

A History of the English Austin Friars

(continuation *)

Chapter 2

EXTERNAL DEVELOPMENT DURING THE 14th AND 15th CENTURIES

Preliminary

The Situation of the Order before the Great Schism

During the thirteenth century the Order was faced with two absorbing interests : One, the struggle for survival, ended when Pope Boniface VIII gave the Austins fullest approbation in 1298 ; the other, a program of transformation grew out of the papally decreed change-over from eremitical to active life and could not succeed without the solution of many problems. First of all the youth of the Order had to be trained in the new ways. Not until the end of the century could the fruits of this educational policy be harvested, as the career of one man may typify: Giles of Rome, who entered the Order a year or two after its Great Union, but did not become its first Parisian master until 1285. Secondly, the call to active life entailed moving into the cities. Scores of new monasteries had to be built at great cost and in a very short time. By the end of the century the Order was in a state of financial exhaustion ; even vital necessities were lacking in many houses ³¹).

*) *Augustiniana*, VIII (1958), 22-47.

³¹) « Cum propter varias collectas, que forte fuerunt usque ad ista tempora in ordine opportune, quasi omnes provincie ordinis sint exhauste quod ex nimia nuditate et locorum paupertate vita et status plurium locorum miseria et abiectio

The heavy financial burdens were made harder to bear by the opposition of the parish priests in whose territory the new friaries were to be located. If only an individual parish opposed the foundation, an agreement could be quickly reached ; but if the church was held in advowson by one of the old monastic Orders (as so many were), then the power of the abbeys and their privileges tipped the scale against the more recently established mendicants. Many abbots who were in a position to enforce their will did not hesitate to use their power. The opposition was not new nor directed principally against the Austins, who only felt it more because they were ordered to move into the cities at a time when this hostility had become wide-spread and organized. The difficulties had begun with the papal bull « Cum a nobis petitur » of 25 February 1250, which gave all friars the right to bury in their churches anyone who should desire it. This « disastrous privilege », as the unbiased A. G. Little called it ³²), was bitterly fought by the parish clergy as diminishing both their income and their jurisdiction. Though justified on both accounts they forgot that the highest authority in the church had the right to make this change. Soon the friars' privilege of preaching and hearing confessions was also under attack. Entitled to absolve from frequently misused ecclesiastical censures the friars became dearer to the people because they could take away intolerable burdens laid on the conscience of men ; but they also seemed to weaken the power of lawfully constituted authority. Preaching which had been sorely neglected had become the main task of the friars. Eminently successful as preachers they drew large crowds to their churches where greater manpower also provided better services ; but the parochial churches were the losers. Another source of friction was the exemption of friars from episcopal jurisdiction ; only after many years of trial and error was a somewhat satisfactory solution to be found ³³). This independence

ab omnibus videntibus reputatur ». Definition of the General Chapter of Ratisbon : AA II, 293.

³²) LITTLE, *Studies in English Franciscan History* (Manchester 1917) 108.

³³) A solution was found by Pope Boniface VIII, one of the great canonists on the papal throne. In his bull *Super cathedram* of 18 February 1300 he gave the friars full liberty to preach in their own churches (except at certain times) but in parochial churches only upon the invitation of the pastor or by command of the bishop. — The friars should choose from their members suitable persons to hear confessions and present them to the bishop for faculties. The number

of the early mendicants would have been impossible in a well-ordered ecclesiastical society. They had been sent, however, to cure a church not well and their cure had to by-pass traditional niceties. Little stress has sometimes been laid by the handbooks of history on the material causes for the constant antagonism ; but the sources stress this factor most. The loss of revenue proved a definite hardship for the medieval parish on which hierarchy and state made frequent and often exorbitant demands, demands which the friars were spared as they could not be taxed, not even by papal legates. As long as the friars lived in abject poverty, people thought this exemption justified, but once they were well established, this attitude changed. Now care was taken that they should not acquire larger properties because taxes and levies would cease upon any purchase by mendicants. The English kings protected themselves by the law of mortmain (1279), while local parishes and monasteries seldom permitted a new foundation or the grant of additional property unless the continuation of former payments were guaranteed either by the friars themselves or their friends. This occupation with material problems might jar with idealized presentations of Franciscan poverty, but Austins must be judged by Austin antecedents. The Order of Austin Friars started with a fusion of many groups at the Great Union of 1256, some of these groups knew only well established forms of the old monasticism, while others clamored for a life according to the new ideals. The Tuscan hermitages, for example, which had been founded long before the Franciscans, owned property, and some of them considerable property. Living far away from human habitation they could not beg but had to rely on their own labors in the fields. The Brettni, on the other hand, who originated at almost the same time as the Franciscans were motivated by a corresponding spirit ; they wanted an absolute poverty equivalent to an absolute refusal of

of confessors was to be regulated by the needs of the populace. — The friars should have the right to bury in their churches those who desired it but would have to give the parish priest a quarter of all offerings and legacies. Benedict XI revoked this bull but Clement V incorporated it into Canon Law. « It proved a fair and statesman-like compromise which enabled the rival parties to live together for the next two centuries »: LITTLE, *Studies* 114. The matter is also treated by H. LIPPENS, « Le droit nouveau des mendiants en conflit avec le droit coutumier du clergé séculier du Concile de Vienne à celui de Trente », *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 47 (1954) 241-292.

owning any property. Every day life, however, is impossible without some property ; the Franciscans had by-passed the problem by assigning all their possessions to the Pope, while actually retaining full use of them. Yet the theory was to agitate the minds and hearts for many decades.

The above mentioned divergence of opinion among the Augustinians endangered the whole program of Cardinal Richard Annibaldi ³⁴). Seeking to please everyone he declared in 1257 both forms of poverty permissible ³⁵). This did not win the approval of the stricter party within the Order, of which Bl. Clement was the main leader. He resigned as general of the Order because the cardinal insisted with great energy on his decision even in cases where it was clearly detrimental to the general welfare of the Order or at least not consistent with changed conditions ³⁶). His judgment in these matters was directed by demands of the canonistic exigencies disregarding deeper and more important religious necessities. Blessed Clement as a member of the Brettini group believed in the mendicant way of life and did not accept re-election until after the cardinal protector had passed away. Then he did not rest until the General Chapter of Ratisbon in 1290 accepted an absolute poverty as the fundamental law of the Order ³⁷). Consequently, all hermitages with possessions were to be sold and only those retained which could live by begging ³⁸). That the Papal Curia never fully approved these unrealistic ways, is evident from its struggle with the Franciscan Spirituals ; the mendicants were expected to get settled and conform in some measure with established monastic forms. Towards the middle of the fourteenth century a foundation of friars was only permitted, if sustenance for at least twelve friars was guaranteed ³⁹). This regulation ended the ideal of a brotherhood unfettered by material necessities, free to move quickly to

³⁴) R. KUITERS clarified this question for the first time in AUG. VI, 27-8.

³⁵) His decision was incorporated in the papal bull *Iis quae nostri* of 13 June 1257: AA III, 29-31.

³⁶) ROTH, *Annibaldi* 1000 (III, 26).

³⁷) « Diffinimus quod Ordo noster sit uniformis et quod omnia loca nostra fundamentum habeant paupertatis »: AA II, 291.

³⁸) The sale started with Centumcellae, Monte Rozzano near Viterbo (ROTH, *Annibaldi* 127 [III, 301]) and continued with the hermitages around Lucca in 1295: BSA IV (1927) 23.

³⁹) See the foundation of Stafford in 1343 and note 115 *infra*.

any place where its services were required. Obedience to this regulation ironically enough was to create one and not the minor basis for the bitter attacks upon mendicant institutions during the last half of the fourteenth century.

By 1350 the Austins had given up all thought of absolute poverty. Intense study of St. Augustine had taught them that their father never favored anything but the ideal of common life which according to his Rule consists in « not calling anything one's own but having all things in common »⁴⁰). When in later years the voice of reform arose in the Augustinian Order, it was never again a cry for absolute poverty but a call for common life⁴¹). This Augustinian type of poverty in becoming fundamental law of the Church for most religious institutes has exerted a vastly greater influence than absolute poverty.

Though the monastic ideal of personal poverty and communal possession appears today as in the past in many variations, the poverty of the Austin Friar must remain the *vita communis perfecta*. Personally he must practice absolute poverty, not calling anything his own ; his community, however, can possess property and in contra-distinction to older Orders may send its members out to beg. Therefore, even the community should avoid any large estates. In this they are like the two other mendicant Orders, the Dominicans and Carmelites, and with them the Austins are bearers of the new religious life that arose in the thirteenth century.

⁴⁰) A. ZUMKELLER, *Das Mönchtum des Hl. Augustinus* (Würzburg 1950) 132-141.

⁴¹) Th. KOLDE, *Die deutsche Augustiner-Congregation und Johann von Slaupitz* (Gotha 1879) missed the essence of monastic reform completely. It is presented in masterly fashion by H. JEDIN, *Girolamo Seripando I* (Würzburg 1937) 157 for Cardinal Egidio of Viterbo and 235-242 for Seripando himself. A hundred years later reform came finally to the French provinces. It was a powerful movement which has not yet found a historian despite the abundance of material available. In the Reform of Arles (*Communitas Arelatensis*) the *pestifera proprietates* is regarded as the worst sin and the « propriétaire » as the worst religious: A. GUIN, *Chronologia Conventuum Provinciae Provinciae* fol. 159-164, now Ms. 5-H-164 of the Archives Départementales Bouches de Rhone. It has been suggested that the French Austins had forgotten the mendicant ideal at the time of the French Revolution. The Grand Couvent of Paris, at least, declared to the National Assembly that its income was so high that it could not be regarded as a member of the begging class. A further study would have revealed that this claim was made by all four mendicant Orders and was only a ruse to save their houses from suppression. See W. MONAGHAN, « Mendicant of Non-Mendicant ? Augustinian France », *The Tagastan* XIV (1951) 23-30.

One reason, why the English Austins were never gripped by the alternative of absolute poverty or communal possession was their having been founded by Tuscan hermits and thus having obtained communal property from the beginning. On account of this they experienced the opposite difficulties entailed by the acquisition of real estate by friars. Their troubles started already towards the end of the thirteenth century and made expansion extremely difficult during the greater part of the fourteenth century.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the mendicants were opposed only for financial reasons. All mendicants were bitterly resented by the very forces of evil that had necessitated their establishment, forces which exploited very friction between mendicants and other churchmen, forces which busily watered the seed of contention wherever found and cunningly enlisted the support of good but unwitting clerics in order to stymie reform.

Despite crushing difficulties the Austins thrived, numbering by the end of the thirteenth century about 350 houses in twenty-two provinces with about 8,000 members⁴²). Monasteries of nuns founded by the Order or joined to it to gain benefits or protection are not included.

The growth of the Order, effected in the thirteenth century by Italian friars both at home and abroad, became in the fourteenth century mostly an ultramontane development. France evolved her two provinces into four⁴³) and established at least 39 additional houses⁴⁴), her great leader being Giles of Rome who had been educated in France and was regarded as a Frenchman⁴⁵). Principally

⁴²) COR UNUM X (1952) 46.

⁴³) The oldest houses in France originated in Provence: ROTH, *Annibaldi* 148 (IV, 14). During the generalate of James de Orte 1308-11 the monasteries in the territory of Toulouse and Aquitaine were formed into a province. AA VI, 45. When the province of Francia (with its motherhouse in Paris) came into existence is uncertain but it certainly happened before 1261: ROTH, *op. cit.* 144 (IV, 10). The province of Narbonne and Burgundy did not yet exist in 1317 but is mentioned in 1329: AA VI, 45.

⁴⁴) On the establishment of French houses see R. EMERY in AUG. VI, 336-45.

⁴⁵) In his allocution to the French ambassadors in 1302 Pope Boniface VIII defended himself against the accusation that he had foisted foreigners on French episcopal sees. Speaking of Aegidius Romanus he said: « Je ne veux pas m'entendre sur son éloge, mais vous savez bien quel est son mérite: il est maître en théologie et il a été nourri et élevé dans le royaume »: G. DIGARD, *Philippe le Bel et la Sainte Siège de 1285 à 1304*, II (Paris 1936) 110.

through his influence better and more spacious quarters were gained in a number of French cities through the acquisition of houses formerly belonging to the Friars of the Sack or the Templars ⁴⁶). Giles' reputation as the outstanding professor of the university of Paris also gave the Augustinian *studium generale* in this city such pre-eminence that for seventy years every important doctor of the Order gained his *magisterium* there. The Grand Couvent, as the Parisian house on the Quai des Augustins was later known, was so large that in 1316 it could send 150 men to the celebration of the feast of St. Louis ⁴⁷). Its first English graduate was supposedly Thomas of Borstall, but only in 1303 we have a record of two English Austins studying in Paris; they were Rudolphus and Galterus de Anglia ⁴⁸).

Germany added over 47 new houses to its already existing 83. Its four provinces ⁴⁹) covered a wide territory because they included also the monasteries in the Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria, Moravia and Poland. While during the preceding decades German houses had been founded mainly along the Rhine and its neighbo-

⁴⁶) The Austins acquired by purchase or donation the following former houses of Friars of the Sack: Angers, Bayeux, Lamballe, Orleans, Paris, Reims, Rouen, Tournai, Verdun (ROTH, *Annibaldi* note 258), also Châlons s. Marne (Arch. Dép. Marne H-518) and Bourges, Poitiers and Tours if we may trust the writer of the cartulary of the Austin friary in Bourges, now Ms. 26-H-1 fol. 1, Arch. Dép. Cher. In England they acquired the former land of this Order in Canterbury and Stamford. In Bourges they moved from the house of the Sackfriars to that of the Templars through the influence of Giles of Rom, then archbishop of the city.

⁴⁷) R. FAWTIER, *Comptes du Trésor*, II (Paris 1930) n° 843.

⁴⁸) Archives Nationales, Paris J 480 n° 64, published in BSA I (1924) 56n. Is our Galterus de Anglia identical with Walter the Recluse, who according to the tradition of the Order was an Austin?

⁴⁹) The division into four provinces took place sometime between 1297-8. Henry Friemar I is called in 1297 « totius Almanniae prior provincialis », (HÖGGMAR, *Catalogus* 4) but on 16 December 1298 a certain Friar Otho [de Vo-burg] is mentioned as prior provincial of Bavaria (Document in historical seminary of the university of Vienna). On 15 January 1300 Pope Boniface VIII sent a letter to the « prior provincial of Thuringia and Saxony » (EMPOLI, *Bullarium* 42). The final division had been foreshadowed by the separation of the vast province into districts ruled like the English limits by vicars provincial. It was only necessary to raise these vicariates into full provinces. The discussion of a previous division into an Upper and Lower Germany has to be left for another time. For material on these questions see W. HÜMPFNER, « Heinrich von Friemar », *Zeitschrift für Thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 30 (1914) 49-64.

ring territories, now a strong wave of missionary effort carried the Austins eastwards, where the newly conquered Ruthenians and other Slav people needed to be either converted to Christianity or confirmed in it. The Bavarian province bore the brunt of the work, but the Saxon province also established houses on the easternmost boundaries of its territory and contributed to the conversion of the Prussians and Lithuanians ⁵⁰). Some English friars also came over to Lithuanian territory, but not so much to make converts as to provide for the spiritual needs of English merchants.

Italy which founded but twenty new houses during the fourteenth century, gave the Order its greatest medieval saint, St. Nicholas of Tolentine († 1303) and a group of lesser known men and women, whose holy lives credited the Italian *communitas* with the secret of sanctity, and whose attraction and charm drew a number of English Austins to Italy. The greatest among them was William Flete⁺, the trusted adviser of St. Catherine of Siena. Italy also provided leading theologians, « professors that were the best anywhere » (Tiraboschi). The important part they played in the foundation of universities is, therefore, not surprising.

Hungary started to awaken towards the middle of the century. For a while Austins held there first place in learning when some of its members were the only masters of theology in the entire kingdom ⁵¹). — Spain had only five houses in 1305 but commenced striving under the leadership of Francis Salelles and gave the church an outstanding theologian in Alphonse Vargas Toletanus († 1354).

Some historians of the Order have called the fourteenth century the Augustinian century not only because of the leading role Austins played in the church but principally for the pre-eminence which the study of St. Augustine and his cult attained through the Austins. While the veneration of their spiritual father was always practiced as a matter-of-course ⁵²), it gained tremendous momentum when the

⁵⁰) The driving force in the eastward move was Master Nicholaus of Laun (de Luna), Bavarian provincial and first master of theology at the university of Prague: J. HEMMERLE, « Nikolaus von Laun », in *Studien zur Geschichte der Karls-Universität zu Prag*, ed. R. SCHREIBER, II (Freilassing-Salzburg 1954) 81-130 and my article on Laun in *AUG.* V (1955) 290.

⁵¹) J. UVARDY, « Etienne de L'Ille († 1382) », *AUG.* VI, 328 n. 25. The author overlooked A. GABRIEL, « Alexandre d'Hongrie, maître régent à l'université de Paris vers 1300 », *Revue d'Histoire Comparée* n. s. I (1943) 504-14.

⁵²) On the veneration of St. Augustine within the Order at this time see

Prior General William of Cremona (1326-42) achieved « what no one had thought possible »⁵³). He obtained from Pope John XXII not only a monastery in Pavia close to the church where the body of the saint lies entombed but also the custodianship of his remains. The Pope declared that by this favor he intended the Austin Friars to be united with their founder,

« like members to a head, like sons to a father,
like disciples to a master, like soldiers to a leader »⁵⁴).

John XXII had granted the favor because the Austins were again among the principal defenders of the Holy See, this time against Emperor Louis, the Bavarian⁵⁵). The gift greatly enhanced the Order's family tradition of belonging and directly descending from St. Augustine, a tradition which Henry Friemar tried to prove in

E. ESTEBAN, « De festis et ritibus sacris Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Patris Augustini », AA XVI (1937) 6-11. An interesting note on this matter has been supplied by my confère R. Arbesmann: « Cod. Plut. 90 sup. 48 of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana contains f. 1^r - 13^r a *Vita Aurelii Augustini episcopi Hipponensis*. At the end of the *Vita* there is an appendix containing miracles obtained through the intercession of the saint during the life time of the compiler (dates mentioned 1317 ad 1322). On f. 12^r we read: « Non etiam dignum existimavi silentio praeferre quod nostris temporibus dignatus est dominus operari precibus tanti patris maxime in civitate Florentiae ubi eius devotio de die in diem crescit ».

⁵³) « ... quod multis primo incredibile et prorsus impossibile videbatur »: ARBESMANN, *Friemar*, AUG. VI, 118.

⁵⁴) The pope's letter « Veneranda sanctorum patrum » of 20 Jan. 1327 is a marvellous praise of St. Augustine's greatness and asks that he be highly venerated by the whole church, but particularly by the Austins « qui sub eiusdem Patris regula degitis, et sancta observatione militatis, quique divinis insistitis laudibus, vacatis orationi, intenditis exhortationi, insudatis studio et animarum saluti propensius vigilatis ... quatenus inibi tamquam membra suo capiti, filii patri, magistro discipuli, duci milites »: R. MAIocchi-N-CASACCA, *Codex Diplomaticus Ord. Er. S. Aug. Papiae I* (Pavia 1905) 14-15; also AA IV, 177; Vfr. 455 n° 26. Pope John XXII wrote a poem celebrating the event according to *Catalogue Général ds Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements* 30 (Lyons) 48.

Capgrave expressed the grateful sentiments of the Order towards Pope John XXII thus: « This man was full gracious to all men and specially to the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine. For by his authority the King of Bohemia brought in the same Hermits to dwell in Pavia with the Canons and there to keep the one side of the choir and the Canons the other »: *Chronicle* 181. For the mediation of John, King of Bohemia, see Vfr. 64 and note 25. Both Canons and Hermits said the divine office at St. Augustine's shrine: Vfr. 66.

⁵⁵) MARIANI, *Chiesa e Stato* 198-203; Vfr. 447, 468.

the first known history of the Order, entitling it « *Treatise on the origin and development of the Order of Hermit Friars and its true and real title* » ⁵⁶⁾. The pope's favor also provided a lasting impetus for the spiritual development of the Austins. From now on each reform movement is motivated by a return to St. Augustine's monastic principles, particularly those of common life and personal poverty. Each period of the Order that did achieve greatness is marked by intense study and ardent defense of the saint's teaching. The favor of John XXII also proved most opportune because of the rising wave of humanism that found a first love in St. Augustine. The Augustinian hermit, Denis da Borgo San Sepolcro, directed Petrarch to the works of St. Augustine, cast the spell of St. Augustine over him and made him « as much of an Augustinian as was possible for a man of the fourteenth century ». Petrarch's thinking was Augustinian, his style almost Augustinian. Denis was his spiritual director and several other Augustinians were intimate friends of his ⁵⁷⁾.

Augustinian masters of theology strove consciously and with great energy to find an ever closer contact with the saint's theology ⁵⁸⁾. To accomplish this they provided at least their main libraries with his works and made these manuscripts accessible and useful by *tabulae* or indices ⁵⁹⁾. One of the major fruits of this effort is the *Milleloquium Sancti Augustini* which is principally the work of Bartholomew of Urbino. It was a comprehensive, widely used treasury of the saint's teaching arranged in alphabetical order. Petrarch highly pleased with this publication presented his felicitations in a humanistic poem. The study of St. Augustine's writings came to a flowering in the Sentences of Gregory of Rimini whose knowledge of St. Augustine seems unsurpassed in his day; the

⁵⁶⁾ A critical edition of this tract by ARBESMANN appeared in AUG. VI, 37-145.

⁵⁷⁾ R. ARBESMANN, « Outstanding Augustinian Humanists », *The Tagastan* X (1947) 101-112; H. MARIANI, *Il Petrarca e gli Agostiniani* (Roma 1946) 97-105; E. VAN MOË, *Les Ermites de St. Augustin, amis de Pétrarque*, « *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* » 1929, pp. 258-280. The quotation is taken from H. NACHOD, *Francesco Petrarca* (Chicago 1948) 27.

⁵⁸⁾ ZUMKELLER, *Hugolin von Orvieto* 61.

⁵⁹⁾ For such *tabulae* see for example the catalogue of the Augustinian library in York (ed. JAMES) 42. For the collection of St. Augustine's works in Paris see ZUMKELLER, *Hugolin von Orvieto* 57-61; for Padua and Siena GUTIERREZ, « *De antiquis OESA Bibliothecis* », AA 23 (1953) 242-3; 301-8.

seventeenth century did not hesitate to call him *tuba sancti Augustini*. According to the present status of research it seems that this pronounced turn to St. Augustine decreased the influence of Giles of Rome in Austin theological thinking during the remainder of the medieval times ⁶⁰).

It was, therefore, quite in harmony with the general sentiment of the day and the endeavor within the Augustinian Order, that in 1361 the Austin Ralph of Castello asked the university of Paris to declare the saint's principal feast (August 28) a holyday with a sermon at the Grand Couvent. The university accepted and celebrated some time later his feast of translation in like manner. Other universities followed the Parisian example, for instance, Bologna ⁶¹).

Augustinian life about 1350 is best expressed in three works: its law in the Constitutions of Thomas de Argentina, its thought in the theology of Johannes de Basilea, and its heart in the *Vitas-fratrum* of Jordanus de Saxonia. Thomas of Strassburg, prior general from 1345-57, ended the legislative confusion arising from the many changes in the Ratisbon Constitutions by declaring the original text unchangeable. Changes approved by two General Chapters should be added only as an appendix ⁶²). His edition, therefore, is the comprehensive presentation of Augustinian law for this period. With a keen eye to detail Thomas also devised a new order of studies for the *studium generale* in Paris ⁶³), and most probably did the same for the English students when he paid a visit to Oxford and Cambridge ⁶⁴). A member of his province, John of Basel, evaluated in a unique synthesis the teachings of the *schola antiqua et moderna* within the Augustinian Order. Had he not joined the Avignonese Obedience and become its first general ⁶⁵), his works would have been printed long ago. They could have trans-

⁶⁰) Whatever is said here of Augustinian theology in the 14th century is taken from the profound article of D. Trapp in AUG. VI, 146-274.

⁶¹) *Chartul. Universitatis Paris*. III n° 1256 and the *Calendarium* of the University *ibid.* For Bologna: F. EHRLE (Cardinal), *I più antichi statuti della facoltà teologica dell'università di Bologna* (Bologna 1932) 21, 30.

⁶²) AA IV, 254; *Constitutiones* (ed. 1508) fol. 40.

⁶³) The regulations for Paris are not lost as GWYNN, *Engl. Austin Friars* 34 supposed. They were discovered and edited by E. YPMA in AUG. VI, 275-321.

⁶⁴) Thomas visited England probably in 1351 or 1353: GWYNN, *Engl. Austin Friars* 33.

⁶⁵) AUG. VIII (1958) 280-8.

mitted to us an understanding of early Augustinian theology true to life. Some time before the Great Schism, when he was still lector in Strassburg, he became deeply interested in the controversy on poverty stirred up by the violent sermons of Richard Fitzralph, archbishop of Armagh 1348-60, and the harsh reform-decrees of Gregory of Rimini, prior general 1357-58. John of Basel sought the advice of the highly respected Provincial Jordan of Saxony and by his query undoubtedly induced Jordan to publish in 1357 the most widely read ascetical book within the Order, the *Liber Vitasfratrum*. It presents the religious ideals of the Augustinian community exemplified by the virtues of its great men. Today we only wish Jordan had given us complete lives of the many saints and great men he knew instead of the mere examples of their virtues, but we have to be grateful that he has gathered at least these fragments.

The three authors were of German origin and indicate the predominance of their provinces during the middle of the fourteenth century. The three works signify a period in Augustinian history; they gave a clear account of the past and the self-knowledge needed for further progress. They were written after the great plague which seemed to have put an end to all progress; yet while they were written signs of new life were all about them. That new life had its cradle in Italy, a country to which the leadership of the Order naturally returned after the death of Thomas of Strassburg. Hugolin of Orvieto, a great theologian, and Bonaventura Badoer-Peraga, the first cardinal of the Order, signify best this new life ⁶⁶). Hugolin poured new energy into the intellectual life of the church when in 1364 he helped to found the theological faculty of Bologna, wrote its first constitutions, and guided it through its first great difficulties. In 1368 he became prior general ⁶⁷) and three years later was promoted to titular patriarch of Constantinople and administrator of the diocese of Rimini ⁶⁸). His confrère Bonaventura, also one of the nine co-founders of Bologna's theological faculty, was soon transferred to

⁶⁶) For the latest literature on Hugolin see A. ZUMKELLER, « Der Grabstein des Augustinertheologen Hugolin von Orvieto († 1373) », AUG. VI, 900-5.

⁶⁷) His register was found in Viterbo during the generalate of Egidio von Viterbo who ordered it brought to Rome; but the boat on which the bearer tried to cross a greatly swollen river was upset and thus the register was lost. These events were recorded in the now lost register of Egidio under 2 August 1505 as TORELLI, *Secoli Agost.* II, Preface reports, who could still use Egidio's register.

⁶⁸) For the reasons for this promotion: ZUMKELLER, *Hugolin v. Orvieto* 92-6.

the university of his hometown, Padua, where both he and his brother Bonsembiante became outstanding professors. Bonsembiante, Bonaventura and Petrarch were great friends. When Bonsembiante died unexpectedly in 1369, Petrarch wrote a most touching letter to Bonaventura; and when the famous poet died in 1377, Bonaventura preached his funeral sermon. In the same year Bonaventura was made prior general, and though created cardinal a year later, he remained at the head of the Order until 10 August 1385, when a bowman of the Prince of Carrara killed him. Within the Order at least he has always been regarded as a martyr, who died for the cause of the true pope ⁶⁹).

THE ENGLISH PROVINCE

1. *Its Struggle for Expansion : 1300-1361*

All houses in England, Scotland and Ireland formed but one province of the Order which was directed by the prior provincial. For easier management of the houses limits were formed. Throughout medieval times they were five in number : Cambridge, Oxford, Lincoln, York and Ireland ⁷⁰). By the end of the fifteenth century York and Oxford comprised eight houses each, Cambridge nine, Lincoln fourteen and Ireland twenty-two. Only incidentally we hear at the beginning of the sixteenth century of a Scotch limit, but it is not certain which houses belonged to it. The Irish limit was practically as self-governing as a regular province.

The prior provincial was not appointed but elected at the pro-

⁶⁹) PERINI, *Bibl. Agust.* I, 75-9 and note 57 *supra*. Padua soon overshadowed Bologna and became the most famous university of Europe. The theological faculty, however, had no building of its own during medieval times. Its professors were almost exclusively mendicants and the lectures were given in the various friaries: G. BROTTO - G. ZONTA, *La facoltà Teologica dell'Università di Padova* (Padova 1922) 27: « ... le scuole di teologia rimasero come prima nei chiostri dei regolari ». Whether this or other factors brought about the division into a *schola interna* and a *schola externa* at the *studia generalia* has not been investigated.

⁷⁰) A. G. Little following a secondary source (Ms. Harl. 6033 fol. 57) added as fifth English limit, that of Ludlow: EHR 34 (1919) 209. Not a single original text mentions it though it would have been desirable to divide the extensive limit of Lincoln. The superiors of limits were called vicars provincial. Almost nothing is known about their duties and jurisdiction. For some details on their rights in promotions for academic degrees see Chapter III, *supra*.

vincial chapter, i. e. meeting of voters ⁷¹⁾. The place of this meeting changed from year to year, but the date, as a rule, was fixed on the feast of St. Mary Magdalene (July 22) or the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady (August 15). The voters elected not only the prior provincial but also his counsellors, four men in all, called definitors. The term of office of this board of managers came to an end with the meeting of the next chapter, but nothing prevented their re-election. This system of interminable re-elections prevailed until Pope Martin V set a limit of three years. Chapters were held at first every year then, beginning with 1432, every two years, and after 1453 every three years ⁷²⁾. To guarantee a free and orderly election the prior general himself presided or, if he was unable to attend, his appointed vicar, the so-called *praeses capituli*. The body of voters consisted of the provincial and the four definitors who had just finished their term of office, all local priors and the so-called discretos (one man chosen from each friary), besides these all masters of theology ⁷³⁾. The Irish limit sent only its vicar, one definitor and one discrete.

The jurisdictional power of the provincial was greatly impeded by the rights and privileges of the individual houses, which elected their own superiors (*prior localis*), educated their own novices and

⁷¹⁾ See chapter 32 of the Constitutions of Ratisbon (ed. 1508) and E. van Moé, « Recherches sur les Ermites de Saint-Augustin entre 1250 et 1350 », *Revue des Questions Historiques* 60 (1932) 257-316. — No provincial chapter was valid unless the prior general had called it and in case that he could not preside in person, had appointed a representative through his *litterae vicariatus*. He also had to approve the acts of the chapter.

⁷²⁾ The command to hold chapters « singulis annis » still existed in 1391 (Dd-3 fol. 156v). Pope Martin V stressed again the necessity of holding them each year. He permitted the re-election of a master twice (for a total of three years) but of a non-master only once (for a total of two years). His commands are preserved in two bulls, « Admonet nos suscepti » of Eugene IV, given 30 September 1438 (AA VI, 322-4) and « Romani Pontificis Providentia » of Nicholas V given 25 May 1453 (AA VI, 399-400). Eugene IV permitted most ultramontane houses, including England, to hold chapter only every second year on account of the distance and paucity of their houses. Nicholas V increased the term to three years.

⁷³⁾ The General Chapter of Avignon in 1368 confirmed the custom that all English masters of theology had the right to vote at provincial chapters and this was re-confirmed at Florence in 1371 (AA IV, 476). At some unknown period this right was extended also to bachelors and lectors; it was approved by the prior general on 28 December 1427 (Dd 4 fol. 224v).

took care of their own material needs. The provincial had to rely on their good will when extra money was needed for the general welfare ; for the expenses of his own office and the sustenance of the students he had to be satisfied with the income of a fixed tax. As a rule the prior provincial was also superior of one of the larger houses.

The income of individual houses derived from the work of the fathers, from their preaching and helping out in parishes, from collections in their own churches, from Mass stipends ⁷⁴) and begging. The friars who begged were called limitors because definite territories or limits were assigned to each house. In these limits other friaries of the Order were not allowed to beg ⁷⁵). The establishment of a larger number of houses within a small district was to be avoided because each new house meant the loss of income for some older foundation ; such a loss could work much hardship if the older foundation was burdened by debt. The assignment of territory also played an important role in the admission of candidates to the Order : they could join only that monastery in whose district their parental home was located ⁷⁶). By their profession these candidates became affiliated with a particular house (*conventus natus*) and could not be moved from it. If anyone asked for a transfer, he could obtain the status of a conventual (*conventualitas*)

⁷⁴) The saying of private masses is mostly due to the friars and came generally into use during the thirteenth century (LITTLE, *Studies* 109). The usual stipend was 4d, a sum sufficient for the sustenance of one day. Within a century people tried to outdo each other in the bequests for masses. Joan, Lady of Cobham († 1368), left seven thousand masses; William Lord Bardolf († 1406) left for the friars in Norfolk and Sussex one thousand masses; and Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester and commonly called the Cardinal of England, ordered ten thousand masses to be said after his death, which occurred in 1404: NICOLAS, *Testamenta Vestusta* 81, 235, 249.

⁷⁵) Detailed settlements of boundaries between Clare and neighboring houses are reported several times in its cartulary: in 1374 with Orford (EZ-138), in 1383 with London (EX-136), in 1389 with Cambridge (EY-137) and in 1388 with Thetford (GT-177).

⁷⁶) « Sic tamen quod persone iam in religione existentes in aliqua dictarum villarum nate remaneant conventui Clare cum suis bonis nisi citra proximum capitulum provinciale aliqua ex eis persona conventum Thetford pro conventu sui [Ms: suo] originis decreverit eligendum »: *Cart. Clare* GT (177) fol. 54r. When an Austin became affiliated with another friary all possessions acquired by him before the transfer had to be returned to his native convent after his death.

in another friary only from the prior general. In case of new foundations, however, the prior provincial could either rely on volunteers or else assign men as he saw fit. Ordinarily he could not move his men about as he does today. This stodgy system was changed only after a hard struggle by the farsighted prior general and later cardinal, Jerome Seripando, who had an Austin friar affiliated not with a house but with a province ⁷⁷). This system still prevails.

The first two known masters of theology were also provincials. One was William Hegham⁺ who was in charge about the year 1300, the second, John of Clare⁺, who is mentioned as superior in 1307, 1316 and 1328; he appears to have been like Hegham a humble, even shy man, averse to angry disputes. He sided with his *alma mater* Cambridge against the Dominicans and Franciscans, who resented his lack of corporative spirit and accused him of jockeying only for his advancement. His principal motive, however, was procuring a removal of the interdict from Grimsby and probably from the whole limit of Lincoln. When he finally succeeded in settling the dispute in 1307* his spirit of meekness moved him to surrender some rights of the Order rather than to continue the quarrel.

The year 1307 is a milestone in English Augustinian history. In that year Joan of Acre, sister of King Edward II, died at her castle in Clare and was buried in the chapel of St. Vincent, which she had erected. The king and almost all the nobility of the realm were present. Many were the indulgences granted by various bishops to those who prayed for her at her tomb. There can be no doubt that this event made many friends for the Austins. When they held their provincial chapter in Lincoln later that year, the king not only sent an alms but also asked for their prayers ⁷⁸). It was the beginning of a new bond between the friary and the royal house which became stronger when in 1320 the Austins became regular chaplains at the castle ⁷⁹), a summer residence of the royal family. Joan's daughter, Elizabeth of Burgh, rebuilt Clare friary and surrounded it with a high wall still to be seen.

⁷⁷) JEDIN, *Seripando* I, 158 vividly describes the evils resulting from the former system.

⁷⁸) The king falsely called this provincial chapter 'capitulum generale'. For the reason see note 57 of my *Sources*.

⁷⁹) *Cart. Clare* Q (13) fol. 7r. In return the friars received annually ten quarters of wheat and as many of malt.

The change for the better was in large measure due to two great men. One was Benedict Icenus⁺, the widely travelled auxiliary bishop of Norwich, and the other was Master William of Lincoln. John Weever calls Bennet of Norfolk, as Icenus was also known, « a man godly, wise, fluent in speech, in all kinds of science nobly instructed and right deservingly compared to the prime divines of his day. By his singular grace in preaching and his able power of persuading he was so beloved of Antony Bek, the bishop of the diocese, that he made him suffragan »⁸⁰).

Master William of Lincoln⁺, whom William Flete present as a model of perfection, was a vague historical figure until Father B. Hackett called attention to the Register of Kellawe, bishop of Durham, who in 1316* describes him as a man of learning and piety and urges his faithful to attend his sermons. Whether this Augustinian who left so deep an impression on his province, is identical with the Provincial William of 1328 cannot be ascertained at present. He certainly is not identical with Master William of Markeley who was regent of Oxford in 1314 and provincial in 1319⁸¹), nor with a Magister William who was appointed regent to the *studium generale* at Prague in 1359⁸²) ; the name Lincoln distinguishes him from Markeley, and his age speaks against identification with the appointée to Prague.

England's financial situation at the beginning of the century was not conducive to new foundations. In 1315 Archbishop Grandfield of York granted special gifts to the friaries of his episcopal town « on account of the excessive dearness of the present time »⁸³). Despite these unfavorable conditions new houses were added : 1313 in Bristol, 1317 in Boston and 1318 in Canterbury. Bristol was the work of William and Simon of Monteacuto (Montagu), the earls of Salisbury, and its foundation, therefore, met with no opposition. The difficulties of the establishment in Boston do not warrant its foundation by one of the Tilneys. So far no proof has been found for this claim⁸⁴) apart from the fact that their land adjoined the Austins.

⁸⁰) WEEVER, *Fun. Monum.* 530. English historians often call an auxiliary bishop by the false title of suffragan.

⁸¹) ANSTEY, *Munim. Acad. Oxon.* I, 101 mentions Markeley as master regent and the *Reg. Cobham*, Worcester p. 275 as prior provincial.

⁸²) Dd I fol. 99v (8 Sept. 1359).

⁸³) The Austins received 40s: DIXON, *Fasti Ebor.* I, 392.

⁸⁴) The statement was made by LELAND, *Itin.* IV, 182.

The foundation seems to be the work of Robert of St. Alban, pastor of Essenden, who bought the messuage of Robert at the Gate and gave it to the Order before entering himself. When difficulties arose the Austins appealed to the king and promised to sing a daily Mass for him and his parents, whereupon Edward II personally wrote to the pope. John XXII gave not only his consent in 1320* but granted the king the right to establish two more houses of the Order in his realm. The foundation in Canterbury started in 1318 when Archbishop Walter Reynolds obtained permission to alienate in mortmain two acres of land in the parish of Westgate. Part of this land had once belonged to the Friars of the Sack, whose house had been closed in 1314. The location, however, proved unsatisfactory and the Austins bought a piece of land in St. George's parish, which was held in advowson by the monks of Christ Church. The monks were adamant in their opposition because neither they nor the parish wanted to lose the income from that property which the Austins wanted to alienate in mortmain. Hugh le Despenser, earl of Winchester and one of the mightiest men in the Kingdom, tried to mediate in 1323*, but did not succeed. Thereupon the Austins built their church and opened it for services. When Archbishop Reynolds heard of it, he ordered an inquest in 1325* and threatened interdict at first. But the Austins, no doubt, thought their action justified because they had obtained permission for a foundation in the city and apparently won the archbishop over to their point of view because both bishop and canons later in the year reversed their attitude. In December of the same year the pastor of St. George's was allowed to negotiate with the Austins. Agreement, however, was not reached until the Austins promised to pay every tax formerly due on their property.

One of the provincials during this struggle in Canterbury was Richard Wetwang+, the first known master from the North. He was already doctor in divinity when prior of York 1310-11; his learning was, no doubt, the principal reason why he was called to the Council of York, where action was taken against the Templars. He is the first known scholastic writer of the province; his *Quodlibeta* and *Questiones* were once preserved in the excellent library of the York friary, but they have now disappeared. His family apparently well-to-do interested itself so actively in the struggling house at Kingston-on-Hull (Hullia) that it was thought not to have started before 1317*

when the Wetwang-benefactions are recorded; its existence, however, can be proved already for the summer of 1300*.

The membership of the English Province reached its highest point before the Black Death. In 1320* Newcastle counted 19 brethren, York 26, Leicester 27 and London 65 (Doc. 215). This numerical increase led to many attempts at new foundations, to a constant expansion of existing houses and greatly increased activities. One of these activities resulted from the new religious practice of frequent confessions⁸⁵). This demand made the licensing of penitentiaries or confessors less exacting because the help of the friars was needed. Bishop Cobham of Worcester licensed ten men in 1319*, William Melton, Archbishop of York, twenty-four in 1327*, the bishop of Salisbury twelve in 1328*. Some pastors, however, did not welcome the aid given by the local friaries. Richard Schordich, perpetual vicar of Clare, having publicly declared that the Austins lacked permission of hearing confessions of his parishioners, had to be convinced of his error and threatened with canonical censure before he would acquiesce and permit Clare's representative, Geoffrey de Cannafeld, B. D., to ascend the pulpit of the parish church in August 1329* and to announce to the faithful that the statement was unfounded. In a signed contract Schordich also promised not to start new trouble, if the friars would drop their process against him⁸⁶).

At the beginning of the year 1331 new friaries were begun in Droitwich (Wyche) and Dartmouth. Droitwich, the first and only place in Worcestershire, lay close to the ancient houses of Woodhouse and Ludlow. A document of 1388* calls Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, its founder, but the one who gave or sold to the Austins the first piece of land — 300 ft. sq. — was Thomas Alleyn, a local citizen. This house though always a friary of secondary importance gave the province one of its outstanding men in John Lowe+, who became bishop of Rochester. There is also a tradition that Blessed John Stone+ dwelt here for some time.

While little is known of Droitwich's long history, Dartmouth has preserved more details of its short existence than any other house in our English history. Its foundation marks the Order's first attempt of spreading into southwestern England. The faithful of the

⁸⁵) H. W. C. DAVIS, *Medieval England* (1924) 391-5.

⁸⁶) *Cart. Clare* GS (175) 53v.

port-town Clifton-Dartmouth being without a church of their own had as early as 1286 called the king's attention to the very long and arduous climb up to their parish church in Tunstal. Thereupon Edward I granted William Bacon, mayor of the city, the request to alienate a certain house in mortmain for the use of a chapel. The parish church, St. Clement's in Tunstal, however, was appropriated to the great abbey of Torre whose abbot steadfastly resisted the wishes of the faithful in Dartmouth and this caused deepest resentment. When the citizens heard that the Austins had received permission from Bishop Grandisson in January 1331 to settle within his diocese Exeter, they were invited by William Bacon to come to Dartmouth. The countermove of the abbot was to obtain license in June of the same year for holding services in the disused chapel of St. Clare. The friars, however, erected their oratory on ground donated by William Bacon and in 1335 successfully appealed to the bishop, whose Commission had forbidden them to use it. In the next round, however (1340) the abbey secured a verdict at the Exeter Assize that the friars' chapel was built on land « unjustly » taken from the widow of Robert Cora, and that restitution should be made. When the abbot threatened to throw down their buildings basing his stand on a papal privilege which allowed no one to erect a parish or build an oratory within the territory of any church held in advowson by his Order, the Austins who had both episcopal and papal permission for their endeavor, appealed to Rome. There the expensive process dragged on endlessly. In order to foil the abbot's threat the Austins in 1342 called on their confrère John Hugh, titular archbishop of Damascus and auxiliary of York, to bless their buildings secretly. Since the abbot's guards lay in wait for him to keep him out, he dressed as a layman « in a short tight buttoned jacket with a long sword and buckler on his side ». At the Augustinian friary he doffed his lay attire, put on his black habit and, with crozier in hand and mitre on head, assembled the people of Dartmouth to tell them that he was sent to consecrate the chapel. This he did and granted an indulgence of 100 days to all the congregation present ⁸⁷). The case was referred to John Stafford, archbishop of Canterbury. As Hugh was able to clear himself from a number of false accusations, the archbishop refused to proceed and referred the whole matter to the coming council of

⁸⁷) G. C. COULTON, *Medieval Panorama* (New York 1955) 133.

Canterbury. Nothing is known of any fine and the assembled bishops probably laughed heartily at the bizarre action of their confrère. Grandisson justly insisted on obedience to Rome's decision and the Austins had to leave Dartmouth in 1347. He granted them another foundation in his diocese in 1353, this time in Barnstaple. Again the local Cluniac prior suppressed the new undertaking despite Rome's declaration that in this case the special Cluniac privileges should not apply.

Several years before the attempt in Barnstaple the Austins had turned to the North. In 1340 William of Alverton had given them eight acres for the erection of a church and monastery in Northallerton. Had this foundation been realized it would have been a valuable link with the houses in Newcastle and Berwick, but nothing came of it. Earl Thomas Beauchamp undertook to remedy the situation in 1387 with a grant of land in Bernard Castle, a town on the boundary line of North Riding of Yorkshire and Durham; there also the attempt failed. Equally unsuccessful was the effort to establish a house in Coventry, where the priest Nicholas Rivel, a clerk of the king's court, had obtained permission of alienating a messuage to the Austins in 1363.

In addition to Droitwich two other foundations were successful. They were Stamford, Lincs. in 1342 and Stafford, the capital of Staffordshire, in 1345. Success was due to the patronage of the Great King Edward III himself asked the pope's permission for Stamford; but the actual founder was his treasurer, Robert Wodehouse, archdeacon of Richmond, Yorks. He built the friary on land which had formerly belonged to the Friars of the Sack and chose its choir for his lasting resting place. The new monastery gained considerable importance for the province through its school of rhetoric and philosophy. Papal permission for the house in Stafford was obtained by Ralph, baron of Stafford. It was located in Forbrugge just outside the city gate. It gave the province one of its great men in Thomas Ashebourne.

Thus a thirty years war with the great abbeys (1331-63) ended with victory for the abbeys. Of eight foundations undertaken only three succeeded. Pope John XXII having foreseen the bitter onslaught against all Mendicants had issued the bull *Etsi Quibuslibet* in which he appointed for each province three bishops whom he called *conservatores privilegiorum papalium*. It was sent on 18 April 1317* to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of Exeter

and London with the command to see that the Austins could freely exercise their apostolic privileges of preaching and hearing confessions and would not be molested. The bishop of Exeter, John Grandisson, went beyond the call of duty by actively promoting the interests of his clients. Shortly after his appointment in 1327 he petitioned Luke, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata, to support the Austins' request for a new foundation in his diocese; he asked the bishop of St. Asaph to admit them as preachers and confessors, and appointed protectors of the Austin friary in Cambridge⁸⁸).

The appointment of conservators enabled the friars to bring any complaint to their protectors who in turn were bound to investigate; this did not assure success in each case but it guaranteed a hearing. One of the few such cases known is connected again with Grandisson. The Austins of Little Yarmouth, Norf., had built their monastic buildings on the boundary lines of two parishes which were held in advowson by the powerful priory of St. Bartholomew's in London. Both pastors harassed them to such an extent that in spring 1341* their prior Robert complained to Grandisson. The bishop appointed as his representatives William Bergeveny, chancellor of the university of Oxford, and two canons. They called the parties before their judgement seat in St. Frideswide church, Oxford, but it seems that they were more interested in bringing about a *modus vivendi* than in examining the merit of the case. The promises of the two pastors are unknown. Friar William, prior provincial of the Austins « in England and Scotland », agreed that the Gorleston friary should pay yearly one mark in silver on its present property in lieu of all former taxes and in case of new acquisitions all inherent levies should continue to be met by the Austins. Their hearing of confessions and their burying of any parishioners should not prejudice the accustomed perquisites of the two vicars. On certain feastdays the churchbell of the Austins should not be rung before the services in the two parish churches were well under way. In case of violation a fine should be imposed by the bishop of Norwich. While the papal privileges were partially rejected, a *modus vivendi* was found agreeable to both parties. The friary did not suffer too much harm from the restrictions because it became one of the most flourishing houses of the province.

The greatest protector of the friars was the king. Ever since

⁸⁸) Reg. Grandisson I, 177, 178, 490.

Henry III had welcomed them to England the Austins enjoyed this royal protection and support until Henry VIII destroyed the work of his predecessors. In exchange for these favors the king expected the faithful services of his friars. They were valuable to him because their ability of drawing tremendous crowds to their churches made them important and effective in communication and persuasion. In 1314 the prior of York was told by King Edward III to preach against the Scots⁸⁹), and in 1346 Edward III required the prior of London « to preach on his war with Philip IV of France, to expose that cause in public and private speeches to the clergy and people and enjoin this upon all the brethren of the Order »⁹⁰). A king who used or misused friars for political purposes would of course be wary of foreign friars. In 1333 he required the provincial to remove all Scottish friars from Berwick and replace them with English-born members⁹¹). Again, when he granted permission for the foundation in Calais in 1351, he only gave it under the condition « that the provincial of England put in that place English friars for whom he will answer at his peril, and no other »⁹²). The actual foundation of Calais, however, is doubtful even though we have the exact description of the place where the friary was to be located.

A powerful friend at court was Lionel, duke of Clarence and third son of king Edward III⁹³). He had learned to love the Order at Clare, carried his affections to Ireland, where he established for the Austins a theological chair at the cathedral school of Dublin⁹⁴) and remained a friend until the end. When he died at Milan in April 1368, he wanted to be buried near the grave of St. Augustine

⁸⁹) *Reg. Greenfield, York* 202.

⁹⁰) RYMER, *Foedera* III (2) 199. The text implies that the prior of London was also provincial.

⁹¹) *Rotuli Scotiae* I, 258 [7. Edw. III, C 71/13] 10 August 1333.

⁹²) *Cal. Pat. R.* 6. Nov. 1351 [174].

⁹³) Best biography in WEEVER, *Fun. Mon.* 477. He was born 29 Nov. 1338, became Earl of Ulster on 9 Sept. 1342 by marriage with Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of William de Burgh. Their only daughter Philippa married in 1368 Edmund de Mortimer, earl of March († 1381). Their great-granddaughter Ann married Richard Plantagenet, earl of Cambridge († 1460) and thereby transferred the right to the kingdom to the House of York. Lionel had renewed the old English plan of establishing a kingdom in Italy, when he married Galathea Visconti, whose family ruled Milan, but his sudden death on 17 October 1368 again ended this dream. Petrarch was present at the elaborate wedding.

⁹⁴) *Pat. R.* 3 July 1364 [522].

in Pavia. His heart and bones were brought to Clare, which he had taken under his patronage ⁹⁵). His older brother Edward, better known as the Black Prince, shared his love for the Austins. An Austin friar, Robert Waldeby⁺, was his personal physician and his son Edmund was buried in Austin Friars, London (1365) ⁹⁶).

2. From the Black Death to the Great Schism 1348-1378

« In the 23rd year (1349) there was the great pestilence of people. First it began in the North country, then in the South and so forth throughout the realm. After this pestilence followed a murrain of beasts which had never been seen. For, as it was supposed, there was not left in England the tenth part of people. Then ceased the lords' rents and the priests' tithes. Because there were so few tillmen the earth lay untilled. So much misery was in the land that the prosperity which was before never recurred » ⁹⁷).

This report of Capgrave is not quite correct. The pestilence started in 1348 and ended only in 1350. Capgrave exaggerates also the loss of life, frightful though it was that 40-50 % of the population died. The total losses of the English province are not known but they seem to correspond with the losses in general, because in 1348 York had to replace four deceased penitentiaries out of a group of ten ⁹⁸). We also know that all students of the English province in Avignon died ⁹⁹). The real sting of the Black Death

⁹⁵) *Cart. Clare* I (A). Most English historians have overlooked the documents in MAIOCCI-CASACCA, *Codex Papiensis* I, 128, 157, 175. Lionel, in his last will, had decreed « Lego... corpus meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia fratrum Augustinensium de Clare in choro ante altare magnum »; NICHOLS, *Royal Wills* 88. CAPGRAVE gives these details about the transfer « Nam et sic moriens dictus Leonellus servis suis mandaverat, ut cor suum et ossa ad conventum Clarensem, Ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini, in Anglia transferrentur, carnibus suis cum visceribus coram sepulchro Doctoris eximii devote relictis ». *De illustribus Henricis* 100. « His body was byried at Pavy, fast by the tounge of Seyn Austin; his hert was broute to the Freres of Clare, and biried or kept in leed ». *Chronicle* 225-6. The celebrations connected with this second burial at Clare cost the friary a great deal of money. *Cart. Clare* EE (120) fol. 42v, 22 Sept. 1377.

⁹⁶) STOWE, *Survey of London* 177.

⁹⁷) CAPGRAVE, *Chronicle* 213-4.

⁹⁸) *Reg. Zouche*, York fol. 278-279v.

⁹⁹) « De heremitis Angliae non remansit unus in Aviniona nec cura ». *Chronicon Henrici Kington*, ed. J. R. LUMBY, RS, II (London 1895) 59. PAMPHILUS, *Chronica* fol. 56r claims that 5,084 Austins died within three years and Jordan of Saxony states that 244 of his province died within six years *Vfr.* XIX.

was not felt until two generations later when a lack of children brought as a bitter fruit a lack of vocations, a lack so great that it stopped all further expansion of the province in the fifteenth century. The spiritual and intellectual decline in the wake of this pestilence will be described in a later chapter ; here only the material changes will be considered.

Depopulation made real estate cheap and allowed monastic possessions to spread out. Some properties were purchased at a low price, some may have been outright gifts of piety ; others may have been endowments to provide suffrages for deceased relatives. Like the other mendicant Orders the Austins acquired considerable new property. For example, in 1349 Clare obtained Bureshall ; Lynn acquired five messuages and Oxford seven ; Cambridge was granted two acres and Droitwich five. The most notable cases, however, are those of London and Winchester. The Austins in London acquired at least six tenements, two « brewhouses », a garden and some other land at an assessed value of 75*s*.4*d*. The king permitted the purchase because the tenements were only worth enough to discharge the rents and the cost of maintenance ¹⁰⁰). The members of the ancient house in Winchester did not fare so well. They had wanted for many years to move into the city away from their lonely and unsanitary location outside Southgate, and for this reason they had acquired several pieces of property some time before the Black Death. The king had given his permission to alienate them, and the pope had permitted the transfer, but the bishop balked. The city, too, apparently opposed the move because it did not want to lose the taxes. When in the wake of the plague the Austins acquired additional properties, the city appealed to the king. In an exaggerated and one-sided complaint the attorneys for the city stated that the friars had acquired six properties worth over £ 250 in the better part of the city, adjoining the highway, properties so large « that they contain a great part of the city » ; they had thrown down some well-built houses on which taxes were due to the king and the city, to churches and hospitals and had started to build in their place new monastic dwellings ; they had surrounded their property with a

¹⁰⁰) *Cal. of. Inq. Misc.* III n° 42 (23. March 1350) ; LITTLE, *Franciscan Papers* 147. The principal reason for the king's liberality might have been the influence of his relative Humphrey de Bohun, 10. Earl of Hereford († 1361) who planned the erection of a new church for the Austin Friars.

wall « so that those to whom any rent is due cannot enter and distrain as is customary in the city ». When the case was adjudicated, the provincial was not present, and the Prior John de Flore had nothing to say. They should have known that according to law silence meant defeat. As a result these properties were forfeited to the king and were in 1352 granted to the city « in consideration of the waste and depression in the city of Winchester, from the time when the deadly pestilence last prevailed and of the fact, that the citizens who hold the city of the king at farm, will not be able to pay the farm without grievous oppression of them and of the people of the city » ¹⁰¹). This forfeiture is the only one recorded in English Augustinian history.

One reason why the English Austins failed so often during the years 1330-53 was probably due to provincials who lacked the energy or administrative talent so vital for their office. In 1334 Roger de Glatton or Clacton⁺ is mentioned ; he died a few years later in high old age (*valde senex*). No matter how excellent a man he may have been, high old age is seldom capable of vigorous, decisive action in a crisis. The Magister William, « provincial of the Order in the kingdom of England and Scotland » proved himself a poor mediator in Gorleston (1341). The superior in charge in 1352 failed to appear when Winchester's fate was decided. Unless he was ill he showed himself negligent if not a coward. He might be identical with the Magister William who displayed great weakness in 1357, when he could not restrain John Kedington⁺, master regent at Oxford, from appealing to the archbishop of Canterbury ¹⁰²). In all fairness to the Provincial William it should, however, not be overlooked that the plague had so decimated the number of the reliable men ¹⁰³) that even the wisest provincial could not prevent glaring mistakes of subjects.

¹⁰¹) Cl. R. 18 May 1352 [484-6] See *Sources*, doc. 1, 401.

¹⁰²) We suppose that the Provincial William is identical with the Magister William who was sent to Prague. The transfer might have been a welcome escape from the bitter criticism which must have followed his actions, especially his failure to aid Kedington. See Doc. 442.

¹⁰³) KNIGHTON, *Chronicon* II, 63 relates how hard it was to fill even well paid chaplaincies in 1349 and then adds the significant words: « sed infra breve confluebant ad ordines maxima multitudo, quorum uxores obierant in pestilentia, de quibus multi illiterati et quasi meri laici nisi quatenus aliquantulum legere sciebant licet non intelligere ». We shall return to this passage in a later chapter.

While a few provincials seem to have failed their province, some local superiors helped their houses to make real progress. Clare friary had been completely rebuilt and its new church was dedicated by Bishop Icenus in 1338*. After the fathers in Norwich had obtained full possession of St. Michael's church from Sir Edmund Thorp they replaced it with a large new edifice. Their prior in 1354 was Richard Cheffert⁺, an outstanding preacher. London's magnificent new church was completed in 1354/5. The man in charge here was most probably John of Arderne whose business acumen was so well known that even the king made use of it ¹⁰⁴). The prior general, Matthew of Ascoli, praised him highly in 1358 for building London's infirmary ¹⁰⁵), and the year before he had been chosen to intimate to Archbishop Fitzralph the condemnation of certain of his propositions on poverty. Since Arderne, to our knowledge, was not a master of theology, he must have been chosen for being an outstanding member of London's monastic communities ¹⁰⁶). If it had to be an Augustinian we would rather expect the choice to have fallen on Master Geoffrey Herdeby⁺ because he had made the question of poverty his special field of study, had debated it in Oxford and was writing *Vita Evangelica*, the contribution of the English province to the fight against the « Armachanus ».

In 1359 Herdeby, together with the learned Bachelor John Goodwhich, had attended the General Chapter of Padua ; they returned with a multitude of benefits and privileges for the English province ¹⁰⁷) : two senior masters were granted voting power at future general chapters ; like other provinces of the Order England could send her students to Paris, where they were to receive the regular provision of 50 fl. and students of the continent sent to England should get the same amount. The same chapter also appointed William of Winterbury master regent at the *studium generale* at Bordeaux ¹⁰⁸) and sent an otherwise unknown Magister William to Prague in the same capacity. The prior general chosen at this chapter was Matthew of Ascoli (1359-68) who having most probably

¹⁰⁴) Pt. 6 Oct. 1355 [282]. He was then prior of London I. J. CHURCHILL, *Canterbury Administration* I (London 1933) 175 also Pt. 26 Oct. 1356 [466].

¹⁰⁵) Dd I fol. 47.

¹⁰⁶) GWYNN, *Austin Friars* 86, 124.

¹⁰⁷) AA IV, 376-80.

¹⁰⁸) Dd I fol. 97 (4 Sept. 1359). He belonged to Norwich, *ibidem* fol. 98.

obtained his doctorate at Oxford ¹⁰⁹) was, therefore, better acquainted with England's wishes and needs than any previous head of the Order. Without his favorable disposition the above benefits would not have been obtained, but credit for soliciting them was given to the English representatives. Before the next chapter was due Herdeby had become so prominent that there could not be any doubt as to who would be elected provincial as successor to Thomas Thornton+. Herdeby ruled with great success, though intermittently, from 1360 until 1369. His influence at Court is evident from his appointment as confessor of the Black Prince ¹¹⁰). He was destined for a bishopric otherwise the pope in 1363 would not have consented to his being promoted to any dignity short of the patriarchate. What factors prevented his promotion is unknown. The king gave him an annual gift of fifty marks in 1377, which was reduced to 25 marks in 1380. He must have died shortly afterwards and was buried in Austin Friars, London.

His ability to rule became apparent more than once. John Arderne, provincial procurator in 1359, refused to reimburse him for expenses incurred as delegate to the General Chapter at Padua. Herdeby, already a master in theology, had been accompanied by Goodwich and three servants, reason enough why the expenses were high. The deffinitors must have sided with Arderne otherwise Herdeby would not have turned to the prior general, from whom he easily obtained an order of payment ¹¹¹). By this preliminary crossing of swords Arderne should have been warned that he would

¹⁰⁹) Matthew of Ascoli received on 24 March 1354 the king's permission to travel with John Waldeby (probably provincial), Thomas Thornton (elected provincial in 1359), William Spaldington and Henry of Cambridge to the General Chapter of Perugia. *Pt. R. 1354/8*, p. 21. Since he is not mentioned in the *Chartul. Paris*, he must have obtained his doctorate either at Cambridge or Oxford, because students of the Order could not attain it anywhere else. At that time the better students of the Order — and Matthew of Ascoli certainly belonged to the best — preferred Oxford, while in the 15th century Cambridge took precedence. See also GWYNN, *Austin Friars* 33.

¹¹⁰) « But at that time [1358] was a Friar Austin; they called him Geoffrey Hardeby, afterward Provincial and Confessor to the Prince who made against his [Fitzralph's] opinion a notable book we call « De Evangelica Vita »: CAPGRAVE, *Chronicle* 218. This half-remembered passage probably induced Bale to make Herdeby confessor to the king in his *Scriptores Illustres*, a statement which GWYNN, *op. cit.* 127 had proved erroneous.

¹¹¹) Dd I, fol. 106 (23 Sept. 1364).

be facing a strong superior should Herdeby ever take charge, as he did in 1360. Wisely the new provincial made full use of Arderne's business abilities at first, and only in 1363 felt compelled to put Arderne in his place. A new prior had been elected to succeed Arderne in London's friary, and the new prior wanted to audit the books of the preceding administration. Was it just routine ? Or had the great building program of Arderne run into difficulties ? Whatever the reasons, the new prior William Ainukelan (Lincoln ?), demanded to see the books which Arderne refused to surrender by the daring maneuver of depositing them with friends. When Herdeby did not hesitate to go right away to the pope for the necessary injunctions ¹¹²), the whole province came to the sobering conclusion that the times of weak government were over. There were other signs written on the wall ; repeatedly Herdeby had demanded arrest of vagabonding members ¹¹³) and once he had unflinchingly expelled an unfit friar, Walter Baygeney, « propter lapsum carnis et contumaciam sive superbiam cervicis » ¹¹⁴).

Herdeby's energy also showed itself in his program of expansion. Since 1345, when the Austins settled in Stafford, only one attempt had been made for new foundations. The mighty Audley family were the prime movers to establish the Austins in Barnstaple, Devonsh. As early as 1348 they obtained permission from Bishop Grandisson, but only in 1353 Master Robert Bowe could alienate five acres in mortmain. When Herdeby came into office he found the house fighting for its very existence. His only hope was the pope and he wrote to him in 1363, that though the Austins had all necessary licences, had spent money and labor on their buildings and were willing to continue payment of all former taxes, the Cluniac prior would not let them stay. He begged the pope to set aside for this particular case the Cluniac privilege which forbade the erection of any oratory within parishes entrusted to this Order. The pope granted the request but that did not change the mind of the Cluniac

¹¹²) *Cal. Pap. Reg.* IV, 43 (21. March 1364).

¹¹³) 1 March 1361 a warrant was issued for Fr. Simon de Baddeby (*Cal. Pat. R.* p. 171) on June 15, 1364 for Friars William de Barwe and Robert de Brumby (*ibidem* p. 543).

¹¹⁴) 11 August 1363: Ms 483 fol. 1 of the former Augustinian Library, the Angelica in Rome: NARDUCCI, *Catalogus* p. 216. Fr. Walter was a member of Stamford.

prior. The undertaking failed simultaneously with the venture in Coventry. To offset these losses Herdeby wrote again to the pope in April 1364 that « whereas there are in England many cities and considerable towns in which the Augustinian hermits have no place, and many faithful desire to found places for them, they pray for licence to accept the same and to build oratories with bell towers and necessary offices, in which they shall enjoy their privileges, immunities and indulgences » ¹¹⁵). Pope Urban V believed Herdeby and licensed the establishment of four new places « for twelve friars, with the consent of the diocesan, saving the rights of the parish church and others » ¹¹⁶).

The first of these was Rye, one of the Cinque Ports. Its founders were William Taillour and Benedict Zely who were allowed in 1364 to alienate in mortmain two acres of land « on which once stood five messuages now destroyed by the sea ». The location of the friary was not satisfactory : its land was exposed to a continuous erosion by the sea and its buildings, unprotected by city walls, lay open to attacks by enemies. When French marauding sailors destroyed both oratory and mansion of the Austins in 1378, their re-building was done in a more sheltered place, called « Le Haltone », where the lovely Gothic chapel still stands.

While Herdeby dominates the scene, he was not the only forceful personality within the province ; he had to share the limelight not only with John Arderne, the great builder of London, but also with men like Friar Robert, Clare's most successful prior ¹¹⁷). Friar Robert completed the re-building of this house which Elizabeth de Burgh had begun. It is irritating that nothing is known of his personal background which might give us an understanding of this untiring superior whose power of persuasion gained so many powerful friends for his house. In 1364 he diplomatically used Prince Lionel's influence to obtain permission, that Clare might keep twelve acres

¹¹⁵) *Cal. Pap. Pet.* I, 492 (28 April 1364).

¹¹⁶) *Cal. Pap. Reg.* IV, 90 (28 April 1364).

¹¹⁷) Robert is mentioned as prior between 1361-5. He was still alive in 1377 when the debts incurred at Lionel's funeral services were settled. (*Cart. Clare EE* [120] fol. 42v). He must, therefore, have been prior until the unknown year, when the transfer of Lionel's remains from Pavia occurred (see note 93/5 *supra*). Our Prior Robert must be distinguished from the Provincial Robert Goodwich who is buried in Clare's parish church and who is known to have been provincial in 1447 (Archives of the Prior General Rome: LL 2-f. 2).

which they had acquired piece by piece in preceding years. In 1365 Master John Cavendish, chaplain and probably a relative to the famous judge, donated one hundred marks for lead to roof the friary and was granted in return living quarters in the monastery with the right to participate in community exercises. In 1362 Edmund de Nortohfte (!) donated two hundred marks for a new cloister for which two Austins had to say daily mass. A year later, Thomas Darcy, whose father had been sheriff of London, gave hundred marks for a bell tower ; he is one of the few who demanded nothing in return. In 1361 Friar John Bachelor, apparently a native of Clare who had joined the Austins, built the chapel of the Annuntiation and furnished it richly. During Prior Robert's regime Clare was strong enough financially to help Stamford erect its cloister¹¹⁸). In English Austin history this is the only record of financial cooperation between two Austin houses. It could be indicative of advanced leadership for either Provincial Herdeby or Prior Robert or both.

During the term of Herdeby many efforts of the Austins were crowned by success on account of their provincial's leadership, but other times they were simply blessed by good luck. The year 1364, for example, brought great honor to the English Austins because their French confrère, Master Nicholas Lebrehon¹¹⁹), arrived in England as papal legate to King Edward III, a mission whose purpose was to obtain the abolition of the oath of fealty which the Prince of Aquitaine demanded for ecclesiastics.

Herdeby's tenure of office was interrupted but once. In 1366 a friar John is mentioned as provincial. He seems to be identical with the noted author and preacher John Waldeby⁺ who might have held the same position in 1354¹²⁰).

From 1370 to the beginning of the Great Schism in 1378 two

¹¹⁸) All data are taken from *Cart. Clare*: Lionel A (1); Cavendish E9 (139); Northoft FB (141); Darcy FO (143); Bachelor EA (116); Stamford FK (149).

¹¹⁹) *Cal. of Pap. Reg.* IV, 9 (23 May 1364). P. LECACHEUX, *Lettres Secrètes et Curiales du Pape Urbain IV se rapportant à la France* (Paris 1902) n° 962 gives 20 May, 1364. For his payment Lebrehon received 2 flor. per day: *Cal. Pap. Reg.* IV, 25. In 1358 Lebrehon had been provincial of Francia: Dd 1 fol. 90.

¹²⁰) KIRKPATRICK, *Rel. Houses. Norwich* 146 (from. Reg. Cobalde fol. 93) mentions a Friar John as provincial on 23 July 1366 when he gives Fr. John Alriche the right to be executor of a testament. He is again mentioned in 1366 when he asks for the arrest of the vagabond friars John de Barn and Simon of Canterbury: *Chancery Warrants Ser. I, C 81/1794*.

provincials are mentioned : Master Thomas Grove+ (1373) and Master Thomas of Edwardstone+ (1374-76). Grove was probably still in power when Parliament met in Westminster on 21 May 1374 at which the learned magistri of London, Thomas de Ashebourne+ and John Bankyn+, spoke against the shirking of taxes by higher clergy ¹²¹). While it is true that they voiced only the popular sentiment it also indicates the inroads Wyclif's teaching had made among those whose first allegiance should have been to the pope. Both masters were regarded very highly and showed a great independence also in their political thinking as will be seen later. Whether Grove shared their views or tried to direct them into the right channels is not known. His successor, Thomas of Edwardstone, was prior of Clare and provincial at the same time. He had gained his magistratum in Oxford, and accompanied Prince Lionel to Italy. He is supposed to have gained an archiepiscopal see but we do not know which one. He died on 20. May 1396 and was buried in Clare. Immediately after his election at Newcastle in 1374 he settled the boundary lines between Clare and Orford. The latter house had been destroyed by lightning in 1363 and needed additional help for its reconstruction. In the same year he accepted from Ralph Basset twelve acres of land for a foundation in Atherstone and appointed John Combe its first prior. The church of this friary still stands and serves an Anglican congregation.

Rev. Francis ROTH, O. S. A.

(to be continued).

¹²¹) GWYNN, *Austin Friars* 212-6. Their articles are contained in Brit. Mus. Harl. Ms. 638 fol. 222 and were published by V. H. GALBRAITH, « Articles laid before the Parliament of 1371 », EHR 34 (1919) 579-582.