

“Abbot Jacob Panhausen of Steinfeld’s *Praefatio in Regulam Divi Aurelii Augustini Hypponensis Episcopi* (1570 Text and Commentary)”

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## **Introduction**

In a time of internal institutional decline and external challenges, what is the possible remedy for a renewal of religious life? How can one be faithful to a centuries old way of life, while at the same time be responsive to the needs and demands of contemporary society? How can an older religious order remain faithful to its charism, while at the same time answer the challenges of totally new situations? The Premonstratensian Order, burdened by the problems facing many older orders by the sixteenth century, would find the inspiration to rise to these challenges through a rejuvenated commitment to its own particular way of life, rooted in the ancient teachings of *The Rule of St. Augustine* and the strong pastoral ideals of the Gregorian reform epitomized by their founder St. Norbert of Xanten.

An important and often overlooked figure in this crucial time of survival and renewal was Jacob Panhausen, abbot of Steinfeld and vicar general of the Westphalian circary from 1540-1582, a reign initiated before the Council of Trent and symbolically ending the same year as the canonization of St. Norbert. In the midst of the confessional fault lines in sixteenth century Germany where the religious way of way of life was still radically under siege and quite precarious, the work of Abbot Panhausen stands as a crucial link between the late medieval reformers and the generation after the Council of Trent which would bear such fine fruit in early modern Europe, and produce in a sense “a silver age” of the Premonstratensian Order which would endure to the new cataclysm of the French

Revolution and Napoleon. As Fr. Bernard Ardura, the prominent historian of the Premonstratensians in the Reformation era, says of Panhausen: “Amid controversies and relaxation on the part of some religious communities, Abbot James Panhausen appears as a zealous prelate and a precursor of regular reform. In that capacity, he deserves to be better known.”<sup>1</sup>

Among his unpublished writings on the religious life, Abbot Panhausen in 1570 produced an opusculum summarising the contents and meaning of the Rule of St Augustine, entitled *Praefatio in Regulam Divi Aurelii Augustini Hypponensis Episcopi*. In this most useful work the abbot discusses what he considered the most salient features of Premonstratensian religious life, in a brief and accessible format designed to instruct and exhort with eloquence and clarity those in his spiritual care. This article will present an annotated edition of the Latin text for the first time, as well as an overview of its contents, teachings and sources. Additionally, the article will also present the edited text of his short but useful prologue to a longer Commentary on the Rule of St Augustine.

### **Historical Context of the *Praefatio in Regulam***

As an integral expression of the Order’s spirituality from its very beginnings in the twelfth century, the *Rule of St Augustine*, supplemented by the various revisions of the order’s constitutions, remained central to Premonstratensian spirituality. This was evident in the legal and hagiographical expressions of the Order’s ethos, as well as extended discussions such as those of Adam of Dryburgh

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<sup>1</sup> Bernard Ardura (translated by Edward Hagman), *The Order of Prémontré: History and Spirituality* (De Pere, WI: Paisa Publishing, 1995), p. 201.

and others.<sup>2</sup> Besides these internal reflections on the spirituality of the Rule, medieval Premonstratensians also applied the teachings of the *religio Augustinii* on the nature of community life, leadership and charity to issues of doctrine and reform facing the wider church. Examples of this include the reflections of Anselm of Havelberg in his *Anticimenon*,<sup>3</sup> and the reform sermons given by Premonstratensians at the fifteenth century councils at Constance and Basel.<sup>4</sup>

The middle decades of the sixteenth century were not good ones for the fortunes of the Premonstratensian order. At the time of the promulgation of new statutes at the general chapter of 1505, few canons could have foreseen the ominous storm clouds on the horizon.<sup>5</sup> The need for reform had long been acknowledged, and from the fifteenth century onwards sporadic reform efforts had continued in some sectors of the Order. Isolated examples of reform did exist, such as the well-documented visitation of the English abbeys by Bishop Redman, abbot of Shap and

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<sup>2</sup> Essential studies of the place of the Rule in early Premonstratensian spirituality include Caroline Walker Bynum, “The Spirituality of Regular Canons in the Twelfth Century” in *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 22-58; Theodore J. Antry, O. Praem. and Carol Neel, *Norbert and Early Norbertine Spirituality* (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 2007), 1-28; Ardura, *The Order of Prémontré: History and Spirituality*, pp. 1-143; Francois Petit (translated by Victor Szczurek), *The Spirituality of the Premonstratensians: the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press and Cistercian Publications, 2011).

<sup>3</sup> For an insightful analysis, see the Introduction by the translators to Anselm of Havelberg (Trs Ambrose Criste, O. Praem., & Carol Neel) *Anticimenon: On the Unity of the Faith and the Controversies with the Greeks* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press and Cistercian Publications, 2010), pp. 1-39.

<sup>4</sup> William P. Hyland, “Premonstratensian Voices of Reform at the Fifteenth Century Councils.” In *Reassessing Reform: A Historical Investigation into Church Renewal*. Edited by Christopher M. Bellitto and David Zachariah Flanagan. (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2012), pp. 208-230

<sup>5</sup> See J.B. Valvekens, “Le Chapitre général et les Statuts prémontrés de 1505,” *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 13 (1938), pp. 5-46.

bishop of Ely, or the continuing attempts of the abbots of Steinfeld to coordinate reform in their region of Germany.<sup>6</sup> But these efforts do not effectively ameliorate a much larger picture of serious and endemic problems in many parts of the Order. Many of the most important French abbeys, including Premontre itself, had fallen into *commendam*, essentially a debilitating lay control. Difficulties brought on by wars and incipient national rivalries, e.g. between France and Spain, deeply imperiled efforts to maintain the central governance of the order, or any coherent structure at all.<sup>7</sup> The abbeys in Bohemia and Moravia continued to reel from the disruption and physical destruction of the Hussite wars of the fifteenth century; while the promising reform work of Provost Fegyverneky of Saag in Hungary was halted by the Turkish conquest of that kingdom following the Battle of Mohacs in 1526.<sup>8</sup> But above all, the rise and spread of Protestantism threatened the elimination of all religious orders, including the Premonstratensians, in those parts of Europe where it proved triumphant. Thus the Norbertine order by the middle of the sixteenth century had completely disappeared in much of northern and central

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<sup>6</sup> On Redman's visitations, see Joseph Gribbin, *The Premonstratensian Order in Late Medieval Britain* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge:2001), pp. 20-100. For Steinfeld's role in reform activities, see Johannes Meier, "Die nordwestdeutschen Pramonstratenser angesichts von Verfall und Reform des Ordens 1350-1550", *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 79 (2003) pp. 25-56.

<sup>7</sup> For an excellent overview of this period, with bibliography, see Bernard Ardura (Edward Hagman, tr.; Roman Vanasse, ed.), *The Order of Prémontré: History and Spirituality*. Paisa Publishing: De Pere, 1995), pp. 147-232.

<sup>8</sup> A. Oszvald, "Fegyverneky Ferenc, sági prépsot, rendi visitator. 1506-1535", in *Emlékkönyv Szent Norbert halálának 800 éves jubileumára* (Niadja a Jászó-Premontrei Kanonkren Gödöll i Konventje, 1934), pp. 51-108; also see Bernard Ardura (Edward Hagman, tr.; Roman Vanasse, ed.), *The Order of Prémontré: History and Spirituality*, pp. 229-233.

Germany, Scandinavia, and England, with further losses on the horizon in Scotland, Ireland and parts of the Low Countries.

The Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century challenged and threatened the very existence of the monastic ideal. This threat, along with endemic problems such as laxity and the widespread persistence of commendatory abbots, urgently required a fresh articulation of the traditional ideals of religious life. This imperative was complemented by a strong humanist impulse among Catholic reformers to look to the early Church, particularly the Scriptures and the Church Fathers, for inspiration and direction. For its part, the Council of Trent in 1563 directed the older religious orders to seek guidance in their renewal by turning to the observance and spirit of their respective rules and ancient discipline.<sup>9</sup> In the case of the Premonstratensians, this meant a renewed attention to the Rule of St Augustine and the life and work of Norbert of Xanten.<sup>10</sup>

In this rather grave situation, with the very existence of the order at stake, Nicholas Psaume, first abbot and then bishop of Verdun, followed by the vigorous abbot general John Despruets began the process of essentially saving the Order and guiding it toward what would eventually be a significant era of reform, revival and renewal in the seventeenth century. Nicholas Psaume began the work of articulating a specific spirituality based upon observance of the Augustinian Rule in his capitular orations.<sup>11</sup> Abbot General Despruets along with his tireless efforts to knit the Order

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<sup>9</sup> Council of Trent, Session XXV, Decree on Reform of Regulars, Chapter 1. (1563)

<sup>10</sup> Bernard Ardura, *The Order of Prémontré: History and Spirituality*, pp. 277-280.

<sup>11</sup> Bernard Ardura, "Les exhortations capitulaires de Nicolas Psaume", *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 53 (1987), pp. 26-69.

together on an administrative level and obtain the official canonization of St Norbert, produced a commentary on the Rule of St Augustine which remains unedited.<sup>12</sup>

It was in this context that Abbot Panhausen guided his community through such challenging times. Here it is only possible to provide a brief summary of Panhausen's life.<sup>13</sup> The future abbot was born near Liege of an important local family around 1500, educated there by the Brethren of the Common Life, and completed his studies in Cologne. From them he would have absorbed the piety of the *Devotio Moderna*, as well as a humanist education, and both are strongly reflected in his writings. He professed at Steinfeld and had several jobs there, including cellarer, which was a position of important responsibility in handling the economic affairs of an abbey. Panhausen's capability resulted in him being given many duties by the abbots John Schuys de Ahrweiler and Simon Diepenbach. When Abbot Diepenbach succumbed to the plague, Panhausen was elected abbot November 4, 1540, and confirmed by the abbot general, despite the efforts of some secular princes to interfere in the election.<sup>14</sup>

Abbot Panhausen was deeply involved in the wider affairs of the order in those troubled times. The unstable conditions of the period are attested to by the

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<sup>12</sup> Ardura, *The Order of Prémontré: History and Spirituality*, p. 235.

<sup>13</sup> Panhausen still lacks a full biographical study. The following brief overview is drawn from the most detailed biographical treatments of Panhausen to date: L. Goovaerts, *Ecrivains, artistes et savants de l'Ordre de Prémontré*, (Brussels, 1902-1907) II, pp. 11-13; Bernard Ardura, *The Order of Prémontré: History and Spirituality*, pp. 198-201 follows closely Jean-Baptiste Valvekens, "Jacobus Panhausen, Abbas Steinfeldensis", *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 54 (1978), pp. 99-104. For a most useful overview with excellent bibliography, see Jan Gertis, "Jacob Panhuysen van Opoeteren, abt van Steinfeld. Een kloosterhervormer, ascetisch schrijver en humanist uit de 16de eeuw", in *Heemkunde Limburg*, 2006, no. 2, pp. 10-15.

<sup>14</sup> Valvekens, "Jacobus Panhausen, Abbas Steinfeldensis", p. 110; Jan Gertis, "Jacob Panhuysen van Opoeteren, abt van Steinfeld", pp. 10-12.

fact that Panhausen, like most abbots, for very legitimate reasons was not able to attend any general chapter held during his long 42 year tenure as abbot. As the General chapter as late as 1584, two years after Panhausen's death under General Despruets, stated: "the Chapter has excused the abbots of the circaries of Floreffe, Brabant, et Flanders, Frisia and Germany, because of wars and letters of excuse sent to the chapter."<sup>15</sup> Goovaerts asserts that Panhausen was made vicar general of the order for the circaries of Westphalia, Wadgassen, Iveldia, Dacia/Denmark, Norway, Saxony, Poland, Moravia and Sclavonia.<sup>16</sup> In the Netherlands Panhausen struggled to defend the rights of the abbeys from episcopal assertions of jurisdiction. With the full cooperation of Abbot General Despruets, whose confidence he enjoyed, Abbot Panhausen aided reform efforts throughout the German and Bohemian circaries.<sup>17</sup> Thus Panhausen was very involved in the affairs of the Order, far beyond his immediate duties as abbot of Steinfeld.

Within Steinfeld, as a young abbot he reorganized the abbey school and determined that the lessons in philosophy and theology should occur on a daily basis. With that goal in mind, he also campaigned for an expanded monastic library.<sup>18</sup> Abbot Panhausen also presided over the final stages of the famed stained glass windows in the Steinfeld cloister, and made other material improvements.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Valvekens, "Jacobus Panhausen, Abbas Steinfeldensis", p. 101.

<sup>16</sup> L. Goovaerts, *Ecrivains, artistes et savants de l'Ordre de Prémontré*, II, pp. 11-13.

<sup>17</sup> For a letter from Despruets to Panhausen, see J. Gerits, "Documents inedite sur les visites canoniques de Jean Despreuts, abbe-general de premontre au XVIe siècle", in *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 44 (1968), pp. 117-127.

<sup>18</sup> Jan Gertis, "Jacob Panhuysen van Opoeteren, abt van Steinfeld."

<sup>19</sup> Jan Gertis, "Jacob Panhuysen van Opoeteren, abt van Steinfeld"; William P. Hyland, "The Stained Glass *Biblia Pauperum* Windows of Steinfeld Abbey: Monastic

The intellectual reputation of Panhausen is attested by the great Greek patristics scholar, jurist and philologist Laurentius Sifanus, professor at Ingolstadt, who among other accomplishments prepared an important edition of the works of Gregory of Nyssa. In 1567 Sifanus fled Cologne because of plague and was given refuge by Panhausen. At Steinfeld Sifanus prepared an edition and translation of the important byzantine theologian Theophylactus, and refers flatteringly in a letter to a friend to the erudition and piety of Abbot Panhausen.<sup>20</sup>

Panhausen's own writings seem to have been intended primarily for his own canons or similar monastic audiences. As late as 1768 a manuscript was attested at Steinfeld,<sup>21</sup> which is now located in Trier; they also survive in a manuscript at Averbode abbey, written in a contemporary hand.<sup>22</sup> Besides the *Praefatio in Regulam*, the writings consist of a treatise on princely rule; a long commentary on the Rule of St. Augustine;<sup>23</sup> a brief biography of St. Augustine drawn from Possidius; and then short spiritual conferences given by Panhausen to his confreres on various monastic subjects. Two of these have been edited by Fr. Valvekens, and I am currently preparing a volume in translation.<sup>24</sup> Additionally, Panhausen's *Visitationsprotokolle* from the years 1549-1577 also survives.<sup>25</sup>

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Spirituality, Salvation History and the Theological Imagination." in *The Moving Text: David Brown and Biblical Studies in Dialogue*. (Forthcoming, SCM Press, 2018).

<sup>20</sup> Valvekens, "Jacobus Panhausen, Abbas Steinfeldensis", p. 104.

<sup>21</sup> L. Goovaerts, *Ecrivains, artistes et savants de l'Ordre de Prémontré*, II, pp. 11-13.

<sup>22</sup> Averbode, Abdijarchief, IV, hs. 330; Trier, Stadtbibliothek, hs. 2199/1818.

<sup>23</sup> This is discussed by Fr. Jean-Baptiste Valvekens, "Abbatis I. Panhausen Commentaria in 'Regulam' S. Augustini", *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 54 (1978), pp. 144-165.

<sup>24</sup> Fr. Jean-Baptiste Valvekens, "Exhortatio pia abbatis Panhausen, abbatis Steinfeldensis 1572"; and "Abbatis Panhausen Tractatus de Monasticae Vitae Cultoribus atque religiosorum votis", in *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 54 (1978), pp.



## ***Praefatio in Regulam: Content and Sources***

In this opusculum Abbot Panhausen sets forth the contents of the Augustinian Rule in a manner that not only summarizes its teachings on the religious life, but also its implications for larger issues of church reform. Besides the Rule itself, he draws extensively upon the Sacred Scriptures, particularly the letters of St Paul, the Gospels, and the Wisdom literature. The abbot will also reference legal texts (both civil and ecclesiastical) and classical writers such as Sallust to help reinforce his moral exhortations.

The tumultuous German context is implicitly present from the very opening of the text, and reveals something of the abbot's temperament and insights after three decades of leadership. His articulation of the central importance of law and the relationship of all social order to the religious life displays both his humanist values and moral concerns, and thus he begins by quoting, as usual without naming his sources, Justinian, Gratian, and Sallust. Interestingly Panhausen then seamlessly ties this in with St Paul and also evokes the daily liturgy of the Church by quoting the *Benedictus*, stressing how all desire a tranquil life benevolently guided by good laws and magistrates. Plato is then quoted to assert that laws which lead men to virtue are preferable to those that merely punish. This quote of Plato is taken *verbatim*, without citation, from a work of Bishop Julius von Pflug (*Iulius Pflugius*) entitled *De ordinanda republica Germaniae Oratio*, first published seven years before in 1563.

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166-190 and 191-219. I am currently preparing a volume with a translation and analysis of these two opuscula under the title *Jacob Panhausen of Steinfeld: A Loving Exhortation to Prelates and their Subjects & Treatise on Monastic Life and Religious Vows* (Liturgical Press and Cistercian Publications, forthcoming).

<sup>25</sup> Dusseldorf, Staatsarchiv, *Akten Steinfeld*, II, 179.

The fact that the abbot was reading von Pflug is instructive. The last Catholic bishop of Naumburg until his death in 1564, von Pflug was a Catholic reformer, a humanist who corresponded with Erasmus, and one who tirelessly worked for religious peace. He was involved in the Augsburg Interim and Leipzig Interim, and in his own diocese worked with Lutherans in quite difficult circumstances. The *Oratio* quoted by Panhausen was a plea for religious peace after the abdication of the Emperor Charles V.<sup>26</sup> In many ways, Panhausen seems to have shared many of the same sensibilities and hopes of Pflugius, indicative of the generation of Catholic reformers who straddled both sides of the Council of Trent.

After this rhetorical introduction setting the context, Panhausen turns his attention explicitly to St Augustine, for whom he provides a brief but eloquent encomium. Finding a world mired in wickedness, the abbot declares that Augustine composed a rule to specifically remedy the threefold concupiscence of the eyes, flesh, and pride of life by establishing a *monasterium clericorum*. He provided so well in this regard that no mortal has ever done better. Panhausen then proceeds to consider in turn each of the main sections of the Rule, stressing that at the heart of the saint's teachings is love of God and neighbor. He elaborates on this fundamentally Augustinian outlook by quoting the Johannine and Pauline epistles along with the Psalms. The various vices which undermine this love must be remedied by the appropriate virtues. This is the purpose of not only monastic rules, but also more generally clerical discipline. Thus Panhausen refers to the fact that for the purpose of clerical reform ecumenical and general councils have been

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<sup>26</sup> See Jacques Pollit, *Julius Pflug (1499-1564) et la crise religieuse dans l'Allemagne du XVIe siècle* (Leiden: Brill, 1990).

summoned very often (*saepius*), and have instituted many canons and laws. One wonders here if the abbot has in mind the Council of Trent, or the fifteenth century councils, the great councils of antiquity, or perhaps all of these. These laws, however, mean nothing, he asserts, if the spirit does not revive and permeate them, and he again refers to Augustine and his use of the medical metaphor to remedy sin. For Panhausen, it is the gift of grace which makes a meaningful observance of these rules possible, for only empowered with grace “we will observe those things which have been written in the joy of our hearts.”<sup>27</sup>

Keeping in mind this primacy of charity and the transforming work of grace, Panhausen then proceeds to discuss how the Rule provides guidance with particular virtues. The first is the prohibition against private ownership, and how by following apostolic example these precepts allow charity to foster and preserve the “*vinculum perfectionis*.” All the brethren, whether originally of poor or wealthy state in life, must embrace equality in charity. Likewise, in his description of those who hold office in the monastery and their obligation to prevent contentious behavior, Panhausen emphasizes how the superior must lead by example, serving all in charity. The abbot then proceeds to treat briefly in turn liturgical life, dietary matters, care for the sick, and the importance of silence and contemplation. Modesty and moderation must be observed at all times, and the religious must cultivate a consciousness of the need to preserve a pure integrity of mind and heart. Finally, the themes of fraternal correction, stewardship and obedience are briefly addressed. As

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<sup>27</sup> *Praefatio*, sec. 10. Henceforth I will refer to any quotations by the paragraph number provided in the edition below.

he states, with perhaps contemporary Protestant challenges in mind, “there is nothing in these matters that does not taste of evangelical and apostolic teaching.”<sup>28</sup>

Having explored the main precepts of the Rule, Abbot Panhausen addresses the reader directly, acknowledging that it might seem like the Rule has many commands. But he instructs that this multitude is only apparent, for “they are really all one, rooted in charity (*unum in radice charitatis*).”<sup>29</sup> Just as many branches proceed from one tree, he continues, all the virtues proceed from charity. No branch will remain fruitful if not rooted in charity. To cultivate this charity, the Rule should be read weekly, and as the Rule itself states, be used as a mirror for honest self-examination and spiritual growth. Shifting to floral imagery, Panhausen states: “If one attentively reads and re-reads it, certainly it is a garden of delights, a flower of the meadow, a lily of the valley, and also a treasury of all sound teaching.”<sup>30</sup> There then follows a brief poem, and more imagery from the Song of Songs.

Having gone through the main precepts of the Rule, Panhausen moves on to more general topics related to moral reform. He begins with the potentially very controversial topic, “On faith and works in Christ” (*De fide et operibus in Christo*).<sup>31</sup> While this choice of subject clearly reflects a controversy at the heart of Reformation debates, the abbot strikes no polemical tone. In fact, he does not mention the term “justification” at all, clearly an attempt to avoid the controversy. He does moreover give priority to faith as being necessary as a part of purification and sanctification,

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<sup>28</sup> “Nihil sane hic est quod non Evangelicam et Apostolicam sapiat doctrinam.”

*Praefatio*, sec. 19.

<sup>29</sup> *Praefatio*, sec. 20.

<sup>30</sup> *Praefatio*, sec. 21.

<sup>31</sup> *Praefatio*, sec. 23.

and quotes St Paul three times in this discussion. This approach, while it in no way contradicts the Council of Trent on the subject, again seems to place as a moderate and Pauline Catholic, primarily concerned with exhortation to life in Christ and the Spirit.

The tone of exhortation continues as Panhausen addresses superiors directly, urging that they must practice what they preach, and be known by their actions and not just words. In this manner they will enflame their subjects to a more ardent Christian life. While fear and love on the part of subjects are both needed for a superior to be effective, the abbot asserts that love is preferable, and cites Sallust to support his point. Likewise, reverence and obedience are due to prelates, even when their behavior is found wanting. This obedience must not be merely external, but rather deeply interior, offered *ex intimo cordis affectu*.<sup>32</sup> A poem then follows which besides biblical and classical allusions, interestingly contains a brief mention of St. Norbert as their leader in the spiritual struggle. In this poem Panhausen also refers to the disturbed and perilous times in which they live.

A real feeling of the urgency of the need for reform is strikingly present as Panhausen then laments how many clerics and prelates do not live up to their calling. This has led and will lead more and more people to cast aside ecclesiastical jurisdiction, “unless finally we arise from sleep and turn our feet into the path of the testimonies of God,” while there is still time.<sup>33</sup> Panhausen continues with exhortations drawn from the Sermon on the Mount and Psalms, urging all clerics to act in accord with the profession of their lips, for all else is vanity. A list of various

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<sup>32</sup> *Praefatio*, sec. 29.

<sup>33</sup> *Praefatio*, sec. 34.

types of human temptations to avoid is drawn from St. Paul, followed by a brief poem to the reader. The opusculum is dated to the feast of St John the Baptist, that is June 24<sup>th</sup>, 1570.

I have also included in this article an edition of an additional brief preface which precedes Panhausen's actual Commentary on the Rule of St. Augustine, presumably written in 1573 along with the Commentary itself. This is a fairly straightforward note to the reader indicating Panhausen's motivations for writing the Commentary, and ends with the following short but salient statement of his teaching:

“Obedience, chastity and poverty are the basis and foundations of the entire religious discipline. If these are not preserved with precision, it is inevitable that the whole edifice will sink into ruin.”

### **Manuscripts and Text**

The following edition of this opusculum and short preface to the Rule, respectively, is based upon a manuscript found in Averbode Abbey, Abdijarchief, IV, hs. 330, fols. 11a-18b.<sup>34</sup> The manuscript consists of various writings of Abbot Panhausen.<sup>35</sup> It is written in a fine humanistic hand, with the text extending across

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<sup>34</sup> I am most grateful to Fr. Herman Janssens, O.Praem., the archivist of Averbode Abbey, for kindly providing me with a digital copy of this manuscript. I would also like to express my thanks to Professor Ulrich Leinsle, O.Praem., for his careful eye and editorial suggestions.

<sup>35</sup> For a list of these works in the manuscript, see Fr. Jean-Baptiste Valvekens, “Abbatis I. Panhausen Commentaria in ‘Regulam’ S. Augustini”, pp. 149-150.

the whole page, with no columns. Another extant copy of the *Praefatio* is found in Trier, Stadtbibliothek, hs. 2199/1818, fols. 46-54.<sup>36</sup>

The basis of the edition provided here is the Averbode manuscript. I have provided a punctuation and numbered paragraph structure, and followed the capitalization of the manuscript. I have also moved section titles from the margins into the main text, and given those in bold type. In general Abbot Panhausen does not name his sources directly. Biblical quotations and direct quotations from other sources have been identified and italicized, with the references being given in the footnotes. The *carmina* found in paragraphs 31 and 41, respectively, had been previously transcribed by Fr. Valvekens in his article on Panhausen.<sup>37</sup> The rest of the text is presented here for the first time.

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<sup>36</sup> For a description of this manuscript and its contents, see Gottfried Kentenich, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier. Sechstes Heft. Ascetische Schriften. 2. Abteilung. Nachträge* (Trier: Kommissionsverlag der Fr. Lintzchen buchhandlung, 1910), pp. 157-158.

<sup>37</sup> Fr. Jean-Baptiste Valvekens, "Abbatis I. Panhausen Commentaria in 'Regulam' S. Augustini", pp. 156-157.

Averbode, Abdijarchief, IV, hs. 330.

[11a]

**Praefatio in Regulam Divi Aurelii Augustini Hypponensis Episcopi.**

1. Omnes populi legibus et constitutionibus lactatissimis reguntur:<sup>38</sup> *et in demum mihi vivere et anima frui videntur,*<sup>39</sup> qui vitam suam iuxta illas, veluti ad lydium lapidem metiuntur, pie et iuste viventes in hoc saeculo, *expectantesque beatam spem et adventum domini nostri Iesu Christi.*<sup>40</sup> Infelix certe et importunus Reipublicae status, qui non legibus, non maiorum decretis, non principum placitis; sed temeritate, libidine ac concitatae multitudinis regitur furore. *Sunt etiam mortales nonnulli ventri dediti atque somno, indocti, incultique, vitam veluti peregrinantes transigentes, quibus profecto contra naturam (ut ille inquit)<sup>41</sup> corpus voluptati, anima oneri;* quorum vita atque mors iuxta aestimanda est. Qui dum vitam in ocio transegerint mox omne genus vitiorum se ingerit, corrupti mores, iurgia,

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<sup>38</sup> This opening echoes the line in the *Proemium* of Justinian's *Institutiones*: "Omnes vero populi legibus iam a nobis vel promulgatis vel compositis reguntur."

*Justinian's Institutes* (Latin text by Paul Krueger, Trs. Peter Birks and Grant McLeod, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), p. 35. This in turn echoed the opening of the *Institutes* of Gaius: "Omnes populi qui legibus et moribus reguntur partim suo proprio, partim communi omnium hominum iure utuntur." *The Institutes of Gaius* (Latin text by Seckel and Krueger, Trs. W.M. Gordon and O.F. Robinson, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), p. 18.

<sup>39</sup> Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*, Ch. 2, v. 9. For a modern edition, see *Sallust's Bellum Catilinae*, ed. J.T. Ramsey, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

<sup>40</sup> See Titus 2:13.

<sup>41</sup> Sallust *Bellum Catilinae*, Ch. 2, v. 8. In general Panhausen's opening is indebted to the opening sections of this work of Sallust.



contentiones, seditiones, inobedientia erga magistratum; et ne quid amplius dicam hi Davi<sup>42</sup> cum sint legum osores, perturbant omnia.

### **Officium legum quod sit**

2. Officium legum est honesta suadere, necessaria iubere, prohibere iniqua, permittere licita, quaedam etiam minus licita, ut vitentur graviora. Causa constitutionis legum, ut earum metu refrenetur audacia, et formidato supplicio, peccandi libido reprimatur : sitque, inter improbos tuta innocentia, et in talionibus modus et aequalitas servetur.<sup>43</sup> Archesilaus philosophus dicere solitus erat, *quemadmodum, ubi multi essent medici, ibi multi sunt morbi: ubi permultae leges, ibi plurimum esse vitiorum.*<sup>44</sup>

### **Quare leges institutae**

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<sup>42</sup> A reference to the reluctant slave who makes his appearance in Terence's comedy *Andria*, v. 194. For a modern edition, see *Andria by Terence*, Tr. by G.P. Shipp (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 2002).

<sup>43</sup> This section echoes closely Gratian's *Decretum*, Dist. IV, pars I, cap. 1. See *Decretum Magistri Gratiani*. Edited by Emil Friedberg. In *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, volume 1. (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1879. Reprint Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1959), pp. 5-6.

<sup>44</sup> A traditional proverb attributed to the Academic Skeptic philosopher Arcesilaus, 315-240 BC. See Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae Philosophorum* Bk 4, c. 6. See the edition by H.S. Long (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964).

3. Vas illud electionis Divus Paulus ad hoc legem inprimis positam et constitutam esse affirmat, inquam *Lex propter transgressores posita est*,<sup>45</sup> ut coerceat, scilicet praevaricatores, bonos atque innocentes ab iniuria et contumeliis superbiorum, et iniqua agentium [11b] benigne paterneque tueatur, quo tranquillior vitam agentes serviant Deo Optimo Maximo *in sanctitate et iustitia omnibus diebus vitae* suae.<sup>46</sup> Et eas potissimum ob causas datae sunt leges, regulae praescriptae sunt, addita sunt et mandata, ut Deus inprimis agnoscat, agnitus pure colatur, diligatur proximus, et religio pro reverentia conservetur. Sit igitur religio ita constituta, ut in ea bonis utile sit atque honestum<sup>47</sup> honorificum vivere honeste, sceleratis autem calamitosum male facere. Plato philosophorum facile princeps (si quid ex prophanis in rem sacram affere fas erit) leges quae supplicia in sceleratos constituunt, probat: tamen eas quae homines adducunt ad virtutem et ita formant, ut praemio potius, quam poena digni sunt, his anteponit.<sup>48</sup>

4. Divus itaque Aurelius Augustinus clarus, fama super aethera notus, neque sanctitate, neque doctrina ullo inferior praeclaro homine: quem propter elegantiam doctrinae summamque fidem et probitatem, merito charissimum habemus omnes. Idem iam episcopus ordinatus, atque dono spiritus sancti repletus, videns mundum in maligno positum, et nihil in eo superesse praeter concupiscentiam oculorum, concupiscentiam carnis, et superbiam vitae<sup>49</sup>: vulneri

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<sup>45</sup> Galatians 3:19, with *transgressores* for the more usual biblical *transgressiones*.

<sup>46</sup> The end of this sentence partially quotes Luke 1:75, from the *Benedictus*.

<sup>47</sup> This word is partially crossed out in the manuscript.

<sup>48</sup> This sentence is taken verbatim from Iulius Pflugius, *De ordinanda republica Germaniae oratio* (Frankfurt: apud Godfredum Tampachium, 1612), pp. 54-55. (originally published n 1563).

<sup>49</sup> See 1 John 2:16.

tam pestilentissimo obviam ire, remediumque salutare adhibere cupiens; mox monasterium clericorum instituit, qui relictis saeculi vanitatibus, nocte dieque in domo domini sunt.

5. Ecclesia sancta Dei preces at labiorum vitulos, iugeque sacrificium Domino immaculatum, puris semper manibus et corde impolluto voluntarie offerant, et confiteantur nomini ipsius altissimo, quoniam bonus, quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius.<sup>50</sup> Sed cum ut sapiens architectus rem altiori mente discuteret, sensitque non defuturos sui instituti praevaricatores; in Christo dilectis sibi clericis atque filiis canones et leges secundum quas vitam suam instituerent atque dirigerent, praescrisit ita luculenter, ut nemo mortalium tam foeliciter unquam.

### **De amore Dei et proximi**

6. Exordium sumpsit ab Evangelicis praeceptis, videlicet de Dei et proximi dilectione, sine qua inter homines nulla salus, nullam datur sperare salutem. Inquit enim [12a] *Ante Omnia fratres charissimi diligatur Deus, deinde et proximus.*<sup>51</sup> Bene quidem et peroptime, hoc enim mandatum habemus a Deo, ut qui diligit Deum, diligat et proximum. *Qui enim non diligit fratrem quem videt, Deum, quem non videt, quomodo potest diligere?*<sup>52</sup> Dilectio odium, odiumque dilectionem semper excludit. Haec sibi invicem contrariantur, et in eodem subiecto subsistere minime possunt.

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<sup>50</sup> See Psalm 135:2.

<sup>51</sup> Prologue, 1. *The Rule of St. Augustine*, henceforth RSA. For the critical edition of the *textus receptus* of the RSA, see L. Verheijen, *La regle de Saint Augustin, I, Tradition manuscrite* (Paris, 1967), 417-437.

<sup>52</sup> I John 5:20.

*Deus enim lux est, et in eo tenebrae non sunt ullae.*<sup>53</sup> Qui autem fratrem suum odit, in tenebris est, et non habet vitam aeternam in se manentem.

7. Ne igitur simus in tenebris, diligamus obsecro, diligamus non ore, nec lingua: *sed opere et veritate.*<sup>54</sup> Sunt enim quidam qui proximum suum ore diligunt, et lingua sua mentiuntur ei. Ecce fundamentum, inquit Divus pater Augustinus, superedificavit non ligna, stipulam et foenum: sed aurum, argentum et lapides pretiosos.<sup>55</sup> Sic bonae leges semper ex malis hominum moribus natae sunt. Nam sicut medicorum pharmacis nihil opus foret, nisi morbis laboraretur: ita legibus ferendis nihil opus esset, nisi perperam viveretur. Sic ob vitandum odium, tanquam laethalem animae pestem, et omnium vitiorum morbum incurabilem dilectio pro superbia, humilitas pro petulantia, pudor pro luxuria, castitas pro fraude, fides pro scelere, pietas pro avaritia, eleemosynarum pia in pauperis distributio subintroductae sunt.

8. Quid tandem? Ob pravos mores et abusus Cleri reformandos, extirpandasque in Ecclesia haereses, Oecomenica et generalia Concilia saepius convocata sunt. Canones atque leges, decretaque sancta instituta, quibus improborum hominum pravis moribus obviam iri possit, haeresesque depelli. Et quanquam leges bonae et optimae fuerint; res tamen mutae, et nisi in mores trahantur, ad nihilum certe utiles, nisi ut foras eiiciantur et conculcentur ab hominibus. Quid profuerunt Haebreo populo Dei ipsius ore prolatae leges? Quid

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<sup>53</sup> 1 John 1:5.

<sup>54</sup> 1 John 3:18.

<sup>55</sup> See I Corinthians 3:10-12. It is not entirely clear why he mentions Augustine here. Most likely this is a reference to Sermon CIV, *Patrologia Latina* Vol. 39, col. 1949, *On the Words of the Apostle I Corinthians 3:11-15*.

Licurgi leges Lacedaemoniis : Solonis Atheniensibus ad libertatem quam ob causam scriptae erant retinendam: utilitatis intulerunt? [12b] Plane nihil. Licurgus quidem non magis legibus, quam excellentium virtutum suarum exemplis, agrestes ac barbaros Lacedaemoniorum animos, a saevitia et scelerum importunitate, ad religionem, integritatem et vitae innocentiam convertit. Litera, nisi adsit spiritus vivificans, occidit.<sup>56</sup>

9. Ideoque Deus creavit hominem in animam viventem ac vegetantem. Ostendit quidem lex quid faciendum: *per legem enim cognitio peccati*.<sup>57</sup> Sed nisi tu spiritu sancto operante, in te coopereris, lex praevaricatorem te constituit. *Servus enim sciens voluntatem Domini, et non faciens, vapulabit multis*.<sup>58</sup> Divus quidem Augustinus: pharmacum salutare, et medicinam quondam praesentissimam in regula sua composuit, nobisque paratam exhibuit. Verum si morbum, quo laboramus, expellere debeat, sumenda est illa, ac per venas, viscera, denique per omne corpus diffundenda, tum demum operabitur salute in medio nostril, et pax erit in terra nostra, dum legifer noster advenerit.

10. Sed iam legislatorem nostrum Divum Augustinum audiamus quandoquidem iuxta illius regulam et canonem vivere nobis religio est. *Mandata eius gravia non sunt*;<sup>59</sup> *sed iugum eius suave, et onus eius leve*,<sup>60</sup> modo adsit spiritus ille purificator et illustrator cordium, qui cortice deposita, nobis nucleum ostendat,

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<sup>56</sup> See 2 Corinthians 3:6.

<sup>57</sup> Romans 3:20.

<sup>58</sup> Luke 12:47.

<sup>59</sup> I John 5: 3.

<sup>60</sup> See Matthew 11: 30.

sine cuius numine nihil est in lumine, nihil est innoxium.<sup>61</sup> Si ille donum gratiae suae super nos effundere dignetur, omnia aperta erunt oculis nostris, et observabimus ea, quae scripta sunt in laetitia cordis nostri, *tanquam spiritualis pulchritudinis amatores, et bono Christi odore, de bona conversatione fragrantés, non sicut servi sub lege, sed sicut liberi, sub gratia constituti.*<sup>62</sup> Nihil praetermissum est in pientissimi patris Augustini canonibus, quod ad veram pietatem, piorumque hominum mentes instruendas, et animarum salute desideretur.

### **De Communionē rerum**

11. Sed antequam ipsam Regulae explicationem aggrediar<sup>63</sup> opere pretium erit earum rerum, quae in Regula Divi Augustini continentur, [13a] summam breviter concludere, ut formam ac speciem huius sanctissimae doctrinae tanquam in tabula adumbratam, intuere quilibet possit, quam si attento animo spectaverit, haud dubito, quin in mirabiles amores huius scripti excitatus, divinum hunc librum nunquam de manibus sit depositurus. Ipsius igitur haec summa est, ut Deum qui secundum infinitam bonitatem suam, caelum et terram et reliqua omnia, quae amplissimo caeli complexu detinentur ad hominum profectum et utilitatem creavit, pure super omnia diligamus, et proximos sicut nosmetipsos.

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<sup>61</sup> This passage echoes the sixth stanza of the *Veni, Sancte Spiritus*: “Sine tuo numine, nihil est in homine, nihil est innoxium.”

<sup>62</sup> RSA VIII, 48.

<sup>63</sup> *Aggrediar* seems to be submitted in place of *veniam* in the manuscript.

12. Docet preterea ut nemo proprium (uti Monastice loquimur) in hac ista longe sanctissima congregatione et habeat et utatur : *sed illis sint omnia communia, et distribuatur unicuique , sicut cuique opus fuerit.*<sup>64</sup> Apostolorum nimirum vitam et consuetudinem imitantes et sic unanimes habitant in domo: adeo, ut exterior illa cohabitatio, et unionis consuetudo, interioris quoque animi coniunctionis, sinceraeque animi dilectionis, cunctos admoneat. Omnia praecepta huc tendunt, uti charitas vinculum perfectionis super omnia conservetur ac foveatur.<sup>65</sup>

### **De pauperum et divitum conditione**

13. Idcirco post Dei amorem, quem ardentissime inculcat omnibus: nunc divites admonet ne fastidio habeant fratres suos pauperes: nunc pauperes ne cervicem aut cristas erigant, quandoquidem sociantur iis, divitibus scilicet, ad quos foris cum in saeculo essent accedere non audebant.<sup>66</sup>

### **De magistratus et subditorum officio; De vitandis contentionibus**

14. Iterum ut superiores ac praepositi unicuique quod necessarium fuerit, sine taedio vel murmure tribuant. Item, ne sint inter illos contentiones, aut quam celerrime finiantur. Rursum, qui alterum laesit, meminerit idipsum quod fecit, quam totius satisfactione curare, et laesus sine disceptatione dimittere. Itemque, honore

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<sup>64</sup> This is from Chapter II of the RSA, in turn drawn from Acts 4:44-45.

<sup>65</sup> A marginal note indicates this passage is drawn from Ephesians 4.

<sup>66</sup> This is a paraphrase of chapter II of the RSA.

coram vobis sit praelatus. Et illud. *Praeposito tanquam patri obediatur, multo magis praesbytero, qui omnium vestrum curam gerit.*<sup>67</sup> Et rursum. *Circa omnes seipsum bonorum operum praebeat exemplum. Corripiat inquietos, consoletur pusillanimes, patiens sit ad omnes.*<sup>68</sup> *Non se existimet [13b] potestate dominante, sed charitate serviente foelicem.*<sup>69</sup>

#### **De cultu divino observando.**

15. Et quoniam omnis religio ad divinum cultum potissimum instituta est, qualiter et qua hora orandum, psallendumque sit, in eiusdem canonibus docte syncereque expressit dicens *Psalmnis et hymnis cum oratis Deum, hoc versetur in corde quod profertur in voce.*<sup>70</sup>

#### **De carnis domatione; De infirmis.**

16. Subiungit quoque praecepta domandae carnis, quae tanta animi moderatione, maturoque ingenii sui iudicio instituit, ut nullis vigiliis, nullisque abstinentiis domare corpus iusserit, nisi quantum bona valetudo permittat. Quanta etiam miseratione compatiendum infirmis, nescio quibus unquam rationibus potuisset melius demonstrasse.

#### **De silentio; De contemplatione.**

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<sup>67</sup> RSA, VII, 44.

<sup>68</sup> See I Thessalonians 5: 14 and RSA VII, 3.

<sup>69</sup> RSA VII, 3.

<sup>70</sup> RSA III, 14.



17. Sic silentium praecepit observandum esse, ut sine tumultu et contentione omnia peragantur atque tractentur. Sic contemplationi nos voluit esse deditos, ut magis percipiendi divini verbi, quam sumendi cibi gratia nos mensam accedere voluerit, inquit. *Non solum fauces, sed et aures esuriant Dei verbum.*<sup>71</sup>

### **De inessu et habitu; De pudicitia.**

18. In inessu, habitu, statu, et in omnibus motibus moderamen adhibuit. Non in re solum, sed in affectu et aspectu sic statuit pudicitiam observandam, ut abominationem dixerit, defigere in aliquam oculum. Ostendit ad haec nihil nos agere aut loqui posse, aut cum animo nostro cogitare, quod Deus non sentiat. Quocirca non solum ab omni maleficio temperandum esse, sed etiam mentem ipsam, et omnem agitationem animi puram integramque servandam. Sic enim ait: *Quid faciet de illo desuper inspectore, quem latere nihil potest.*<sup>72</sup>

### **De correctione fraterna; De conservandis Monasterii bonis; De Obedientia**

19. Addit quoque quis in corripiendis fratribus modus, quaeve forma tenenda sit. Proinde de confessione peccatorum, de odio vitiorum, de recipiendis muneribus, de conservandis monasterii bonis, de illorum usu, de aegrotantium cura habenda, de dirimendis litibus, de dimittendis iniuriis, de subditorum obedientia atque reverentia erga praelatos, de praelatorum conditionibus, eorumque officio erga

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<sup>71</sup> This seems to be a paraphrase of RSA, III, 15.

<sup>72</sup> RSA IV, 23.

subditos. At Dii boni, quam brevia et salutifera conscripsit mandata. Hinc praelati regiminis formam nanciscuntur. Subditi [14a] obedientiae modum docentur, denique Christi fideles omnes morum disciplinam alacri corde suscipiunt. Nihil sane hic est quod non Evangelicam et Apostolicam sapiat doctrinam, uti suis in locis demonstrabitur. Sed quid? Iovis hic omnia plena.

20. Nec te gravet optime lector, quod Divus Augustinus varia atque multa suis praescripsit mandata. Multa quidem sunt, sed unum: multa per diversitatem operis, unum tamen in radice charitatis: quia quicquid praecipitur in Regula hac, ad dilectionem vel Dei vel proximi acquirendam, vel acquisitam conservandam tendit, et in radice firma charitatis solidatur. Ut enim multi arboris rami ex una radice prodeunt, sic multae virtutes ex una charitate generantur. Nec habet ramus aliquid viriditatis, boni operis, si non maneat in radice charitatis.

21. Tandem pro eorum omni observantia, Deum supplex exorat, hortandos omnes ac singulos, ut in hoc libello ac Regula tanquam in speculo sese contemplantur. Et ne per oblivionem aliquid negligatur, hebdomatim praelegi sibi curent.<sup>73</sup> Atque dum ea quae scripta sunt, observasse se cognoverint, Domino bonorum omnium largitori, a quo omne bonum *desursum est, descendens a patre luminum*,<sup>74</sup> gratias agant. Haec et alia multa huius generis ad piam et rectam vitae institutionem utilissima reperiens in hac Regula Augustiniana. Huiusmodi floribus charitatis, eximiaequae dulcedinis totus scatet libellus. Si attente legas et relegas,

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<sup>73</sup> See RSA VIII, 49.

<sup>74</sup> James 1:17.

certe hortus deliciarum est, *flos campi, et lilum convallium*<sup>75</sup> atque omnis doctrinae sanae thesaurus.

Hic suaves violae sunt, mirrha roseaque crocusque

Ergo quisquis aves coelesti pascere mentem

Gramine, odoriferum hunc laetus spaciare per hortum.

22. Hunc etiam appellat sponsus in Canticis inquit: *Veni in hortum meum soror mea sponsa, messui mirrham meam cum aromatibus*<sup>76</sup> suis. Et quoniam quidem *vineae florentes iam dudum odorem suum dederunt*,<sup>77</sup> *tempus putationis advenit*,<sup>78</sup> *torcularia vina redundant*.<sup>79</sup> *Veni, inquam, veni dilecta, [14b] introducam te in cellam vinariam et ordinabo in te charitatem*.<sup>80</sup> In hac cellam vinariam dilectione et charitatis aromatibus plenam, *introite, bibite et inebriamini charissimi*,<sup>81</sup> *donec illuscescat dies et bibatis novum illud vinum in regno patris vestri. O beatam ebrietatem eo musto sic ebrium esse ut pro Dei amore cuncta huius mundi delectamenta despiciat*.<sup>82</sup>

### De fide et operibus in Christo

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<sup>75</sup> Song of Solomon 2:1.

<sup>76</sup> Song of Solomon 5: 1. I have read “hortum” where the manuscript has “ortum”.

<sup>77</sup> Song of Solomon 2:13.

<sup>78</sup> Song of Solomon 2:12.

<sup>79</sup> See Proverbs 3:10.

<sup>80</sup> Song of Solomon 2:4.

<sup>81</sup> Song of Solomon 5:1.

<sup>82</sup> This sentence is in the margin, and I have placed it within the text. It seems to be a direct quotation from Matthias Bredenbach, *In LXIX Psalmos seu Hymnos Prophetarum Davidis priores, et in sanctum Iesu Christi Evangelium secundum Mattheum, erudita, catholica et pia Commentaria etc.* (Cologne: Quentel et Calenius, 1560), p. 222.

23. Quod dubio procul fiet, si fide steteritis, et per Christum sanctificati atque purificati a peccatis, spiritu vivatis, et desideria carnis mortificantes super terram, *non sinatis regnare peccatum in vestro mortali corpore, ut obediatis concupiscentiis eius. Sed neque exhibeatis membra vestra arma iniquitatis peccato: sed exhibete vos Deo tanquam ex mortuis viventes, et membra vestra arma iustitiae Deo,*<sup>83</sup> ut ei libere serviatis *in iustitia et sanctitate omnibus diebus vitae*<sup>84</sup> vestrae: et per opera bona quae praeparavit Deus ut in illis ambulemus, ostendatis vos ad hanc gratiam vocatos.<sup>85</sup> Et quidem bona opera haec qui non habet, testator se fidem in Christum non habere, qualem ille in nobis requirit. *Fides enim quae per dilectionem operatur,*<sup>86</sup> ante omnia necessaria est.

### **De magistratu**

24. Attendant nunc qui in Ecclesia luminaria esse debent: attendant qui magistratum in clero gerent, ut non solum aliis leges praescribant, sed ipsi vivae atque loquentes leges sint, normamque quondam ac regulam, ad quam aliorum vita, actiones, studiaque dirigantur omnia, sese exhibeant. Et dum demum sibi quisque persuadeat leges esse bonas et utiles si aequalem ac parem verbis, vitam agat, et oratio moribus consonet. Non enim ex oratione, sed ex moribus quilibet spectatur. Fugite igitur malum, sectamini bonum, et eorum quae retro penitus obliti, gloriam Domini solam contemplantes, sperate post nubila phoebum.

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<sup>83</sup> Romans 6:12-13.

<sup>84</sup> Luke 1:75 (from the *Benedictus*).

<sup>85</sup> A marginal note here indicates this passage is indebted to Colossians 1:6.

<sup>86</sup> Galatians 5:6.

25. Qui in Ecclesia publicum ministerium receperunt, quae suae partis sunt agnoscant, et se non ad propria commoda, otium aut luxum, sed ad labores et sollicitudines pro Dei gloria vocatos intelligant. Sicque fideles subditos ad religionem et innocentiam facilius inflammabunt, si viderint praepositos suos non quae [15a] mundi sunt, aut sua quaerere: sed animarum salutem, diligere Deum, et amare denique proximum, caelestem patriam super omnia, sitire.

### **De amore pariter et timore**

26. Et quanquam utrunque sic necessarium, et amari et timeri ab subditis, magis tamen appetat magistratus amore prosequi quam timeri. Est quidem strenuitate Respublica regenda, quin<sup>87</sup> ita tamen vertitur in tyrannidem. *Noli esse*, inquit ille, *quasi leo in domo tua*.<sup>88</sup> Et iudicium *verum iudicate*.<sup>89</sup> Nunquam de subditis digne recteque iudicabit, qui in subditorum causis odium et gratiam consequitur. Sic Ethnicus quidam ait: *Omnes homines qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet: haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa officiunt*.<sup>90</sup>

### **Duo quoque consilio maxime contraria esse traduntur: ira et festinantia.**

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<sup>87</sup> The ms. here is unclear, with it possibly having “vim”, which does not fit the sense. I have read it as “quin”, which best fits the sense.

<sup>88</sup> Ecclesiasticus 4:35.

<sup>89</sup> Zechariah 7:9.

<sup>90</sup> Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*, ch. 51, vv. 1-2.

27. Duo quoque consilio maxime contraria esse traduntur: ira et festinantia. Haec magistratibus et quibus iudicium commissum est, alta sint mente reposita. *Erudimini* (inquit strenuus ille miles, quem elegit Dominus secundum cor suum) *qui iudicatis terram: servite Domino in timore, nequando irascatur et pereatis de via iusta.*<sup>91</sup> Item sapiens quidam. *Diligite iustitiam, qui iudicatis terram.*<sup>92</sup> Et illud. Novit Dominus quos plus iusto forte corripitis, quanta benevolentia diligatis. Pro quo scelere si commissum fuerit, ab omnium Domino etiam veniam postulare iubet.

### **De subditorum officio erga praelatos**

28. Sed quid interim legifer noster? Nunquid colophonem praeceptis suis addidit? Minime gentium. Quid igitur? *Non solum* inquit, *vestri, sed etiam ipsius miseremini, qui inter vos, quanto loco superiori, tanto in periculo maiori versatur.*<sup>93</sup> Meminerint hinc subditi, quod scriptum est: *Obedite praepositis vestris et subiacete illis: ipsi enim pervigilant, quasi rationem pro animabus vestris reddituri, ut cum gaudio hoc faciatis non gementes. hoc enim non expedit vobis.*<sup>94</sup> *Nam sicut fremitus leonis, ita et regis ira: Et sicut ros super herbam, ita et hilaritas eius.*<sup>95</sup>

29. Reddite ergo reverentiam Praelatis, et [15b] obedientiam: quarum altera cordis, altera corporis est. Nec enim sufficit exterius obtemperare magistratui nisi ex intimo cordis affectu, sublimiter sentiatis de eo. Etsi praelatus (quod absit)

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<sup>91</sup> Psalm 2: 10-12.

<sup>92</sup> Wisdom 1:1.

<sup>93</sup> RSA VII, 47.

<sup>94</sup> Hebrews 13:17.

<sup>95</sup> Proverbs 13:12.

minus dignam duxerit vitam: propter eum tamen, a quo est omnis potestas, non personae meritis sed ordinationi divinae, et dignitate ipsius officii deferendum est. Stent igitur pro se subditi, laudeque sua, certentque vicissim superare Deos, et nemini cedant. Sint virtute pares praelatis suis, si non datur ultra progredi. Quod si res nostrae his rationibus constitutae fuerint, non procul aberit, quin plane inter nos coniunctissimi vivamus, et nihil eorum quae ad optimum Monachismi et cleri statum pertinent desiderabitur, nec dignitas, nec tranquillitas, nec honestas, nec honor: ut ad quascunque vivendi partes nos dederimus, inveniemus quod rationibus nostris aptum foret, et Christum servatorem nostrum Optimum Maximum singulari pietate colentes, et e spiritu sancto tantum charitatis haurientes, *idem plane velle et sentire, idemque nolle*<sup>96</sup> inter nos arctissime iungetur.

30. Et quod bonorum omnium caput Deum per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum perpetuo propicium habebimus. Sin secus actum fuerit vota coloni iacebunt, et longi peribit labor irritus anni, diceturque nobis: *Seminastis multum, et intulistis parum: comedistis, et non estis saturati; bibistis, et non estis inebriati: operuistis vos et non estis calefacti: et qui mercedes congregavit, misit eas in sacculum pertussum.*<sup>97</sup>

31. Ponamus itaque corda nostra super vias nostras dicentes:

Quid iuvat hirsuta pro Christi nomine palla

Et cum Norberto belligerasse duce?

Quid iuvat Aegiptos fulvo spoliasse metallo?

Si Pharaeo aequoreas non sinit ire vias.

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<sup>96</sup> Sallust, *Bellum Catalinae*, Ch. 25, v.4.

<sup>97</sup> Haggai 1:6.

Quid iuvat en mundi fastus posuisse tumentes

Quid iuvat innumeros deseruisse iocos? [16a]

Quidque ex hoste iuvat, clarum sperasse triumphum,

Dum spernis pugnam continuare tuam?

Quid iuvat in stadio duros superasse labores?

Si meriti bravium non detur inde tibi.

32. Fratres in Christo dilectissimi, quos *iterum parturio donec formetur Christus in vobis*.<sup>98</sup> *Attendite precor, et state super vias vestras, et interrogate quae sit via bona, et ambulate in ea, et invenientis refrigerium animabus vestris*.<sup>99</sup> Profecto nullum post hominum memoriam tempus exstitit, aut turbulentius, aut validioribus seditionibus, et belli cladibus agitatum, quam istud, in quod nos sive fato, sive iusta Dei offensione incidimus, nullius et hominis virtus esse tanta videatur, quae aegras ac prope depositas ac deploratas Reipublicae partes, adversus libidinosos nocentissimorum hominum furores tueri possit, atque propugnare.

### **De pravis cleri moribus**

33. Sed illud gravius acerbisque ferendum videtur hodie, cum vehemens quoddam atque importabile odium totius orbis nuper sit ex pravatissimis sacerdotum ac cleri moribus conceptum: tam paucos tamen adhuc esse, qui ad meliorem vitae frugem atque innocentiam se referant, vel multitudinis saltem

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<sup>98</sup> Galatians 4:19.

<sup>99</sup> Jeremiah 1:6.



offensionem vitae leniant modestia atque integritate. Omnis cleri sermo de rebus expetendis fugiendisque, de amplectendo verbo Dei, de colendis pietatis studiis esse deberet. Non aliorum fere sermo est, vel impudentior, vel petulantior, doctrina, laude, caeteros egregie praecellere deberent: sed nulli hodie (pro dolor) omnium ingenuarum artium magis sunt inopes. Ideoque tantum in huius ordinis proceres, odium atque malevolentia exarsit, ut quicumque illius invidiae criminationis faces subiecerint, magnam statim gratiam, auctoritatemque sibi apud imperitam comparent multitudinem.

34. Nec fere quisquam hodie est, qui non omnem Iurisdictionem [16b] auctoritatemque Ecclesiasticam proceribus hanc ob causam, ne quid de patrimonio Christi Monachorum et cleri facultatibus dicam, detrahare conatur. Attamen adhuc manibus quod aiunt, et pedibus palpamus in tenebris, et in utramque aurem securi dormimus, passi gravia, et graviora passuri, nisi tandem a somno mortis resurgamus. Vigilate igitur charissimi dum tempus habetis, et convertite pedes vestros in testimonia Dei, ut in praeceptis mandatorum ipsius ambuletis. Ambulate, inquam, dum dies est, ne *vos tenebrae comprehendant*,<sup>100</sup> alter alterum honore praeveniat.

35. Et quemadmodum unusquisque ordinis dignitate excellit, ita vitae sanctitate caeteris praelucere studeat, luceantque opera vestra coram hominibus *ut videant opera vestra bona, et glorificent patrem vestrum qui in caelis est*.<sup>101</sup> Cavete autem iustitiam vestram facere coram hominibus, ut videamini ab iis, *alioquin non habebitis mercedem apud patrem vestrum qui in caelis est*.<sup>102</sup> Neque sciat sinistra

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<sup>100</sup> John 12:35.

<sup>101</sup> Matthew 5:16.

<sup>102</sup> Matthew 6:1.

quid faciat dextra, nedum gloriam pro bene actis ab hominibus exspectatis, lampades vestrae exstinguantur: dicaturque vobis. *Amen amen dico vobis, receperunt mercedem suam.*<sup>103</sup>

36. Sed pro Deum immortalem, iam pro auro carbones! O utinam dum tempus habemus, cogitet unusquisque dies suos in amaritudine animae suae, ne subito praeoccupatus die mortis, quaerat spacium poenitentiae, et invenire non poterit. Cum enim pravis animarum cupiditatibus, in omnia flagitia proiecti, peccandi finem faciamus nullum, cum ab illius veneratione declinamus, qui corporis sui cruciatus, nostrae condonantur saluti, cum omnia quae a maioribus nostris ad Dei gloriam, amplificandam ad inopis et desertae plebis necessitudinem allevandam: ad colenda verae pietatis studia, libidine nostra turbemus atque evertamus, non potest diutius a nobis abesse Dei sive admonitio, sive vindicta, cuius tamen severitas cum [17a] lenitate et misericordia, sic est coniuncta, ut nos ad vitae innocentiam converti, nullum vero ad exitium trahi velit.

37. Si quis igitur in nobis est dilectissimi, qui in vanum acceperit animam suam peccando (*in multis enim offendimus omnes*)<sup>104</sup> sive cogitando, sive loquendo seu operando, et votorum suorum, quae distinxerunt labia sua, immemor factus, declinavit a bono ad malum. Obedientiae virtutem, paupertatis beatitudinem, et castitatis candorem postposuit, respiciens retro, iuravitque in dolum praelatis suis, et adversus proximum dixit opprobrium: malum quoque in oculis Domini operatus est, certe meminerit satisfactione curare quod fecit. Et oret cum Psalmista:

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<sup>103</sup> Matthew 6:5. This whole section is drawn either *verbatim* or paraphrase from the Sermon on the Mount.

<sup>104</sup> James 3:2.

*Voluntaria oris mei beneplacita fac Domine,<sup>105</sup> et vota mea reddam in conspectu omnis populi, in atriis domus Domini in medio tui Ierusalem;<sup>106</sup> doleatque super praeterito, caveat de futuro, oret ut sibi debitum dimittatur, et in tentationem non inducatur.<sup>107</sup> Misericordiae enim Domini multae, et miserationes eius super omnia opera eius.<sup>108</sup>*

38. Quis unquam invocavit Dominum et derelictus est?<sup>109</sup> *Ad Dominum* (inquit propheta) *cum tribularer clamavi, et exaudivit me,<sup>110</sup>* et in omnibus tribulationibus dilatavit mihi cor. *Fidelis Deus,* inquit secretorum Dei speculator Paulus, *qui non patietur vos tentari supra id quod potestis, sed faciet cum tentatione proventum, ut possitis sustinere.<sup>111</sup>* Tentatio tamen vos non apprehendat, nisi humana: humanam dico propter infirmitatem carnis vestrae, quam ieiuniis et orationibus domate, quantum valetudo permittit: ne caro praevaleat adversus spiritum, dominetur in vobis.

39. *Manifesta autem sunt opera carnis: quae sunt fornicatio, immundicia, impudicitia, luxuria, idolorum servitus, veneficia, inimicitiae, contentiones, aemulationes, irae, rixae, dissensiones, sectae, invidiae, homicidia, ebrietates, commesationes, et his similia; qui enim talia agunt regnum Dei non [17b] consequentur.<sup>112</sup>* Aemulamini igitur Charismata meliora operantes fructum qui permanet in vitam aeternam. *Fructus spiritus est, charitas, gaudium, pax, patientia,*

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<sup>105</sup> Psalm 118:108.

<sup>106</sup> Psalm 115: 9.

<sup>107</sup> See RSA VIII, 2.

<sup>108</sup> Psalm 144:9.

<sup>109</sup> See Ecclesiasticus 2:12.

<sup>110</sup> Psalm 119:1.

<sup>111</sup> I Corinthians 10:13.

<sup>112</sup> Galatians 5:19-21.

*longanimitas, bonitas, benignitas, mansuetudo, fides, modestia, continentia, castitas. Adversus huiusmodi non est lex. Qui autem sunt Christi, carnem suam crucifixerunt cum vitiis atque concupiscentiis suis.<sup>113</sup> Igitur fratres debitores sumus non carni, ut secundum carnem vivamus. Si enim secundum carnem vixeritis, moriemini: si autem spiritu facta carnis mortificaveritis, vivetis.<sup>114</sup>*

40. Hinc Apostolus: *Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete. Ab omni specie mala abstinete vos<sup>115</sup> et curam carnis ne feceritis in desideriis, sed si spiritu vivitis, spiritu et ambuletis.<sup>116</sup> Videte ne quis alicui malum pro malo reddat, sed semper quod bonum est sectamini invicem.<sup>117</sup> Semper gaudete, sine intermissione orate, in omnibus gratias agite. Haec est enim voluntas Dei in Christo Iesu.<sup>118</sup> Ipse autem Deus pacis sanctificet vos per omnia, ut integer spiritus vester, et anima vestra, et corpus sine quaerela in adventu domini nostri Iesu Christi conservetur,<sup>119</sup> qui et penetralia cordis vestri spiritus sancti dignetur suavitate perfundere, quatenus delibuti illius charismate, veniam consequi peccatorum, illumque nunc et semper piis mentibus laudare et magnificare digni sitis. Qui est super omnia benedictus in firmamento caeli, et laudabilis et gloriosus et superexaltatus in saecula<sup>120</sup> Deus, cuius numen sanctissimum utinam universi mortales ad omnes saeculorum aetates auguste sancteque venerentur et colant, sit cum spiritu vestro Amen.*

#### 41. Carmen ad lectorem

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<sup>113</sup> Galatians 5: 22-24.

<sup>114</sup> Romans 8: 12.

<sup>115</sup> I Thessalonians 5: 21-22.

<sup>116</sup> Romans 13:14.

<sup>117</sup> I Thessalonians 5:15.

<sup>118</sup> I Thessalonians 5:16-18.

<sup>119</sup> I Thessalonians 5:23.

<sup>120</sup> Daniel 3:52.

Sunt bona, sunt quaedam mediocria, sunt mala plura.

Sed nihil est hic chare puer quod laedere possit.

Omnia sunt dudum sanctis doctisque probata.

Nunc secure potes virtutum carpere flores.

Est legum servanda fides suprema voluntas,

Quod mandat, fierique iubet, parere necesse est.

1570 24 Iunii

[18a]

Ad pium et studiosum lectorem per eundem

1. Optime lector, cum sint eruditi plures qui in Regulam Divi Augustini scripserunt, quorum opera ac diligentia in his commentariis nostris nonnumquam usi etiam adiuti sumus. Si quis ea audire aut legere magis, quam nostra velit, suo quisque affectu per nos libere fruatur. Perinde nobis fuerit, undecunque gloriam Domini contemplans, in lege Dei meditetur die ac nocte,<sup>121</sup> habens *fructum in sanctificationem; finem vero vitam aeternam.*<sup>122</sup> Et quanquam non ignoramus, quod hic labor apud quosdam parum nobis allaturus sit laudis et gratiae; sunt enim nonnulli, qui aegre aliquid probant, quod ab Ecclesiastico ingenio natum sit, eo quod magis Spiritum Christi, quam huius mundi Philosophiam sapiat, quorum censuram non admodum moramur, neque his placere animis fuit: sed publicae utilitati atque

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<sup>121</sup> See Psalm 1:1.

<sup>122</sup> Romans 6:22.

desiderio eorum respondere, qui magis virtutem, quam Phaleras verborum aucupantur.

2. Quibus si nostrum studium placuerit, sat nobis erit. Dissipabit enim Deus ossa eorum qui hominibus placent, Paulo teste qui ait: *Si adhuc hominibus placerem, Christi servus non essem.*<sup>123</sup> Praeterea neque aures eorum quibus facundia, quam res quidem blandior est, conquirimus: sed omnium piorum in Christo profectum atque salutem in Domino. Quod si ex hoc nostro labore aliquem pietatis fructum hauserint, non fraudabimur desiderio nostro; vel quod ultra ad virtutem decus currentes adiuvimus, vel calcar addiderimus.

3. Caeterum quod nobis omnibus *foelix faustumque sit*<sup>124</sup> iuvante Christo, Regulae explicationem re ipsa auspicabimur, et vela ventis committemus. Quapropter te etiam atque etiam precor candide lector, ut haec qualiacunque pia, piisque animis scripta ac consecrata, non livida censura, si quid erratum est corrigas: sed synceritati Christianae restituas et benevole interpreteris. Haud gravatim [18b] errorem confitebor, errare siquidem hominum est, errata autem non agnoscero arrogantis.

4. Et quoniam probe compertum habemus quosdam Religiosos et in primis nostri instituti alumnos, animi quodam impetu ad veterum scriptorum intelligentiam atque doctrinam rapi et perpetuo delectari, hunc laborem pro Dei honore et Augustiniana professionis, cui nomen dedimus, gloria augenda: denique qua erga religionem Christianam, singulari pietate afficimur, potissimum aggressi

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<sup>123</sup> Galatians 1:10.

<sup>124</sup> A proverbial phrase, e.g. found in Cicero's *De Divinatione*, Bk I, 102. For a modern edition, see Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Senectute; De Amicitia; De Divinatione*, ed. and tr. William A. Falconer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014).

sumus, atque pro virili nostro conatu, ut Divi Augustini Regula, a piis atque studiosis posthac commodius legi, et rectius intelligi possit.

5. Hilari ergo animo hoc, quicquid laboris est, accipe, lege, et fruiere, amice lector. Donetque Deus parens ille et largitor rerum omnium bonorum nobis spiritum sapientiae et intellectus, ut dono gratiae suae inebriati, relinquamus vetera, et nova sint omnia corda, voces et opera, per unicum dilectum filium suum Iesum Christum, qui est super omnia benedictus in saecula.

Lector foelix esto:

Obedientia, castitas, et paupertas, bases sunt et fundamenta totius regularis<sup>125</sup> disciplinae, quae si exacte non fuerint conservata, totum corruat aedificium necesse est.

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<sup>125</sup> The word *religionis* is crossed out in the manuscript.