

The Great Schism and the Augustinian Order

In the Great Schism (1378-1417) allegiance of religious Orders to Pope or Antipope was dictated by secular and ecclesiastical rulers. No blame adheres to the Orders on account of this seeming pliability. A sure judgment in the midst of universal confusion was so hard to come by that saints of the same Order might be found among the most vigorous champions of both causes ; among the Dominicans, for instance, the zeal of St. Catherine for Rome was paralleled by that of St. Vincent Ferrer for Avignon. The Church subsequently regarded Vincent's error as so thoroughly innocent that it was no bar to his canonization.

Like the other Orders the Austin Friars were split into two obediences, each with a complete official organization from Prior General down. The Avignonesse Obedience had its own history, but former Augustinian historians have hardly touched on it. We ought not to accuse them of passing over disagreeable facts, of being eulogists of their Order rather than true historians ; the detailed story of the Avignonesse Obedience had simply vanished from the available records. We find in the Registers of the Prior General at Rome no entries concerning French and Spanish events except at the very beginning and end of the Schism. The Registers of the Avignonesse Generals have disappeared. What remains of the archives of the French Augustinian Houses tells us little or nothing about this period. Quite possible the pertinent records were deliberately destroyed. Only after the Registers of the Avignonesse Popes were opened to modern research did it become feasible to fill in some part of this void in the history of the Augustinian Order ¹⁾. In this article we give only a brief account of the Austin Priors General at Avignon during these trying years.

¹⁾ The most comprehensive work is K. EUBEL, « Die Avignonesische Obedienz

1. John Hiltalingen of Basel (Johannes de Basilea) 1379-1389

The first Prior General appointed by the Antipope Clement VII was John Hiltalingen of Basel ²⁾. His surname indicates that he was either a native of Basel, or affiliated with the Augustinian Friary ³⁾ there, or both. The house at Basel, which belonged to the Rheno-Suebian Province, was large enough to accommodate the General Chapter of 1351 ⁴⁾. Hiltalingen appears to have been a gifted superior as well as an eminent theologian. We encounter him for the first time in the year 1357 ⁵⁾, when he was lector at the *studium generale* at Avignon. This lectorship was a signal honour. Because of the papal residence in the city the *studium generale* was also the *studium curiale* entrusted with maintaining the prestige of the Order before the Papal Curia. To this time probably belongs his long tract on

der Mendikanten-Orden sowie der Orden der Mercedarier und Trinitarier zur Zeit des Grossen Schismas beleuchtet durch die von Clemens VII und Benedikt XIII an dieselben gerichteten Schreiben », in *Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte*, ed. by the Görresgesellschaft I. 2, Paderborn 1900. — We shall quote this important survey of the Avignonesse Registers in the Vatican Archives as EUBEL. — Father Eustasius Esteban has published many additional data in the *Analecta Augustiniana*, quoted as A. A., especially in volumes V and VI (1914-15). Esteban did not know the book of Eubel.

²⁾ For a short biography of Hiltalingen see D. TRAPP, « Hiltalinger's Augustinian Quotations », *Augustiniana* IV (1954) 412; « Augustinian Theology in the 14th century », *ibid.* VI (1956) 242 and « Teólogos Agustinos Alemanes del Siglo XIV », *Archivo Agustiano* 48 (1954) 291-95. *Augustiniana* is quoted as AUG.

³⁾ The house in Basel was established in 1276, when troubles arose in Mülhausen. The Austins simply left and transferred to Basel: M. G. H., *Script.* XVII (Annales Basileenses) 198; E. F. MÜLINEN, *Helvetia Sacra* II (Bern 1861) 5-6. Excellent is the account by C. H. BÄR, « Kirche und Kloster der Augustiner in Basel », *Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Basel-Stadt* III (1941) 162-195. The church which still exists is now in the hands of a Zwinglian Congregation.

⁴⁾ The acts of this chapter in AA IV, 276-8. An interesting sidelight is supplied by the *Continuatio Chronice Mathie Nuewenbergensis*, ed. J. T. BÖHMER in *Fontes Rerum Germanicarum* IV (Stuttgart 1868) 280: « Eodem anno [1351] in festo Pentecostes [June 5] fuit capitulum generale Augustiniensium Basylee, ubi fuerunt undeviginti magistri theologie. Papa quoque omnibus fratribus ibidem venientibus dedit eam gratiam, quam jubileo habuissent in urbe. Quibus fuit per papam, Argentinensem et Basileensem episcopos aliosque contribuentes egregie ministratum et concordavit capitulum in magistrum Thomam de Sarburg (Strassburg) priori anno generalem electum, vita et scientia excellentem ».

⁵⁾ We follow the outline given in *Jordani de Saxonia Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini Liber Vitasfratrum*, ed. R. ARBESMANN et W. HÜMPFNER (New York 1943) XLVII sqq.

poverty, a part of his important Commentary on the Sentences, that was also published separately ⁶). The stimulus for writing it seems to have been provided by the Prior General Gregory of Rimini, a very severe disciplinarian ⁷), who published in the same year of 1357 his strict and somewhat unrealistic directives for the restoration of the *vita communis perfecta*; these directives undoubtedly brought about a real intellectual ferment in the various houses of studies. While writing on poverty Hiltalingen consulted with Jordan of Saxony. Very likely he provided some inspiration for Jordan's great *Liber Vitasfratrum* which was dedicated to him after his transfer to the *studium generale* of his Province in Strassburg. The year 1366 marked the resumption of his studies as *bachalarius* in Paris. He now wrote his monumental *Decem Responsiones* and his Commentary on the Sentences of the Lombard. In 1371 he finally obtained the coveted magisterium.

Either before or after receiving this honor he was chosen superior of the Rheno-Suebian Province. He must have shown himself an extraordinarily gifted administrator, otherwise he would not have been elected Procurator General at the General Chapter of Verona held in the year 1377. The promotion completed his removal from library and lecture hall to an arena of violent conflict under his General Bonaventura Badoer of Padua (1377-1385), a famous theologian and intimate friend of Petrarch. Bonaventura was so zealous in his support of Urban VI that St. Catherine of Siena procured his creation as Cardinal Priest of St. Cecilia in 1378. He continued to fill the office of General because it was impractical to hold a new election in the early days of the Great Schism; in 1385 he was murdered by a bowman attached to Francis Carrara, a leading nobleman of Pavia who resented the vigor with which Badoer defended the Pope's rights ⁸). When Hiltalingen assumed

⁶) See « The Catalogue of the Library of the Augustinian Friars at York », edited by M. R. JAMES in *Fasciculus Johanni Willis Clark dedicatus* (Cambridge 1909) no 346.

⁷) When he came for the canonical visitation to Lecceto in 1357 and saw some brethren playing a game of chance, he had all of them thrown into the monastic jail for three months. Among the prisoners was Philip Agazzari, author of the famous *Assempri*, for whom this punishment was the turning point towards a better life. PERINI D., *Bibliographia Augustiniana* I (Florence 1929) 13. Gregory ruled but two short years 1356-8, *ibidem* I, 53/7.

⁸) PERINI, *Bibl. Aug.*, I, 57-9.

office of Procurator General under Gregory XI, his prospects for a brilliant career were bright. Pope Gregory, quick to recognize talent, employed him on diplomatic missions. The confusion, however, attendant upon the election of Urban VI, changed all peaceful progress. The extended absence of the Prior General Bonaventura on the Pope's errands in Eastern Europe, caused the burden of governing the Order to fall on the shoulders of Hiltalingen.

At the beginning of the Great Schism Hiltalingen was an avowed supporter of Urban VI; he even preached before him at a Mass said by Cardinal Peter of Luna, later Antipope Benedict XIII. Within a short time, however, he went over to Clement VII. He may have acted from sincere conviction. Perhaps he wanted also the name not only the work of a General. It is not inconceivable that, like so many of the Cardinals, he was full of resentment at the Pope's high-handed ways. In any case, when the lines between Avignon and Rome were clearly drawn, Hiltalingen was the Avignonesse General of the Austins. The document of this appointment is dated September 18, 1379 ⁹⁾.

From then on Hiltalingen was a doughty champion of the Antipope, traveling as his agent to various parts of France and even to England. In the German borderlands, where he was known as « The Angel » ¹⁰⁾, he was strongly opposed by Conrad von Husen, provincial of his mother province Rheno-Suebia ¹¹⁾. In France, however, he found some energetic collaborators in the Augustinians Christian of Haute Rive (Alta Ripa) and Giles of Orleans, who became papal nuntius to preach everywhere the righteousness of Clement's cause ¹²⁾. Hiltalingen's generalate came to an end on

⁹⁾ EUBEL no. 57.

¹⁰⁾ Legate to the provinces Narbonne and Toulouse: EUBEL no. 166; legate to England and various provinces of Northern France: no. 342 (March 14, 1384). On December 6, 1380 Count Rupprecht of the Palatinate ordered the city of Strassburg not to permit the Augustinian called 'angel' to preach against Urban VI: A. KOCH and J. WILLS, *Regesten der Pfalzgrafen am Rhein I* (Innsbruck 1894), no. 4367. See *infra* n. 14.

¹¹⁾ « De fratre Conrado de Husen, Constantiensi O. N., acerrimo Urbani VI defensore », AA V (1914) 198-204 and 224-229.

¹²⁾ For Giles of Orleans see EUBEL 73, 76. Whether he is identical with the Giles of Orleans, who wrote *Quaestiones super X libros Ethicorum*, Paris Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 16089, ff. 195v-233v will have to be investigated. The MS is placed into the early part of the fourteenth century by R. A. GAUTHIER, « Trois commentaires 'Averroistes' sur l'Ethique à Nicomaque », *Archives d'histoire doctri-*

March 10, 1389¹³), when he was made Bishop of Lombez ('Lombardiensis', Dep. Gers), but his efforts on behalf of Clement VII continued. Indeed, he was regarded as one of the most able advocates of Avignon¹⁴).

Meanwhile the lawful General, Bartholomew of Venice (1385-1400), strove in various ways to bring all Augustinians back to the Roman Obedience. We bring in the Appendix his sharp, unqualified directives to his subjects. He condemned Hiltalingen, as a matter of course. He caused General Chapters to be held in the ultramontane countries with unexampled frequency: in 1385 the city chosen was Gran in Hungary; in 1391, Würzburg; in 1397, Munich; and in 1404, Lauingen¹⁵). He also forbade all access to the University of Paris¹⁶), an ill-considered move, for it really rewarded the French and Spanish Austins for their allegiance to Avignon by facilitating their promotion to the much desired *magisterium*¹⁷).

nale et littéraire du Moyen Age 23 (1948) 187-342. Christianus de Alta Ripa, the more important of the two, was like Giles made master through the pope's mediation in 1380 (EUBEL 98). He was prior of Paris and provincial of Francia (see *infra* n. 43), papal nuntius «to Italy and some other territories» (EUBEL 964, 988), bishop of Tarbes in 1404 and Tréguier in 1408, where he died in 1417: K. EUBEL, *Hierarchia Catholica medii aevi* I, 2nd ed., Münster 1913, pp. 494 and 474. Haute Rive was greatly responsible for gaining in 1404 Genève for Benedict XIII: N. VALOIS, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident* III (Paris 1901) 391.

¹³) EUBEL no. 559.

¹⁴) «... et omnes sibi (Clementi VII) adherentes sunt schismatici condemnati et haeretici, quorum schismaticorum non minimus defensor et protector est Johannes de Hiltelingen, qui vocatur angelus, frater ordinis sancti Augustini, praetendens se Episcopum Lumbariensem sed vere nomen est sine re...». H. HAUPT, «Johannes Malkaw aus Preussen und seine Verfolgung durch die Inquisition in Strassburg und Köln 1390-1416», *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* VI (1884) 334/85. For the condemnation of Hiltalingen by Urban VI, see C. KROFTA, *Acta Urbani VI et Bonifatii IX* (Prag 1903) no. 174.

¹⁵) For the acts of the General Chapters, see AA V, 12 sqq. and my article «Deutsche Generalkapitel», *Cor Unum* 12 (1954) 18-22. — When Nicholas of Cascia returned from the chapter in Lauingen, where he had been re-elected, he and a number of his magistri were taken captive by the German robber-baron Peter of Hohenegg, who exacted a large ransom. This ended all taste for further chapters in Germany. F. ZOEPFL, «Geschichte des ehemaligen Augustinerklosters in Mindelheim», *Archiv für Geschichte des Hochstiftes Augsburg* V (1917) 280/1.

¹⁶) At the chapter of Würzburg in 1391, AA V, 99.

¹⁷) EUBEL *passim*, for example no. 76 (Giles of Orleans), no. 83 (Theoderic of Montagnac). Most of these papal favors are more fully published in H. DENIFLE, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* 3 (Paris 1894).

Bartholomew also separated from the Province of Toulouse all houses in the English-held Duchy of Aquitaine, placing them under the jurisdiction of an influential Englishman, Robert Waldeby¹⁸). This Augustinian had followed the Black Prince into France, had become Chancellor of the Province of Aquitaine and later was made archbishop of Dublin and York. These dignities evince the esteem in which he was held and the wisdom of Bartholomew in appointing him vicar. Bartholomew's activities throughout his long generalate show that he was an intelligent and energetic adversary not only of Hiltalingen but also of his followers.

Hiltalingen died on October 10, 1392 and was buried in the Augustinian Church at Freiburg im Breisgau. His *condemnatio memoriae* is justified only as far as his restless efforts for the Antipope hurt the general welfare of the Church. The unbiased historian can never overlook his record of genuine achievement in theology and the effective leadership of his subjects he has left behind. He proceeded, for example against the « fratres bullati », friars who had become Papal Chaplains and as a result regarded themselves excused from the discipline of the Order¹⁹). Under him, the destroyed churches of La Rochelle and Ennezat were rebuilt²⁰) and

¹⁸) Dd 2 fol. 18 (May 23, 1384) does not speak of Magister Robert Waldeby, but of Magister Robert Hardewi of the English Province as 'vicarius noster in toto ducatu Aquitaniae'. The famous provincial Hardeby was, however, called Geoffrey (Godefridus) not Robert. The similarly sounding surnames no doubt confused the scribe. Herdeby (also called Hardeby, Herdely) was probably dead by 1389. He appears for the last time in 1380, when he received a pension for life (*Calendar of Patent Rolls Richard II, 1377/81*, p. 429). He had been provincial from 1360-1369. Thomas Winterton, intermittently provincial from 1381-1393, was entrusted in 1389 with the management of the two houses of Bordeaux and Bayonne (Dd 3 fol. 86^v). For biographies of these men, see A. GWYNN, *The English Austin Friars at the time of Wyclif* (London 1940). The « Dicta fratris Roberti de Anglia ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini », Rome, Bibl. Alesandrina Ms 79 fol. 64a, are probably from the above Robert Waldeby, because only solutions from famous canonists were included in such collections. The detailed description of his monument in Westminster by H. J. LAWLOR in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 47 (1917) 116/8.

¹⁹) EUBEL 46, 77, 89.

²⁰) La Rochelle ('Rupella', Dioc. Saintes, Dep. Charente Inf.) was established in 1323 (AUG. IV, 16) and completely destroyed in 1347 (H. DENIFLE, *La désolation des églises, monastères... pendant la guerre de Cent Ans* II [Paris 1899] 651). After it had been rebuilt within the city, it burnt down in 1375 (Bibl. Depart. La Rochelle MS 2556c). By « Licet is » of May 28, 1380, Clement VII

new houses were established in St. Pierre d'Albigny ²¹) and Champ-litte. The latter was erected by Sir John Vergy in fulfillment of a vow made while held captive by the Saracens ²²). Hiltaligen also obtained authorization for foundations which he was not finally able to effect: St. Gengoulf in the Diocese of Chalon-sur-Saône and Tréguier ²³). He also sought and was granted by Clement VII many indulgences for new chapels ²⁴). It has been stated repeatedly that nothing is known of General Chapters held by Austins of the Avignonese Obedience. According to Chapter 38 of the Ratisbon Constitutions these Chapters had to be held every three years. Since the Avignon faction had to prove its legitimacy also by a faithful observance of the Constitutions of the Order, it no doubt saw to it that these Chapters took place. On July 17, 1381 John Hiltaligen received special faculties for the coming General Chapter from Pope Clement VII ²⁵). The first General Chapter was, therefore, called

granted an indulgence to all who helped in rebuilding church and monastery: EUBEL 106.

Ennezat ('Nesaciacum', Dioc. Clermont, Dep. Puy-de-Dôme) was founded in 1324 outside the city walls by William de Flotte, Chancellor of France. In 1367 it was transferred into the city (State Library Bruxelles, MS. II-2590 p. 111). Through « Splendor paternae gloriae » of May 15, 1384, Clement VII granted an indulgence for the rebuilding of the church St. Augustine: EUBEL 347-8 and 800.

²¹) St. Pierre d'Albigny (formerly Dioc. Genf, now Grenoble, Dep. Savoie) was built by the Knight John Miolans (de Myolano) in 1380: A. DE FORAS, *Armorial et Nobiliaire de l'ancien duché de Savoie* 4 (Grenoble 1900) 38. Permission to accept the house was granted by the bull « Sacrae vestrae religionis » of April 3, 1381: EUBEL 145.

²²) *Inventaire sommaire des Archives de la Haute Saône, ser. H* (1901); A. DU CHESNE TOURANGEAU, *Histoire généalogique de la maison de Vergy* (Paris, 1625) 259; L'abbé ROUSSEL, *Le Diocèse de Langres* 3 (1873) 365; L'abbé BRIFFAULT, *Histoire de la Seigneurie et de la ville de Champlitte* (Langres 1869) 49-52, 84-5.

²³) « St. Gengulphus, Dioc. Cabilonen » was granted by « Hiis qui divini cultus » of October 8, 1387: EUBEL 518. A Chapel of St. George in Tréguier is mentioned in EUBEL 439. Nothing else is known of this foundation.

²⁴) For example the Bl. Mother's Chapel in Chalons-sur-Marne, erected by Giles of Orleans, O. E. S. A.: EUBEL 74; the Chapel of St. Catherine in Rouen: EUBEL 437; the Chapel of Our Lady of Pity in Toulouse, erected by King Louis of Sicily: EUBEL 455; a chapel in Paris founded by the Knight Burelius de Riparia: EUBEL 587.

²⁵) AA VI, 241. If Esteban had been acquainted with Eubel's work he would not have made the above erroneous statement that General Chapters of the Avignonese Obedience are unknown (AA VI, 294 and 296). Esteban, however, was the first Augustinian historian to solve many of the knotty problems connected with our history of these critical years.

three years after his appointment to the generalate. Later records will show that also all requirements of the Constitutions for the *Curia Generalis* were fulfilled.

Hiltalingen's theological writings, much neglected on account of his break with Rome even though they were completed before that unfortunate event, constitute a precious legacy. He left us *Decem Responsiones*, an extensive commentary on the Sentences of the Lombard and the incomplete *Vesperiae*. His scholarship, his labours in collecting the works of our theologians and his critical acumen in surveying their opinions has given us an unparalleled insight into the « Schola Augustiniana antiqua et moderna ». D. Trapp rightly called his works a « Dictionary of Augustinian Theology ». It is truly and deeply to be regretted that his wrong choice in the Schism has caused his contribution to be largely forgotten.

2. Bernard Pughal 1389-1402/3

Hiltalingen was succeeded by Bernard Pughal or Pojau, falsely called Bernardus Pinalis, de Pinalo, de Pinalibus ²⁶). Affiliated with the monastery Mas-Saintes-Puelles ²⁷) he is mentioned as provincial of Toulouse and Aquitaine in 1383 and as Master in Sacred Theology in 1385 ²⁸). After exercising the office of Prior General from the time of Hiltalingen's elevation to the episcopacy ²⁹) he was confirmed in it by the « General Chapter » of Paris, held on Pentecost

²⁶) A. COVILLE, *De vita et operibus Jacobi Magni* (Paris 1889) 41, reads Puialis as Provincialis. See my biography of Legrand in AUG. VII (1957) 313-26; 485-92.

²⁷) The foundation of « Mansus Sanctarum Puellarum » near Castelnaudary (Dioc. St. Papoul, Dep. Aude) is mentioned for the first time in a testament of 1326: Bibl. Nationale, Paris, Collection Doat vol. 42 fol. 306, as Professor Richard Emery kindly informed me. The house was destroyed in the Wars of Religion and through the strong opposition of the local Huguenots could never recover its former status.

²⁸) Communication of Mr. Paul Salies, whose detailed study of the Augustinian Archives in Toulouse will soon appear in this magazine.

²⁹) He is mentioned as prior general on October 12, 1392 in *Répertoire Historique, Instructif et Méthodique des Titres et Papiers contenus dans les Archives du Grand Couvent Royal et Collège Généralissime des Révérends Pères Ermites de l'Ordre de Saint-Augustin au bout de Pont Neuf à Paris*, Paris, Archives Nationales, ser. H., L-1471, fol. 16.

(April 6) 1393. It is the only Chapter held by the Avignonese Obedience of which some details are known ³⁰⁾.

Present were:

Bernard Pugalís

William Petri

William de Meyronis

Peter Gracilis

Francis Castilionis (Chatillon)

John de Pirauba

William de Baudonio, prior of the house in Avignon

Peter Malespri, definitor of the Province of Burgundy

John of Toledo, definitor of the Province of Spain

Alazar Sabini, definitor of the Province of Flanders.

The only non-French participants were the definitor of Spain and the representative of the somewhat mysterious 'Province of Flanders' which may have been a French-speaking splinter group separated by the Schism from the old Province of Cologne.

Pughal was re-elected at Montpellier on May 20, 1397 ³¹⁾, is

³⁰⁾ On the vigil of Pentecost Jacques Legrand preached the sermon before the election of a Prior General. He chose for his theme the importance of laws and law-giving, but refrained from all personal remarks. See my biography of Legrand, *AUG. VII*, 315.

Of the men mentioned in our document details are known only for Peter Gracilis and William de Baudonio. Gracilis left a Commentary on the Sentences of the Lombard, now Ms. Royal 10-A-1 of the British Museum in London; it was completed on April 22, 1440. MS 174 of the Bibliothèque Mazarin, Paris contains the first two chapters of his *Recitata super evangelio beati Luce*, which he wrote in 1381 as member of the house in Reims. He was made master in 1381 (*DENIFLE, Chart. Univ. Paris. III*, 365 note 14, and no. 1511).

William de Baudonio or Boudonio, a member of the Province of Provence, was student in Paris in 1380, when he asked his friend John de Huxaria (= Hóxter in Germany) to copy for him the Commentary to the Sentences by Hugolin of Orvieto, now MS 249 of the Public Library in Toulouse. He was provincial of Provence in 1404 (*A. GUIN, Chronologia conventuum Provinciae Provinciae Ord. Er. S. Augustini*, MS 5-H-29 of the Archives Départementales Bouches-du-Rhône, under Pernes p. 5). He is still mentioned in 1417 as Magister Guilelmus Boudonio (*Dd-4 fol. IV^v*).

³¹⁾ « En lan 1397 dimergue xx de mai, fons en esta vila capitol general des Augustins, et era ministre general del dich orde maystre Bernat Pojau del Mas de Sancta Spuela, maystre en theologia »: *Le petit Thalamus de Montpellier* (l. c. 1836) 429. In the same year the chapter of the Roman Obedience took place in Munich: *AA V*, 151.

mentioned for the last time in 1402 ³²), and must have died within a year. Not a single document shows him active on behalf of either Clement VII or Benedict XIII. Several works are said to have come from his hand ³³) but there are no literary remains. He can be remembered only as a devoted and able religious superior.

Under John Hiltalingen local men were admitted to the « General Chapter » to cast votes in place of the non-participating, 'schismatic' provincials and definitors ³⁴). This attempt to remedy the purely national character of the Chapter served only to emphasize it and perhaps render the Chapter subject to manipulation. Pughal wisely forbade this practice ³⁵). Like Hiltalingen, Pughal founded two houses in France: Montluel in 1389 ³⁶) and Caudiès in 1398 ³⁷). The 1394 permission to establish the Order in Chartres ³⁸) was probably not acted upon. The same is to be said of the permission granted to Hugh, Count of Palliare, to build an Augustinian house beside the Chapel of Maria Darien, Diocese Urgell ³⁹). The Province of Aragon was allowed three new houses, one of which was founded in 1404 in Peralta, Diocese of Gerona ⁴⁰) ; the other two are unknown. There was a successful foundation at Carmagnola, the little town in the Diocese of Turin made famous by the French Revolution ⁴¹). Under Pughal there was also growth in the older

³²) EUBEL 869. In this document Raymond de Ripa is called procurator general, the only one of the Avignonese Obedience known to us so far.

³³) His works are enumerated in F. OSSINGER, *Bibliotheca Augustiniana* (Ingolstadt 1768) 722, who took his list from S. SAINT-MARTIN, *La vie... du... Saint-Augustin...* (Toulouse 1641) 785 sq. Legrand dedicated to him his *Abbreviatio Dictionarii*: AUG. VII, 322 sq.

³⁴) EUBEL 160 (1381).

³⁵) EUBEL 579 (1389).

³⁶) The foundation of « Mons Lupelli » was granted by the bull « Sacrae vestrae religionis » of June 20, 1389: EUBEL 571.

³⁷) « ... conventus Beati Augustini in loco de Cauderiis nuper et de novo aedificati et constructi dictae diocesis Electensis (Alet)... » Document of September 3, 1398, Archives Départementales de la Haute Garonne H-128. Communication of Mr. P. Salies.

³⁸) « Sacrae vestrae religionis » of January 8, 1394 grants the right to Mary de Trie, widow of Hugh de Buleyo, chamberlain of the King, to establish a house in or near Chartres: EUBEL 793, 817.

³⁹) EUBEL 834 (1396); Th. HERRERA, *Alphabetum Augustinianum* (Madrid 1643) does not mention it.

⁴⁰) EUBEL 953 (1404). It is also unknown to Herrera.

⁴¹) « Devotionis merita » of September 18, 1396; EUBEL 837. HERRERA, *Alph.*

houses. In Mezin, for example, church and monastery were enlarged ⁴²⁾ and in Paris, a large new building housing an infirmary, the novitiate and two dormitories, was dedicated by the Carmelite Bishop Gerard in 1392 ⁴³⁾.

3. *Petrus Avena or de Vena 1403-1418*

The details are not known to us, but we are sure that in 1403 Peter de Vena or Avena (= a Vena) was chosen to succeed the deceased Pughal. He was affiliated with the house in Cremieu ⁴⁴⁾, but spent most his life in Toulouse where his name appears on the list of the theological faculty, even after he had been elected General of the French Obedience ⁴⁵⁾. His attitude towards the Great Schism was that of the University there which was energetically concerned with the need for union ⁴⁶⁾. His theological or purely practical view-point, clearly favored the conciliar theory; this is evinced by the fact that he never once swerved from the course set by the General Councils once he had signed the articles of Pisa ⁴⁷⁾. He was no zealous partisan of the Avignonese Pope; the fact, therefore, that he became Prior General in the first place, and was re-elected at the « General Chapter » of Lyon in 1407 ⁴⁸⁾ clearly shows, where the minds of the electors were veering.

The General of the Roman Obedience, who succeeded Bartholomew of Venice, was Nicholas Seracini of Cascia (1400-1412). He had been elected at the General Chapter of Aquila in June 1400,

Aug. I, 168, places its foundation with Pamphilus as early as 1351, but cannot cite a document.

⁴²⁾ EUBEL 569 (1389) and 52 (1379). « Medicinum, Mesinum » in the Department of Lot and Garonne was also known as « conventus Neracensis » because Nerac was the nearest important town. The house existed before 1350 but was completely destroyed during the Wars of Religion.

⁴³⁾ Present were in addition to Pughal the prior of Paris, Christian de Haute Rive, and the provincial of Francia, John de Blois: A. N. Paris, MS L-1471 fol. 16v.

⁴⁴⁾ Avena's belongings had to be returned to this house after his demise: Dd-4 fol. 15^{vo}. Cremieu (Dioc. Vienne, Dep. Isère) was founded ca 1308/9 by the Dauphin John II (1307-18): E. PILOT DE THOREY, *Catalogue des Acts du Dauphin Louis II devenu le Roi de France Louis XI* (Grenoble 1899) I, 85.

⁴⁵⁾ M. P. Salies informs me that Avena is called *regens theologiae* in 1389 and 1407.

⁴⁶⁾ *Cambridge Medieval History* VII (New York 1932) 297.

⁴⁷⁾ F. UGHELLI, *Italia Sacra*, 2nd ed. III (Venice 1717) col. 556.

⁴⁸⁾ EUBEL 1100a and 1118.

was re-elected at Lauingen in 1403 and at Ferrara in 1408. A year later the Synod of Pisa took place. It attempted to reunite Christianity by deposing Benedict XIII together with Gregory XII and by setting up Alexander V as the universal Pope. The result was three Popes instead of two. Both Augustinian Generals acknowledged Alexander V. Pope Benedict XIII refrained from replacing Avena, perhaps because he hoped to woo him back, but Gregory XII acted at once to replace Nicholas of Cascia. In quick succession he appointed the learned Paul of Venice ⁴⁹⁾, Simon de Vigilantibus ⁵⁰⁾ and finally Jerome Paul of Pistoia ⁵¹⁾, who remained General of the dwindling Gregorian faction until the General Chapter of Asti in 1419. Meanwhile Alexander V had two Austin Priors General in his obedience. He solved the problem by asking both men to continue as Generals in their respective territories until a new General Chapter could restore unity ⁵²⁾. This Chapter took place at Rome in 1412. Alexander V seems to have promised to appoint one of the two bishop to the first available see, and the electors stated, that the other would become automatically General ⁵³⁾. Since both candidates were popular and excellently qualified, the Order thus assured itself of a competent leader without causing anyone to feel the sting of defeat. Nicholas became bishop of Recanati when the people of that city suddenly came over to

⁴⁹⁾ « Cum nuper ex » of May 1, 1409: AA VI, 103. By « Ad ea, quae Apostolicae » of September 14, 1409, Alexander V annulled all acts of Paul of Venice: AA VI, 106.

⁵⁰⁾ « Pii patris more » of February 2, 1410: AA VI, 103. Simon had ruled but two months, when he was made bishop of Ancona.

⁵¹⁾ « Dum levamus in » of April 11, 1410: AA VI, 103. The censures of Gregory are directed only against Nicholas of Cascia whom he calls a son of iniquity, a common expression used against all opponents of either party. His omission of the Avignonese Obedience suggests some kind of truce for practical purposes between the opposing parties.

⁵²⁾ « Cum nuper ex » of October 2, 1409: AA VI, 106. Alexander V praises in this bull Avena's management (« qui officium generalatus ipsius ordinis in eisdem partibus hactenus laudabiliter rexerat »).

⁵³⁾ « ... in praefato capitulo... sancitum et diffinitum extitit, quod si unus Generalium Priorum praedicti Ordinis in dicto capitulo tunc praesidentium, cum duo sic causante pestifero dudum scismate in diversis obedientiis praefato Ordini praelati fuerint, ad aliquam praelaturam assumeretur, ille, qui sine praelatura extra dictum ordinem remaneret, pro vero Generali Priore praefati Ordinis per totum Ordinem haberetur »: John XXIII in « Inter ceteras tam » of July 20, 1412: AA VII, 417.

John XXIII on July 4, 1412 ; at the same time Peter Avena became sole General, even though Nicholas lost his see when on February 16, 1413 Recanati returned to the allegiance of Gregory XII ⁵⁴). It was thus that practically the whole Order came once again under the jurisdiction of a single Prior General.

Outside of Avena's fold remained the dwindling Gregorian faction under Jerome Paul of Pistoia and those Spanish houses whose political leaders acknowledged Benedict XIII, though they had no Prior General of their own. Perhaps Avena's work at the Council of Constance, which incidentally caused his absence from the General Chapter held 1415 in Avignon, finally persuaded Benedict that Avena would never return to him. In 1416, therefore, he made Magister Thomas Fabri Prior General of all the Austins under his obedience ⁵⁵). Iberian Austins at this time manifested remarkable interest in holiness. As early as 1407 the eremitical life was restored in the hermitage of Berritz ⁵⁶) and we know that Gundisalv a S. Lagio, Provincial of the Province of Spain, secured permission to transform St. Maria de Regla into a very strict eremitical monastery, subject only to the Prior General ⁵⁷).

Of Avena's administration we know hardly the barest outlines, because both his Avignonese and Roman Registers are lost. Always eager for genuine concord he intervened in the quarrel between Pamiers and Saverdun over the begging privileges formerly belonging to Chaumont, and he laid down severe penalties to be imposed for future violations of peace ⁵⁸). He went to England to restore har-

⁵⁴) E. E[STEBAN], « De capitulis generalibus ab anno 1403 ad annum 1419 deque superioribus, qui eodem tempore Ordinem gubernarunt », AA VI, 293-300.

⁵⁵) EUBEL 1341.

⁵⁶) EUBEL 1119, 1171a. Herrera does not mention this place which was located in the parish of St. Peter in Destua, Diocese of Calahorra.

⁵⁷) EUBEL 1400 (A. D. 1417). HERRERA II, 365 who speaks admiringly of the strict discipline in this house, does not know this document. — On September 24, 1418 the Augustinian Alphonse de Castro who had been chaplain to the Count of 'Nebula' received permission to enter a hermitage. Whether it was one of the two mentioned above is not stated (AA VI, 300-302). — The provincial Gundisalv a S. Lagio is no doubt identical with Blessed Gundisalv a Lagos who died 1422 or 1445 (HERRERA I, 285). Our document seems to be the only definite date we have of this Blessed. He could have been provincial of the Province of Spain, because Portugal had not yet attained independence. The Province of Spain was known as *Provincia Hispalensis*.

⁵⁸) AA VI, 245. Nothing else is known about the 'conventus de Calvo-

mony when dissensions arose because William Wells the Elder had remained provincial long past the time allowed by Law ⁵⁹). It is on these endeavors for unity in Order and Church that his claim of achievement must rest. Two Marian records are also of interest. On February 9, 1412 Avena granted spiritual affiliation to the Confraternity of the [Immaculate ?] Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which had been established in the Augustinian church at Champlitte. It is his only official act whose text could be located so far ⁶⁰). Zeal for Mary's honour is also noticeable in the special indulgence obtained in 1409 for the famous Chapel of Our Lady of Grace in Valencia ⁶¹). Of Avena's literary work nothing is known but the titles.

If John Hiltalingen should be censured for freely choosing Clement VII at the beginning of the Schism, the same censure cannot apply to Pughal and Avena who had to face the accomplished fact of the Schism. They could only work and pray for unity, but also had to keep the Order alive in their territories by performing indispensable administrative tasks. The Church clearly recognized their difficulty and, therefore, validated the acts of all schismatic generals of all Orders because their work could not profitably be undone ⁶²).

Peter Avena died in 1418 ⁶³). As the Constitutions of this period

monte'. It must have been of recent origin and was probably destroyed by the marauding bands of the Hundred Years War.

⁵⁹) Permission to enter England with twelve men and to stay for one year was granted by King Henry V on July 22, 1414 (RYMER, *Foedera*, London 1709, vol. IX p. 155). Avena's successor in the generalate spoke of the great expenses which the English Province incurred on account of Avena's visit (Dd-4, fol. VII^{vo}; AA VI, 244).

⁶⁰) DU CHESNE TOURANGEAU, *Hist. général. d. l. Maison de Vergy* p. 188.

⁶¹) EUBEL 1186. A similar indulgence was obtained for the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene in Cordova in 1410: EUBEL 1333.

⁶²) The Council of Constance ratified in February 1416 all acts of Benedict XIII and the authorities subject to him: J. D. MANSI, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio* 27 (Florence 1759) col. 811-2.

⁶³) This is apparent from the appointment of a commission in August 1419 by the General Chapter of Asti to decide on the proper division of Avena's belongings. The commission consisted of the magistri and provincials Raymond de Tillio of Provence, Bertrand Paratoris (= Parayte ?) of Toulouse and Aquitaine, Peter Robini of Narbonne and Burgundy in addition to William Francolini, definitor of Aragon (HERRERA II, 263). They apparently did not come to a satisfactory decision and were taken to task by the Prior General Favaroni for their failure: Dd-4 fol. 15^{vo}. Of Avena's library only Ms 241 of the Publ. Library of Toulouse has been preserved.

demanding a General Chapter to be called within nine months after the demise of the highest superior, the electors assembled in Asti in August 1419. Among them were two Priors General: Jerome Paul of Pistoia and Thomas Fabri. Both must have submitted to Pope Martin V, otherwise Fabri could not have been vicar general during the Interim. The respectful treatment accorded to both men at this chapter indicates that Martin V followed the precedent set by Alexander V in the earlier case of Peter Avena and Nicholas of Cascia by permitting both of them to rule within their territories until this chapter.

In order to prevent possible dissensions the Pope appointed for the first time a president for the chapter. Both surviving generals were required to submit their resignations into his hands at the beginning of the Chapter and if either failed to appear his non-appearance was to be regarded as equivalent to resignation⁶⁴). The Pope's choice for this temporary but very important office of president fell on Magister John Zachariae, Provincial of Saxony and Thuringia, who is greatly praised by Augustinian historians for the role he played in the conviction of John Hus at the Council of Constance⁶⁵). After the required resignations had been tendered the balloting for the new Prior General began. Zachariae was obliged to break a tie between Jerome Paul of Pistoia and Augustine Favaroni of Rome; he gave his vote to Favaroni. The new general promptly appointed Fabri his socius and a year later his vicar in the Provinces of Aragon and Castile, while Jerome Paul was given the complete control over his mother convent Pistoia⁶⁶). In this

⁶⁴) AA VII, 417.

⁶⁵) AA VI, 257. It is also claimed that Zachariae received the Golden Rose from the Pope personally. This story should have vanished from Augustinian Annals long ago, because this gift was presented to royal personages only. Yet there is some truth to this erroneous tradition. On March 6, 1418 Pope Martin V rode to Austin Friars, accompanied by all Cardinals and noblemen present in Constance, to bring the Golden Rose — not to John Zachariae but to the Emperor Sigismund who resided in this monastery while attending the Council: B. STENGEL, «Das ehemalige Augustinerkloster in Konstanz», *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte des Bodensees und seiner Umgebung* 21 (1892) 187. The Emperor rewarded the Austins by having their church beautifully frescoed. The paintings are described in MS Arundel 6 fol. 40, British Museum, London. The church still exists and serves as parish church.

⁶⁶) «De magistris Thoma Fabri et Hieronymo Pistoriensi», AA VI, 302-5.

gratifying manner union finally prevailed after fortyone years of division.

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*Appendix 1 *)*

PRIOR GENERAL BARTHOLOMEW OF VENICE DEMANDS THE RECOGNITION
OF POPE URBAN VI BY ALL AUGUSTINIANS

« Bononie, 27 April. 1386

Frater Bartholomeus etc. Venerabili viro, fratri Symoni de cremona, sacre theologie magistro, priori provinciali provincie lombardie etc.

Ad statum felicem sanctissimi domini nostri, domini urbani divina providentia pape VI, prout de iure tenemur, atque nostri ordinis unitatem et pacem vigilantius attendentes decrevimus nostris viribus insistere, ne forte, quod deus avertat, a fidei synceritate et salutari obedientia prefati sanctissimi domini nostri, quispiam nostrorum subditorum propria sequestretur malitia, et viam ingreditur erroris relicta penitus semita veritatis. Ut igitur nostrorum subditorum immaculata fidei stabilitas atque vera obedientie firmitas clarius elucescant, presentium in tenore tibi precipimus et mandamus, quatenus solerti vigilantia omnes et [singulos] fratres tibi subditos, cuiuscumque status, gradus, dignitatis seu conditionis existant, firmam fidem, stabilem et veram obedientiam atque debitam reverentiam sepredicti domini nostri iurare compellas, illud presertim pro Roberto olim basilice XII apostolorum, dicto gebenensi ¹⁾, nunc antipapa, qui se clementem VII ausu sacrilego nominare presumit; Iohanni olim tituli sancti marcelli, dicto abiensi ²⁾ et giraldo olim tituli sancti clementis dicto maioris monasterii ³⁾, presbiteris dicte ecclesie cardinalibus, perditionis filiis, iusto dei iudicio auctoritate apostolica condemnatis, et eorum sequacibus, ac dantibus eis vel eorum alicui auxilium, consilium vel favorem cuiuscumque fuerint preeminentie, ordinis, religionis aut status, etiam si pontificali, regali seu reginali vel quavis alia prefulgeant dignitate, etiam si fuerint romane ecclesie cardinales, seu aliis quibuscunque per

*) The first two texts were put at my disposal by Father Norbert Teeuwen. The demand for litanies is reminiscent of similar requests by William Flete, the English bachelor at Lecceto. « Expediens est valde ut per totam Angliam semel in epdomada fierent litanie, sicut alias vidi, et orationes pro eo [Urbano VI], pro ecclesia et pro reformatione totius mundi... »: AA 18 (1942) 312.

¹⁾ Robert of Genève, antipope Clement VII.

²⁾ John of Grangia, of Amiens.

³⁾ Gerardus de Podio [Puy] O. S. B.

ecclesiam vel ipsum beatissimum dominum nostrum denotatis vel in posterum denotandis, seu etiam condempnatis vel condempnandis ac rebellibus ipsius domini nostri, vel contra eum quomodolibet conspirantibus quamdiu extra gratiam et communionem sedis predictae permanebunt, non dabunt quovis modo per se, vel per aliam interpositam personam, directe vel indirecte, publice vel occulte, auxilium, consilium vel favorem, nec ab aliis, quantum in eis fuerit et impedire poterunt, dare permittent, sed eos secundum posse eorum, donec convertantur iuxta processus apostolicos prout iustum fuerit, persequentur. Magistris vero, lectoribus, predicatoribus, confessoribus, sub impositione mandati strictius iniungas, ut in quibuscunque eorum predicationibus, consiliis atque confessionibus, tam in publico tam in occulto populum ortentur et moneant, ut sanctissimi domini nostri veri obedientes et filii existant cum effectu. Mandamus igitur universis subditis nostris sub pena nostre rebellionis, quam ipso facto contrafacientes ex nunc pro tunc declaramus incurrisse, quatenus ad tui requisitionem iurare non recusent predicta servare et iuratis nullatenus contraire. Et si quod absit, talium sic reperietur quispiam, qui ad tui requisitionem iure [= iurare] contempserit, vel etiam si iuraverit et oppositum credens subterfugere [= ad oppositum intendens subterfugerit ?] colore fallaci ipse servare inventus fuerit, talem sic repertum sine dilatione temporum carceri mancipari procures et nobis notificare, explicans personam rei atque omne et quicquid per te notorie contra eum repertum fuerit, atque per nos tibi significatum quid de tali disposuerimus agendum. Insuper tibi precipimus, quatenus omni quinta feria et cetera ut supra die ix Ianuarii est expressum, ubi est A in margine ». Dd-2 fol. 86.

The text referred to is to be found on fol. 70 in a letter addressed to: « venerabilibus viris procuratoribus ordinis et priori Ianue (Genoa). Alexandrie 9 Ianuarii 1386.

Item tenore, quo supra, vobis precipiendo mandamus, quatenus omni quinta feria vel alio die, si quinta feria comode fieri non poterit, antequam ad missam conventualem cantandam procedatis, letanias faciatis devotissime cantari cum oratione festivitatis corporis christi, dominum devotissime exorantes, ut sicut aliud pro nobis ligno sponte donavit, ita ab inimicorum insidiis ecclesiam suam sanctam eiusque pastorem, cui preesse voluit dominum urbanum, eripere atque munire dignetur. Insuper volumus et iubemus, quod omnibus et singulis diebus, quibus congrue fieri poterit, specialem in conventuali missa orationem cantari faciatis pro salute atque felici statu sepedicti sanctissimi domini nostri gregisque sibi commissi, ut forte intercessoribus multiplicatis aures sue mitissime pietatis inclinante altissimo, ecclesie sue sancte tranquillum pacis statum misericorditer largiatur, quod et facere dignetur Salvatoris clementia. Datum etc. ». Dd-2 fol. 70.

« Similem literam per omnia misimus provincie colonie ». Dd-2 fol. 86v.

Letter to Thomas Winterton, Provincial of England, Rome 16 Jan. 1389: « ... Addentes et volentes ut singulos fratres sepissime nominatos stringere debeat ad iurandum veram fidelitatem et firmam obedientiam Sanctissimo domino nostro domino Urbano divina providentia universalis ecclesie pape VI... ». Dd-3 fol. 86vo.

Appendix 2

POPES DURING THE GREAT SCHISM

ROME	AVIGNON
Urban VI 1378-89	Clement VII 1378-1394
Boniface IX 1389-1404	Benedict XIII (= Peter de Luna)
Innocent VII 1404-1406	1394-1423
Gregory XII 1406-1415	

POPES CHOSEN BY COUNCILS

Alexander V	1409-1410
John XXIII	1410-1415
Martin V	1417-1431

AUGUSTINIAN GENERALS DURING THE GREAT SCHISM

ROME	AVIGNON
Bonaventura Badoer 1377-1385	John Hiltalingen 1378-1389
Bartholomew of Venice 1385-1400	Bernard Pughal 1389-1403
Nicholas of Cascia 1400-1412	Peter Avena 1403-1409

At the Synod of Pisa (1409) both Nicholas of Cascia and Peter Avena submitted to Alexander V who permitted them to rule in their respective territories until the General Chapter of Rome in the year 1412. There Peter Avena was chosen and ruled the Order until his death in 1418. Neither Pope Gregory XII nor Benedict XIII submitted to their depositions by Councils in 1409 and 1415 and appointed as Generals of the Austins

Paul of Venice 1409-1410	Thomas Fabri 1416-1417 (1419)
Simon de Vigilantibus 1410	
Jerome Paul of Pistoia 1410-1417 (1419)	

Both Jerome of Pistoia and Thomas Fabri submitted to Pope Martin V and were apparently allowed to rule in their territories until the General Chapter of Asti in 1419. There Augustine Favaroni of Rome was elected and the Schism ended within the Augustinian Order.