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THE OBSERVANCE: SOURCES FOR A HISTORY OF THE OBSERVANT REFORM MOVEMENT IN THE ORDER OF AUGUSTINIAN FRIARS IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES *

The history of religious orders in the century before the Reformation is to a large extent the history of attitudes towards and movements for reform. Most orders experienced a demand from within for a return to more strict observance of their respective rules and constitutions. Initially the distinction between reform and observance was almost imperceptible, but gradually there emerged an increasingly self-conscious « observant movement » which demanded and in some cases secured a large measure of independence from the central government of their order. Even in the mendicant orders, more tightly organized than the loose congregations of Benedictines, Cistercians and regular canons, the observants gained acceptance for the principle that reform and the privilege of self-determination went hand-in-hand — a principle that was more easily accepted and encouraged by the papacy than by many superiors of the orders concerned. But only in the case of the Franciscans, here as in the earlier poverty controversies the extreme exponents of the mendicant ideal, did the observant reform ultimately lead to the foundation of a separate order. In the case of the Friars Hermits of St Augustine the observance was a more gentle affair which had the active support of successive priors general, and by the end of the fifteenth century it had become common for the highest office in the order to be held by a member of one of the reformed congregations.

This survey of source material evolved out of a study of the Augustinian observant congregations before the Reformation, with special emphasis on their development in Italy. There is a substantial amount of material in print for the observance in the Franciscan and Dominican orders and in the reformed congregations of monks and canons, also numerous guides to sources and historiography of individual orders, predominantly to be found in the journal or re-

* A. DE MEIJER (ed.), *Gregorii de Arimino, O. S. A. registrum generalatus 1357-1358*, Roma 1976 (*Fontes Historiae O. S. A.*, 1) has appeared since this article went to press and could not be considered.

cord-series of the orders concerned. Hence in the case of most orders the sources either calendared or subjected to critical historical study are « order-centred », *i.e.* either those emanating from the organization and government of the order itself, such as registers of priors general, capitular legislation, statutes and constitutions, or alternatively collections of privileges now preserved in the archives of religious orders. Archives of suppressed convents, now in local public depositories, have rarely been tapped except by the local historians, or occasionally by art historians, both of whom are approaching different problems from those of the historian of religious reform. Again at the other end of the spectrum there has been no attempt to view the observant movement as a total religious phenomenon, much less to establish lines of development towards the reforming movements of the sixteenth century.

This study does not claim to be an exhaustive catalogue of all source material, nor a guide to every possible repository of evidence for a future history of the observant congregations, but rather it aims to present the main collections worth examining in connection with this problem, indicating what they might be expected to yield, and suggesting some lines for further investigation. Much of it, especially the broad analytical division of the three main groups of source material — papal, local and « order-centred » collections — has a wider application to the problems and possibilities of other orders.

Though it would be inappropriate here to discuss conclusions which may be drawn from the sources under review, some general conclusions about the nature of the observance are basic to the question of sources. The early progress of the observance owed its greatest debt, not to any controlling policy on the part of the central governments of the order but more to spontaneous independent initiatives, sometimes with secular encouragement, in several different regions by individuals associated with a particular convent, locality or spiritual tradition. Among the early exponents of the observant ideal in the fourteenth century, all members of mendicant orders, the initial tendency had been one of withdrawal to an eremitical life of greater simplicity, with less emphasis on academic or pastoral activities. The late-comers to the notion of observance, such as the Benedictine congregation of Santa Giustina or the congregations of regular and secular canons, did not experience this phase, which in the later fourteenth century had even affected the observant wing of the Dominicans south of the Alps. But after initial hesitation among the reformers, the fundamental assumptions of the main or conventual body in each order about its nature and consequent academic and pastoral commitments were gradually adopted

by their respective observant communities as the basic norm. This shift in purpose determines the nature and volume of the sources.

The observant movement originated in Italy, and among the Augustinian friars it spread to the ultra-montane provinces of Ireland, Spain, Saxony-Thuringia and Austria-Bavaria. The various observant congregations of the order have received attention from historians in almost inverse proportion to the volume of surviving source material. Hence the fate of the observance in Ireland has been discussed as thoroughly as the sources permit¹, the reform in Castille and Aragon has been the subject of a dissertation by a Spanish member of the order², while the standard authority for the Saxon congregation has now been supplemented and to a considerable extent revised by the appearance of the fifth volume of Adalbero Kunzelmann's *Geschichte der deutschen Augustiner-Eremiten*³. For the Italian congregations the surviving material is more extensive, but it has not previously been the subject of any published investigation⁴. Much of this material is archival and can be divided into three main groups — « order-centred » collections, papal records and local sources. Surviving literary sources, treatises, devotional or sermon literature, or historical writing by the members of the observance, are sadly less frequent than one would wish, especially for the formative years of the observance, whereas the situation for the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is in this respect somewhat more favourable. A further type of evidence— iconographic, epigraphic and topographic — being pictorial and in a collective sense somewhat impressionistic, is less amenable to treatment in a study such as this, but its potential should not be ignored and such evidence can occasionally yield useful results.

¹ F. X. MARTIN, OSA, *The Irish Augustinian Reform Movement in the Fifteenth Century*, in *Medieval Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn, SJ*, ed. J. A. WATT, J. B. MORRALL, F. X. MARTIN, Dublin 1961, p. 230-64. In collaboration with A. de Meijer, OSA, Fr Martin published all the entries concerning the observance in Ireland in « *Archivum Hibernicum* », (1956) p. 61-146, cf. infra n. 15.

² For an abstract of this dissertation see L. ALVAREZ GUTIÉRREZ, *El movimiento reformador de la « observancia » en la provincia agustiniana de España*, « *Revista de la Universidad de Madrid* », 72 (1969), p. 73-74.

³ Th. KOLDE, *Die Deutsche Augustiner-Congregation und Johann von Staupitz. Ein Beitrag zur Ordens- und Reformationsgeschichte*, Gotha 1879. Kolde used clm 8423 of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, which contained a *Compendium ex registris*, an eighteenth-century compilation of entries in the Dd registers concerning the German provinces, together with copies of some material from the Biblioteca Angelica. A. KUNZELMANN, OSA, *Geschichte der deutschen Augustiner-Eremiten. Fünfter Teil. Die sächsisch-thüringische Provinz und die sächsische Reformkongregation bis zum Untergang der beiden*, Würzburg 1974, especially p. 383-507 (Cassiacum, 26). For Staupitz see also D. C. STEINMETZ, *Misericordia Dei. The theology of Johannes von Staupitz in its late medieval setting*, Leiden 1968 (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 4).

⁴ Cf. K. WALSH, *The Observant Congregations of the Augustinian Friars in Italy* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Oxford University 1972).

The general archives of the order at Santa Monica in Rome contain the registers of the priors general, some of the raw materials for a *Bullarium* of the order⁵, the surviving archives of the observant congregation of Lombardy, and part of the archives of the Roman convents of Sant'Agostino and Santa Maria del Popolo⁶. Also to be considered as belonging to this category of « order-centred » sources is a number of codices containing constitutions and miscellaneous compilations bearing primarily on the administrative history of the order located in the Biblioteca Angelica, formerly the library of Sant'Agostino⁷.

The most substantial single body of sources for the observance in the Augustinian order is the series of registers of the priors general, known as the Dd registers⁸. However there are large gaps in the series, and for the period before 1419 the only extant volumes are Dd 1 covering the years 1357-60 and Dd 2 and 3 for the years 1383-86 and 1387-93 respectively. Dd 3 extends over a large part of the term of office of Bartolomeo da Venezia (vicar general 1383-85 and prior general 1385-1400) and is particularly valuable for the early years of the observance at Lecchetto, as Bartolomeo exercised constant and meticulous supervision over the daily life of the two Tuscan hermitages of San Salvatore and San Leonardo al Lago.

However the defects of the fourteenth-century registers can to some extent be remedied by the *acta* of the general chapters which survive for this period in *Cod.Lat.* 483 (D.7.9) in the Biblioteca Angelica, but for many of the chapters towards the end of the century, including those under the generalship of Bartolomeo da Venezia,

⁵ In the general archives (= Arch. Gen. OESA) is deposited a slip-catalogue of all papal bulls addressed to the order which have been traced in the course of preparations for a *Bullarium*. The search has so far extended only to original bulls, authenticated and simple copies contained in the collections housed in Santa Monica, some convent archives now in public depositories, together with some sporadic investigation of the *fonds* of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Work on the project has been on a modest scale, and much of the catalogue is the result of the labours of a Spanish member of the order Fr Saturino López. His work has been described in B. RANO, OSA, *El investigador P. Saturino López, OSA, y su obra*, « Archivio Augustiniano », 54 (1960) p. 163-95; 55 (1961) p. 197-226.

⁶ Cf. B. VAN LUIJK, OSA, *Les Archives de la Congrégation de Lombardie et du couvent de S. Maria de Popolo à Rome*, « Augustiniana », 18 (1968), p. 100-115; *Id.*, *Sources italiennes pour l'histoire générale de l'Ordre des Augustins*, *ibid.* 8 (1958), p. 397-424, 9 (1959), p. 183-202, respectively, for the general archive and for the archive of the convent of Sant'Agostino in Rome.

⁷ Biblioteca Angelica, *Cod. Lat.* 1312, 1315, 1316 (T. 3.5., T. 3.6., T. 3.7.), represent a three-volume compilation of bulls concerning the order up to the end of the pontificate of Benedict XIII. But as *Cod. Lat.* 1315 end with the pontificate of Boniface IX (1389-1404) and *Cod. Lat.* 1316 begins with that of Paul III (1534-49), it may be presumed that there was at least one further volume, which is now missing.

⁸ Cf. VAN LUIJK, *Sources italiennes*, « Augustiniana », 8, p. 410-13 for a list of these registers.

this version is also incomplete⁹. A further surviving source of some value is represented by the *Additiones* to the constitutions of the order by Thomas von Strassburg, elected prior general at the chapter held in Paris 11 Juli 1345. The new prior general had intended this revision of the constitutions to be a preparatory step towards improving the quality of religious observance in the order¹⁰. Bartolomeo da Venezia had long been regarded by historians of the order as the first general to have undertaken the reform of the order in a serious and systematic way, but the capitular legislation during the forty years before he took office indicates a consistent effort on the part of successive priors general to raise the standard of observance in the various provinces, to eradicate abuses and to control the use of dispensations and privileges. The most zealous among these early reforming priors general was Gregorio da Rimini who, shortly after his election in 1357, sent a severe letter to every province of the order concerning the decline of the regular observance, poverty and the *vita communis*¹¹.

In the Dd registers there is a further gap for the years 1439-51, when the observance was under the guidance of Giuliano Falciglia di Salem, first as vicar general while Gerardo da Rimini was prior general (1431-43) and subsequently as prior general in his own right. Dd 6-8 cover the period 1451-96 and then there is another gap. Dd 9-10 are both missing and they should cover the last years of the rule of Mariano da Genazzano, all of those of his two immediate successors, and the early years of Egidio da Viterbo¹². A list compiled in 1780 contained the registers now missing for the period after 1496 but not any volumes covering the earlier gaps¹³, and these latter gaps had already existed in the first half of the seventeenth century when the Spanish friar Tomaso Herrera was preparing his *Alphabetum Augustinianum*¹⁴. Hence his entries for in-

⁹ All the surviving *Acta* are printed from this manuscript in « *Analecta Augustiniana* » 4 (1911-12) and 5 (1913-14) *passim*.

¹⁰ For the decrees of the Paris chapter see « *Analecta Augustiniana* » 4, p. 253-8. The constitutions of the order, compiled at the general chapter held at Regensburg in 1290 and known as the *Constitutiones Ratisponenses*, together with the *Additiones* of Thomas von Strassburg, are edited by I. A. CENDOYA, OSA, *Las primitivas Constituciones de los Agustinos*, Valladolid 1966.

¹¹ Printed in « *Analecta Augustiniana* » 4, p. 272-6.

¹² On the lost registers see F. X. MARTIN, OSA, *The registers of Giles of Viterbo, a source on the reform before the Reformation*, « *Augustiniana* », 12 (1962) p. 142-60.

¹³ This index compiled by Tomaso Bonasoli survives in Paris, Archives Nationales, MM 883, and is published by VAN LUIJK in « *Augustiniana* », 8, p. 400-424.

¹⁴ Madrid 1644. This is the standard reference work on Augustinian history but the organization of its material is somewhat confusing. There is a copy in the Arch. Gen. OESA, but the copy originally in the Biblioteca Angelica found its way into the possession of the Irish province of the order in the later

dividual friars and convents, though as detailed as the material permitted, do not in this respect add anything to what we can glean today from the surviving registers. However Herrera did consult material in other places and occasionally cited documents from convent archives, including that of the observant house of Santa Maria Nuova in Perugia, which it would appear has since been entirely dispersed.

Although the project to edit the series of Dd registers, under the auspices of the Historical Institutes of the order in Rome, Louvain and New York, is only in its initial stages, a substantial amount of material from the surviving fourteenth- and fifteenth-century volumes has already appeared in print, for the most part in *Analecta Augustiniana*, and the criteria for selection have usually been regional. Some of these selected extracts bear directly on the observance — the short-lived attempt to introduce the reform in Santa Maria di Nazareth in Venice in 1421-23; a number of entries in the registers of Agostino Favaroni (1419-31) and of Gerardo da Rimini for the observance in Italy; material on the convent of San Giovanni à Carbonara in Naples; the fifteenth-century references for the Spanish observance and for Ireland, and all the extracts for the province of Rome in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries¹⁵. The extracts made by López for the observance in Italy are by no means exhaustive: he did not attempt to transcribe all the references and even those which he did take up are occasionally inaccurate, hence it is still necessary to consult the original register. A detailed examination of the Dd registers from the standpoint of diplomatics would be out of place here, but it may be remarked that these registers, when used in conjunction with letters of the prior general preserved at the receiving end in convent archives, provide our only insights into chancery procedure within the order¹⁶. Commencing with Dd

nineteenth century and is now in the provincial archives at Ballyboden, Co. Dublin. On Herrera cf. Fr. ROTH, OSA, *Augustinian Historians of the Seventeenth Century*, «Augustiniana», 6, (1956), p. 640-41.

¹⁵ S. LÓPEZ, *Notitiae circa observantiam in genere contentae in Registris Ordinis*, «Analecta Augustiniana» 19, p. 110-30, 169-79; Id., *De Conventu S. Ioannis de Carbonaria notitiae ad eum spectantes e Registro PP. Generalium ... desumptae*, *Ibid.*, 14, p. 352-58, 382-98; Id., *Notizie sulle origini della Congregazione di S. Giovanni à Carbonara del Ordine degli Eremitani di S. Agostino*, «Archivio Agustiniano», 56, (1962), p. 269-75; Id., *Noticias referentes a la Congregación de la Observancia contenidas en los Regestos Generalicios del siglo XV*, *ibid.*, 57, (1963), p. 327-42; also the transcript from a MS formerly in the archive of the convent at Salamanca *Liber Actorum et Capitulorum Congregationis de Observantia Ordinis Er. S. P. Augustini in Hispania*, «Analecta Augustiniana», 3, *passim*; F. X. MARTIN, OSA, and A. de MEIJER, OSA, *Irish Material in the Augustinian Archives, Rome, 1354-1624*, «Archivium Hibernicum», 19, (1956), p. 61-146; *Notitiae ad provinciam Romae O. N. historiam spectantes saeculis XIV e XV*, «Analecta Augustiniana» 5-7, *passim*.

¹⁶ One example may be cited here. Siena, Archivio di Stato, R. *Acquisto*

5 (1430-39), strict chronological order was abandoned in favour of grouping entries according to province, while preserving chronological order within each province. Even after the formal recognition by the observant general chapter at Montespечchio in Tuscany in 1449 of separate congregations for the observant houses, the entries dealing with these convents continued to be grouped under the provinces in which they were respectively located. This practice reflected the extent to which the Augustinian observant houses were considered as a separate entity *within* rather than apart from the province, unlike the practice of the Dominican order where it was possible to erect an observance province with its own independent voice at the general chapter¹⁷.

Sources such as these registers inevitably suffer from a number of defects. They reflect a heavy pre-occupation with academic interests, because permission to attend university, promotion to the doctorate and dispensations for regent masters are essentially recordable, while the quality of religious life in a convent or province is not. However this emphasis probably does reflect reasonably accurately the existing state of priorities. A similar problem is posed by records of visitation. Even where we know that the visitation of a particular convent or province was ordered and visitors appointed, there is no follow-through, because visitation reports are not extant and the Dd registers rarely reveal what conditions the visitors actually found. Furthermore, even for the years in which there are no gaps the extant volumes clearly do not represent a complete record of all the business transacted by the prior general in the name of the order. They contain no registered copies or references to letters which the general might have issued to any person or corporate body outside the order on matters concerning individual convents or friars. From other collections of sources we know only of isolated examples of such external correspondence, such as the important letter from Agostino Favaroni to the *Signoria* of Siena 6 April 1424 discovered by Prof. Brandmüller in the registers of the *Concistoro* in Siena¹⁸, but the volume of such correspondence must

Piccioli, fasc. XV, no. 176 (perg. 1133), is a notarial instrument of 19 May 1393 recording the sale to the hermitage of San Salvatore di Lecceto of a piece of land belonging to the convent of Sant'Agostino in Siena. The sale had been authorized by the prior general in a letter from Florence of 27 November 1392 and registered in Dd 3, f. 177r. The instrument cites the prior general's authorization, and includes the folio number from the Dd register. The same practice appears in the copies of letters contained in Siena, Biblioteca Comunale K. X. 22 (cf. infra p. 57), and clearly the original sent out by the chancery of the prior general included for purposes of reference the folio number of the registered copy.

¹⁷ Cf. H. BRUNO, *Die Deutsche Predigerkongregation 1517-1520. Aufhebung, Kampf und Wiederherstellung*, Fribourg 1953, p. 19-20.

¹⁸ W. BRANDMÜLLER, *Ein Nachspiel der Auflösung des Konzils von Siena*

have been considerable — to princes, patrons and benefactors, bishops, diocesan and communal authorities, and to the universities attended by members of the order. The registers do not even record all letters issued internally, and a significant proportion of instruction directed to officers of the order — vicars, visitors, provincial and conventual priors — appear not to have been recorded in a form which was preserved in the Dd registers. A further limitation of the Dd registers is also shared, as we shall see, by the material concerning religious orders in the papal registers. The information they contain is by nature prescriptive and it is not always possible to ascertain if, for example, the reform of a particular house was carried out in accordance with the instructions contained in the letters registered.

In addition to the work of Herrera¹⁹ the seventeenth century saw several attempts to compile a *Bullarium* of the order. The first of these, published by Lorenzo Empoli in 1628, had the limited objective of presenting a compendium of the rights and privileges of the order²⁰, but the vastly superior collection by Luigi Torelli²¹ included a number of documents of purely historical interest and it still retains its value for the working historian. The slip-catalogue for a *Bullarium* compiled in the twentieth century, largely by López, is above all valuable for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, whereas for the earliest history of the order, the seventy years before the 'Great Union' of 1256 Benignus van Luijk has compiled a *Bullarium*²².

The second of the three major collections of material for the history of the observant movement is that of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, and in particular the great series of *Registri Vaticani* and *Registri Lateranensi*²³. Owing to the problem of indices the loca-

innerhalb des Augustinerordens, « Römische Quartalschrift », 60, (1965), p. 186-207. He prints this document on p. 202-3.

¹⁹ Supra n. 14.

²⁰ L. EMPOLI, *Bullarium Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini*, Rome 1628. Cf. ROTH, *Augustinian Historians*, « Augustiniana », 6, p. 636.

²¹ L. TORELLI, *Secoli Agostiniani ovvero historia generale del sagra ordine eremitano del gran dottore S. Aurelio Augustino vescovo, divisa in tredici secoli*, VIII vols, Bologna 1659-86. For Torelli, see ROTH, *Augustinian Historians*, p. 641.

²² B. VAN LUIJK (ed.), *Bullarium Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini Periodus formationis 1187-1256*, Würzburg 1964 (Cassiciacum 18), though it is in many respects defective. By the same author see also *Gli eremiti neri nel dugento con particolare riguardo al territorio Pisano e Toscano: Origine, sviluppo ed unione*, Pisa 1968 and review by A. Zumkeller OSA in « Augustiniana », 11, (1971), p. 219-221; L'ordine agostiniano e la riforma monastica dal Cinquecento alla vigilia della Rivoluzione Francese. Un sommario cronologico-storico, « Augustiniana », 18 (1968) - 22 (1972) and separate, Heverlee, Augustijns Historisch Instituut 1973. Neither of these accounts deal with the period under review here, as the former is concerned with the developments up to the Great Union of 1256, while the latter commences with the reform issue within the order in response to the challenge of their confrère Martin Luther.

²³ Cf. *Sussidi per la consultazione dell'Archivio Vaticano*, vol. I, Roma 1926,

tion of material concerning the observance in these volumes is a tedious process. Though for many types of historical problem the *Schedario Garampi* is a useful short-cut, it is in this case of limited value even in the search for material on specific convents catalogued according to diocese, as Garampi made less impression on the Lateran registers, which contain much of the registered material concerning religious orders, concentrating primarily on the Vatican registers, most of which have a contemporary — though by no means ideal — table of contents at the beginning of each volume²⁴.

With regard to the Lateran registers, the more numerous for this period, the series of volumes for each pontificate follow a procedure initiated in the Avignon registers and are labelled generally according to subject matter, i.e. *De regularibus*, *De cardinalibus*, *De prebendis et beneficiis*, or simply in a number of cases, *De diversis formis*. The first of these categories is the most obvious place to search for material on the observant movement, though it is clearly to be expected that bulls issued to religious who received ecclesiastical offices would be registered in the appropriate places and not *qua* « religious ». The fifteenth century was the period which saw the greatest volume of observant activity reflected in papal records, and it was also the high point of the Lateran registers. By the early sixteenth century these were being superseded by the *Breve* as the most common form of letters of grace, favours and justice. The series of Lateran registers was one of the collections which suffered the heaviest losses as a result of the transportation of the Vatican Archives to Paris under the Napoleonic régime, and even within this series it appears that a singularly high proportion of the volumes which were mislaid were those of *De regularibus* interest. When a selection had to be made of the material which should be returned from Paris, priority was understandably given to the sources of most value for the history of the Curia, while *De regularibus* volumes concerned only the religious orders and could more lightly be discarded²⁵. For the pontificate of Sixtus IV, where Garampi made

(Studi e Testi, 45); M. GIUSTI, *Studi sui registri di bolle papali*, Città del Vaticano, Archivio Vaticano 1968 (Collectanea Archivi Vaticani, I); H. DIENER, *Die großen Registerserien im Vatikanischen Archiv (1378-1523). Hinweise und Hilfsmittel zu ihrer Benützung und Auswertung*, « Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken », 51, (1971), p. 305-368 and separate (Tübingen 1972).

²⁴ On the question of Indices see the admirably clear explanations in DIENER, *Die großen Registerserien*, especially p. 10-11. However for a subject such as the present one the indices or tables of contents are frequently an unreliable guide as they give no indication of the subject-matter of the bull and the name of the recipient alone is often not particularly illuminating — a bull to the vicar of the diocese may be relevant for the reform while one to the prior of the local conventual house might not!

²⁵ Cf. R. RITZLER, OFM Conv., *Die Verschleppung der päpstlichen Archive*

indices of the Lateran registers, it is clear that a number of the missing volumes contained *De regularibus* material, i.e. material of interest to the historian of religious orders. Yet a further observation can be made concerning the Lateran registers for the pontificate of Sixtus IV: of the surviving volumes *Reg. Lat.* 746 (An. III, 1473-74) is the last volume for the fifteenth century which contains material specifically grouped under the category *De regularibus*. From this date onwards entries concerning religious orders ceased to be registered separately but appear haphazardly in the miscellaneous volumes labelled *De diversis formis*. This seems to be a question of increasing disorganization of the material pertaining to the Lateran registers, quite independent from the separate issue of which volumes survived or were discarded in the upheaval of the early nineteenth century. From the pontificate of Sixtus IV onwards therefore, a much larger proportion of extant registered documents is not classified according to *De cardinalibus*, *De prebendis*, etc., than had previously been the case, and there is a corresponding increase in the total number of volumes *De diversis formis*, as for example in the year 1478-79 alone *Reg. Lat.* 800, 802-803 are all miscellaneous volume *De diversis formis*. Sixtus IV may have devoted considerable attention to the regular clergy, but chancery processing of their affairs became much more disorganized.

Although the series of *Brevia Lateranensia* begins only after the foundation of the Apostolic Secretariate in 1484²⁶, the *brevia* had been used earlier and employed, apparently indiscriminately, for various forms of concession. Registers of *brevia* were maintained at least since 1417, though some registers survive only in seventeenth-century transcripts. Already in the fifteenth century the *brevia* was beginning to overlap with certain types of material contained in the Lateran registers, and concessions to religious, including to observant communities, were issued with increasing frequency in this simple form *sub anulo piscatoris*, rather than in the more solemn bull.

Further collections in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano which contain material relevant in this context may be indicated briefly here. The most important remaining sources are part of the *Archivio Diplomatico*: the *Instrumenta Miscellanea*, largely cameral in origin and indexed in chronological order, and two collections of local interest, the *Fondo Veneto* and the *Fondo Toscana*²⁷. The *Fondo*

nach Paris unter Napoleon I. und deren Rückführung nach Rom in den Jahren 1815 bis 1817, «Römische Historische Mitteilungen», 6-7 (1962/3 and 1963/4), p. 144-90.

²⁶ L. E. BOYLE, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of its Medieval Holdings*, Toronto 1972, p. 62.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

Veneto, or *Archivio della Cancellaria della Nunziatura Veneta*, comprises material from the archives of thirty-one suppressed religious communities in Venetian territory, while the *Fondo Toscano* is of a similar nature, though considerably less extensive. The cameral registers of *Introitus et Exitus* are tedious and unrewarding if one is searching for information on a problem such as the observance, but random samples have yielded occasional items of value.

Nevertheless for the period when interest in the observance was at its height, the most usual form of papal letter to religious — and the one which reveals most about questions of reform — is the bull issued through the Datary and registered in the Lateran registers. Papal bulls issued to religious, both observant and conventual, reveal them in a variety of situations, and in every case which can be traced the bulls were issued in direct response to a supplication or intervention at the curia from or on behalf of the recipient. Among the principal matters which these bulls cover are the appointment to papal chaplaincies or to the office of papal penitentiary in one of the Roman basilicas, and graces to promote to academic degrees in case where promotion had been blocked by the applicant's religious superiors. The former category was particularly prevalent during the pontificate of Boniface IX and those of his immediate successors, when there was a significant increase in the number of religious, usually friars, appointed as papal chaplains and penitentiaries, possibly in an attempt to secure and strengthen the allegiance of the religious orders to the Roman line during the Schism. This type of extra-curricular activity for friars raises one question which is crucial for the problem of the observance. The recipients of such offices must have been totally dispensed from the discipline of the *vita communis* in their respective convents, here above all in the case of the convent of Sant'Agostino at the curia. Such a convent was in any case scarcely conducive to being organized as a « model » observant house and many of its fifteenth-century members who did sympathise with the return to strict observance seem to have retired elsewhere for brief periods. In the light of the evidence available it may be questioned whether the « strict observance » was for many active scholars and administrators in the order who displayed a preference for it a state of permanence or an occasional retreat.

In this period the papal registers contain a significant number of privileges to transfer from one religious order to another. If the transfer was being made from a stricter order or branch to a less exacting one, a papal dispensation was required, while the canonical position for a member of a mendicant order was that he could transfer only to the observant branch of his own order or to the Carthusians, the one order considered to be more exacting than

a mendicant order, without papal dispensation²⁸. The most common transfer, according to the dispensations which appear in the papal registers, was from a mendicant community to one of canons regular, less frequently to the Benedictines. In many of the recorded cases the dispensation was granted for a specified reason — either on grounds of ill-health or of old age, which were alleged to prevent the applicant from surviving the rigours of his present form of life. The level of observance in some of the communities concerned even before the formal introduction of the « observant reform » cannot have been altogether lax if it were considered necessary to seek dispensations on these grounds.

A second common reason for granting a transfer was to enable the applicant to take over the pastoral care of a church which was subject to the patronage of a monastic community, a reason which is linked with a further major category of bulls issued to members of mendicant orders — permission to hold benefices with or without cure of souls. Benefices without cure of souls were more common in the case of religious who held an appointment at the papal curia and these appear rarely to have been granted to members of the strict observance of their respective orders. The issue of benefices with *cura animarum* to religious reflects the extent to which by the fifteenth century the friars had become integrated into the pastoral-parochial structure. Though the grants were not always uncontested, the friars were assigned to a number of parish churches and small chapels, which might have been intended to serve isolated rural communities or as a second church in an urban or suburban parish and were subjected to the normal routine of episcopal jurisdiction and visitation²⁹. In such cases the grant of a benefice was made to a named friar who would receive the church and its attendant property on behalf of the community which was releasing him to undertake the pastoral duties entailed by the benefice. Such an arrangement appears not to have been regarded as a source of abuse, but rather as an economic necessity in order to ensure the survival of certain convents in places where there was already an excessive number of religious communities competing for the financial support of the populace.

²⁸ On the canonical position concerning the transfer of religious from one order to another the relevant decretals are in III, 31, x and xviii, *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. E. L. RICHTER - E. FRIEDBERG, II, Leipzig 1879-81, p. 571, 575-6.

²⁹ The practical implications of the legislation concerning pastoral activity on the part of the friars still requires clarification. There is nothing for the Italian scene comparable with the study for fourteenth-century England by A. WILLIAMS, *Relations between the mendicant friars and the secular clergy in the later fourteenth century*, « Duquesne Studies, *Annuaire Medievale* », I (1960), p. 22-95.

One of the most salient points to emerge from an examination of local convent archives is that houses of friars, and in particular the observant communities which tended to be numerically small, were not inordinately wealthy. After the suppression of many of these convents at the end of the eighteenth century their archives went into public depositories. In the case of the Roman convents where an international college or historical institute could make a strong case for the return of their archives, they have re-acquired large sections, but outside Rome these archives are usually to be found in the local Archivio di Stato or Archivio Comunale⁸⁰. In theory a convent archive should provide the most rewarding sources for a study of this type, reflecting the life-style of the community and containing a representative cross-section of various kind of material — privileges and instructions from popes and priors general, from bishops and civic authorities, wills, legacies and bequests, accounts and records of property transactions, notarial instruments of agreements involving other religious communities in the area, also patrons and benefactors, laymen and women, diocesan and municipal authorities — but on closer investigation the contents of these archives are at best uneven and sporadic, frequently sparse, and in some cases for the medieval period non-existent.

Although there were obvious practical reasons why mendicant communities should preserve their privileges, title-deeds and other records of grants and graces, the care and attention devoted to maintaining a convent archive varied considerably from house to house and even at different times within the same house. In some the practice of keeping their records in orderly and accessible form may not have developed until early modern times: it is hardly a coincidence that for so many of the convent archives consulted during the preparation of this survey the volume of material is incomparably greater from the sixteenth century onwards. Even in cases such as San Salvatore di Lecceto near Siena or Santa Maria Incoronata in Milan, which are among the most extensive archives surviving from an observant community of Augustinian

⁸⁰ These conventual archives are usually divided into two parts — the *fondo corporazioni religiose soppresse* (or *fondo conventi soppressi*) and the *Museo Diplomatico* or *Raccolta delle Pergamene*. The former contains the books of the convent archives, accounts, inventories, registers containing lists of and occasionally complete copies of privileges, bequests, grants and deeds concerning the convent and its possessions. Such documents survive only in small numbers for the fifteenth century or earlier periods, but volumes of a later date frequently contain copies of earlier material. The *Museo Diplomatico* contains the surviving original documents or pergamene, in many cases wills of local citizens registered or deposited in the convent where they might have chosen to be buried and/or made a bequest.

friars before the Reformation, these are negligible in scope when compared with those of foundations of the older endowed orders of monks and canons such as Monte Amiata in Tuscany or Sant'Ambrogio in Milan, whose vast archives reflect the complexities of administering a religious corporation of such dimensions and the corresponding need to keep its records in a more business-like manner. The generalization holds true that the volume of archival material preserved, and presumably of the volume of business transacted which was of an administrative and recordable nature, corresponds fairly accurately with the type of community concerned. One expects, and one finds, few administrative records from strictly observant Franciscan hermitages.

Much of the material for the history of individual convents during the early years of the observant movement is of an administrative nature. The types of source which would probably tell us most about the observance in practice and its effect on the quality of spiritual life in any religious community are lacking for the formative period. Although we know from numerous isolated scraps of evidence that members of the Augustinian observance were in demand to preach series of Lenten and Advent sermons throughout the length and breadth of Italy, the order lacked truly outstanding preachers like the 'four pillars of the observance' in the Franciscan order — Bernardino da Siena, Giovanni Capistrano, Alberto da Sarteano and Giacomo delle Marche. Hence sermon literature from the principal exponents of the observance in the Augustinian order is lacking until we come to Mariano da Genazzano and Egidio da Viterbo in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries⁸¹. Also

⁸¹ For Mariano da Genazzano, vicar general of the congregation of Lecceto and then of the Lombard congregation before becoming prior general of the order on the death of Anselmo da Montefalco, in January 1496, cf. D. GUTIÉRREZ, OSA, *Testi e note su Mariano da Genazzano* († 1498), « *Analecta Augustiniana* », 32 (1969), p. 117-204. There is a vast literature on Egidio da Viterbo, who ruled the order from 1506 until his elevation as cardinal in 1517, cf. J. W. O'MALLEY, *Giles of Viterbo on church and reform. A study in Renaissance thought*, Leiden 1968, (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 5) and the bibliography therein. Egidio composed at least two treatises on the observant hermitage at Lecceto, the 'De Illicetana Familia' which is edited from Biblioteca Angelica MS 1156 by F. X. MARTIN, OSA, in *Giles of Viterbo and the monastery of Lecceto. The making of a reformer*, « *Analecta Augustiniana* », 25 (1962), at 247-53. The second work, *Panegyricus pro coenobio Illicetano* is now lost, but the seventeenth-century historian of Lecceto Ambrogio Landucci knew it and cited it frequently in *Sacra Illicetana Selva*, Siena 1653, p. 14, 43, 44, 78. A recent contribution by H. PFEIFFER, *Die Predigt des Egidio da Viterbo über das goldene Zeitalter und die « Stanza della Segnatura »*, in *Festschrift Luitpold Dussler. 28 Studien zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, München 1972, p. 237-254, examines the influence on the frescoes of the *Stanza della Segnatura* in the Vatican exercised by Egidio's famous sermon in St Peter's on 21 December 1507 on the returning « golden age », a *motiv* which was central to his thought on reform. The same article appeared in Italian in *La Stanza*

lacking for the early period is any literature of an apologetic or defensive nature from the indigenous community at Lecceto or from the academics within the order who gave their support to the observance any discussion of a more conceptual nature of the question of reform in general. The earliest discussion of the question is the treatise *de ordinis nostri forma et propagatione* of the Milanese friar-humanist Andrea Biglia, written during a period of withdrawal at Lecceto while Biglia was teaching at the university of Siena 1429-35³². Like his later confrères, Mariano da Genazzano and Egidio da Viterbo, Biglia's primary association with the observance was through Lecceto, though his early death in 1435 precluded any possibility of his assuming higher office in the order or within the observance. His treatise reveals an acute awareness of the need for a return to more faithful observance of the rule, both in spirit and in letter. He was particularly conscious of the danger that in larger houses of study such as the *studia* in Padua and Siena, the centres of the intellectual life of the order, the standard of observance could hardly fail to be adversely affected by the demands of university life. The early Franciscan and, more surprisingly, the Dominican observants in Italy had been inclined to minimize the importance of academic pursuits, but by the time Biglia was writing on the observance this trait had disappeared in all but the most extreme « spiritual » elements among the Franciscans, and the rural hermitages were gradually being replaced as centres of reform by urban, pastorally-conscious communities. Though Biglia conceded some genuine enthusiasm for religious revival in urban foundations such as Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome (which had not yet become the « court church » of the Della Rovere family) or San Giovanni à Carbonara in Naples, he still regarded the hermitages as the most promising ground for initiating reform, as they provided the necessary setting with devotion to a religious ideal combined with scholarly pursuits³³. This view is something of a development on Biglia's part, as in earlier works including a sermon which he preached to the general chapter of the order assembled at Bologna in May 1425 he had warned that « poverty » or « observance » could be used as excuses

della Segnatura sullo sfondo delle idee di Egidio da Viterbo, « Colloqui del Sodalizio », 3 (1970-72), p. 31-43.

³² Edited by R. ARBESMANN, OSA, in « *Analecta Augustiniana* », 28 (1965), p. 186-218. For Biglia cf. *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* X, p. 413-5; ARBESMANN, *Der Augustiner-Eremitenorden und der Beginn der humanistischen Bewegung*, Würzburg 1965 (Cassiciacum 19); DIANA M. WEBB, *Andrea Biglia at Bologna 1424-7: A Humanist Friar and the Troubles of the Church*, « *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* » 49, nr. 119 (May 1976), p. 41-59.

³³ ARBESMANN, « *Analecta Augustiniana* » 28, p. 165-166.

to cloak sectarian extremism or even schism within the order³⁴. He opposed apocalyptic preaching and excessive emphasis on poverty — for him the important factor was individual not corporate poverty, combined with study and the maintenance of an orthodox consensus.³⁵ His view naturally postulated an already completed academic training and it is a very personal, almost élitist approach to the question of observance. It is scarcely an accident that the most eloquent exponents of the ideal for which the observance, and in particular Lecceto, stood, were also those who must be described — not in any pejorative sense but because of their wider academic and administrative commitments — as part-time members of the observant community. Lecceto was unique in attracting a transient population of distinguished supporters from other areas of the order, and this unique position apparently owed much to the legendary association of the Tuscan hermitages with St Augustine³⁶.

Consequently it is not surprising that the richest and most important collection of materials from local convent archives which shed light on the Augustinian observance in Italy emanates from the Tuscan hermitages. Much of it is in the Archivio di Stato in Siena, which contains the surviving archive of Sant'Agostino, the principal house of the order in Siena, and that of the convent of Augustinian observant nuns at Santa Marta³⁷, together with one of the two observant hermitages a short distance from the town, San Salvatore di Lecceto. The surviving portion of the second hermitage of San Leonardo al Lago was apparently purchased for the Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin in 1865, and together with a substantial body of Sienese and Piccolomini documents now forms part of the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin³⁸. These « Sienese charters » now comprise forty-seven

³⁴ This sermon is now in Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, H. 117 inf., fol. 42r-56v, and is discussed in WEBB, *Andrea Biglia at Bologna*, p. 43-46.

³⁵ In a further work 'Paniscolaria ad Alfonsum regem adversum scisma Benedicti', Bibl. Ambros. H. 117 inf., fol. 1r-28r, he elaborates on this very conservative stance on the observance and warns the king not to be deceived by the propagators of poverty, WEBB, *Andrea Biglia at Bologna*, p. 52-53.

³⁶ For a fourteenth-century account of this tradition within the order cf. the *Liber Vitasfratrum* by Jordanus von Sachsen, completed in 1357 and surviving in numerous fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts. It was edited by R. ARBESMANN and W. HÜMPHNER, New York 1943.

³⁷ On the communities of nuns who adopted the Augustinian observance cf. *infra* p. 65-66. A bull of Eugenius IV 20 July 1443 to the abbess of Santa Marta is copied in Biblioteca Angelica *Cod. Lat. 188* (B. 7. 17) p. 74-77, and the rule and constitutions given to the nuns at Pisa, 'composita et ordinaria secundum modum quo vivunt sorores nostre de Senis ordinis prelibati ...' also in Bibl. Ang. *Cod. Lat. 1202* (S. 5 29) probably originated in the community at Santa Marta. *Archivio di Stato in Siena: Guida-Inventario*, I, Roma 1951, p. 22-38 contains valuable information on these archives.

³⁸ Cf. B. SZABÓ-BECHSTEIN, *Die Sieneser Urkunden der Staatsbibliothek*

papal bulls, all original with the single exception of one notariially attested copy, and all showing signs of having been previously bound together in a single volume. In addition there are almost one hundred miscellaneous charters and instruments, the majority of which also concern the hermitages of San Salvatore and San Leonardo al Lago. In the surviving material in Siena, both for Santo Agostino and for San Salvatore, there is a number of fourteenth and fifteenth century documents, but the bulk of the material dates from the sixteenth century. In many cases where the actual *pergamene* do not survive the entries for them in the extant volumes of *spogli* (whose accuracy can be checked against entries for documents which do survive) are sufficiently detailed to be of value³⁹. In the case of Lecceto there are further three volumes of *Scritture diverse* containing transcripts of a miscellaneous assortment of material — deeds, wills, notarial instruments, records of conventual chapters⁴⁰. Also valuable is a two-volume collection of contracts from the archive of Sant'Agostino compiled in 1701 by a Sienese priest Antonio Sestigiani with the consent of the community⁴¹.

When Lecceto was burned and sacked by an imperialist army in January 1554 its archive, and probably also its library, was to a large extent dispersed or destroyed⁴². The thirty-two Mss which its library still possessed in the eighteenth century were texts of standard works which any medieval monastic library might have possessed — the Fathers, especially St Augustine, the Sentences of Peter Lombard, biblical commentaries, Bernard of Clairvaux, Egidius Romanus, and some canon law⁴³. It no longer contained the Bible

Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin (12.-18. Jh.). Die Fonds S. Leonardo al Lago, S. Salvatore di Lecceto, S. Maria del Carmine und Piccolomini, « Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken », 55/56 (1976), p. 159-199, which contains a calendar of the, previously uncalendared and unresearched, ninety-eight charters of predominantly non-papal provenance. The papal documents (then 48) were briefly calendared in S. LÖWENFELD, *Kleinere Beiträge. Papstbulen in der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, « Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde », 11 (1886), p. 610-616. See also F. SCHNEIDER, *Regestum Senese. Regesten der Urkunden von Siena*, Roma 1911, p. 51. I am indebted to Dr Szabó-Bechstein, who very kindly allowed me to consult the page-proofs of her article.

³⁹ B. 52, B. 53, B. 54 contain the *spogli* for the *pergamene* of Sant'Agostino, B. 38 those of S. Salvatore di Lecceto and of Santa Marta, and B. 70, known as *R. Acquisto Piccioli*, a particularly detailed inventory of the archive of S. Salvatore.

⁴⁰ *Conventi* 3851, 3852, 3856.

⁴¹ *Idem* 1089-90.

⁴² Cf. M.-H. LAURENT, *Un catalogo settecentesco dell'antica biblioteca di Lecceto*, « *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* », n. s. 12 (1941), p. 281.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, 282. More valuable are the fifteenth-century catalogues which survive for three major foundations and have been edited by D. GUTIÉRREZ; *La biblioteca di S. Giovanni à Carbonara di Napoli*, « *Analecta Augustiniana* », 29

ben miniata which the prior of Lecceto had bought from a Spanish physician in 1247⁴⁴. A number of codices from the convent at Lecceto are now to be found in the Biblioteca Comunale in Siena, and some of these contain diplomatic material which has some relevance for a study of the observant movement⁴⁵. K X. 22 is a letter-book containing twenty-one letters from the prior general and one from the vicar general Francesco da Firenze, all dating from the period 1392-1443 and copied in a mid-fifteenth century hand. The majority are copies of letters which survive in original *pergamene* in the Archivio di Stato: Museo Diplomatico, but in a few cases the originals have disappeared. G. XI. 35 is a compendium of papal privileges granted to the observants by Paul II, Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII, and many of the bulls copied in it bear directly not on the congregation of Lecceto but on that of Lombardy⁴⁶. It was compiled at the end of the fifteenth century or beginning of the sixteenth, and there is no indication of its provenance. At the end of the volume there are copies of notarial instruments concerning the observant house in Brescia and of some late fifteenth-century supplications from the Lombard congregation⁴⁷.

B. VI. 10 contains copies of *instrumenta* from the archive (now lost) of Sant'Antonio di Vall'd'Astra (Ardinghesca) which became a member of the congregation of Lecceto in 1434, but the latest of these documents belongs to the year 1339. There are several seventeenth-century compilations of miscellaneous information about Lecceto and Sienese life in B. IX. 17, B. IX. 18, and B. IX. 19⁴⁸. The

(1966), p. 59-212; *Id. La biblioteca di S. Agostino di Roma nel secolo XV, ibidem* 27 (1964), p. 5-58; 28 (1965), p. 57-153; *Id. La biblioteca di Santo Spirito in Firenze nella metà del secolo XV, ibidem* 25 (1962), p. 5-88.

⁴⁴ Siena, Archivio di Stato, *R. Acquisto Piccioli, fasc. IV, nr. 48*, dated 5 February 1247.

⁴⁵ For a complete list of the Augustinian manuscripts in the Biblioteca Comunale cf. VAN LUIJK, *Sources italiennes*, « Augustiniana », 4 (1954), p. 190-2.

⁴⁶ This is a small volume containing 38 folios, and fol. 2r-31v contain the copies of the papal bulls. The connection with the Lombard congregation was probably through Mariano da Genazzano (*supra* n. 31) who, as vicar general of the congregation of Lecceto and a noted preacher in Florence, acquired through the patronage of Lorenzo de' Medici the convent of Santa Maria e San Gallo as an Augustinian observant foundation in that city. On becoming prior of Santa Maria del Popolo in 1491, and thereby an officer of the Lombard congregation, Mariano transferred the allegiance of the Florentine convent to that congregation.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, ff. 31v-34v. ff. 35r-36v are blank.

⁴⁸ B. IX. 17 comprises *Memorie del Convento e della Congregazione di Lecceto*, written by Fra Niccolò Ministri during the years 1619-20. These have been edited by L. BERTONI, in *Il declino di un'osservanza. S. Martino in Siena della Congregazione leccetana (1522-1620)*, « Analecta Augustiniana », 29 (1966), p. 325-336. The convent of S. Martino, formerly a priory of canons regular, had become a member of the congregation in 1522. Its archive is now in the Archivio di Stato in Lucca: *Fondo S. Fridiano*, cf. SCHNEIDER, *Regestum Senese*, p. 53. B. IX. 18 and B. IX. 19 were both compiled by a member of the com-

two most important surviving sixteenth-century books from the convent of Lecceto are now located in the Biblioteca Angelica, formerly the convent library of Sant'Agostino in Rome. Cod. Lat. 964 (R. 5. 15) is a copy of the constitutions of the order adapted specially for the congregation of Lecceto, with an alphabetical index and the decrees of the congregation's chapters from the year 1496 until the book was compiled in 1513⁴⁹. Cod. Lat. 432 (D. 4. 20) is an Italian version of the same constitutions written by Fr Atanasio de Monte Follornio and completed on 15 February 1583. The same library contains in Cod. Lat. 914 (R. 4. 3) a volume of lives of *beati* associated with the Tuscan hermitages which formed the core of the congregation⁵⁰.

The convent of Sant'Agostino in San Gimignano, which became a member of the congregation of Lecceto in 1483, is an example of a convent whose archive has been split up, the parchments going to the Archivio di Stato in Florence while the remainder is now to be found in the Archivio di Stato in Pisa⁵¹. Here again the pre-1500 material is scanty in both parts, and the same is the case in the other Tuscan convents of the observance whose archives are now to be found in Florence and Pisa — *i. e.* San Lorenzo in Pistoia, and the convents of Colle, Fivizzano and San Miniato (all called Sant'Agostino)⁵². The principal house of the order in Florence was the convent of Santo Spirito, which never became a member of the observance. Its archive, also in the *Fondo conventi soppressi* of the Archivio di Stato in Florence, is considerably more

munity Fra Marcellino Altisi: *Raccolta memorie 1414-1652*, and *Ilicetana Galleria, ovvero Memorie storiche specialmente della Città di Siena e del Convento di Lecceto ... fino all'anno 1633*. Cf. also B. X. 17 and B. X. 18, which contain A. SESTIGIANI, *Compendio Istorico di Sanesi Nobili per Nascità, Illustri per Autorità, Riguardevoli per Dignità, raccolto come si dimostra da diversi Autori, che hanno stampato da Manoscritti antichi, e moderni, da Archivi, da Contratti pubblici, e da Scritture, esistenti appresso Persone particolari*, vol. I A - M, vol. II, N - Z. Some of the friars of the Augustinian observant communities figure among his 'notables'.

⁴⁹ Ff. 1-83 contain the *Constitutiones*; ff. 84-93 the index; ff. 96-107 the *Diffinitiones Congregationes Iliceti* 1496 ss.

⁵⁰ Compiled by Fra Bernardo Monaldi da Siena in 1547. The title-page is inscribed « Conventus S. Salvatoris de Iliceto f. Sigibertus vicarius generalis 1556 ».

⁵¹ Pisa, Archivio di Stato, *Corporazioni religiose sopresse*, no. 72, S. Gimignano: S. Agostino, busta 1931, described in the inventory as *Memorie del Convento 1500-1790*, but containing seventeenth-century transcripts of documents from 1280 onwards, has on p. 33 a copy of a breve of Sixtus IV authorising the convent to transfer the congregation of Lecceto, and on p. 41-45 a subsequent confirmation of this by Alexander VI on 7 September 1499.

⁵² VAN LUIJK, *Sources italiennes*, « Augustiniana », 3 (1953), p. 318-23, for the Archivio di Stato in Florence; *ibidem* 4 (1954), p. 98-99 for that of Pisa. For the library catalogue of Santo Spirito *supra* n. 43.

extensive and, like that of Sant'Agostino in Siena, contains material which, even if indirectly, throws light on the observance.

Of all the reform congregations, the observance in Umbria is probably the most intractable from the point of local sources. Perugia was the centre of an observance which had some success in the order's houses in the hill towns of Umbria and the borders of the March of Ancona. The observant convent in Perugia was not the main convent of the order in the town, the *studium* of Sant'Agostino⁵³, but the smaller foundation of Santa Maria Novella acquired in 1422. Considerable confusion has surrounded this convent because it bore the same dedication as the Servite foundation, the Santa Maria Nuova which still exists there today⁵⁴. An attempt to trace the archive of the Augustinian convent of Santa Maria Novella proved unsuccessful, while the only material for the Servite foundation now in the Archivio di Stato in Perugia dates from the eighteenth century⁵⁵. Sant'Agostino in Perugia has retained its archive, but the earliest material in it dates from the beginning

⁵³ However several important members of the observance were connected with the convent of Sant'Agostino. Alessandro Oliva da Sassoferrato, subsequently prior general 1459-60 and then Cardinal of Santa Susanna until his death 20 August 1463, taught at the *studium* in Perugia. 1449-53 he was vicar general of the observant convents in the order's provinces of Rome and Spoleto, collectively known as the congregation of Perugia or of Santa Maria del Popolo after the Roman convent of that name. For Oliva cf. G. RAPONI, OSA, *Il cardinale agostiniano Alessandro Oliva da Sassoferrato 1407-1463* « *Analecta Augustiniana* 25 (1962) - 27 (1964) and separate. A subsequent vicar general of that congregation was Oliva's pupil Ercolano da Perugia. Ercolano in turn, taught the humanist Giovanni Antonio Campano and the latter wrote in 1470 to Cardinal Giacomo Ammannati-Piccolomini to recommend his former philosophy teacher as next prior general of the order in succession to Guglielmo Becchi who had become bishop of Fiesole. F.-R. HAUSMANN, *Giovanni Antonio Campano (1429-1477)*. *Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu seinen Briefen* (Dissertation), Freiburg i. Br. 1968, p. 154, wrongly identifies the 'M. Erculanus' in Campano's letter as Marco Ercolani, professor of law at Perugia. On Campano cf. also the more recent and in general more satisfactory study by F. Di Bernardo, *Un vescovo umanista alla Corte Pontificia Giannantonio Campano (1429-1477)*, Roma 1975 (*Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae* 39). Although Ercolano did not become prior general, he figures frequently in the Dd registers for the 1460s and 1470s as observant vicar general. In the same letter Campano sought office in Pisa for Domenico Scarnaria, whose connection with the Santo Spirito circle in Florence doubtless brought him into contact with Campano. Cf. D. A. PERINI, *Bibliographia Augustiniana cum notis biographicis* 4 vols, Firenze 1929. III, p. 170-2.

⁵⁴ It was once thought that the Augustinian foundation had become Servite, but this is impossible as the Servite convent had already existed before 1482, (*Reg. Lat.* 828, fol. 236r-237v) while the Augustinians still held their convent of Santa Maria Novella as late as 1661, when Alexander VIII granted to it the Roman church of San Matteo in Merulana, cf. K. M. HENZE, 'San Matteo in Merulana', in *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle* II, Roma 1924, p. 407, *Studi e Testi* 38).

⁵⁵ Herrera knew its archive and cited a bull of 1421 from it, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, I, p. 97-8.

of the seventeenth century. Papal and Dd registers indicate that, apart from Perugia, the two most important centres of the observance in this area were the convents of S. Nicolò in Foligno and Santa Maria Nuova in Fabriano. Only in the case of the latter convent does any archive survive, and a considerable number of its *pergamene* are to be found in the Archivio Storico Comunale in Fabriano. But no trace of the archive of S. Nicolò is to be found either in the Archivio Comunale in Foligno or in Perugia.

Some compensation for the total lack of pergamene from the convent of San Giovanni à Carbonara in Naples is provided by three large-format volumes of *Platea* compiled in 1752 from the then extremely rich archive of the convent.⁵⁶ These records challenge many assumptions of seventeenth-century historians of the order about the origins of the observance in Naples⁵⁷, assumptions which in some cases survived into the twentieth century because historians of the order used only the Dd registers which for the period before 1419 left much unsaid⁵⁸. Carbonara is a foundation where the iconographic and visual evidence generally is strong, and this evidence has been examined by Di Candida who used local sources such as the *Platea*⁵⁹. Here we have one of the most striking examples in the history of the observance of the art historian or local historian being a step ahead of the order historians by taking a different perspective.

For the later fifteenth century the congregation of Monte Ortone in the Veneto is comparatively well served in its convent archives.

⁵⁶ Naples, Archivio di Stato, *Fondo conventi soppressi*, nos. 6079, 6080, 6081: « Platea del Regal Monastero di S. Giovanni à Carbonara Dell'Ordine Eremitani di S. Agostino in dove notansi La Fondazione del detto Monastero, e della di lui Chiesa, Cappelle, Legati per Messe, ed altro, Donazioni, Privilegi, ed Immunità: tutti i Corpi di annue, Entrate, Censi, Case, Massarie, Territorj, Molini, Arredamenti, Annualità, ed ogni altra rendita di detto Regal Monastero, Divisa ... in quattro Tomi ». There is no record of a fourth volume, and we do not know whether it is missing or whether it was ever completed. Cf. also G. CONIGLIO, *Gli archivi dei monasteri soppressi napoletani nell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli*, « Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato », 19 (1959), p. 103-47. Considerably more has survived from the convent of Sant'Agostino in Naples, cf. J. MAZZOLENI, *Regestum ... Conventus S. Augustini maioris, Neapoli, in Regio archivo neapolitano existentium*, « *Analecta Augustiniana* », 17 (1939-40), p. 518-40; 18 (1941-2), p. 9-38, 134-98; 19 (1943-44), 3-19, and fortunately these excerpts were made before the archive suffered its wartime losses. For the library of Carbonara cf. Gutiérrez as in n. 43 *supra*.

⁵⁷ N. CRUSENIUS, *Monasticon Augustinianum*, München 1623, p. 169, and HERRERA, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, II, p. 396-7.

⁵⁸ But the convent figured to a disproportionately large extent in the Dd registers, especially in the 1430s and 1450s. Cf. LÓPEZ and the entries he printed in « Archivio Agustiniano » 56, p. 269-75, and « *Analecta Augustiniana* » 14, p. 352-8, 382-98.

⁵⁹ R. FILANGIERI DI CANDIDA, *La chiesa e il monastero di S. Giovanni à Carbonara*, « Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane », n. s. 9 (1923), p. 5-135 and separate.

Although the area had become a centre of reforming activity by the early years of the fifteenth century, the introduction there of the Augustinian observance was a slow and hesitant process. During his long rule as prior general Bartolomeo da Venezia had devoted very little attention to the convents in his native area compared with the careful and constant supervision he exercised over the hermitages at Lecceto⁶⁰. The first attempt to establish an observant Augustinian community in the area, the small group of young patricians who came together in Santa Maria di Nazareth in 1421 under Gabriele Garafoli da Spoleto, soon developed separatist tendencies and eventually evolved into the reformed congregation of canons of Santo Spirito under the future patriarch of Venice Andrea Bondumerio⁶¹. No archive survives for Santa Maria di Nazareth and the entries in the Dd registers are of a purely administrative nature⁶². The second attempt to establish the Augustinian observance in the Veneto originated at Monte Ortone near Padua (Abano Terme) in 1435-36. For its three most important houses in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Santa Maria di Monte Ortone, Santa Maria in Camposanto di Cittadella and San Cristoforo della Pace in Murano, a convent archive exists in each case though their contents are not extensive. The Archivio di Stato in Padua, *sez: Corporazioni Religiosi Soppresse, Monasteri del Territorio*, contains those of Monte Ortone and Cittadella, while the Archivio di Stato in Venice has the more fragmentary remains of the archive of San Cristoforo, which is the most sparse of the three. Its earliest document dates from 1462 and it contains nothing for the early years of the observance after the convent had been granted to Fra Simone da Camerino in 1435⁶³. From the 1460s and 1470s there are a few wills and notarial instruments of the convent's property transactions, a badly-damaged bull of Sixtus IV with the date missing, but issued in response to a petition from Simone da Camerino for confirmation of the convent's property and therefore presumably before the latter's death on 9 March 1478 at the age of eighty-six. It also contains a notice convening a chapter at San Cristoforo on 16 April 1483 to be presided over by Modesto da

⁶⁰ *Supra* p. 43.

⁶¹ For the convent of Santa Maria di Nazareth cf. Fl. CORNELIO, *Ecclesiae Venetae Antiquis Monumentis...*, Venezia 1749, VI, p. 410 ff., IX, p. 298 ff., XVII (supplementa) p. 385-7. On Garafoli cf. PERINI, *Bibliographia Augustiniana*, II, 12-3, III, 208-9, and on Bondumerio (or Bondumier), *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* XI, p. 739-40 (G. Ferrarese).

⁶² Many of these entries are transcribed in « *Analecta Augustiniana* », 19, p. 110-130.

⁶³ CORNELIO, *Ecclesiae Venetae*, I, p. 272-8, prints several documents for this early period which he found in other collections.

Venezia, a native member who succeeded Simone as vicar general of the congregation.

The archives of the convents of Monte Ortone and Cittadella now preserved in Padua are significantly larger, e.g. the cartulary of Monte Ortone contains 119 documents for the years 1389-1469, a considerable number for a community of observant friars of that size. Many of these are wills and deeds concerning the convent and its property, though a number were simply witnessed and deposited there for safekeeping. Neither convent archive can boast many papal bulls or original letters from the prior general, nor documents issued by the vicar general who must have had some type of chancery. They do contain numerous privileges, both originals and copies, which the congregation received from the Doge Francesco Foscari in return for the services of Simone da Camerino as one of the Venetian negotiators of the Peace of Lodi with Milan in 1454, privileges which were subsequently confirmed by successive doges⁶⁴. If conventual registers were kept to record the letters and privileges received by the convent, other than the ducal ones, these have not survived.

The Archivio di Stato in Milan contains the archives of two of the original member-convents of the Lombard congregation, those of Santa Maria Incoronata in Milan and of Sant'Agostino in Cremona. It also contains some documents from Sant'Agostino in Como and the surviving archive of the nuns at Santa Monica in Crema⁶⁵. For both Santa Maria Incoronata and the Cremona house the archives are — by comparison with others noted here — relatively extensive and there survive several volumes of conventual registers as well as a large number of pergamene. Wills and donations make up a large proportion of the pergamene and the registers record many grants for which the originals do not survive. The two-volume *Libro Negro* for Santa Maria Incoronata is a mine of information and the overall impression in the case of this convent is that during the first two centuries after its foundation in 1445 it acquired a

⁶⁴ Padua, Archivio di Stato: *Santa Maria di Monte Ortone*, busta 49, contains numerous sixteenth-century confirmations; *Santa Maria in Campo Santo*, busta 32, consists of six parchment diplomas 1500-12 issued by the Doges Agostino Barbado and Leonardo Loredano, all re-affirming the privileges of 1454, and busta 17 is a seventeenth-century volume of parchment transcripts of these privileges and all subsequent confirmations up to 1672.

⁶⁵ After the general chapter of all the Augustinian observants in Italy, held at Montespечchio in Tuscany 10 May 1449, had confirmed the establishment of separate congregations respectively for the observant friars of Lombardy, the Veneto, Tuscany, Naples and Rome-Perugia, the first general chapter of the Lombard congregation was held in Milan in 1450. The congregation then consisted of six convents — Crema, Genoa, Bergamo, Milan, Como and Cremona. For the nuns at Crema infra, p. 65-66.

vast number of small legacies which frequently took the form of a house or even rooms in a house from which they received rents, also gardens and small plots of cultivated land, and that this property was scattered throughout every parish in Milan and the Milanese. As in the case of San Salvatore di Lecceto and San Leonardo al Lago there was a considerable amount of buying and selling of pieces of property, usually with the purpose of financing building projects and repairs to the convent and church, but in all cases this activity underlines the thoroughly pragmatic attitude of the Augustinian observants with regard to community property. It is very much in line with the attitude to personal and corporate poverty which the Milanese friar Andrea Biglia considered to be in keeping with the ideal of strict observance⁶⁶.

Crema was the first foundation of the Augustinian observance in Lombardy and it remained the senior house and normal residence of the vicar general of the congregation when in Lombardy, even after Sixtus IV transferred the Roman convent of Santa Maria del Popolo to the congregation in December 1472. Of considerable value for the early history of this convent and the introduction of the observance is the account contained in the sixteenth-century chronicle of Pietro da Terni⁶⁷.

Perhaps most significant of all for the historian of the Lombard congregation of the observance is the work of the seventeenth-century member of the congregation, Donato Calvi da Bergamo. His *Memorie istoriche*, based on a wealth of material from the archives of the congregation and from individual convents, much of it no longer extant, is a mine of information for the early years of the Lombard observance, and in particular for its constitutional position, statutes, capitular legislation, and for its guiding spirits, Giovanni Rocco da Pavia, Giorgio da Cremona, Giovanni da Novara and Agostino Cazzuli da Crema⁶⁸. According to Van Luijk⁶⁹ the

⁶⁶ *Supra*, p. 54-55.

⁶⁷ PIETRO DA TERNI, *Historia di Crema 570-1557*, transcribed by M. and C. VERGA, Crema 1964, p. 174 ff. Pietro's history was used as the basis of A. FINO, *Storia di Crema*, first printed in Venice in 1566, and reprinted with notes by G. RACCHETTI, 2 vols, Crema 1844-5. Neither of these add anything substantial to Terni's account of the origins of the Augustinian observant convent at Crema.

⁶⁸ D. CALVI, OSA, *Memorie istoriche della Congregazione osservante di Lombardia dell'Ordine E. S. A.*, Milano 1669. The only one of this early group of Lombard observant leaders to have been the subject of a separate monograph was Agostino da Crema. Cf. W. TERNI DI GREGORY, *Agostino da Crema, agente sforzesco*, Crema 1950 which, if somewhat amateur in presentation, has the merit of having incorporated a considerable body of original sources. Further see the present author's entry on Agostino Cazzuli da Crema in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (forthcoming). On all four friars there are extensive notes in HERRERA, *Alphabetum Augustinianum* and in PERINI, *Bibliographia Augustiniana*.

⁶⁹ *Les Archives de la Congregation de Lombardie*, « Augustiniana » 18, p. 104.

printed version of Calvi's work represents only one volume and the two further volumes are to be found in manuscript in the Biblioteca Comunale in Bergamo. Calvi was an alumnus of the Augustinian convent in Bergamo and the Biblioteca Comunale there contains many of his notebooks and papers which were transferred from the convent into the public library on the suppression of the convent. Much of this material consists of transcriptions of sources which he used to compile his *Memorie istoriche* and the *Rituale* for the use of the Lombard congregation⁷⁰, but none of these notebooks can be identified with the second and third volumes to which Van Luijk referred.

The observant congregation of Lombardy, like that of Lecce, compiled a set of constitutions adapted for its own needs. These survive in an early sixteenth-century manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice⁷¹ and in two rare printings which also contain the decrees of the general chapters of the congregation from 1450 onwards⁷². The Roman convent of Santa Maria del Popolo, already a member of the observant congregation of Rome-Perugia which bore its name despite the fact that it never seemed to have an official position as mother-house of the congregation, was given to the Lombard congregation at the instigation of the Della Rovere pope Sixtus IV⁷³. Despite the initial reluctance of

⁷⁰ *Rituale Augustinianum Congregationis Obs. Lombardie O. FF. Erem. S. A. ex Constitutionibus, Definitionibus, Cerimoniali, perpetuoque usu eiusdem Congregationis a P. Donato Calvo Bergom. Priore, S. T. L. ac Congreg. Socio Collectum, Et iussu Reverendis P. Fulgentii Alchisii Casal. Vicarii Generalis ad communem Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, et Patrum dictae Congregationis utilitatem...*, Bergamo 1661. The copy which Van Luijk mentioned (*art. cit.* 104) as being in the library of Santo Spirito in Florence has since been transferred to Rome and is in Arch. Gen. OESA.

⁷¹ Cod. 2623 (lat. class. III, 155), which also contains a list of convents acquired by the Lombard congregation during the years 1450-1514.

⁷² *Regula Beatissimi P. Augustini: Constitutiones Congregationis Lombardiae, Diffinitiones capitulares a primo capitulo (1450)*, Mantova 1585; *Regula Beatissimi Patris nostri Augustini. Expositio Ugonis de S. Victore super Regulam, Constitutiones Congregationis Observantiae Lombardiae Diffinitiones antiquae et recentiores Congregationis eiusdem*, Bologna 1699. There is a copy of both printings in Arch. Gen. OESA.

⁷³ There is an enormous amount of material available for the church of Santa Maria del Popolo which, through the re-building 1479-83 patronized by the Della Rovere family and by the cardinal protector of the order Guillaume d'Estouteville, became one of the finest quattrocento churches in Rome. Cf. G. URBAN, *Die Kirchenbaukunst des Quattrocento in Rom. Eine bau- und stilgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, «Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte», 9/10 (1961-2), p. 73-287, especially p. 154-76. T. VALENTI, *Il Contratto per un organo in S. Maria del Popolo a Roma (1499)*, «Note d'Archivio per la Storia Musicale», 10 (1933), p. 289-96, contains on p. 294 a list of the professed friars of the community from which it is clear that all, without exception, were natives of Lombardy who had presumably been assigned to the congregation's Roman convent. Although the church of Santa Maria del Popolo had been taken

the Lombard congregation to accept the church, probably because of the fear — by no means unjustified — that this mark of papal favour might be tinged with overtones of curial policy in the interests of centralization, Santa Maria del Popolo became the Roman headquarters of the congregation and the seat of its procurator general at the papal curia. Hence at Santa Maria del Popolo there were two separate archives, that of the convent and that of the Lombard congregation. The bulk of the former, which is mostly modern and of little value for this study, is now in the Archivio di Stato in Rome, *Fondo corporazioni religiose*, but with a few exceptions the surviving portions of the latter are now in the general archive of the order at Santa Monica⁷⁴. These again are sparse for the period before c. 1500 but there are a few items of value. Some of the defects can be supplemented by the important first volume of the *Chronicon Congregationis S. Augustini de Observantia Lombardie* (1438-1686) compiled from the then more extensive records of Santa Maria del Popolo by Fulgenzio Alghisi during the years following 1655 while he was procurator general⁷⁵.

Any study of the observance would be incomplete without some reference to communities of nuns who adopted the reform, but in the case of female communities sources present a considerable problem. Their convents were usually small, not particularly wealthy and relatively unimportant, hence there seemed little reason for them to maintain an elaborate archive. Even in the fifteenth century communities of nuns living according to the rule of St Augustine were not organized into a single coherent order or congregation as were the male communities. The latter usually exercised a kind of protectorate over the local community of nuns, even in several cases where these were Dominican nunneries⁷⁶, and some of the nuns were reformed to strict observance by a nearby male observant house. In such cases the nuns naturally figure in the sources for the male convent. An unusual feature of the Lombard congregation was the foundation of nuns closely affiliated to the congregation. The nuns were to have all the customary privileges and exemptions,

from the Franciscan order in 1252 by Innocent IV in order to give it to the newly-united order of Augustinian hermits, the Franciscan editors of the *Bullarium Franciscanum* occasionally took up references to the church from a later date, cf. *Bullarium Franciscanum*, ed. I. M. POU Y MARTI, OFM, n. s. II (Quaracchi 1939), nr. 1443, and n. s. III (Quaracchi 1949) nr. 334.

⁷⁴ For a detailed inventory of these archives with the present location of the surviving items, cf. VAN LUIJK, *Les Archives de la Congrégation de Lombardie*, p. 105-114.

⁷⁵ Located in Arch. Gen. OESA.

⁷⁶ The reverse was often equally true, and communities of nuns following the *Regula S. Augustini* were committed to the care of orders other than the Augustinian friars. Numerous bulls for Augustinian nuns are cited in TORELLI, *Secoli Agostiniani*, passim.

to live according to the regular observance and to share in all the indulgences granted by the papacy to the Augustinian province of Lombardy. The earliest and most important of these convents was Santa Monica in Crema, whose archive survives in the Archivio di Stato in Milan ⁷⁷. The chapter of the Lombard congregation legislated for the nuns, but not even in Crema did the nuns achieve for their convent full status as a member of the congregation or direct representation at the chapter ⁷⁸.

Again in the case of nuns affiliated to the observance in Umbria or to the congregation of Santa Maria del Popolo — in the latter case the transfer of the convent from which the congregation took its name to the Lombard congregation in 1472 made little practical difference — most of our information comes from the sources relating primarily to the male communities, and in the case of the nuns affiliated to Santa Maria del Popolo occasionally from the Dd registers of the priors general ⁷⁹. On 4 June 1463 Pius II issued a bull to Maddalena, abbess of the monastery of Santa Elisabetta in Foligno, who had petitioned that her community might be allowed to submit themselves to the Augustinian friars of regular observance in the town (San Nicolò). The pope granted this request, further extending to them all the graces and privileges normally accorded to the nuns under the order's care, but without any more specific details ⁸⁰. This use of common form, similar to that used in papal bulls addressed to officials and communities of male orders, suggests that, although so little material of this nature has survived, there was also in the case of the nuns a clearly established corpus of procedures and prerogatives which would be understood by the recipients of the bull and which did not require further papal definition or elaboration. In all probability the privileges concerned were those accorded to the communities of nuns under the control of Santa Maria del Popolo.

The seventeenth century was the great age of Augustinian historiography and has been recognized as such ⁸¹. But Father Roth

⁷⁷ *Reg. Lat.* 479, fol. 132r-133r, and *Reg. Lat.* 477, fol. 239v-240v, contain the bulls of Nicholas V 23 March 1452 authorising the foundation of the convent of nuns of Santa Monica in Crema.

⁷⁸ CALVI, *Memorie istoriche*, p. 70. The vicar general of the congregation was ex officio visitor and superior of the nuns, and it seems likely that the prior of the male convent in Crema would have acted as their procurator at the chapters of the congregation. A bull of Paul II in 1470 re-affirmed that all the privileges extended to the Lombard congregation should apply also to the nuns of the congregation, and it is printed in EMPOLI, *Bullarium O.E.S.A.*, p. 275-6.

⁷⁹ *Supra* p. 43.

⁸⁰ *Reg. Lat.* 587, fol. 108 (111)v - 109 (112)r.

⁸¹ Roth, 'Augustinian Historians of the Seventeenth Century', *supra* n. 14.

concentrated on those who wrote on the history of the order as a whole and especially on those whose interests were diplomatic or annalistic. Hence he is useful on Herrera, who compiled a reference work, or Torelli, who collected documents concerning the order at large, but ignores those who concentrated on local history, on particular convents, provinces or congregations. Particularly noteworthy among these was the historian of the congregation of Lecceto, Ambrogio Landucci (1599-1669), who was himself a member of the congregation and on three occasions its vicar general before being appointed bishop of Porfirio by Alexander VII in 1655⁸². Landucci entered the order at San Martino in Siena and in 1629 became prior of Lecceto. From this date until his elevation to the episcopacy he published a number of historical works about the congregation and its members⁸³. His purpose was frankly apologetic and he was an ardent propagator of many of the myths which had given the hermitage at Lecceto a special place in the spiritual tradition of the order. But he did make extensive use of the archives of the convents in Siena and of the hermitages in the surrounding countryside, and he cited both these and the printed sources which he consulted with care and precision. Without his efforts our knowledge of the early history of the Augustinian observance would be poorer.

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⁸² 30 August 1655, Cf. P. GAUCHAT, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii et Recentioris Aevi*, IV, Monasterii 1935, p. 285, and also PERINI, *Bibliographia Augustiniana* II, p. 143-5.

⁸³ In particular *Sacra Ilicetana Selva, sive origo et chronicon breve coenobii, et congregationis de Iliceto in Hetruria Ord. E. S. P. in Tuscia*, Siena 1653. An Italian version with a similar title was published in Rome in 1657, but it is not a translation of the same work. The two versions are different in form and contain different material. Following Torelli's distinction the Latin version is usually cited as *Cronica* and the Italian version as *Selva*. In 1645 Landucci became for a brief period prior of Sant'Agostino in Rome and the following year he published a study of the basilica of Santa Maria del Popolo: *Origine del Tempio Dedicato in Roma alla Vergine Madre di Dio Maria presso alla Porta Flaminia, detto hoggi del Popolo*, Roma 1646. He also published some of the writings of a fourteenth-century prior of Lecceto, *Immagine del B. Niccolò Mariscotti, detto il Profeta di Siena*, Roma 1656. In the *Sacra Ilicetana Selva* Landucci included a list of authorities which he had consulted, including the *Commentarii* of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who as Pius II visited Lecceto on 4 April 1459. But Landucci's account of the visit is more concerned with hagiography and in particular with the pope's meeting with the hermit Cristoforo Landucci, and he makes little use in fact of the *Commentarii*.