monasteries and old books, into five parts. The first concerns the deeds and saints of the Old Testament; the second, the solemnities and saints of the New Testament; the third, the words and writings of the Old Testament; the fourth, the words and writings of the New Testament; and the fifth, the ornaments of and impediments to the Church and the final ends of the good and the evil.⁸⁸ Vat. Lat. 479, however, only contains the first two

⁸⁶ The Paris manuscript of de Bardis' collection, BnF lat. 2030, mentioned by ARBESMAN, is actually a copy of the Vatican MS, Vat. lat. 479. See below for more on de BARDIS's *Collectorium* and its textual tradition.

⁸⁷ See below.

⁸⁸ "Incipit Collectorium sermonum sancti Augustini ... invenit monasteriis ac veteribus codicibus in quibus erant inordinate pro magna parte dispersi ... habet autem collectorium ultimo quinque partes principales: In prima parte collecti sunt sermones de quibusdam gestis et sanctis veteris testamenti. In secunda de sollempnitatibus et sanctis novi testamenti. In tertia de verbis et scriptis veteris testamenti. In quarta de verbis et scriptis novi testamenti. In quinta de ornamentis et impedimentis ecclesiastici fidelium et de retributionibus ultimis bonorum et malorum." ROBERTUS DE BARDIS,

parts. It could be that de Bardis did indeed have a set collection of *sermones ad heremitas* that paralleled Jordan's collection, with the exception of the sermon on the Assumption, but that he organized his work differently, placing them throughout the five parts rather than keeping them all together. Not only the Danzig and the Berlin manuscripts from the fifteenth century mentioned by Arbesmann, but numerous other fifteenth-century manuscripts and at least two fourteenth-century manuscripts include the explicit that these were sermons found in Paris by Robert de Bardis.⁸⁹ Moreover, in each case the collection contains the same sermons found in Jordan's *Collectanea*, only two of which are present in Vat. Lat. 479, and do not include de Bardis' sermon on the assumption.

We will return to de Bardis' *Collectorium* shortly, but for now what we can say for certain is that at least one of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* originated in the twelfth century; that Jordan did not use Robert de Bardis as the source of his collection; that independent of Jordan at least three of the sermons had been designated *ad heremitas*; that two authentic sermons of Augustine were part of the "original" collection; that there was a tradition established early on in the transmission that the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* had been found in Paris by Robert de Bardis; and that Jordan's *Collectanea* was not the source of the early transmission, though it stands as a witness to the early transmission. To see in more detail how this was so, we need to turn, at least momentarily, from the question of the dating and authorship of the *Sermones* to the early textual traditions.

IV. The Earliest Textual Traditions of the *Sermones*

In analyzing the textual traditions of the *Sermones*, I can, leaving de Bardis' collection aside for the time being, point to at least five

Collectorium sermonum sancti Augustini, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 479, fol. 1^{ra}.

⁸⁹ For example: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 1264 [fourteenth century], fol. 123; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus 3466 [fourteenth century], fol. 147; Vienna, Schottenklosterbibliothek, Codex Scotensis-Vindobonensis 132 [fourteenth/fifteenth century], fol. 80^{ra}. G. Morin has pointed to Toulouse MS 169, dated to the fourteenth century, which claims that the sermons *ad fratres in eremo* were found in the abbey of Saint-Denis, written by a Father Johannes, a priest in the church of Saints Gervasius and Prothasius in the time of King Pipin, and then made their way to the papal library in Avignon. G. MORIN, "Notes d'ancienne littérature ecclésiastique," *Revue Bénédictine* 13 (1896), 346-347; as cited by RANO, "San Agustín y los orígenes de su orden," 715.

distinct textual traditions, which can be determined based on an analysis of various fourteenth-century manuscripts, detailing which sermons they include and in which order. As can be seen in Table I, I have compared Jordan's collection with ten other manuscripts, seven of which are dated to the fourteenth century. The first column is simply a numerical sequence of the order of texts, from one to thirty-five. The thirty-five texts designated as *Sermones Augustini* in Jordan's *Collectanea* are listed in the second column, with the numeration given as present in Jordan's autograph. The third column then gives the numbering of the sermons present in Jordan's autograph as they appear in Migne. The remaining columns present the order of sermons of the respective manuscripts, listed according to Jordan's numbering. Thus, for example, the first text given in Jordan's autograph is numbered *sermo primus* in the autograph, whereas the first text present in manuscript *I*, labeled therein as *sermo primus*, is the same sermon Jordan numbers *sermo vicesimus primus*, though this is the second such numbered sermon in Jordan's collection. The first sermon in Jordan's collection is the same sermon as the first numbered sermon of Migne. The first sermon labeled as such in *I*, therefore, is the same sermon as the thirtieth text in Jordan's collection and is listed in Migne as sermon 43. On occasion, for sake of clarity, I have included the numeration given in the manuscript in question in parenthesis after the number of the given sermon according to Jordan's collection (which then corresponds to the sequential ordering of texts in the first column).

Table 1: *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*: Order of Sermons

Sigla Codicum

<i>J</i>	Jordani de Quedlinburg, <i>Collectanea Sancti Augustini</i> , Paris, Bib. de l'Arsenal, 251
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
<i>A</i>	Vienna, NB Vind. Pal. 3466 (14 th cent.)
<i>B</i>	Berlin, StB, theol. Lat. qu. 45 (15 th cent.)
<i>C</i>	Vienna, NB Vind. Pal. 4410 (1370)
<i>D</i>	Vienna, NB Vind. Pal. 4800 (14 th cent.)
<i>E</i>	Vienna, Schottenkloster, 132(182) (14 th /15 th cent.)
<i>F</i>	Innsbruck, UB Cod. 591 (14 th cent.)
<i>G</i>	Klosterneuberg, Stiftsbib. Cod. 387 (14 th cent.)
<i>H</i>	Klosterneuberg, Stiftsbib. Cod. 789 (14 th cent.)
<i>I</i>	Cologne, Domsbib., Cod. 1082 (15 th cent.)
<i>K</i>	Berlin, StB, theol.lat.fol. 23 (15 th cent.)

[illegible]

Sermons 1 to 23 are designated by Jordan as the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, and are sequentially numbered as well in Jordan's text. These then are followed by *sermones Augustini ad presbyteros Hipponensis*. The first sermon, *De obedientia*, is numbered 26. At first one might consider this a simple scribal error, writing in Roman numerals 26 for 24, but the numbering "difficulty" continues. Jordan followed the twenty-fourth sermon of his collection, numbered by him as sermon 26, with sermon 27 and sermon 28, the two genuine sermons of Augustine. He then inserted a brief text with a separate rubric, *De tribus constitutionibus Augustini super proprietate clericorum*, which remained unnumbered, and this was followed by another, designated as *Ex libro sancti Augustini de vita clericorum*. The next sermon is then given the number 30. In Jordan's *Tabula* prefacing his collection, after this sermon was to come *sermones ad populum*, a designation one does not find in the text itself. In the text, the sermons are numbered, but in the *Tabula*, only sermons 1-23, the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, are numbered. In any case, the sermon in the text that follows the sermon explicitly numbered 30, is explicitly numbered 21. Here again one must suspect scribal error, simply omitting a Roman numeral ten. However, Jordan's second sermon 21 included in his collection is followed then by sermon 29, and then by the second sermon in Jordan's collection numbered 22. The last three sermons are not numbered by Jordan. Even allowing for scribal error, we have to conclude that either Jordan had some pretty serious problems with counting, or, he was copying from some other numbered collection, or collections, of sermons. Do the other fourteenth-century manuscripts shed any light on this?

The simple answer is that they do not, or at least not really, or not as much as we might like. Of the ten manuscripts presented in Table 1, manuscripts A, and C through G are dated to the fourteenth century, with B, I and K being fifteenth-century manuscripts. In each case, however, the sermons are numbered sequentially, though K too has various numeration in the later sermons. Thus manuscripts A, D, F, G, H, include twenty-five sermons, numbered sequentially, as the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*; manuscript F, twenty-three; D, twenty-nine; and B, thirty-four, and again, all numbered sequentially. This lets us see that A, C, E, G, H, I, and K formed a single group, including the same sermons, albeit in different order. The differing order of the sermons in these manuscripts, however, is done by groups, which I have summarized in Table 2.

Table 2: *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*: Order of Sermons

A Serm. 1-12	B Serm. 13-17	Γ Serm. 19-22	Δ Serm. 21 ² , 26, 18, 29
MSS			
A		α, β, γ, δ	
B		(α, β, γ) +	
C		α, δ, β, γ	
D		(α, δ, β, γ) +	
E		α, δ, β, γ	
F		(α, β, γ) +	
G		α, β, γ, δ	
H		α, β, γ, δ	
I		δ, β, γ, α	
K		α, δ, β, γ	
+ these mss contain additional sermons to the groupings here given.			

In these ten manuscripts one can identify four groups of sermons, namely, using the numbering of Jordan's collection, sermons 1-12; sermons 13-17; sermons 19-22; and then sermons 21², 26, 18, and 29. A, G, and H present the sermons in this order; C, E, and K begin with the *alpha* group, followed by the *delta* group, then the *beta* group, and end with the *gamma* group; I begins with the *delta* group, followed by *beta* and *gamma*, and concludes with the *alpha* group. This variation in arrangement could very well be accounted for by the arrangement of the quires being copied; or in other words, that A, C, E, G, H, K and I represent a specific textual tradition of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, with the variation in ordering attributed to the variation in the order of the quires. This group includes sermons 1-22 of Jordan's collection of *sermones ad fratres in eremo*, together with one sermon, number 26 of Jordan's collection *ad presbyteros*, and two, numbers 21² and 29, designated by Jordan in his *Tabula ad populum*. In all these manuscripts, all these sermons, once again, are numbered sequentially and titled *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, with one exception: in I the second sermon of the collection, which is Jordan's number 26, is explicitly designated as *ad presbyteros dei*. The same sermon is noted as such in manuscripts B, D, and F. F presents the sermons in the closest order to that of Jordan, listing in order numbers 1-22, but then rather than concluding with sermon 23 of Jordan's collection, has Jordan's number 26 as the twenty-third sermon of the collection, which is then explicitly noted as *ad presbyteros*. F, therefore, represents another identifiable textual tradition, and the same can be said of B and D.

D has twenty-nine *sermones ad fratres in eremo*, though sermon 15 in *D* is Jordan's sermon 26, and *D* explicitly notes that it is *ad presbyteros*. *D* then follows with sermon 18 of Jordan's collection, which *D* then again designates as *ad heremitas*. *B* is yet another matter. Arbesman claimed that *B* "most closely approaches that of Jordanus's collection."⁹⁰ That indeed seems to be the case. *B* follows Jordan's numbering of sermons 1-22, though with one exception. *B* inserted Jordan's sermon 26 between sermons 4 and 5, whereas Jordan included sermon 26 as the first sermon *ad presbyteros*, directly following sermon 23 and the explicit for the *sermones ad fratres suos in heremo*. With sermon 26 factored out for the moment, both Jordan and *B* included the same *sermones ad fratres in eremo*, with the only exception being Jordan's sermon 23. *F* too follows *B* in this ordering, maintaining sermons 1-22, and then, like Jordan, "appending" sermon 26, but like *B*, omitting sermon 23. The insertion of sermon 26 in *B* between Jordan's sermons 4 and 5 is not without reason. The rubric of sermon 26 as present in *B* states: *De obedientia sermo beati Augustini ad presbyteros suos quando reversus fuit a fratribus in heremo habitantibus, quando Fortunatus presbyter Manicheus venit Yponem*.⁹¹ In the conclusion of Jordan's sermon 4, Augustine states that he must leave his hermits and return to Hippo to debate Fortunatus.⁹² The beginning of sermon 5 then announces to his hermits his victory over Fortunatus.⁹³ In the *Collectanea*, sermon 26 is the first sermon *ad presbyteros suos*, yet no mention is made there in the rubric of Fortunatus. Sermon 26 is one of the explicitly eremitical sermons, namely, one that could only have been composed after 1327.⁹⁴ Towards the end of the sermon, Augustine addresses his priests and explains that

⁹⁰ VF, xxvii.

⁹¹ Berlin, StB theol. qu. 45, fol. 170^r.

⁹² "Supplico vobis fratres ut non turbemini de mea recussu, decreveram enim diu inter vos consolari et vobiscum habitare usque ad festum dominice ascensionis. Sed adversarius noster Fortunatus ad partes pervenit et ideo redire Hipponem omnino compellor, cupiens illum videre et cum illo pariter disputare. Ipse enim toto affectu dissipare conatur filios quos peperit in visceribus caritatis. State pro me fratres et nolite deficere, ut Fortunatum, sicut publice sancte fidei insidiatur, ita et nos ipsum cum suis dei gratia coadiuvante publice superare et convertere ad viam veritatis possimus." Jor. *Coll.*, *sermo* 4, fol. 7^{vb}-8^{ra}.

⁹³ "Fratres carissimi, annuntio vobis gaudium magnum quoniam Fortunatum manicheorum presbyter dei gratia superavimus, et obstinatus in suo sensu velut alter filius perditionis a plebe nostra recessit confusus. Post cuius recessum baptizavi fere sexaginta paganos, qui sibi aliquid adherabant et ecce modo reversus sum ad nos, cupiens perficere opus quod incepi." Jor. *Coll.*, *sermo* 5, fol. 8^{ra}.

⁹⁴ See below.

he had desired to return to them to debate Fortunatus.⁹⁵ It thus makes perfect sense to include this sermon between the one in which Augustine announces to his hermits that he must leave them to debate Fortunatus, and the following sermon in Jordan's collection, in which Augustine announces his victory over Fortunatus. *B* has thirty-four sermons, and Jordan has thirty-five, albeit two are not as such sermons, and are noted as such in Jordan's rubric, though they are included in the general category of sermons *ad presbyteros suos*. *B* also includes two sermons not found in Jordan's collection, number 28 in *B*, *de filio prodigo*, and sermon 32 in *B*, *de sancta Monica*. It is also significant to note that sermons 33 and 34 in *B* correspond to Jordan's sermons 27 and 28, which are the two authentic sermons of Augustine, numbers 355 and 356. Yet in the explicit of sermon 34 in *B*, we find the notation: *Explicit de vita et moribus clericorum sermo 29*.⁹⁶ Although the second sermon *de vita et moribus clericorum* is listed in *B* as sermon 34, in the explicit it designates it as sermon 29. A parallel is seen in *D*, which includes Jordan's sermons 27 and 28, namely the *de vita et moribus clericorum*, as a single sermon to conclude the collection designated as sermon 29. It seems that *B* was aware of the fact that there was a collection of the *sermones ad fratres suos in heremo* circulating that concluded with sermon 29, being the *de vita et moribus clericorum*. *D* dates from the fourteenth century, and thus early on there was a tradition of the *Sermones* that contained twenty-nine sermons, concluding with the *de vita et moribus clericorum*. Moreover, *B* most likely used a manuscript in the textual tradition of *D*, otherwise, there is no explanation for *B* listing the last sermon in the collection as *sermo 34* and then in the *explicit* claiming it was *sermo 29*.

⁹⁵ "Cur ergo murmuratis? Cur de mea absentia dolorem habere ostenditis? Facite que placita sunt mihi et tunc ubicumque fuero vobiscum ero usque ad consummationem seculi. Decreveram enim cum eisdem rusticanis meis in caritate humiliter habitare usque ad festum sancte ascensionis domini. Nec ad vos redire optabam quousque vos emendatos esse cognovereo. Sed quoniam Fortunatum adversarium ad partes occulte velut lupum pervenisse iam sentio ideo compulsus reversus sum ad vos, cupiens illum videre et cum eo pariter disputare et illum concultare domino auxiliante qui totis viribus dissipare conatur et iugulare filios quod peperit in visceribus caritatis. Orate igitur et nos vobiscum orare, volumus desinentes de mea absentia amplius litigare. Orate et nolite deficere ut Fortunatum manicheorum presbyterum sicut publice sancte fidei christiane insidiatur, ita et nos cum suis dei gratia coadiuvante publice eum superare possimus. Orate sine intermissione ut manere digne possitis invocatione clericorum qua per gratiam vocati estis, ut dum vocabimini ad mercedem in die novissimo non sicut ficus absque fructu maledicamini et succidamini et in ignem mittamini tamquam destructores legis terram occupantes et pereuntes in iniquitatibus vestris." *Jor. Coll.*, *sermo* 26, fol. 32^{va-b}.

⁹⁶ Berlin, StB, MS theol. lat.qu. 45, fol. 233^v.

What we have here is five distinct textual traditions of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, namely, 1.) that of Jordan; 2.) that of A,C,E,G,H,I and K; 3.) that of D; 4.) that of B and 5.) that of F, though F could represent an early collection which was used by B and D but with the inclusion of additional sermons. While only B and D contain sermons that are not to be found in Jordan's collection, none of them can have derived from Jordan, nor served as the source for Jordan.

There is some indication, however slight and/or speculative, to suggest that there was an "original" core collection. F contains twenty-three sermons, Jordan's numbers 1-22 and then number 26, the first of Jordan's sermons *ad presbyteros*, which too is designated as such in B and D. Jordan designates sermons 1-23 as the *sermones ad fratres in eremo*. If F represented the "original core" collection, namely, one that Jordan too had access to, then he would have realized that there were twenty-three sermons in the collection, but that the one, sermon 23 in F and sermon 5 in B, was actually *ad presbyteros*. From another collection, Jordan could have then gotten at least some of the other sermons he included. I have already mentioned that Jordan has two sermons numbered as 21 and two numbered as 22. Number 23 of Jordan's collection is the "odd man out", so to speak. Of these eight manuscripts, only D includes Jordan's sermon 23, but does so as the sixth sermon of the collection, between numbers 5 and 6. D, in fact, includes Jordan's sermons, in addition to 23, numbers 22², and 27 and 28 together as the last sermon of the collection, numbered 29, none of which are present in the other manuscripts, with the exception of B, which though omits Jordan's sermon 23. If we were to factor these four sermons out of D, the result would be a collection of twenty-five sermons, the same twenty-five sermons included in the other collections, arranged as in C, namely, as the *alpha* group followed by *delta* and *beta*, and ending with *gamma*, with one exception. D begins with sermon 2 of Jordan's collection, continues with sermon 3, and then skips to sermon 4; or in other words, in D's own numeration, we find sermon 1, followed by 2, followed then by 4, that is, the third sermon of the collection is explicitly numbered *sermo quartus* in D. It could very well be that D used at least two sources, namely, the "core collection" of 25 sermons, and then another source or sources for sermons 22², 23, and 27/28 of Jordan's collection, as well as for the sermon *De contritione cordis*, found neither in Jordan's collection nor in that of the Maurists. Yet with F as a witness, we can actually hypothesize two "core collections", namely, an "original" core collection of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* consisting of twenty-two sermons, and the "secondary" core collection which then included these twenty-

two, that is sermons 1-22, and 26 of Jordan's collection, as well as sermons 21² and 29 of Jordan's collection for a total of twenty-five sermons. It could also be that Jordan as well had multiple sources for his collection, namely, the "core collection" of twenty-two sermons and then another source or sources for the remaining sermons of his collection. This scenario could as well explain the difficulty in numbering. In the "core collection", namely, sermons 1-22 of Jordan's collection together with sermon 26, Jordan would have known that the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* consisted of twenty-three sermons, but that the last sermon of the collection was designated *ad presbyteros*. Had Jordan had available to him another numbered collection, he could have then used it for his collection, substituting a numbered 23 to complete the 23 *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, followed then by sermon 26 *ad presbyteros*. This could then explain the repetition of sermons numbered 21 and 22, namely, Jordan's 21² and 22² were so numbered in Jordan's numbered source, followed by 23, which he then used to replace the one *sermo ad fratres in eremo* that was actually *ad presbyteros*. And yet, sermon 26 is also a bit odd. *F* includes it as the last of the sermons, *B* "inserts" it between sermons 4 and 5, and the other manuscripts include it in the *delta* group, namely, sermons 21², 26, 18, and 29 of Jordan's collection. In all the manuscripts, including Jordan's collection, sermons 1-22 are rather stable, with the only variation in order being based on the grouping of the *alpha*, *beta*, and *gamma* groups, and the omission of sermon 18, except in *B* and *F*. The "original" core collection thus appears to have been sermons 1-22, which then in *F* were expanded to include sermon 26 of Jordan's collection whereas in the other manuscripts were expanded by the *delta* group and the transposition of sermon 18, and then in *B*, were expanded by sermons approximating, though not equating, those of Jordan's collection. Thus there could have been three core collections: the primary core collection of sermons 1-22; the secondary core collection represented by *B* and *F*,⁹⁷ which Jordan also used; and then finally the tertiary core collection of the *alpha*, *beta*, *gamma*, and *delta* grouping.

In any case, this is further proof that manuscripts A-K could not have been derived from Jordan's collection, nor could have Jordan's collection been derived from A-K. Moreover, if we assume that the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* as a collection grew over time, then Jordan's collection of twenty-three *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* combined with four *ad presbyteros* and six *ad populum* represents an

⁹⁷ That is, "factoring out" the other sermons included in *B* that are not in *F*.

expansion of the tradition from the twenty-three sermons of *F*, the twenty-five sermons of *A, C, E, G, H, I* and *K*, and the twenty-nine sermons of *D*, though approximating the thirty-four sermons of *B*, even if *B* included sermons not found in Jordan. That the collection was expanding is indicated as well by Jordan himself, for in his *Liber Vitas-fratrum*, Jordan cited three *sermones ad fratres in eremo* not included in his *Collectanea*, numbers 27, 28 and 60 of the Migne edition.⁹⁸ Jordan, in any case, was not the first to give the collection its title, since Robert de Bardis knew sermons 19 and 20 of Jordan's collection as sermons *ad heremitas*. The same applies to the designation *ad presbyteros*. By Jordan's time there were already *sermones Sancti Augustini ad fratres suos in heremo* and *sermones Sancti Augustini ad presbyteros* circulating which at some point coalesced into a collection of twenty-two or twenty-three sermons, which then became expanded to thirty-three sermons by 1343 and to seventy-six sermons by 1495. If Robert de Bardis did indeed discover these sermons in Paris, he did so as an on-going investigation and he was not alone. Jordan too states in the prologue to his *Collectanea* that these sermons were found in Paris and in Avignon at the papal curia and sent to him.⁹⁹ If we cannot identify the original forger of these sermons, or the contents of the original forgery, it does seem most likely that we can locate the forgery in Paris and date it between 1334 and 1343, with it being highly likely that an earlier date during this period is more likely than a later, given the textual tradition already available to Jordan by 1343.

Moreover, we have indications that there was an original "core" set of sermons, or rather three "core" sets, as I have just discussed. Yet in the scheme I have presented, sermons 18 and 26 present a problem. How does one account for the transposition of sermon 18 from the

⁹⁸ VF, xxix.

⁹⁹ "Quia iuxta dictum sapientis ad locum unde ereunt flumina revertunt ut iterum fluant. Hinc est quod ego frater Jordanus de Saxonia dictus de Quedelingburg inter scolares Parisiensis minimus, quosdam sermones beatissimi patris nostri ac doctoris eximii Augustini cum quibusdam aliis tractatibus seu opusculis vel legendis de vita et gestis eiusdem sancti patris ac sue pie matris sancte Monice, atque de translationibus eorum prout ad me fide digna assertione ac fideli communicatione, unde quaque exemplaria devenerunt, quibusdam quidem de Parisius, quibusdam vero de Curia Romana, nonnullis quoque de antiquis et approbatis monasteriis ad me perductis, in unum volumen collegi. Ipsumque ad locum Parisiensem mare utique copiosum, unde omnia scientiarum flumina exire dinoscuntur destinare sathegi. Quatenus exinde fluat iterum per ordinem universum, obsecrans in visceribus caritatis, ut quicumque fratrum de studio conventus nostri Parisiensis, cui hunc librum in libraria eiusdem conventus ad communem utilitatem pondendum pro munusculo caritatis donare decrevi, in eo legerit vel eum forsitan transcribi fecerit, oret pro donantis anima, ut Augustini meritis celi fruat gaudiis. Amen." *Jor. Coll., Prol.*, fol. 1^{vb}.

“core” of sermons 1-22, to the “core” of the *alpha*, *beta*, *gamma*, *delta* group? When we approach the question of the “original core” from this perspective, it seems very odd that someone at some time would have removed sermon 18 from the sequential ordering to include it in the *delta* group. Further, *D* stands as a problem as well, with its inclusion of the sermon *de contritione cordis* not found in the other collections, including Jordan’s and that of de Bardis in Vat. Lat. 479, and the same can be said for *B*, which includes sermons *de ieiunio*, *de filio prodigo*, *de cena domini*, and *de sancta Monica*, the first three of which are also present in Migne as sermons 23, 27, and 28, of which then 27 and 28 were later cited by Jordan in his *Liber Vitasfratrum*. Vat. Lat. 479 adds another problematic piece, namely, the sermon on the assumption of Mary designated as *ad heremitas*, though not found in Jordan or the other collections. What are we to make of this if, as I have been doing, we take Jordan’s *Collectanea*, de Bardis’ collection, and manuscripts *A-K* as all valid witnesses to the “original” collection?

First I should reiterate that there is good reason for doing so, since none of these collections could have been derived directly from the others, namely, that is, Jordan’s collection, de Bardis’ collection, manuscripts *A, C, E, G, H, I* and *K* as a group, and then manuscripts *D* and *F*. There is no evidence, and a good deal of evidence to the contrary, to claim that any of these traditions represent the *Urtext*. Yet we do get a glimpse of what might have been the original core. I have already suggested three core collections. The common denominator so to speak, are the sermons of the *alpha*, *beta*, and *gamma* groups. To this core group we then have the “eratical” sermons, namely, sermons 18, 23, 26, 21², 22², 27, 28, and 29, together with those in *D* and in de Bardis’s collections not found in others, followed then as well by sermon 30 of Jordan’s collection and the three unnumbered *sermones ad populum*. With the exception of sermons 18 and 26, all these other sermons can be seen as “additions” to the “core collection”. Sermons 18 and 26 are the problem. If we posit sermons 18 and 26 as a “later addition” to the core collection, then they circulated within the *delta* group, with the exception of *B*. How, then, are we to understand Jordan’s collection, *B*, and *F*? If, however, Jordan’s collection, *B*, and *F* represent the “original core”, how are we to understand the grouping of sermon 18 with *delta*? To me it makes more sense to posit sermons 18 and 26 having been added to a “core collection” inserted between sermons 17 and 19, while then sermon 23 or 26 was added at the end, or as in *B* between sermons 4 and 5, than it does to posit sermon 18 extracted from the core collection and then grouped with *delta*. In other words, was sermon 18 “originally” an “eratic” sermon that was

added to the "stable" core", or, was it originally part of the "stable core" that then became displaced? Either is possible, but the former seems to me the more likely. If that is the case, then we can revise the original core collection, or collections. As a hypothesis, I would posit *alpha*, *beta*, *gamma* as the original "core collection", with the other sermons, the eratical ones, being "later" additions thereto. In that case, then, the only complication is why did Jordan, or the tradition his *Collectanea* represents, *B*, and *F* insert sermon 18 in what had been a sequential listing of twenty-one sermons? And then why did *J*, *B* and *F* further add sermon 26?

The last question is perhaps the easiest to get around, if not solve. Simply put, the *J* tradition "discovered" sermon 23 and the *F* tradition discovered sermon 26, before any others were added. They likewise discovered sermon 18, and inserted sermon 18 into the previous sequence. The traditions of manuscripts *A*, *B*, *C*, *E*, *G*, *H*, and *I* then "discovered" the *delta* group, adding it onto the original "core". *D* then discovered sermon 23, which it inserted into the *alpha* group, and the sermon *de contritione cordis* which it inserted into the *delta* group, whereas *B* "discovered" the sermons *de ieiunio*, *de filio prodigo*, *in cena domini*, and *de sancta Monica*. *D* then also discovered sermon 22² which it inserted into the *gamma* group, and then the two authentic sermons of Augustine, numbers 27 and 28. What this would imply, therefore, was that there was an "original" forgery of sermons of the *alpha*, *beta*, and *gamma* groups, hereafter referred to as the "core", to which then later sermons became attached as they were found or forged, including the authentic sermons of Augustine, and at least the one pseudo-Augustinian sermon of the twelfth century *De penitentia*, present in *J* alone. Further, it would mean that the four textual traditions I pointed to earlier, namely, that of *J*, the *alpha*, *beta*, *gamma*, *delta* group, *F*, and *D*, are actually four phases of the collection's expansion and development from the "core collection". This "evolutionary" model, I would argue, better "presevers the phenomena" than have previous accounts based by and large on Jordan and the Maurists, but this is as far as I can go at present with respect to the development and origins of the collection as such.

V. The Thematic Core

Yet there may be additional evidence still when we turn from the development of the collection to its contents. If Jordan cannot be said to have been the author of these sermons, and if he can no longer

be said to have given the collection its title, he was, nevertheless, the first to use these sermons to defend his Order, basing his newly constructed *Vita Sancti Augustini*, present in his *Collectanea*, upon them.¹⁰⁰ In doing so, Jordan contributed to a new image of Augustine as the founding father of his Order of Hermits, presenting conclusive evidence against the case of the Canons.¹⁰¹

As I mentioned previously, Katherine Walsh argued that while Jordan was not the original forger, he was the one to give the collection its title. Yet de Bardis, whose collection was contemporaneous to Jordan's, if not earlier according to Walsh, designated three sermons *ad heremitas*, only two of which are found in Jordan's collection. Therefore, assuming Walsh is correct that de Bardis could not have been using Jordan as his source, de Bardis gives proof that there were sermons circulating designated as *ad heremitas* previous to Jordan, and thus Jordan cannot be said to have given the title to the work. Yet the formulation, *ad fratres suos in eremo* is not found previous to Jordan. It is most likely that the "core collection" already designated the sermons as *ad heremitas*, as did de Bardis, while Jordan then rephrased it to *ad fratres suos in eremo* while preserving the "original" title in his explicit to sermon 23, which states: *Expliciunt sermones Augustini ad heremitas*.¹⁰² This supposition is given additional weight when we note that manuscripts A-K give no uniform title to the collection. Most frequently we find: *Sermones Sancti Augustini ad fratres suos heremitas*, though we also come across the variations *ad fratres suos de eremo*¹⁰³, *Sermones beati Augustini ad heremitas suos fratres suos de vita heremitica seu solitaria*¹⁰⁴, *ad fratres in heremo*¹⁰⁵, and *ad fratres suos heremitas in heremo Yponensis*.¹⁰⁶ In B we see the designation after sermon 23 as in B: *Explicit libellus sancti Augustini episcopi de vita solitaria et heremitica sic enim intitulatum inveniende antiqua littera*, followed then by the rubric: *Sermo sanctissimi Augustini episcopi*

¹⁰⁰ For an edition of JORDAN's *Vita Sancti Augustini*, see SAAK, *High Way to Heaven*, 774-810.

¹⁰¹ See my forthcoming study, *Augustinus Noster*.

¹⁰² *Jor. Coll.*, sermon 23, fol. 30^b.

¹⁰³ Cologne, Domsbibliothek, cod. 1082 (15th cent.), fol. 2^v.

¹⁰⁴ Vienna, NB Vind. Pal.3466 (14th cent.), fol. 104^r; explicit: *Expliciunt sermones beati Augustini episcopi ad fratres suos heremitas quos quidam magister parisius dicitur inuenisse.* *Ibid.*, fol. 147^r.

¹⁰⁵ Vienna, Schottenkloster 132 (182) (14th/15th cent.), fol. 64^{va}; explicit: *"Expliciunt sermones reverendissimi patris Augustini ad fratres in heremo, inventi Parisius a domino Rupto de Bardis."* *Ibid.*, fol. 80^{ra}.

¹⁰⁶ Innsbruck, UB cod. 591 (14th cent.), fol. 1^r (*in marg.*).

ad fratres suos in heremo de ieiunio, xxiii,¹⁰⁷ giving here recognition that there were “originally” twenty-three sermons *ad fratres suos in eremo*, which though by the fifteenth century had expanded. I do not mean to be making a mountain out of a mole hill, but the point is, even with respect to the title there is no uniformity in the early traditions, which has some pertinence for the question of how did sermons Jordan designated *ad presbyteros* and *ad populum* end up being *ad fratres suos in heremo*?

The simple answer is, or could be, knowing very well that in such matters there is never truly a “simple” answer, that the title is descriptive, more than interpretive. In thirteen of the thirty-three sermons included in Jordan’s collection, Augustine – and here I mean the pseudo-Augustine and/or the created Augustine – explicitly states, in one way or another, that he is addressing his brothers *in eremo*. These I have marked in Table I with an asteriks. Thus in the first sermon, we read: “And therefore, most beloved brothers, living together with you in this hermitage in the name of our God, it is pleasing to feel as one according to the apostolic life and to possess all things in common.”¹⁰⁸ Sermon 1 is a compilation of sorts, constructed for the most part, from the *Regula* and the *Ordo Monasterii*. Yet it is not difficult to see how one could easily designate this sermon as being *ad fratres suos in eremo*, and the examples are easily multiplied. Sermon 1 begins: *Fratres mei et letitia cordis mei*, which is a formulation found as well in sermons 9, 10, 12, 14, and 22. We also find the salutations *fratres dilectissimi*, *fratres carissimi*, and *fratres mei*. When we get to sermon 26 in Jordan’s collection, the first of the *sermones ad presbyteros suos*, we read: *In omnibus operibus vestris sacerdotes dei dilectissimi*; in other words, it is clear from the text itself that “Augustine” is addressing his priests. In this sermon Augustine makes a clear distinction between his “priests” or “clerics”, and his “brothers”. In other words, one gets the impression that when Augustine is addressing his “brothers”, he is referring to his “hermits”. From the text itself, once again, it is clear in sermon 26 that Augustine is giving his sermon *ad presbyteros*, as noted by Jordan as well as by *B*, *D*, *F*, and *I*. The problem is, however, that for the other sermons included by Jordan in the group *ad presbyteros suos*, as well as those *ad populum*, we find the salutation *fratres karissimi* or *fratres mei*. Only sermon 26 is clearly addressed *ad presbyteros suos*, whereas for the other sermons there is nothing in the texts themselves to indicate where or how they

¹⁰⁷ Berlin, StB, theol. lat. qu. 45 (15th cent.), fol. 204^r.

¹⁰⁸ Jor. Coll., *sermo* 1, fol. 3^{rb}.

should be grouped. It could very well be that the association of *fratres* with *heremitae in eremo* led to the inclusion of sermons Jordan grouped as either *ad presbyteros* or *ad populum* with those *ad fratres suos in eremo*.

Jordan included within his category of *sermones ad presbyteros*, in addition to sermon 26 which is clearly designated as such, the two genuine sermons of Augustine, *de communi vita clericorum*, and sermon 30, *de legendo sacram scripturam*. It is clear from the text of sermons 27 and 28 that Augustine was addressing his priests as bishop within the episcopal residence. Moreover, sermons 27 and 28 circulated independently as a separate work of Augustine, which Jordan's *Tabula* indicates as well when he designates sermon 27 as *de communi vita clericorum, sermo primus*, and sermon 28 as *sermo secundus*, as does *B*, and when in *D* these two sermons, albeit inverted in order, appear as a single sermon, numbered 29, though not designated as *ad presbyteros*. Sermon 30, however, used the salutation *fratres mei*, and gives no indication that Augustine is explicitly addressing his priests. How, then, did it become part of the *sermones ad presbyteros* in Jordan's collection, especially when we note that sermon 30 is not present in the collections of *A-K*? The only answer that I can think of, is that sermon 30 came to Jordan together with sermons 26, 27 and 28, which he then appended to the collection he already had, and since sermon 26 is explicitly *ad presbyteros*, this provided Jordan with a group designation. Such an explanation is based on the positing of the core collection, and thus we need to return to the issue of dating and origins.

Above I discussed Rano's argument and evidence that the *sermones*, or at least some of them, used the works of the Anonymous Florentine, Nicolas of Alessandria, and Henry of Friemar. The evidence Rano brings is from sermon 21. Yet there is additional internal evidence of a fourteenth-century dating. Sermon 13, *de iustitia*, concludes with an condemnation of and admonition against living in *spiritu libertatis*, in the free spirit.¹⁰⁹ This is a term that refers to the "heresy" of the "free spirit", which as Robert Lerner has demonstrated, came into being as a term at the Council of Vienne.¹¹⁰ Therefore, sermon 13 could

¹⁰⁹ "Et ideo si in nostra congregatione aliquem talem invenerimus, quod deus avertat, qui sic iustitiam calcare voluerit, non tenendus est sed expellendus est, tamquam vivere volens in spiritu libertatis sue a quibus tamen liberet nos deus sicut hactenus fecit per gratiam ut nostra sancta et immaculata religio de bono in melius semper augmentetur, per Iesum Christum salvatorem nostrum, Amen." Jor. Coll., sermo 13, fol. 17^{ra-b}.

¹¹⁰ ROBERT LERNER, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1972).

not have been composed prior to 1312. Jordan himself wrote a now lost treatise against the "Free Spirits", but the textual variants between Jordan's collection and that of manuscripts A-K preclude the assertion of Jordan as the author. Yet this gives us additional positive evidence for dating the collection, or at least some of the sermons thereof, to the fourteenth century. Given the fragmented textual traditions of the collections, it could have been that at least some of the *sermones ad fratres in eremo* were indeed extant prior to 1334, even though Henry of Friemar, Nicolas of Alessandria, and the anonymous Florentine had no knowledge of them. Sermon 13, in any case, could not have been written prior to 1312. Yet sermon 13 is one of four sermons that give indications of a later date. Of the thirteen sermons that give explicit mention of being addressed *ad fratres in eremo*, there are four, numbers 4, 13, 21, and 26, that seem could only have been composed after 1327. These I have marked in Table I with a plus sign. I have already mentioned 1327 as the date of the origin of the heated controversy between the Augustinian Hermits and the Augustinian Canons over which order was the genuine *ordo sancti Augustini*, initiated by Pope John XXII's granting the Hermits joint custody of Augustine's tomb in Pavia. Whereas there are thirteen sermons in Jordan's collection that explicitly refer to *fratres in eremo*, only these four give explicit evidence for the priority of the Hermits.

In sermon 4, *de prudentia*, the author includes a passage based on the authentic sermon 355. In sermon 355, the chronology is one where Augustine came to Hippo to found a monastery, but was first ordained priest, and then Valerius gave him the garden for the monastery, and then, after becoming bishop, Augustine founded a monastery of presbyters within the episcopal residence.¹¹¹ The issue of

¹¹¹ "Quaerebam ubi constituerem monasterium, ut uiuerem cum fratribus meis...Veni ad istam ciuitatem [*scil.* Hipponem] propter uidendum amicum, quem putabam me lucrari posse deo, ut nobiscum esset in monasterio; quasi securus, quia locus habebat episcopum. Apprehensus, presbyter factus sum, et per hunc gradum ad episcopatum perueni. Non adtuli aliquid, non ueni ad hanc ecclesiam, nisi cum his indumentis quibus illo tempore uestiebar. Et quia hoc disponebam, esse in monasterio cum fratribus, cognito instituto et uoluntate mea, beatae memoriae senex Valerius dedit mihi hortum illum, in quo est nunc monasterium. Coepi boni propositi fratres colligere, compauperes meos, nihil habentes, sicut habebam, et imitantes me." Augustinus, *sermo 355, De moribus clericorum, sermo primus* (ed. Lambot, 125,1-24). Cf.: "Ergo fratres mei dilectissimi quorum vita ut puto sancta est, ut multi ex vobis viderunt et audierunt, Veni ad civitatem Hipponensem et secure perveni quia episcopus erat sanctus homo ille Valerius, Non enim credebam episcopari. Ideo secure perveni cum carissimis amicis meis, Evodio, Simplicio, Nebridio, et Alipio nil mecum divitiarum portas et dei gratia me coadiuvante, favoratus non modicum a predicto sene Valerio in heremo segregata a gentibus multo labore fatigatus, edificare cepi monas-

when and where Augustine founded his first monastery, and for whom he wrote his rule was the issue of contention between the Hermits and the Canons, with the Hermits trying to show that Augustine founded his order before he was ordained, making the distinction between *fratres mei* and *presbyteros*. The author of the *Initium*, Nicholas of Alessandria, and Henry of Friemar all claimed that Augustine had first founded his order in Italy. In sermon 4 the location of Augustine's first monastery is Hippo. According to the sermon, Augustine came to Hippo with his friends Evodius, Simplicius, Nebridius, and Alipius, and with them established a monastery. Valerius gave Augustine a place *in heremo*, and there Augustine founded his first monastery. Thereafter, the text is clear, Augustine was conscripted to be ordained as a priest bishop (*episcopus presbyter*) and then once again established a monastery. Augustine's *hortus*, in sermon 4 became *in heremo* and there is a clear temporal distinction between Augustine founding his monastery and then, only later, being ordained. This same passage, further developed and elaborated, is found as well in sermons 13 and 26. In sermon 26 Augustine is addressing his presbyters, and makes it very clear that he also lives with his *fratribus in eremo*.¹¹²

terium et cum longiori anxietate congregavi in unum servos dei per nemora habitantes. Et sic vobiscum pariter vivere cepi secundum regulam apostolicam, omnia communia habentes et nichil in proprio possidentes. Deinde placuit ei qui me segregavit ex utero matris mee, michi dicere, ascende superius, et cum magna molestia factus sum episcopus presbyter. Et quoniam vobiscum hic esse non poteram, in domo episcopi presbyteros mecum habere volui et cum eisdem pariter vivere cepi." *Jor. Coll., sermo 4*, fol. 7^{va-b}. Here we see the "re-writing" of Augustine's account. Augustine could be read as have already established a monastery since he was visiting a friend "ut nobiscum esset in monasterio," but this must be read in light of the above passage: "Quaerebam ubi constituerem monasterium," so that at the time of Augustine's visit to Hippo, while he planned to establish a monastery, and hoped his friend would join him, he had not yet done so until Valerius gave him the garden in which to do so. In *sermo 4*, the account is much more precise and the details are filled in, even as it was based upon an authentic sermon of Augustine.

¹¹² "Ego autem sacerdotes dei altissimi, ut multi vestrum viderunt et audire potuerunt veni ad hanc civitatem cum carissimis meis amicis, Evodio, Simplicio, Alipio et Nebridio et Anastasio. Securus denique veni, quia sciebam presulari sanctum senem Valerium. Propterea securus accessi non ut haberem in vos potestatem, sed ut abiectus essem in domo domini, omnibus diebus vite mee non ut ministrari deberem, sed ministrare et pacifice vivere optabam in solitudine. Nichilque divitiarum mecum attuli, sed dei gratia me coadiuvante favoratus etiam a sancto sene eipscopo Valerio monasterium in heremo agentibus segregatum multo labore fatigatus edificavi et cum longiori anxietate servos dei per nemora habitantes in unum congregavi et cum eis pariter vivere cepi secundum modum et regulam sub sanctis apostolis constitutam. Omnia communiter habentes et possidentes, viventes in vigiliis et orationibus ultra id quod explicare possumus. Quorum fama ad aures sancti episcopi Valerii pervenit et placuit sibi in heremo nos visitare et stetit diebus tredecim ibi, donans mihi hortum

Moreover, the *fratres* are to be an example for the priests, since they live a more religious life. Sermon 26 presents Augustine admonishing his priests over their jealousy of the hermits, part of which concerned the issue of how much time Augustine was spending with his hermits compared to his time with his priests, or in other words, the extent to which Augustine properly belonged with his hermits or with his canons.¹¹³ Here we see the same conflict that was raging after 1327, and indeed, it appears to me that it is impossible for this sermon to have been composed previous to 1327.

The same cannot, however, be said for sermons 4, 13, and 21, namely, while it is clear that in sermons 4, 13, and 21, Augustine first established his hermits before his presbyters, that is, his canons, these three sermons do not, in and of themselves, explicitly present the conflict with the canons. We can date sermon 4 to after 1312, but then can we say that sermons 4, 13, and 21 should also be dated after 1327 as sermon 26? There is certainly plenty of textual parallels to group these four sermons together, and therefore, to assign a date to them all of after 1327. However, it is possible that the author of sermon 26 was drawing upon sermons 4, 13, and 21, rather than all four sermons having been composed by the same author at the same time. What distinguishes sermons 4, 13, and 21 from sermon 26, is that while it is

amenitatibus plenum in planitie positum. Et quia agentibus erat segregatus, libenter illum suscepi ut edificarem etiam monasterium fratrum quos tales inveneram, quales invenire desideravi. Quo edificato placuit ei qui me segregavit de utero matris mee et vocavit me per gratiam suam mihi dicere, *amice ascende superius*. Et sic cum molestia et grandi anxietate factus sum episcopus presbyter. Et quia cum fratribus meis ut hactenus facerem semper corpore habitare non poteram, propterea infra domum episcopi vos clericos habere volui et mox vobiscum secundum formam apostolicam vivere cepi. Placuit vobis omnibus unum in deo sentire et omnia communiter possidere. Hoc autem facere voluistis non coacte sed sponte, usque ad mortem vivere sine proprio profiteri voluistis." Jor. Coll., *sermo* 26, fol. 31^{ra-b}.

¹¹³ "Igitur sacerdotes, cavete ne deficiatis in temptationibus, cavete ne rebelles mihi sitis publice vel occulte, sitis mihi fideles, sitis mihi et obedientes. Et si vobis grave est et molestum, egredimini foras, pergite ad fratres meos et discite ab eis, quia mites sunt et humiles corde, pauperes spiritu et filii obedientie. Egredimini foras et quid estis et quid ipsi sunt considerare vos volo. Nunquid et vos tales quales et ipsi sunt? O utinam tales essetis sicut et ipsi sunt! Vos enim voratores et ipsi summe sobrietatis, vos discussores civitatis et ipsi visus hominum fugiunt. Vos inprudici et ipsi casti. Vos derisores et ipsi ferventissimi oratores. Vos pellibus cuniculorum vel variorum ornati iam estis et ipsi ovino habito colore nigerrimo, asperrimoque induti sunt, preter ea que intrinsecus sunt. Vos delicate pasci summe curatis, carnes varias et ipsi postquam herenum intraverunt nunquam sumpserunt carnes. Vos vina electa inebriantia queritis et ipsi pusillum aque recipiunt. Vos balteis militum mundo apperere desideratis et ipsi zonis camelorum renibus succincti more Helye et Iohannis decorati sunt." Jor. Coll., *sermo* 26, fol. 32^{rb}.

explicitly clear in 4, 13, and 21 that Augustine first established his hermits, and only after having become bishop did he establish his canons, there is no explicit conflict presented. As I have already mentioned, in sermon 4 we find Augustine having come to Hippo together with his friends Evodius, Nebridius, Simplicius, and Alipius.¹¹⁴ In sermon 21 we find a further list of names. Here Augustine is explaining how he came to found his hermits in Africa. It is clear that Hippo is the location of Augustine's first monastery, but there is a tie with Italy. Before Augustine left Milan, he went to Simplicianus and asked him for some brothers whom he could take with him to establish a monastery in Africa. Simplicianus gave him twelve: Anastasius, Fabianus, Severus, Nicolaus, Dorteus, Yssac, Nycostratus, Paulus, Cyrilus, Stephanus, Iacobus, and Vitalis. These, together with his friends Evodius, Alipius, and Ponticianus, traveled with Augustine from Milan to Thagaste.¹¹⁵ In sermon 26, then, we find that Augustine came to Hippo to found a monastery with his friends Evodius, Simplicius, Alipius, Nebridius, and Anastasius, a list that includes Anastasius from sermon 21, with the list of sermon 4.¹¹⁶ In other words, we have three differing accounts: sermon 4 has Augustine coming to Hippo with Evodius, Simplicius, Nebridius, and Alipius; sermon 26 has Augustine coming to Hippo with Evodius, Simplicius, Nebridius, Alipius, and Anastasius; sermon 21 lists Anastasius as one of the 12 *fratres* Augustine received from Simplicianus, and then together with these twelve and Evodius, Alipius, and Ponticianus, Augustine founded his monastery in Africa. Are we not, therefore, dealing with three separate authors? The author of each of these sermons is trying to be as precise and concrete as possible, giving names of the original group of Augustine's *fratres*. Why, one must ask, would a forger, who is

¹¹⁴ See above, note 112.

¹¹⁵ "Et pia matre me instigante apud Mediolanum ut ad patriam remearem, cupiens etiam eos habere in visceribus caritatis et cum eis pariter vivere ad virum Simplicianum illum qui a iuventute sua deo devotissime vixerat in omni caritate perrexi deprecans cum fletu et gemitu ut mihi quosdam de suis servos dei donaret et donavit michi eos paterne. Quare donavit mihi eos paterne? Quia sciebat me velle monasterium in Africa edificare. Est assumptis mecum Anastasio, Fabiano, Severo, Nycolao, Dorteo, Ysaac, Nycostrato, Paulo, Cyrillo, Stephano, Iacobo et Vitali pauperculo, quia pecunie sacculum apud Mediolanum invenit et non rapuit de quo iam sermonem perfecimus, quia invenit et non rapuit, nec potest aurum abire voluit. Hiis mecum assumptis comitari cupiebam cum carissimis meis amicis Evodio, Alipio et Ponticiano, qui diu mecum fuerant et cum ceteris duodecim quoque nuper assumpseram illos quorum famam etiam sanctus pater mihi descripserat et sic perveni in Africa pia matre defuncta et edificavi ut videtis monasterium in quo nunc sumus in solitudine agentibus segregatum." *Jor. Coll., sermo 21, fol. 26^{ra-b}*.

¹¹⁶ See above, note 113.

trying to present a consistent, historical account, give different versions? Sermon 21 omits Simplicianus, while presenting by far the most extensive list. Sermon 26 follows the account of sermon 4, but includes Anastasius from sermon 21. Sermon 21, moreover, is not based on the authentic sermon 355, as are sermons 4 and 26. It seems that the author of sermon 26 is trying to bring the two accounts of sermons 4 and 21 together, by including Simplicius from sermon 4 and Anastasius from Sermon 21. Moreover, sermon 26 directly associates itself with sermon 4 by concluding with Augustine explaining to his presbyters that the reason he had returned to them from his *fratribus in eremo* is because he wants to debate Fortunatus, which gives then manuscript *B* legitimation for including Jordan's sermon 26 between Jordan's sermons 4 and 5. Sermon 4 concludes with Augustine telling his *fratres in eremo* that he must leave them to return to Hippo in order to debate and refute Fortunatus. Sermon 5 then begins with an account of how Augustine championed over Fortunatus. If we can date sermon 4 to after 1312, then the same date applies to sermon 5 and 26, and to sermon 3 as well, for sermon 4 takes as its point of departure the theme of sermon 3, namely silence, in stating: "Most beloved brothers, not only should you keep silence in the hermitage, but also sieze upon prudence."¹¹⁷ In this light, I would argue that sermons 3, 4, 5, and 13 can all be dated to after 1312, and came from the same author, that sermon 21 was most likely composed by a different author, and that sermon 26 was composed either by the author of sermons 3-5, and 13, or by another author, but not the author of sermon 21, though the author of sermon 26 knew sermon 21. What, then, if anything, does this have to tell us about the composition of the collection?

Well, first it underscores the fact that there were multiple authors for the original collection, and here I mean Jordan's collection or any of the others as well. Jordan's collection includes sermon 22² from Caesarius of Arles, and the sermon *de penitentia*, which may be from Caesarius, but certainly dates no later than the twelfth century. Sermon 26 was certainly written after 1327 and sermons 3,4,5, and 13 were written after 1312, though could have been written after 1327 as well, but were not written by the same author as the author of sermon 21, which seems to have been composed only after 1334, based on the textual parallels to the Anonymous Florentine, Nicolas of Alexandria, and Henry of Friemar, which then would apply to sermon 26 as well, since I have argued that the author of sermon 26 knew sermon 21. Yet

¹¹⁷ "Fratres karissimi, non solum silentium debetis tenere in heremo, sed etiam prudentiam rapere." Jor. Coll., *sermo* 4, fol. 6^{rb}.

there is more. Looking at the collection thematically, we can identify a progression of Augustine's biography. Sermon 4 is placed in or around the year 395, namely, Augustine's debate with Fortunatus, as is sermon 26. Sermon 22, however, is cast in the last year of Augustine's life, as his very last farewell. Sermon 22, *De oratione*, begins with Augustine saying: "My brothers and the joy of my heart, the time has come for me to return to him who sent me to you, but do not be sad." Sermon 1, *de margaritis regularis institutionis*, has Augustine addressing his *fratres* and teaching them how to live the apostolic life, drawn from the *Regula* and the *Ordo Monasterii*, which places the sermon in Augustine's biography before his having been ordained. In other words, the collection begins with the beginning of Augustine's foundation of his order of hermits and continues through his ordination to priest and bishop, extending to his death in sermon 22. I have already suggested that based on an analysis of the "core collection", that the original "core" collection was the *alpha*, *beta*, and *gamma* groups, or sermons 1-12, 13-17, and 19-22. This "core collection" is then supported thematically by the development of Augustine's biography within the sermons. We are still, however, left with the problem of sermons 18, 23, and 26. If the core collection ended with sermon 22, why did Jordan, or any one else for that matter, then continue with sermons 23 and 26, and how did sermon 18 get into the picture? I have already suggested that sermons 23, 26, and 18 were "eratic" sermons, namely, sermons composed after the original core collection. This is suggested by the analysis of manuscripts A-K, and it is supported as well by the Maurist collection. What we find with the Maurists is that the core collection of the *alpha*, *beta*, *gamma* grouping is maintained, with the exception of sermon 5. Sermons 18 and 26, then are inserted between *beta* and *gamma*, and we must remember that sermons 18 and 26 form half of *delta*, though in *delta* the order is reversed. Keeping 18 and 26 together makes sense thematically, because both sermons deal with "grumblings", with 18 being *de murmuratoribus et penis inferni* and 26 *de obedientia*, in which Augustine rebukes the *murmuratores* among his priests who are complaining about the *fratres*. Sermon 23 is also titled *de obedientia*, and in *D*, is inserted between sermons 5 and 6, the latter of which is also *de obedientia*. In other words, there is evidence of thematic groupings, which then begs the question how did sermon 18 become inserted between *beta* and *gamma* in Jordan's collection, in *F*, and, together with sermon 26, by the Maurists? Again, we can only speculate, but the insertion of sermon 18 does make sense. As the collection progresses thematically, we find it beginning with Augustine's establishing his

hermits, before moving on to preach on the monastic virtues and vices, namely, peace, silence, prudence, mercy, obedience, perseverance, anger and hate, the purity of conscience and hope, on tears and penitence, on humility and pride, on fortitude, on justice, against the wisdom of the world, on the value of remembering the last judgement, on how leisure is to be avoided, and on envy. This sequence then prepares one for the Christmas vigil and Christmas, the themes of sermons 19 and 20, which had already been prepared in the first sermon when Augustine exhorts his dearest brothers to be born again in order to have Christ re-formed in them to love God and then their neighbor, since these are the precepts that are first and foremost given to us, a word for word citation of the opening lines of the *Ordo Monasterii*.¹¹⁸ There is a thematic and theological continuity in the progression of the sermons, which is then continued with sermon 21 on the three types of monks and on poverty, and then sermon 22, Augustine's farewell address on prayer. In other words, Augustine begins by exhorting his *fratres* to the heremetical life and establishing them therein, then continues to show them how actually to live it, what virtues must be cultivated and what avoided, before rhapsodizing on the birth of Christ, which would then allow one to be reformed, namely, to be the *frater* one is meant to be, and closes with his salutation and exhortation to continue on the path by remaining constantly in prayer. There is not only a chronological sequence in the core collection, but also a theological and religious one. Sermon 18, *de murmuratoribus et penis inferni*, fits in very well as the final preparation for the nativity. Could it have been inserted elsewhere? Certainly, but it does make the most sense for it to appear in the sequence in the place that it does in Jordan's collection and in *B* and *F*.

Yet what about sermon 23? For some reason Jordan continued his collection, after the core collection, with sermon 23, which thematically makes no sense, since Augustine had died shortly after giving sermon 22. Of the manuscripts here analyzed, only *D* included sermon 23 in the collection, and here sermon 23 is inserted between sermons 5 and 6, or in other words, together with sermon 6 on obedience, since sermon 23 is also on obedience. *F* follows sermon 22 with sermon 26, which again, is on obedience. Now I hope it is beginning to become clear, if it hasn't been already, the legitimacy for my call-

¹¹⁸ "Sed ante omnia fratres carissimi quos iterum parturio, donec reformatur in vobis Christus, diligatur deus, deinde proximus, quia ista precepta sunt principaliter vobis data." *Jor. Coll.*, *sermo* 1, fol. 3^{ra-b}; *cf.*: "Ante omnia, fratres carissimi, diligatur deus, deinde et proximus, quia ista sunt praecepta principaliter nobis data." *Ordo Monasterii* 1 (ed. Verheijen, 148, 1-2).

ing these sermons "eratic". In the various collections, they become inserted in various places. Sermon 23 is sermon 54 in the Maurist collection. In the core collection there are occasional textual links between the sermons indicating a sequential order, such as sermon 3 beginning with a reference to sermon 2 as the preceding one, or sermon 5 reporting back on the debate with Fortunatus that had been announced in sermon 4, and such as sermon 10 explicitly stating that it follows directly after sermon 9, and there is in addition the thematic progression. With the "eratic" sermons, however, no such links can be found, though we do find attempts to tie in with the core, such as sermon 26 basing itself on sermons 4 and 21.

In this light, a pattern is beginning to become clear. There was a core collection of *Sermones ad fratres suos in eremo*, consisting of the *alpha*, *beta*, *gamma* grouping. To this original core were later added other sermons, so that by Jordan's time, what had been a collection of twenty-one sermons had grown to a collection of thirty-three. The earliest additions to be made were the sermons of the *delta* group, and of these sermons 26 and 18 circulated independently as well. Of the core collection, thirteen of the twenty-one sermons are explicitly heremital, and sermons 3, 4, 5, and 13 can be dated post 1312. There is suggestive textual evidence to claim that sermons 4, 21, and 26 were written by different authors, and sermon 26 can definitively be dated post 1327 and most likely post 1334. With regard to Jordan's collection, sermon 22² is a sermon of Caesarius of Arles, and the sermon *de penitentia* dates no later than the twelfth century. The assumption that there was a single forger, can no longer be asserted, nor that the forgery is to be dated to the twelfth, thirteenth, or fourteenth century: it was all of the above. The core collection as such did not come into being until after 1312, which provides the *terminus post quem* for sermons 3, 4, 5, 13, and 21. It is highly likely that the other eremetical sermons are to be dated accordingly, but there is no specific proof for doing so. Only sermons 21 and 26 can be definitively dated post 1327, and most likely post 1334, though it is likely that sermons 3, 4, 5, and 13 were as well. When we compare Jordan's collection with other fourteenth-century collections, it becomes clear that Jordan's collection represents at least a fourth stage of development, namely, the core collection after sermons of the *delta* group were added, then after sermon 23 joined the group, and then finally the rest. In other words, Jordan's *Collectanea* does not offer us the earliest collection, or even the earliest titled collection, of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*. It does, however, offer us the first example of how the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* were used. Jordan based his biography of

Augustine on the *Confessions*, the previous *Vitae* of Possidius, Philip of Harvengt, and the *Legenda Aurea*, and the *Sermones*. Here Jordan cited sermons 4, 13, 16, 21, 22, 26, 27, and 28. Jordan cited the *Sermones* 20 times in his *Vita*, with the largest number of citations being to sermon 26, with six, followed by sermon 21, with 5. Jordan used the *Sermones* as proof of the historical origins of the OESA as having been founded by Augustine himself prior to any association with the canons.¹¹⁹ Even if we cannot place the origins of the *Sermones* in the context of the controversies between the Hermits and the Canons, except for sermon 26, and perhaps sermon 21 based on its post-1334 dating, they certainly were conscripted for such, even though de Bardis gives us proof that religious polemic was not the only context in which the *Sermones* were created and/or used, as do actually all of the manuscripts I have mentioned, aside from Jordan's, since none of them are of an Augustinian provenance. Whereas for the Benedictines at Aachen, from whence comes manuscript *I*, and for the Schottenkloster of Vienna, from which we have *F*, the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* were a valued articulation of Augustinian monasticism in its most general form, for the Augustinian Hermits, they offered conclusive evidence of their own Order's priority and primacy.

VI. The *Collectorium Sermonum Sancti Augustini* of Robert de Bardis

Robert de Bardis's *Collectorium Sermonum Sancti Augustini* seemingly calls into question the "neat" textual history I have presented above. Arbesmann, Walsh, Rano, and Elm all pointed to the

¹¹⁹ This dating then too has significance for the dating of Jordan's *Collectanea*, at least in its final state. Arbesmann had claimed that Jordan began work on his *Collectanea* as early as 1319-1321, while he was studying in Paris. I have disputed such an early date and have argued that the final version of the *Collectanea* is to be dated in the 1330s, most likely after 1334; see Saak, *High Way to Heaven*, 220-226. Jordan began his work with the *sermones*. If the *sermones* did not exist prior to 1334, then Jordan's *Collectanea* must be dated after the time of the "core collection"; 1343 is the *terminus ante quem*, when Jordan gave his *Collectanea* to his Order's house in Paris. What we are dealing with here is thus a relatively short space of time. Sometime after 1334 the core collection of the *sermones ad fratres in eremo* was constructed, and perhaps other "eratic" sermons as well, and then sometime thereafter, but previous to 1343, Jordan not only discovered these sermons, but also included them in his *Collectanea* and used them as the basis for his composition of his *Vita Sancti Augustini*. During these nine years, i.e., from 1334 to 1343, much was going on, and precisely what and/or how will still most likely remain a mystery.

importance of de Bardis. In this context, two manuscripts have been mentioned, Vat. lat. 479 and Paris, BnF lat. 2030. Above I have already noted that Vat. lat. 479 is incomplete, containing only the first two of the five parts mentioned by de Bardis as comprising his *Collectorium*. Paris, BnF lat. 2030 is a fifteenth-century copy of Vat. lat. 479, and as such, the sermons extant in Vat. lat. 479 in the margins are present in the text of Paris, BnF lat. 2030. In Vat. lat. 479 only two sermons in Jordan's collection are present, and there is an additional sermon, designated as *ad heremitas*, not to be found in Jordan's collection.¹²⁰ Already in 1958, Giovanni Pozzi pointed out that Vat. lat. 479 is incomplete, containing only the first two parts of the five parts of Robert de Bardis's *Collectorium*; the remaining three parts, as Pozzi detailed, are extant in Valencia, UB MS 481; Valencia UB MS 481 is the continuation of Vat. lat. 479,¹²¹ or in other words, if Vat. lat. 479 was the personal copy of de Bardis, Valencia UB, MS 481 was so as well. Neither Walsh, nor Elm, nor Rano, discussed this manuscript, and neither did Arbesmann, though he can be excused due to the war.¹²² The importance hereof is that Valencia UB, MS 481 contains the "original" collection of de Bardis, and preserves parts three through five of his organization of Augustine's sermons. In part five, we find a concluding section containing the *Sermones ad fratres suos heremitas*.¹²³

At first, there seems to be virtually no relationship between de Bardis's collection, that of Jordan, or that of the other ten manuscripts surveyed above:

¹²⁰ ROBERT DE BARDIS, *Collectorium sermonum sancti Augustini*, Vatican City, Bib. Apost., MS Vat. lat. 479, fol. 51^{rb}, fol. 67^{vb}, fol. 290^{va}.

¹²¹ GIOVANNI POZZI, "Roberto de' Bardi e S. Agostino" in *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* I (1958): 139-153. See also idem, "Il Vat. Lat. 479 ed altri Codici annotati da Roberto de' Bardi," in *Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali* 2 (1958): 125-165; idem, "La Tabula di Jean de Fayf al Collectorium di Roberto de' Bardi," in *Miscellanea Gilles Gérard Meerseman*, Italia Sacra 15 (Padua, 1970), 257-311.

¹²² ARBESMAN published his account of the *Sermones ad fratres in heremo* as present in Jordan's *Collectanea*, in his introduction to the critical edition of Jordan's *Liber Vitae fratrum*, published in 1943. Arbesman, thus, was also writing previous to Pozzi.

¹²³ Valencia, UB MS 481, p. 581A-615A. The manuscript is paginated, not foliated, in a modern hand.

Table III

Sermones ad heremitas: Order of SermonsRobert de Bardis, *Collectorium Sermonum Sancti Augustini*, Valencia, UB MS 481

de Bardis, <i>Collectorium</i>	Jordan, <i>Collectanea</i>	PL
Sermo 1 De tribus generibus monachorum et de sancta paupertate ad fratres suos heremitas	21	21
Sermo 2 De disciplina et modo vivendi eorum in heremo	1	1
Sermo 3 De obedientia	6	7
Sermo 4 De obedientia	Deest	34
Sermo 5 De obedientia	15	5
Sermo 6 De pace	2	2
Sermo 7 De conscientie puritate et spe	9	10
Sermo 8 De oratione et lacrimis	22	22
Sermo 9 De lacrima et compunctione	10	11
Sermo 10 De fortitudine	12	13
Sermo 11 De perseverantia	7	8
Sermo 12 De iusticia et iudicio	13	14
Sermo 13 De misericordia	5	6
Sermo 14 De silencio	3	3
Sermo 15 De perseverancia prudentia	4	4
Sermo 16 Ad utilitatem vigilarum et labore utili contra otiositatem [check]	16	17
Sermo 17	11	12

De humilitate et superbia		
Sermo 18 De invidia	17	18
Sermo 19 Contra murmuratores et detractatores	18	26
Sermo 20 Contra iram	8	9
Sermo 21 Ad simplices quod non debent sapere plusquam oportet	14	15
Sermo 22 De obedientia ad presbyteros suos	26	5
Sermo 23 ad iudices: Rogatus a nobis o iudices licet cum Fortunato	Deest	35
Robert de Bardis, <i>Collectorium</i> , Pars Prima et secunda, Vat. Lat. 479; Paris, BnF lat. 2030		
De vigilia nativitatis Domini	19	
De nativitate Christi	20	
De assumptione beate virginis Mariae	deest	

Here we find what is indeed apparently a haphazard collection. De Bardis's order of sermons bears no similarity to the others, and he includes three sermons not found in the other collections, that is, de Bardis's sermon 4, sermon 23, and then the sermon on the assumption in part two of the *Collectorium*. And yet, upon further analysis, de Bardis included the same sermons, albeit in radically different order, as did Jordan and manuscript *F*, namely, in Jordan's numbering, sermons 1-22 and then sermon 26. This would seem, therefore, to give additional evidence of the "core" collection. With regard to the unique ordering, Valencia UB MS 481 sheds some light. The scribe included a note prefacing the sermons:

Here follow certain sermons of blessed Augustine to his own hermit brothers, which specially concern the solitary and eremitical life, which the collector wanted to separate from each other, although in keeping with the subject matter, some of them were able to be placed and ordered otherwise, and this was done to make it easier to find how Augustine first came to the city of Hippo, and how thereafter he built

a monastery and lived with his brothers in the hermitage, and then how he was made bishop of the same city.¹²⁴

There is, though, no explanation as to which sermons were "re-ordered" or the basis for doing so, nor why de Bardis wanted the sermons to be separated *ab invicem*. Yet this could also be referring to the sermons found in parts I and II of the *Collectorium*, which include Jordan's numbers 19 and 20. It could very well have been that de Bardis used as his source the "core" collection of sermons 1-22, with the appended 26 and then additional sermons, but then wanted to given them a new order within his grand collection of Augustine's sermons as such. In any case, de Bardis's *Collectorium* was not the original collection and there is no evidence that indicates that he had found these sermons as a collection in Paris, as the textual tradition claimed, unless he had first discovered the core collection and then "deconstructed it" for his *Collectorium*. Based on the *Collectorium*, there is no possibility that it as such could have served as the basis for the collection of Jordan or of any of the other collections discussed above. It is an independent witness to the earliest textual traditions of the *Sermones* and the earliest collection thereof, namely what I have termed the "core" collection. We have to go "behind" de Bardis's *Collectorium*, just as we have to go "behind" Jordan's *Collectanea*, to find the origins of the "original" collection, and in part composition, of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*. That, however, may never be possible.

VII. The *Sermones* and the *Religio Augustini*

At some point between 1334 and 1343, someone gathered together sermons ascribed to Augustine, some of which were written after 1312, and some after 1334, though others date back to the twelfth century. Shortly thereafter, numerous other sermons became attached to the collection, which included even earlier sermons, such as those of Cesarius de Arles, and two authentic sermons of Augustine. It was a pious fraud, though one often based on the authentic words of Augustine. The core collection of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* was soon

¹²⁴ "Hic subsequuntur quidam sermones beati Augustini ad fratres suos heremitas qui specialiter concernunt solitariam et heremiticam vitam, quos voluit collector ab invicem separare, licet secundum materiam aliqui eorum possent alibi et aliter ordinari et poni, et hoc factum est, ut facilius inveni possit quomodo ipse Augustinus venit primo ad civitatem Ypponensem, et quomodo postea construxit monasterium et habitavit cum fratribus suis in heremo, deinde quomodo factus est predictae civitatis episcopus." Robert de Bardis, *Collectorium*, Valencia, UB MS 481, p. 581A. Pozzi also mentioned this note; Pozzi, 144-145.

to play a fundamental role in the religious life of late medieval Europe, and beyond. While scholars may reject the words of these sermons as being authentic, there is much therein that articulates the genuine *mens Augustini*, as Maarten de Kroon suggested in 1972 with respect to the corpus of Pseudo-Augustinian writings.¹²⁵ The words were the fiction, but was the doctrine? In his *Sermo de beato Augustino*, Nicolas of Alessandria was perhaps the first to point to this distinction when he claimed that Augustine wrote so much that there was no way possible for him to have himself physically written it all. Some of his works were taken down by scribes, and thus cannot be said to be his *expressis verbis*, but nevertheless, even if not written explicitly by him, should still be considered his works.¹²⁶ This was the sentiment behind the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, to recover, even if by creation, the teachings of Augustine, which were as controversial in the fourteenth century, as they would be in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and has they had been already in the fourth and fifth centuries. Most likely, we will never know who was originally responsible for the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, and we may never know precisely how and why the collection came into being. Their author, compiler, and forger cannot have been Jordan himself, nor Robert de Bardis, nor the anonymous author of the *Initium*, Nicholas of Alessandria, or Henry of Friemar, since Jordan's collection represents a fourth generation collection, and since the *Initium*, Nicolas, and Henry, the very authors who were most responsible for the creation of the Myth of Augustine, created accounts of Augustine's biography contradicted by the *Sermones*. Whereas sermon 26 was certainly composed after 1327 and the break-out of the controversy between the canons and the hermits and most

¹²⁵ See M. DE KROON, "Pseudo-Augustin im Mittelalter. Entwurf eines Forschungsberichts," *Augustiniana* 22 (1972), 511-530.

¹²⁶ "Fertur itaque quod Marcus Terentius Varro apud latinos innumerabiles scripsit libros. Apud grecos Calicidorum miris attolitur laudibus. De nostris itaque Origenes apud grecos sex milia legitur libros scripsisse. Horum denique omne studium Augustinus miro ingenio et sciencia vilificat. Nam tanta privatim dictando tantque in ecclesiae diversisque locis disputando conscripsit, ut vix cuiquam studiosorum diebus ac noctibus, non solum scribere libros eius, sed nec legendo nosse occurrit. Ideo dicit quod doctor catholicus: 'Mentitur qui te totum legisse fatetur.' Hec ille. Ex hoc potest solvi dubium commune quomodo potuit tanta scribere, quia forte multa quam communiter loquendo vel predicando vel disputando dicebat, alii reportabant et ipse approbat. Omnia tam dicebantur opera Augustini." NICOLAS DE ALESSANDRIA, *Sermo de beato Augustino* (ed. Rano, 356-357). Nicolas cites Possidius as his source. Rano notes that such a text is not found in Possidius, and suggests Isidor of Seville or possibly Hugh of St. Victor as the source; *ibid.*, 356, n. 135. The last eulogy, "Mentitur qui te totum legisse fatetur," is also possibly from Isidor, and there is a precedent for this passage in the Anonymous Florentine's *Vita Sancti Augustini*; *ibid.*, n. 137.

likely is to be dated post 1334, since it presupposes sermon 21, which based on textual evidence post-dates the works of the earliest historians of the Order, and while sermons 4 and 13 may very well have had the same temporal origins, all the other sermons of the collection could have been composed previously, though the *terminus post quem* for sermons 3, 4, 5, and 13 can be determined to have been 1312. Nevertheless, from at least 1292 on, when Giles of Rome became the Prior General of the OESA, if not from its very beginnings in 1256, the OESA was well aware of the need to assert its historical primacy. It is this broader, more general context, rather than the specific controversy beginning in 1327, which itself was a part of the on-going endeavor, that provides the historical context for the origins of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*. As first stated by Augustinus of Ancona in 1326, Augustine's religion was the highest form of Christian perfection, for Augustine embodied, in himself, in his rule, and in his order, the most perfect life.¹²⁷ As such, Augustine's hermits held a place of primacy within the history of Christianity itself, yet Augustine was not just the founder of his Order of hermits, and then of his canons: he was the origin of religion itself in the west, and the *sapiens architector ecclesie*, as Jordan called him.¹²⁸ The creative process was not simply that of creating a new biography of Augustine, as did Jordan, nor that of creating the documentation to prove the Hermits' case; the creative process was to re-create Augustine ever anew in all facets of the Christian life in general, and in the religious life in specific. It was this creative process that produced the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* as an original creation and collection, which then grew far beyond its original bounds, reaching all the way back to the fourth and fifth century, and extending into the fourteenth century and beyond. It was the creative process that had at its base the exhortation of Augustine himself, addressed to his *fratres* in sermon 355, to be, in the words of Paul, my imitators, just as I imitate Christ.¹²⁹ Behind the fabrication, behind the fiction, we find the fact and the history of the authentic creative impulse of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*: the *religio Augustini*.

¹²⁷ See SAAK, *High Way to Heaven*, 146-156.

¹²⁸ See SAAK, "Quilibet Christianus: Saints in Society in the Sermons of Jordan of Quedlinburg, OESA," in *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons*, Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, Texts et Études du Moyen Âge 5, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, with Edith Wilks Dolnikowski, Rosemary Drage Hale, Darleen Pryds, and Anne T. Thayer (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1996), 320-321, 336-338.

¹²⁹ AUGUSTINUS, *sermo* 355, *De moribus clericorum, sermo primus* (ed. Lambott, 124,5-8).

VIII. On Origins

Origins are our fascination, our fixation. Once we determine the origin of something, we think we have come up with that which explains "everything". And yet finding the origin of almost anything is deceptively difficult. Some historical phenomena do indeed have an identifiable origin, or at least they seem to. Christianity began with Jesus of Nazareth, or at least cannot have begun previous to Jesus of Nazareth. Yet the Christian movement in Jesus' day, if we can even label anything as such, was far different from the Christian movement of Paul, or the Christian movement after the establishment of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, or the Christian movement after the Christianization of Rome, or the Christian movement after the rise of papal monarchy, or the Christian movement after the Reformation, or even the Christian movement after the rise of the radical Christian Right. When, therefore, did "Christianity" begin? And what, after all, do those beginnings tell us about Christianity in any particular cultural-political context? And yet to understand Christianity historically, do we not need to go back and see the origins of Christianity in the Judaism of the first, second, or third-century BCE? And then could we not trace its origins back to the emergence of monotheism? Or theologically speaking, do we not have to go back to creation? All of a sudden, identifying the origin(s) of Christianity becomes ever so complex, determined by what one means by Christianity in the first place. The origins seem to lose their concrete historical existence and become based upon interpretation. The origins of Christianity have only a most ephemeral relationship to Jesus of Nazareth. The origins of Christianity are first and foremost not so much a problem of history, as they are a problem of hermeneutics. So much for explanation.

Mutatis mutandis, the same can be said of the origins of the OESA. 9 April 1256 is a mark of demarcation: a new institution was established known as the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine. Yet do we not find the origins of the Great Union, or in other words, the origins of the origins, in the "Little Union" of 1244, or in the development of the Hermits of Brettino, or the Bonites? But then should we not look for the origins in the even earlier development of medieval eremiticism? Or even in the tradition of Augustinian monasticism that can be said to have had its origins in Augustine's own monastic community? In a very real way, and not only as a *reductio ad absurdum*, or as a perpetuation of a myth, Augustine *was* the origin of the OESA.

We all have our myths. We all have our stories of our origins, where we came from and how we have come to be who we are. Such

memory, such understanding, is part and parcel of our identity. Debunking the myths of the past, and those of the present, is a fundamental responsibility of the historian, and yet for those long dead and gone, for those who cannot reflect on their own debunked myths, what value does such debunking have? Certainly there is the issue of historical "accuracy", wanting here to avoid altogether the issue of historical "truth", which is central for our own understanding of the past. Yet Jordan of Quedlinburg, for example, is no longer around for us to debate and attempt to prove to him that his emplotment of Augustine's biography was just plain wrong. Jordan's understanding of his Order's origins may be different from our own, and might not hold up to the scrutiny of history, but it was *his* understanding and thus a central, foundational component of his identity. As Mircea Eliade reminded us, virtually all stories of origins are mythic.¹³⁰ Debunking those myths is just the beginning, and in terms of coming to historical understanding, is not even the most important endeavor of the historian, which is to do history, and to see the origins of those myths and how they emerged and how they functioned, and what impact they made. For the late medieval Augustinian Hermits, the Great Union of 1256 was a major point of development, but perhaps as significant was Pope John XXII's granting the OESA custody of Augustine's body in Pavia.¹³¹ Only thereafter did the Hermits create a new identity for themselves as the true sons of their father Augustine. It was this identity that was to have such an impact on the religio-cultural life of Europe for the rest of the Middle Ages and beyond. The *Sermones ad fratres suos in eremo*, aside from the two genuine sermons of Augustine, were a forgery. If there is validity in the old proverb that "truth is stranger than fiction," there is also validity in the statement that often fiction has a far greater historical impact than did or does truth. This forgery, in any case, had a greater impact on the later Middle Ages than did the truth, for it gave the true sons of Augustine their identity by revealing to them the origins of their Order. In so many ways, the origins of the OESA, at least in terms of its identity as comprised of the true sons of their father Augustine, are to be found not in 1256, nor in 1244, but

¹³⁰ MIRCEA ELIADE, *The Sacred and the Profane* (New York, 1957); *idem*, *Myth and Reality* (New York, 1963).

¹³¹ In both the *Historia Augustini* and the *Boston Vita*, the emplotment moves from Augustine's "final resting place" in Pavia, to William of Cremona's petition for custody of Augustine's body, and John XXII's granting thereof. While they both include scenes of Augustine having visited the Tuscan Hermits (*Historia*, ASCA, HA, 47; *Vita*, 47, ed. Courcelles, 106-107), there is no representation of either the Little Union or the Great Union.

in the two decades after 1327, during which time a forgery was produced, an identity created, and a new understanding formed. This new understanding and identity were to have long-lasting impact on Europe as it metamorphized from medieval to early modern. And thus, for all our debunking, and for all our historical acumen, the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* remain a fascination, while their origins are still, and most likely will always remain, an enigma.

Eric SAAK

1. Eine von Giacinto della Torre bewusste Handschrift

Bei meinen Bemühungen, die Möglichkeiten der Tradition *Ordo della vita cristiana* des Simon Fidati von Fiesole zu finden und zusammenzustellen, stieß ich in der Bibliothek des Autors auf einen Codex, der neben dem Werk Simons auch die 1. und 2. Frage des 12. Jahrhunderts des Domenico Cavalca enthält. Es ist die Handschrift 246 Sup.

Als ich die Handschrift nach der Vorarbeit der Bibliothek in weißen Handschuhen ermah, war mir in dieser Hinsicht kein Aufmerksam ganz feierlich zu Mute. Bei der Darstellung ist mir nicht, dass die Priestlichkeit nicht nur ein Werk, sondern auch von der Handschrift selbst. Es ist ein Werk, das die wichtigsten Fundamenten der Schrift zu sein, die nicht zu einem Zeitpunkt, sondern zu diesem Beitrag verwendet.

Zunächst wird dieser Beitrag zu den 1. und 2. Frage des 12. Jahrhunderts.