

Nudum Christum Nudus Sequere :
**A Note on the Origins and Meaning of
the Theme of Spiritual Nakedness
in the Writings of St. Bonaventure**

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The theme of spiritual nakedness recurs frequently in the works that St. Bonaventure devotes to the person of St. Francis or to Franciscan poverty. But in speaking of it, the Seraphic Doctor often appeals to expressions whose origins are to be sought in the letters of St. Jerome. There nakedness, a traditional symbol of evangelical renunciation, is associated either with the nakedness of the cross or with that of Christ: *Nudam crucem nudus sequar* or *Nudum Christum nudus sequere*. Bonaventure was understandably fond of these expressions, and they appear many times in various forms in his writings.

But on the subject of renunciation, even the austere Jerome did not renounce rhetoric, nor was he averse to using a figure of speech whose technique he may have learned from his teacher Donatus.¹ In that way he succeeded in giving these expressions a surprising vigor and conciseness. The Seraphic Doctor, in turn, found in them a way to define — in four particularly expres-

¹The expressions just cited are examples of a rhetorical technique, or rather a “speaking technique” referred to by the grammarians as polyptoton. It consists of repetition of the same word in different cases. See Donatus, *Ars Grammatica*, III, 5, H. Keil, ed., *Grammatici Latini*, vol. IV, Leipzig, 1864, p. 398, 27, which defines this technique as follows: “Polyptoton is the use of many cases distinguished by variety.” As an example he suggests two lines from Vergil, *Aeneid* IV, 628-29. Augustine used the same technique in a passage from the *Confessions*: “Non enim tenebam Deum meum Iesum humilis humilem...” (VII, 18, 24). M. Bernards (see article cited in the following note, pp. 150-51) has shown the similarity between this passage and the formulas used by St. Jerome.

sive words—the true nature of the ideal of poverty embraced by Francis and his first companions from the beginning, whose ultimate justification was to be sought in the contemplation and imitation of Christ crucified.

Bonaventure, however, was not the first to quote these expressions or allude to them. In an interesting study published over twenty years ago, M. Bernards showed that they are found quite often in the writings of several spiritual authors of the 12th and 13th centuries.² This study has lost none of its interest, but it would be worth expanding. The expressions to which it rightly called attention cannot really be isolated from the rich spiritual, theological and canonical tradition of which they are the bearers and from which Bonaventure and the followers of St. Francis explicitly drew inspiration at one particular moment in their history. Without claiming to exhaust such a vast topic here, we would like to re-examine some of the early and medieval texts brought to light by Bernards's study. In particular, we would like to call attention to several other texts that can clarify for us the history of these expressions of Jerome, the circumstances that led the Seraphic Doctor to adopt them, and the meaning they take on in his works.

I. The Letters of St. Jerome

It is St. Bonaventure himself who tells us the origin of these expressions. Several times he cites — explicitly and with all the necessary references — the four passages from the letters of St. Jerome in which they appear. The first is from the well-known letter 52 to the priest Nepotian. After an appeal to his correspondent to lead a life in keeping with his state, Jerome sets forth his own views on clerical poverty. In an exposition that recalls Deuteronomy (32:9; 18:1-2) and the writings of St. Paul (1 Cor 9:13; 1 Tim 6:8), he exhorts Nepotian to practice poverty in these words: "If I am the Lord's portion and the lot of his inheritance, and if I receive no portion among the other tribes, but as a levite and priest I live on tithes, and while serving at the altar I am sustained by the altar offerings, as long as I have food and clothing, with these I shall be content; naked I shall follow the naked cross (*nudam crucem nudus sequar*)."³

²See M. Bernards, *Nudus nudum Christum sequi*, in *Wissenschaft und Weisheit*, 14 (1951), pp. 148-51. Instead of the formula that serves as the title of Bernards's study, which is not found in this form in the letters of St. Jerome and appears only rarely in the medieval authors, I prefer the formula of *Epist. 125 ad Rusticum* (see n. 18 below), which is closest to what St. Bonaventure wished to retain from the various expressions of St. Jerome to be discussed here.

³St. Jerome, *Epist. 52 ad Nepotianum*, 5, I. Hilberg, ed., CSEL, 54 (1910), p. 422, 2-7, French translation by J. Labourt in St. Jerome, *Lettres*, vol. II, Paris, 1951, p. 178. The Appendix to this

The second text cited by Bonaventure comes from Letter 58, in which Jerome congratulates Paulinus of Nola for having heard and answered the call of Christ: "You, too, have heard the Savior's words: If you wish to be perfect, go sell everything you have and give to the poor, and come follow me. You are translating these words into deeds; naked yourself and following the naked cross (*nudam crucem nudus sequens*), you are climbing Jacob's ladder less encumbered and with lighter step."⁴ It is worth noting that a little later in the same letter, St. Jerome, wishing to show how right Paulinus had been to renounce all his goods, mentions the example of Crates of Thebes, the philosopher who renounced his great fortune because he realized that one could not possess at the same time both riches and virtue.⁵

This *exemplum*, cited in the *Decretum*,⁶ was to reappear frequently in the Middle Ages, and Bonaventure, too, would refer to it.⁷ But his interest in the abovementioned passage from the letter to Paulinus of Nola lies in the fact that it links the theme of spiritual nakedness with Christ's invitation to the rich young man. This is a significant connection, for that is how Jerome refers to a chapter in the gospel of Matthew where the attitude of the rich young man, who went away sad because he had many possessions (Mt 19:21-22), is contrasted to that of the Twelve, who without hesitation had left everything to follow the Savior, and who immediately reminded him of this in the words of Peter, who asked what would be their reward. Thus Jerome sees nakedness, already here, as a symbol of renunciation, of which the apostles were the first to give an example to all who wish to follow Christ.

The same is true of the third passage from the letters of St. Jerome, which Bonaventure was to quote several times and which comes from Letter 120 to Hedybia. This rich widow had written to Jerome with several questions, the first being: "How is it possible to achieve perfection, and how is a widow to live when she has no children?"⁸ Jerome tells her quite simply that she need

article contains the Latin text of this passage (Text 1) and that of the three other passages of St. Jerome cited below. Each text is followed by references to the medieval works mentioned in the course of this article, where these passages are explicitly cited. Thus the quotations in the writings of St. Bonaventure, of which these texts of Jerome were the subject, can easily be found.

⁴St. Jerome, *Epist. 58 ad Paulinum*, 2, ed. cit., p. 529, 1-5, French translation by J. Labourt, vol. III, Paris, 1953, p. 75. (See Appendix, Text 2).

⁵St. Jerome, *ibid.*, p. 529, 10-16.

⁶See Gratian, *Decretum* II pars, causa 12, q. 2, cap. 71, 3, Friedbert, ed., vol. I, Leipzig, 1879, col. 711.

⁷See *Apologia Pauperum*, XI, 17 (VIII, 299).

⁸St. Jerome, *Epist. 120 ad Hedybiam*, 1, I. Hilberg, ed., CSEL, 55 (1912), p. 473, 18-19, French

only recall the words of Christ to the rich young man and the example of the apostles, who did not shirk the Lord's invitation: "Do you wish to be perfect and stand in the first rank of dignity? Do as the apostles did: sell everything you have and give to the poor, then follow the Savior, and naked and solitary follow the naked and solitary cross (*et nudam solamque crucem nuda sequaris et sola*)."⁹

These last words, it is true, are not always the same in the manuscripts. Moreover, they appear in at least two different forms in those medieval authors who bother to cite them. The reading just given is the one chosen by the Maurists in their edition of the works of St. Jerome.¹⁰ It is also the one used by Bonaventure in his *Apologia Pauperum*.¹¹ However, a number of manuscripts of Jerome's letters substitute *virtutem* for *crucem*, which gives the following reading: *et nudam solamque virtutem nuda sequaris et sola*. This second version, adopted by Hilberg,¹² does not seem to have enjoyed much success among medieval writers. Instead they prefer a third reading, one found in the *Quaestiones disputatae de perfectione evangelica*¹³ and the *Expositio super regulam fratrum minorum*¹⁴ by St. Bonaventure, or again, for example, in the *Contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem*¹⁵ by St. Thomas Aquinas. These have: *et nudam solamque crucem virtute nuda sequaris et sola*. This version is attested by several manuscripts, as we learn from the critical apparatus in the editions of St. Jerome.¹⁶ By keeping the word *virtue* without dropping the word *cross*, this version harmonizes the other two in a way, but at the same time it introduces some awkward ambiguities.¹⁷

translation by J. Labourt, vol. VI, Paris, 1958, p. 123.

⁹Ibid., CSEL, 55, p. 477, 23 - p. 478, 2 (see Appendix, Text 3), following the reading of ms. D as indicated in the critical apparatus, p. 478, 2. For the reasons given below (n. 12), I have had to modify the translation given by J. Labourt, vol. VI, p. 127.

¹⁰See PL, 22, 985.

¹¹VII, 23 (VIII, 280).

¹²CSEL, 55, p. 478, 2. There is an obvious mistake in J. Labourt's edition and translation of the letters of St. Jerome (vol. VI, Paris, 1958, p. 127). The editor introduces the word *virtutem* twice into the formula, thus: *et virtutem nudam, solamque virtutem, nuda sequaris et sola*. This reading cannot be justified by any of the manuscripts cited in the critical apparatus of the Hilberg edition, whose text Labourt says he has adopted.

¹³Q. II, art. 1, f. 14 (V, 126).

¹⁴IV, 14 (VIII, 417). Regarding the authenticity of this work, which is sometimes attributed to John Peckham, see n. 79 below.

¹⁵Cap. VI, Leonine ed., vol. XLI, pars A (1970), p. 97, 297-98.

¹⁶See CSEL, 55, reading of ms. B as indicated in the critical apparatus, p. 478, 2.

¹⁷The adjectives *nuda* and *sola* can hardly be regarded as nominatives. If they were, we could

The fourth passage from the letters of St. Jerome in which we find an expression related to the preceding, and which Bonaventure also cites in his *Apologia pauperum*, comes from the end of Letter 125. There Jerome gives Rusticus a number of recommendations and counsels related to the monastic life, which the latter had decided to embrace. Poverty and separation from the world obviously hold an important place in this exhortation, and so we are not surprised to find that it ends by recalling the vocation of Abraham (Gen 12:1), and once again, Christ's words to the rich young man (Mt 19:21). But here Jerome no longer speaks of the cross. It is Christ, stripped and naked — whose nakedness could be just as well that of the crib as that of the cross — whom he invites Rusticus to imitate: "If you desire perfection, leave your country and your kin as did Abraham, and go to a place you know not. If you have possessions, sell them and give to the poor. If you have none, you are free of a heavy burden. Naked yourself follow the naked Christ (*nudum Christum nudus sequere*). This is painful, heavy and difficult; but great are the rewards."¹⁸

II. The Council of Aix-la-Chapelle and the Gregorian Reform

People must have been struck by these expressions early on. At any rate, two of them already appear toward the end of the 7th century in the *Liber scintillarum* by the Defender of Ligugé,¹⁹ who in this way no doubt helped to spread them and make them known. But their success and spread was linked above all to the role some of Jerome's letters were called upon to play. This was the case each time the Church had to try to redefine, understand or justify Christ's insistent and repeated call for poverty and renunciation, the most striking and dramatic expression of which was His invitation to the rich young man to follow Him. These words of the Savior re-echoed in people's hearts

associate them with the subject of the subject of the verb *sequaris*, namely Hedybia. But if we must retain this reading, what would be the "naked and solitary" virtue to which Jerome is exhorting Hebydia? It is not easy to say. John Peckham, in his *Tractatus Pauperis*, must have found this text problematic and thus omitted the words *et sola* — at least according to Van den Wyngaert's edition (Paris, 1925, p. 45: "...ut dicit Jeronymus: Nudam solamque crucem virtute nuda sequaris" (see n. 194 below).

¹⁸St. Jerome, *Epist. 125 ad Rusticum*, 20, I. Hilberg, ed., CSEL, 56 (1918), p. 142, 5-9 (Appendix, Text 4). I have modified slightly the translation by J. Labourt, vol. VII, Paris, 1961, pp. 133-34.

¹⁹See *Liber Scintillarum* LXXXI, 12, H. Rochais, ed., CC, 117 (1957), p. 231: "...verba vertit in opere, et nudam crucem nudus sequitur." This is inspired by the *Epist. 58 ad Paulinum* (Appendix, Text 2). See also *ibid.*, XI, 14, ed. cit., p. 56: "Nudum Christum, nudam crucem Christi nudus sequere," which combines various elements borrowed from several of Jerome's letters. According to H.M. Rochais, the *Liber Scintillarum* was supposedly written "shortly before the year 700;" see s.v. *Defensor*, *DHGE*, vol. XIV, Paris, 1957, col. 160.

down through the ages either as an appeal or a reproach. But the problems posed by individual attempts to respond to them were too great. The potential social, economic and even political consequences were so important that the debate could not be left solely to the private sphere of conscience. Inevitably these questions were dealt with publicly, and the solutions the councils, theologians or canonists were to give, always contained references to a certain number of texts, the letters of St. Jerome being among the more important.

Reformers of the clergy drew inspiration from them as early as the Carolingian era. We find proof of this in the vast biblical and patristic *florilegium* known as the *Institutio canonicorum*, which serves as a prologue to the *Regula canonicorum* promulgated by the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle in 816. Desiring their canons to adopt common life and share at least part of their resources, the legislators of Aix did their best to justify their demands by an appeal to the authority of the Fathers. They quoted *in extenso* the two sermons in which Augustine had explained to the faithful that clerics should adopt a way of life inspired by the example of the first Jerusalem community as described in the Acts of the Apostles (2:42-47 and 4:32-35).²⁰ But before that, they had quoted long extracts from the letters of St. Jerome,²¹ especially letter 58 to Paulinus of Nola²² and letter 125 to the monk Rusticus.²³ However, since the exhortations of letter 52 to the priest Nepotian suited their purpose best, that was the letter they cited most often.²⁴ Among the passages they borrowed, we are not surprised to find the one Bonaventure was to use later in which the expression *nudam crucem nudus sequar* appears.²⁵

Yet this expression did not, it seems, attract the attention of the writers of the Carolingian era to any great extent. We must wait until the second half of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th before we see it suddenly reappear. None of this should not surprise us too much. The legislators of Aix had no intention of imposing an excessively strict form of poverty on a feudal clergy. It was chiefly a question of persuading them to live the common life

²⁰The sermons in question are 355 and 356 of St. Augustine (PL, 39, 1568-81), reprinted in the *Institutio Canonicorum* of the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, cap. 112-13, Werminghoff, ed., *Mon. Germ. hist.*, Concilia, vol. II, 1 (1906), pp. 385-95.

²¹*Instit. Can.*, cap. 94-98, ed. cit., pp. 370-77 (PL, 105, 882-90).

²²*Ibid.*, cap. 95, ed. cit., p. 374 (PL 105, 887).

²³*Ibid.*, cap. 96, ed. cit., p. 374 (PL, 105, 887-88)

²⁴*Ibid.*, cap. 94, ed. cit., pp. 370-74 (PL, 105, 882-87)

²⁵*Ibid.*, ed. cit., p. 370, 20-23 (PL, 105, 883 B).

and equitably share the resources of their churches according to the needs of each one.

The Gregorian reform was to see things very differently. The result of an outburst of religious fervor, its goal was to restore the Church to its pristine purity. Thus it imposed on the clergy what it thought had been the poor and simple way of life of the apostles and first Christian communities. Once again the reformers appealed to the gospel texts on the renunciation and poverty of the apostles and to the accounts in the Acts of the Apostles concerning the organization and way of life of the first Jerusalem community. But this time they tried to have them incorporated into the institutions and laws. They also appealed to a certain number of patristic texts known to the canonic tradition, even though it had not drawn much inspiration from them. First among these were the sermons of St. Augustine and the letters of St. Jerome, already quoted by the *Institutio canonicorum* of the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle.²⁶

From then on, the passage from the letter to Nepotian which spoke of the nakedness of the cross, and which Bonaventure was to use, would play a more important role. It would no longer be simply part of a patristic anthology such the legislators of Aix had compiled. Along with many other texts of St. Jerome, it was immediately inserted into the canonical collections, whose authority was becoming increasingly accepted and which were trying to clarify and define the obligations and way of life of clerics. We see it reappear — along with the expression *nudam crucem nudus sequar* — in the *Collectio canonum*, published around 1080 by that great reformer of the clergy, Anselm of Lucques.²⁷ A little later it appeared in the *Decretum* of Ivo of Chartres,²⁸ and finally in *Causa XII* of Gratian's *Decretum*.²⁹

²⁶For the role played by the rule of Aix in the spread of the reform of the clergy in the 11th and 12th centuries, see C. Dereine, *Coutumiers et ordinaires de chanoines réguliers*, in *Scriptorium*, V (1951), p. 107, and *Enquête sur la règle de saint Augustin*, *ibid.*, II (1948), p. 34. Some interesting pieces of information on the authors and texts from whom the reformers drew inspiration were given by M.H. Vicaire, *L'imitation des Apôtres : Moines, chanoines et mendiants (IVe-XIIIe siècles)*, Paris, 1963, pp. 40-41.

²⁷*Collectio canonum*, VII, 2 (VII, 4 in the table of contents of the *Collectio* as found in PL, 149, 485-534): "Hieronymus ad Nepotianum. Clericus qui Christi...et nudam crucem nudus sequar" (Hieron., *Epist.* 52, 5, I. Hilberg, ed., CSEL, 54, p. 421, 10 - p. 422, 7 and Appendix, Text 1). I am referring here to the text of Anselm's *Collectio* as preserved in a late 16th century copy, ms. Paris, B.N. lat. 1444, f. 200^v-201^r.

²⁸*Decretum*, VI, 1, PL, 161, 439.

²⁹*Decretum*, II, causa 12, q. 1, cap. 5, Friedbert, ed., vol. I, col. 677-78. Obviously, quite a few other passages from the letters of St. Jerome are cited by canonists of the 11th and 12th centuries. Here we should mention excerpts from *Epist. 52 ad Nepotianum* (6, Hilberg, ed., p. 425, 13ff) and *Epist. 58 ad Paulinum* (2, *ibid.*, p. 529, 10-17), cited by Gratian, *loc. cit.*, cap. 71, col. 710-11. They

In a certain number of monasteries of canons regular stemming directly from a reform that was often rejected by the older communities of canons — who were attached to the rule of Aix — many texts from the letters of Jerome enjoyed an authority that was perhaps less official but probably more real. We know that the canons regular had been quick to adopt the so-called Rule of St. Augustine. But, as Dereine has shown, in most manuscripts that tell us anything “the Augustinian rule is embedded in other legislative texts,” frequently taken from the rule of Aix. Among these we find especially “passages from Isidore of Seville, Gregory the Great and St. Jerome relating to the life of clerics and often referred to by the term *regula*.”³⁰

Were we to systematically examine the books of customs that come from the monasteries of canons regular, quite likely we would often find at least some of the texts that are of interest to us. Since I was unable to do such an investigation myself, I examined a book of customs from the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris, which was probably copied during the second half of the 12th century, but which we have every reason to think contains texts used even earlier in that abbey. Not surprisingly, it contains the Rule of St. Augustine, divided into paragraphs to facilitate reading according to an ancient practice.³¹ But this rule is immediately followed without break by a series of texts, divided in turn into paragraphs and taken from the letters of St. Jerome³² and the Rule of St. Benedict.³³ Several passages from the letter to Nepotian reappear there, but the one cited above is not among them. Later on, however, this book of customs cites the conclusion of letter 125 to Rusticus, including its expression *nudum Christum nudus sequere* which we shall meet again in the writings of the Seraphic Doctor.³⁴

would reappear frequently in the course of the 13th century in the conflicts between seculars and mendicants; Bonaventure also quoted them (see, for example, n. 7 above).

³⁰C. Dereine, *Enquête...*, p. 34.

³¹*Paris, B.N. lat. 14673 f. 132^v-136^v*. Here the text of the Rule of St. Augustine is divided into forty-seven paragraphs.

³²*Ibid.*, f. 136^v-145^r (par. 48-144). These excerpts are simply introduced at the beginning of paragraph 48, with this title as a heading: *Epistola Ieronimi*.

³³*Ibid.*, f. 145^r-148 (par.144-58)

³⁴*Ibid.*, f. 143r (par. 121): “Si ergo vis esse perfectus et consideras, exi cum Abraam...nudum Christum nudus sequere; durum, grande, difficile, sed magna sunt premia” (*Epist. 125 ad Rusticum*, 20, Appendix, Text 4).

III. *Pauperes Christi* and Spiritual Writers of the 12th and Early 13th Centuries

Expressions borrowed from texts whose authority was thereby affirmed and recognized, reappeared often in the writings of 12th and early 13th century authors from a great variety of religious families. This should not surprise us. Here it may be apropos to recall the references given some time ago by M. Bernards and add a few others. Some of these citations or allusions refer to the nakedness of the cross, others to that of Christ. Still others take a freer approach and join the two themes in a single formula or else simply substitute the concept of poverty for that of nakedness. All of this goes to show that these expressions were not taken directly from one particular letter of St. Jerome. Instead, more or less distorted, they remained present in the memories of people who did not necessarily know their origin but freely adapted them to their own purposes.

Among the most important allusions or recollections, we must begin by mentioning those found in the letters, biographies or other writings of a group often referred to, either by themselves or others, as the *pauperes Christi*. Moved by their desire for perfection or their spiritual restlessness, these individuals took to the road and fled to the deep forest or to new communities that were poorer and more fervent. The following example comes from the author of a *Vita* of Blessed Marianus Scotus whose date, unfortunately, we do not know. We are told how his predecessors and he himself, the poor of Christ (*antecessores nostri, nos quoque Christi pauperes*),...in their nakedness following the naked Christ (*nudum Christum nudi sequentes*), left their country, family and loved ones in order to lead a "heavenly life" in a monastery on the outskirts of Ratisbon, far from their native Ireland.³⁵

Robert of Arbrissel was to use a similar formula in a letter (which his editor dates from 1209) to Ermengarde, countess of Brittany. Bound as she was by vows of marriage, this pious woman could not embrace the religious life to which she aspired. Robert takes note of the generous intention that was prompting her to renounce the world and, in her nakedness, follow the naked Christ on the cross (*Voluntas tua esset ut...nuda nudum Christum in cruce sequer-*

³⁵*De B. Mariano Scoto, Abbate ord. S. Benedicti, in Acta Sanct.,* February, vol. II, Antwerp, 1658, p. 364. Blessed Marianus, who died at Mayence in 1086, was a native of Ireland. The *Acta Sanctorum* tell us nothing about the date or author of this *Vita*; all we are told is that it was preserved in a manuscript of the Charterhouse in Gaming (Austria). This text is mentioned by M. Bernards, p. 148, n. 3.

eris), but since she cannot carry out her plan, he asks her to pray that she might do the Lord's will and not her own.³⁶

Similar testimony is found in a letter that must date from 1111-20, although it substitutes the concept of poverty for that of nakedness. In it Ellenhard, a former canon of Saint-Martin in Utrecht, explains to the members of that community why he left them to become a monk. His old confreres, rather than combatting his dissoluteness, had only encouraged it; therefore, he has decided to renounce everything and, in his poverty, follow the poor Christ (*omnia relinquere et pauperes pauperem Christum sequi destinavimus*).³⁷

In 1126, Archbishop Frederick I of Cologne wrote to the abbot Cunon of Siegburg, one of the most outstanding monastic reformers of his time and a major influence on St. Norbert, the founder of Premontre.³⁸ The archbishop, himself a great defender of the reform, professes his concern for all there who have chosen the way of poverty. Keeping nothing of their own and renouncing themselves, in their poverty and nakedness they are following the poor Christ (*ipsum pauperem pauperes et nudi sequuntur*).³⁹ On the other hand, the archbishop seems to have had very definite ideas about how to solve any problems arising from voluntary poverty, for he explains to his correspondent that to provide for their needs the *pauperes Christi* must be able to rely on the wealth of the powerful ones of this world — including, no doubt, his own.⁴⁰

³⁶See Robert of Arbrissel, *Sermo ad Comitissam Britanniae*, J. de Pétigny, ed., *Lettre inédite de Robert d'Arbrissel à la comtesse Ermengarde*, in *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, XV (1854), p. 227. I would very much like to correct the inaccurate references to J. de Pétigny's article by W. Babilas, *Untersuchungen zu den Sermoni subalpini*, Munich, 1968, p. 343, n. 34 and especially p. 361 — references that I in turn carelessly recopied in a supplementary note to my edition of Achard of Saint-Victor, *Sermons inédits*, Paris, 1970, p. 259. This text of Robert of Arbrissel was mentioned by M. Bernards, p. 149, n. 5, who knows of it through the work of J. von Walter, *Die ersten Wanderprediger Frankreichs*, I (*Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und Kirche*, IX, 3), Leipzig, 1903, p. 125, n. 5.

³⁷See Ellenhard, *Epist. ad canonicos S. Martini Traiectensis*, Ph. Jaffé, ed., *Bibliotheca rerum germanicarum*, vol. V, Berlin, 1869, n. 208, pp. 380-81. M. Bernards, who mentioned this text (p. 149, n. 15), also mentions another by Bernard Tiron (*ibid.*, n. 16), in which it is also said to be a question of following the poor Christ in one's poverty. Unfortunately he fails to quote it and is content to refer to a work by M. v. Dmitrevski (*Die christliche freiwillige Armut [Abhandlungen zur mittleren und neuen Geschichte*, 53], Berlin, 1913, p. 77), which I have been unable to locate.

³⁸On Cunon or Conrad and his relations with Archbishop Frederick I, see A. Franzen, *Conrad de Ratisbonne (Cuno de Siegburg)*, *DHGE*, vol. XIII, Paris, 1956, col. 499.

³⁹See Fredericus I, archiepiscopus Coloniensis, *Epist. ad Cunonem, Sigebergensem abbatem* (August 1, 1126), Th.-J. Lacomblet, ed., *Urkundenbuch für Geschichte des Niederrheins*, vol. I, Düsseldorf, 1840, n° 301, p. 197 (text mentioned by M. Bernards, p. 149, n. 14).

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

It seems, moreover, that the Premonstratensians, to whom we have just alluded and who were often known by the beautiful name *pauperes Christi*, were apt to use the same formulas of St. Jerome to describe their ideal. There is a *Vita Norberti* which refers to the circumstances in which the future archbishop of Magdeburg understood at the time of his conversion that, in his nakedness, he was to follow the naked cross (*quod nudam crucem nudus utique sequi deberet*).⁴¹ Similar expressions referring to St. Norbert appear again in the *Continuatio Praemonstratensis* of the *Chronica* of Sigebert of Gembloux (*baiulans sibi crucem nudam, nudum Christum sequitur*).⁴² The anonymous *Vita* of another Premonstratensian, Blessed Godfrey of Kappenburg (d. 1127), tells us in similar terms how while still in the world he experienced a sudden burning desire to give himself to God, and as soon as possible, in his nakedness, take up the naked cross of Christ (*regi supremo militare, nudamque crucem Christi nudus baiulare inardescens quantocyus*).⁴³

Another follower of St. Norbert, Anselm of Havelberg, was also well-acquainted with these expressions. In his famous letter to Egbert of Huysbourg, probably written in 1138 and entitled *Epistola apologetica pro ordine canonicorum regularium*, he defends the canons regular and tries to prove that the order of canons is not inferior to that of monks. To this end he reminds Egbert, in a particularly significant passage, that there is really no reason for him to encourage clerics to leave their state for the monastic life. He refers in this regard to the texts from the Gospel of Matthew which we have already met. Indeed, cannot a good cleric say with the apostle Peter that he has given up everything to follow the Lord (see Mt 19:27)? Has he not answered Christ's appeal addressed to the rich young man, asking him to sell all his goods and give to the poor (see Mt 19:21)? Is he not following Christ as one who is truly naked (*iam nudus sequitur Christum*)?⁴⁴

In another letter, this time to Wibald of Stavelot (dated by Jaffé from 1150), Anselm returns to the same formulas. Speaking of present difficulties in Havelberg — of which he had been made bishop and which was constantly being threatened by the invading Wends — he says he is remaining there as a *pauper Christi* with his brothers, themselves also *pauperes Christi* (*pauper Christi*

⁴¹*Vita sancti Norberti*, IV, 22, PL, 170, 1272 A.

⁴²*Mon. Germ. hist.*, Script., vol. VI, p. 448.

⁴³*Vita B. Godefridi Cappenbergensis*, 1, 7, in *Acta Sanct.*, January, vol. I, Antwerp, 1643, p. 846; the same formula reappears in a *Vita secunda* (1, 4, *ibid.*, p. 857) which obviously depends on the previous one (M. Bernards, p. 148, n. 4).

⁴⁴Anselm of Havelberg, *Epist. apologetica*, PL, 188, 1124 D (M. Bernards, p. 419, n. 10).

cum fratribus meis pauperibus Christi maneo). He goes on to describe his labors, struggles, fasts and the holy prayers and meditations to which he and his brothers devote themselves, each according to his state, in the midst of this village which is exposed to constant danger. In that way, he concludes, all of them, naked and poor, are following as best they can the naked and poor Christ (*omnes, nudi ac pauperes, nudum ac pauperem Christum, quantum possumus, sequimur*).⁴⁵

The Cistercians, likewise a product of the movement of reform and return to origins that marked the late 11th and early 12th centuries, tended to see themselves as *pauperes Christi*. Thus we are not surprised to find in some of their writings formulas inspired by those of St. Jerome — formulas too much in keeping with the intentions of their first founders not to have been so inspired. M. Bernards already detected an echo of them in a passage from the *Exordium parvum*, which again substitutes the concept of poverty for that of nakedness. It describes the very first Cistercians as “new soldiers of Christ, poor with the poor Christ (*novi milites Christi, cum paupere Christo pauperes*).”⁴⁶

Other Cistercian writers — later, it is true — refer to Jerome’s formulas more explicitly. Aelred of Rievaulx, for example, seems to be thinking of letter 125 to Rusticus in one of his sermons *De oneribus*. He sees the apostles and disciples, who could say with a sure conscience that they had left everything to follow the Lord (see Mt 19:27), as the forebears of those who had left everything to become truly poor. In that way, naked themselves, they are following the naked Christ (*nudi nudum Christum sequuntur*).⁴⁷ The same formula reappears in another sermon from the same collection, where it refers to those who have had the courage to renounce the riches of the world, their affections and their own will.⁴⁸ In a homily for the feast of the Ascension, Aelred insists on the need to imitate the nakedness of Christ by renouncing the world (*neesse est ut per mundi abrenuntiationem imitetur nuditatem Christi*).⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Anselm of Havelberg, *Epist. ad Wibaldum Stabulensem*, Ph. Jaffé, ed., *Bibliotheca rerum germanicarum*, vol. I, Berlin 1864, n° 221, p. 340 (M. Bernards, p. 149, n. 13). A French translation of the passage from this letter that concerns us was given by G. Salet in Anselme de Havelbert, *Dialogues*, I (SC, 118), Paris, 1966, *Introd.*, p. 8, n. 4.

⁴⁶ *Exordium Cisterciensis coenobii*, cap. 15, I. Turk, ed., *Cistercii statuta antiquissima*, Rome, 1949, p. 34 (M. Bernards, p. 149, n. 18).

⁴⁷ Aelred of Rievaulx, *De oneribus*, S. XXIV, PL, 19, 47 D.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, S. XXVII, PL, 195, 472 D: “...nudum Christum nudi sequuntur.”

⁴⁹ *Sermones inediti B. Aelredi abbatis Rievallensis*, C.H. Talbot, ed., (*Series scriptorum S. Ordinis Cisterciensis*, vol. I), Rome, 1952, p. 103.

A little later, apparently around the year 1167, in a sermon addressed to the monks of the poverty-stricken monastery of the isle of Ré (where his love of solitude and renunciation had led him), Isaac of Stella is not afraid to say that he and his companions, "naked and shipwrecked, have embraced the naked cross of the naked Christ (*nudi ac naufragi, nudam nudi Christi crucem amplexi*)."⁵⁰ We find another echo of Jerome's formulas in a sermon by the Cistercian John of Ford, who was still living at the beginning of the 13th century. Commenting allegorically on the verse from the Canticle (4:2), which speaks of the sheep being sheared as they come up from the washing, he takes the occasion to invite those who would have him practice poverty and patience to preach first by their example in such a way that, poor and naked, he might truly learn to follow the One of whom Isaiah wrote (53:7) that He allowed Himself be sheared and opened not His mouth (*quo pauper et nudus illum sequi...discam, qui coram tondente se obmutuit*).⁵¹

Apparently getting his idea from the views of J. von Walter⁵² and referring mainly to the testimonies of Robert of Arbrissel and the *Vita Norberti* cited above, E. Werner suggested some time ago that the formulas found in these writings expressed the ideal of those *pauperes Christi*, the itinerant preachers. More or less marginal or unorthodox, and in any case regarded with suspicion by church authorities, their activity had begun to spread since the end of the 11th century.⁵³ But this theory seems rather hard to defend. Neither Robert of Arbrissel, Norbert of Xanten, nor any of the people we have met so far who have quoted these formulas can be considered unorthodox.

On the other hand, there is no question, as H. Grundmann has more recently shown,⁵⁴ that certain 12th-century heretics were overtly inspired by the "apostolic" ideal reintroduced by the Gregorian reform. As a matter of fact, everything leads us to believe that to describe their way of life and nourish their preaching they read the same texts that had inspired the reformers. We

⁵⁰ Isaac of Stella, S. XVIII, PL, 194, 1750 A. According to Fr. Gaetano Raciti (art. *Isaac of Stella*, DS, fasc. 50-51, Paris, 1971, col. 2013), whom I thank for willingly sharing with me this text, Isaac could not have settled on the island of Ré until around the year 1167.

⁵¹ John of Ford, *Sermones*, 1, 5, E. Mikkers-H. Costello, eds., CC, *Continuatio mediaevalis*, 17, Turnhout, 1970, p. 356, 120-21.

⁵² *Die Geschichte des Christentums*, 2nd ed., vol. I, 2, Gütersloh, 1939, p. 542.

⁵³ See E. Werner, *Pauperes Christi: Studien zu sozialreligiösen Bewegungen im Zeitalter des Reformpapsttums*, Leipzig, 1956, pp. 19-20, 43 and 81.

⁵⁴ *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der religiösen Bewegungen im Mittelalter*, in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 37 (1955), pp. 147-57 (*Vita apostolica und Wanderpredigt*) cited by H. Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter*, 3, Aufl., Darmstadt, 1970, pp. 503-13.

know that Waldo (who knew no Latin) had clerics who could read and write translate not only the gospels and several books of the Bible, but also a certain number of passages from Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose and Gregory. These were grouped into collections which he and his followers called *Sentences*.⁵⁵ Thus it is not surprising that these heretics found in their *florilegia* the formulas of Jerome that are of interest to us here. We could come reach the same conclusion from reading a passage in the *De nugis curialium*, where Walter Map describes the way of life of the Waldensians who came to the Roman synod of 1179 during the reign of Pope Alexander III: "They have no fixed dwelling place; they go about two by two, barefoot, dressed in woolen garments, possessing nothing, holding all things in common like the apostles (see Acts 2:44), in their nakedness following the naked Christ (*nudi nudum Christum sequentes*)."⁵⁶

The fact that itinerant preachers and even heretics could use these expressions did not necessarily make them suspect. They occur in authors who never claimed the title *pauperes Christi* and who, we know very well, never showed much sympathy for the professional agitators. The interpretations proposed by these theologians or writers are admittedly less strict; they are more apt to insist on the spiritual sense. Peter the Venerable, for example, seems to recall these formulas — but in a very restrained and discreet manner — in a letter where he encourages his correspondent as one who is poor, but poor in spirit, to follow the poor Christ (*pauper, et pauper spiritu, pauperem Dominum tuum sequere*).⁵⁷

Letter VIII of the correspondence of Abelard and Heloise, which is nothing but the rule of the Paraclete monastery, refers to the example of the apostles and is inspired in turn by Jerome's letter to Rusticus. But it insists on interior renunciation above all: "Naked, we follow the naked Christ (*nudum Christum nudi sequimur*) when, having left all things, as did the holy apostles, we sacrifice for Him not only our earthly goods or our love for family, but also our own will."⁵⁸

Achard of St. Victor — a man of good sense — must have read in his monastic refectory the passage from the letter to Rusticus we recently found

⁵⁵See the texts cited in this connection by H. Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen...*, p. 446, n. 14.

⁵⁶Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, I, 31, *on. Germ. hist., Script.*, vol. XXVII (1885), p. 67, l. 13-15, or M.-R. James, ed. (*Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series XIV*), Oxford, 1914, p. 61, 11-13 (M. Bernards, p. 149, n. 11).

⁵⁷Peter the Venerable, *Epist.*, I, 20, PL, 189, 95 C (M. Bernards, p. 149, n. 17).

⁵⁸Abelard, *Epist. VIII ad Heloissam*, PL, 178, 258 C (M. Bernards, p. 149, n. 6).

in the custom book of the great Parisian abbey.⁵⁹ He recalls it in his sermon for the First Sunday of Lent, where he describes the seven deserts through which the spiritual person must pass before being identified with Christ. But for Achard, the spiritual person is the one "who has sold everything he has and given to the poor, in his nakedness following the naked Christ (*nudus nudum sequens Christum*). Having already renounced sin, the world, the flesh and especially his own will, he is now ready to enter the fifth desert where he will have to renounce reason itself."⁶⁰

As for Peter Comestor, if one of his sermons in honor of St. Augustine (addressed to some canons regular, who may well have been those of Saint Victor) contains a vague recollection of Jerome's formulas, it is with regard to that humility which is "so necessary for a regular who, poor himself, has chosen to follow the poor Christ (*qui pauper Christum pauperem sequi praelegit*)."⁶¹ Peter is more directly inspired by the letter to Rusticus in an allegorical sermon based on Isaiah 11:6: *Vitulus, leo et agnus morabuntur simul*. But his reflection leads him to see in the flock of sheep naked after shearing (see Canticle 4:2) the image of a community — of canons, no doubt — who by its renunciation of the world is following the naked Christ.⁶²

In the second half of the 12th century, such expressions will appear often in writings of theologians or preachers very different from one another. For example, we find a vague recollection of them in the dedication of a letter to St. Hildegarde of Bingen,⁶³ herself an imitator of the poverty of the poor Christ (*pauperem Christi paupertatem imitanti*). Raoul the Ardent refers to them in terms much more explicit when he praises those saints whose merits include having followed the naked Christ in their nakedness (*nudi nudum Christum secuti sunt*).⁶⁴ The anonymous author of a collection of Piedmontese sermons, written in Franco-Provencal but filled with Latin formulas, urges his hearers,

⁵⁹See n. 34 above.

⁶⁰Achard of St. Victor, *Sermons inédits*, XV, 14, J. Châtillon, ed., Paris, 1970, p. 214.

⁶¹Peter Comestor, *Sermones*, XXX, PL, 198, 1792 A.

⁶²This sermon of Peter Comestor was printed among those of Hildebert of Lavardin, PL, 171, 649 C. My knowledge of this text and those of Raoul the Ardent, Peter of Poitiers, Stephen Langton and Jacques de Vitry (cited in nn. 64, 66-68 and 71) is due to the scholarship of Abbé Jean Longère, who should be presenting them soon in an article entitled *Pauvreté et richesse chez quelques prédicateurs durant la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle*. My thanks to him here for the valuable information he so willingly shared with me.

⁶³*Sermo in Ramis Palmarum*, in W. Babilas, *Untersuchungen zu den Sermoni subalpini*, Munich, 1968, pp. 289-81, 32-34 and 45-52.

⁶⁴Raoul the Ardent, *Sermo "Notum vobis facio evangelium"*, PL, 155, 1393 B.

on the occasion of the Palm Sunday procession, to spread their garments under the Savior's feet — in other words, to mortify their bodies and bring them into subjection so that, naked, they might follow the crucified and naked Christ (*ut nudi nudum sequamur crucifixum*).⁶⁵

The same expressions appear in the (unpublished) homilies of Peter of Poitiers and Stephen Langton, who sometimes take them to mean the renunciation of worldly affairs,⁶⁶ sometimes the renunciation needed for victory against the powers of evil,⁶⁷ and sometimes, more simply, as the virtue of obedience.⁶⁸ Elsewhere, in two collections of theological *Quaestiones* and a commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews (unpublished works but with excerpts published by A.M. Landgraf), Stephen Langton again cites these formulas, linking them to poverty or renunciation.⁶⁹

In the letters of St. Jerome these expressions had taken on a powerful meaning, and for the early Gregorian reformers they still referred to a real and demanding practice of evangelical poverty. But we sense that in all these texts — as already in some of the Cistercian or Victorine sermons mentioned above — they are tending more and more to lose their strength and realism. They do, of course, continue to evoke the nakedness of the cross or that of Christ. But from now on they often appear in a context where it is not a question of

⁶⁵*Sermo in Ramis Palmarum*, in W. Babilas, *Untersuchungen zu den Sermoni subalpini*, Munich, 1968, pp. 280-81, 32-34 and 45-52.

⁶⁶See Peter of Poitiers, *Sermo "Omnis qui me confessus fuerit,"* ms. Paris, B.N. lat. 14593, f. 336^{vb}: "...celerius autem sequuntur qui seculo ex toto renuntiaverunt, et Christum secuti sunt, et ei toto cordis desiderio, postposita omni secularium negotiorum cura, placere contendunt." The manuscript cited has *rudi* instead of *nudi*, but as Abbé Jean Longère, to whom I owe the transcription of this text, pointed out to me, this must be just a mistake on the part of the copyist.

⁶⁷Stephen Langton, *Sermo "In salutari tuo anima mea,"* ms. Leipzig, Universit. Bibl. 443, f. 116^{va}: "Non habetis luctam contra hostem carnalem, sed contra hostem spiritualem. Luctam autem securus ingreditur, qui nudus est quando non habet unde teneatur et qui nudus Christum nudum sequitur. Securus cum diabolo congreditur, quia serpens hominem nudum fugit, insilit in vestitum."

⁶⁸Stephen Langton, *Sermo "Spiritus oris nostri,"* ms. cit., f. 71^{va} (the context is the twelve chief moments in the passion of Christ): "Octavum [passionis articulum] est quod nudus propriam crucem baiolatur, ut nudi nudum sequamur et cum summa obedientia iniunctum opus exerceamus."

⁶⁹See. A.M. Landgraf, *Dogmengeschichte der Frühscholastic*, II/1, Ratisbon, 1953, p. 17. To all these 12th-century witnesses we must also add that of an anonymous *Speculum virginum* mentioned by M. Bernards (p. 149, n. 7). Unfortunately he does not cite the text but merely refers to the manuscript Köln, *Hist. Stadarchiv., Wf 276a*, f. 81^f. Since then, M. Bernards has provided us with a edition of this *Speculum* (Cologne, 1955), but despite my efforts, I have been unable to obtain a copy of this work. Let us also recall his comment (p. 149, n. 8) that these formulas of Jerome reappear in the *Additamenta* (IV, 21, 71 and 32, 117), which were published following St. Bonaventure's *Vitis mystica* (VIII, 198 and 215).

poverty in the strict sense, but of humility or obedience in the most general (I was going to say banal) sense.

The appearance of new religious orders, of which he is an enthusiastic admirer, would lead Jacques de Vitry at the beginning of the 13th century to rediscover the connection traditionally linking these formulas with the apostolic life. Thus he would restore to them something of their power. His *Vita* of Blessed Mary of Oignies was written in 1215, in other words, shortly after the death of its heroine in 1213. In it Jacques de Vitry tells us about the conversion of this pious Beguine, in language worthy of the biographies of St. Norbert or Godfrey of Kappenburg cited above: "One day she decided to run away and go begging from door to door, unknown and despised, so that, naked, she might follow the naked Christ (*ut nudum christum nuda sequeretur*)."⁷⁰ Thus she imitated the example of Joseph who left his cloak in the hands of Potiphar's wife (Gen. 39:12), the Samaritan woman who left her water and ran to the neighboring town to announce that she had seen the Messiah (Jn 4:28), and the young man in the Garden of Olives, who left to his pursuers the sheet he was wearing and escaped naked from their hands (Mk 14:52).⁷⁰

But it was the new mendicant orders and their witness to poverty that must have attracted Jacques de Vitry's attention even more. In a sermon to some canons regular (*ad canonicos regulares*)⁷¹ in which he retraces in his own way the history of the order of canons, he lists the seven congregations of canons which (according to him) sprang from the congregation founded by St. Augustine. The last of these is none other than the holy "congregation of friars preachers,"⁷² which is free of all temporal possessions." Its way of life

⁷⁰See Jacques de Vitry, *Vita beatae Mariae Ogniacensis*, 2, 5, 45, in *Acta Sanct.*, Jun., vol. V, Antwerp, 1707, p. 648. With regard to the date of this *Vita*, I am repeating the information given by M. Bernards (p. 148, n. 2), who refers to J. Greven, *Die Anfänge der Beginen (Vorreformationsgeschichtliche Forschungen*, 8), Münster, 1912, p. 54

⁷¹An edition of this sermon, unfortunately incomplete, was given long ago by J. B. Pitra, *Analecta novissima Spicilegii Solesmensis*, altera continuatio, II, Tuscany, 1888, pp. 385-90. But for the passage that concerns us here (Pitra, *ibid.*, p. 389), we can refer to the transcription, based on mss. Paris B.N. lat. 3284, f. 77^v, and 17509, f. 58., published by P. Mandonnet in a study *Les chanoines-prêcheurs de Bologne d'après Jacques de Vitry* (in P. Mandonnet and M.H. Vicaire, *Saint Dominique: l'idée, l'homme et l'oeuvre*, vol. I, Paris, 1938, p. 237, n. 18). As Mandonnet has noted (*ibid.*, p. 235, n. 17), this sermon has sometimes been attributed to Cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux, but this attribution cannot be seriously defended, for we find this piece in several collections explicitly attributed to Jacques de Vitry that are prior to the cardinal's homilies.

⁷²Jacques de Vitry, *Sermo cit.*, in J.B. Pitra, *op.cit.*, p. 389, or P. Mandonnet, *art.cit.*, p. 236, n. 18. We must certainly assume, as Mandonnet does without hesitation, that the canons regular who belong to the *ordo* or *congregatio fratrum praedicatorum* mentioned here are none other than the first followers of St. Dominic. However, we shall see that Jacques de Vitry, in his *Historia*

takes us back “to the time of the primitive Church and the apostles,” and its members, true “athletes of Christ...naked themselves, have followed Him who is naked (*nudi nudum secuti sunt*), joyfully embracing poverty and laboring for the food that does not perish.”⁷³ In his *Historia occidentalis* (in all likelihood completed before 1226), Jacques de Vitry has similar praise for some canons from Bologna, who are no doubt the Dominicans of that city. Relieved from all concern for external affairs and all ownership of temporal things so as to run with greater freedom after the Lord, in their nakedness they are following their naked Master (*nudi nudum sequuntur*).⁷⁴

Jacques de Vitry speaks of the followers of St. Francis in similar terms. Again the theme of nakedness is associated with imitation of the apostles and memories of the early Church. A long chapter in the *Historia occidentalis* is devoted to the “order of those who are the true poor men of the crucified One.” They, too, belong to “the order of preachers” but are called “friars minor” and have been raised up by the Lord in order to defend His Church against the Antichrist and obtain for Him, at the end of time, the aid of “new athletes.”⁷⁵ These religious, explains Jacques de Vitry,

strive with great solicitude to practice...the poverty and humility of the primitive Church; they draw from the pure waters of the fountain of the gospel with such thirst and spiritual ardor that they are not satisfied with carrying out its precepts but work hard at observing its counsels in every way, thereby reflecting more explicitly the life of the apostles (*vitam apostolicam expressius imitantes*); they give up all they own, renounce themselves, take up their cross and, naked, follow Him who is naked (*nudi nudum sequentes*). Like Joseph, they leave their cloak behind, like the Samaritan woman, their water jar; they run unimpeded, relieved of every cumbersome weight; they walk before the face of the Lord without ever looking back.⁷⁶

occidentalis (ch. 32, see text cited below, n. 75), also links the Friars Minor to the *ordo praedicatorum*. Thus he understands these expressions in their very general and original sense.

⁷³Jacques de Vitry, *ibid.* We notice in this text the allusion to Jn 6:27 (*Operamini non cibum qui perit...*). Basing themselves on this verse from the Gospel of John, many “apostolic” groups of the late 12th or early 13th century rejected manual labor. As noted by M.H. Vicaire, *L'imitation des Apôtres...*, pp. 76-77, they thought it “a crime” for “one who dedicates himself to the cause of the gospel to devote even a part of his energy to anything other than spiritual work.”

⁷⁴Jacques de Vitry, *Historia occidentalis*, ch. 27, F. Moschus, ed., Douai, 1597, p. 333, or J.F. Hinnebusch, ed., *The History occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry*, Fribourg (Switzerland), 1972, p. 143, 2-3. Regarding the identification of these canons from Bologna with the Dominicans of that city, see P. Mandonnet, *Les chanoines-prêcheurs...*, pp. 231-47.

⁷⁵Jacques de Vitry, *op.cit.*, ch. 32, F. Moschus, ed., p. 349, or J.F. Hinnebusch, ed., p. 158, 17-20.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 350, or p. 159, 5-12 [tr. adapted from *Omnibus*, p. 1610].

IV. Seculars and Mendicants during the Second Half of the 13th Century

Jacques de Vitry was by no means the only one to try to describe the mendicants' way of life by appealing to an expression that originated with St. Jerome and which, we have seen, was widely used by 12-century spiritual writers. In any case, the next one to be inspired by it was Pope Innocent IV. In his famous letter *Etsi animarum* (November 21, 1254) he accuses the mendicants of taking too casual an attitude toward canon law. Too often they usurp the rights of the seculars, even though they have vowed to renounce the goods of this world so that, naked, they might follow the naked Christ (*ut nudi nudum Christum libere sequi possent*).⁷⁷ But like Jacques de Vitry, the pontiff seems quite unaware of the remote origins of an expression he uses so unselfconsciously.

Things would quickly change. Before long, St. Bonaventure would appeal to Jerome's formulas in very different circumstances. It is true, as we shall see, that he sometimes quotes them very freely and discredits them by his use, not afraid to change them and not bothering to indicate their author. But most of the time he is careful to give complete citations of the passages from the letters of Jerome in which these expressions are, as it were, embedded and to give us the exact references.

The Seraphic Doctor's reasons for presenting these texts in this way are perfectly clear: the three works in which he cites them explicitly are controversial writings. All of them — whether the *De paupertate* (*De perfect. evangelica*, q. II), certainly written before the end of 1255,⁷⁸ the *Expositio in regulam fratrum minorum*, whose authenticity, despite some hesitations by critics seems well-

⁷⁷See H. Denifle and Ae. Châtelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. I, Paris, 1889, p. 269. I owe my knowledge of this text to J.-G. Bougerol and thank him for kindly pointing it out to me. The bull *Etsi animarum* has been analyzed by M.-M. Dufeil, *Guillaume de Saint-Amour et la polémique universitaire parisienne (1250-1259)*, Paris, 1972, pp. 127-31.

⁷⁸Here I am following the chronology recently established by M.M. Dufeil, *ibid.*, pp. 174-80, which dates art. 1, q. II (*De paupertate quoad abrenuntiationem*) from October 1255 and art. 2 (*De paupertate quoad mendicitatem*) from December.

established⁷⁹ and which S. Clasen dates from the first half of 1269,⁸⁰ or the *Apologia pauperum*, written in 1269 or 1270⁸¹ — have as their purpose the defense of the mendicants. These had been sharply attacked by the secular masters of the University of Paris, especially William of Saint Amour and his friends. For Bonaventure it was not a matter of peppering his treatises with clever or striking expressions, as many 12th-century authors including Jacques de Vitry had done, but rather of presenting his own arguments to support the thesis he wished to defend against his adversaries. By understanding the events linked to the writing and publication of these works, we can understand the circumstances that led the Seraphic Doctor to cite these texts as well as the meaning he gave them.

⁷⁹The arguments advanced long ago by F. Delorme, *Trois chapitres de Jean Peckham pour la défense des ordres mendiants*, in *Studi francescani*, 29, 1932, p. 49, for attributing this treatise to John Peckham have been firmly rejected by E. Longpré (art. *Bonaventure (saint)*, *DHGE*, vol. IX, Paris, 1937, col. 782; *DS*, vol. I, Paris, 1937, col. 1771, n. 1). Thus it seems that the attribution of the *Expositio* to Bonaventure can no longer be doubted. Still, it has been questioned again by C. Harkins, *The authorship of a Commentary on the Franciscan Rule published among the works of St. Bonaventure*, in *Franciscan Studies*, 29 (1969), pp. 157-248. But the article by S. Clasen, *Bonaventuras Expositio super regulam fratrum minorum*, published here (*S. Bonaventura (1274-1974)*, vol. II, Grottaferrata, 1973, pp. 531-570), has just furnished us with a solid refutation of Harkins's arguments and again defends the attribution of the *Expositio* to Bonaventure.

⁸⁰*Op.cit.*, p. 541. Less affirmative, E. Longpré (*DHGE*, vol. IX, col. 782) was inclined to believe the *Expositio* was written toward "the end of St. Bonaventure's teaching career or the beginning of his term as general," that is, around 1257. Others have linked this treatise to the second phase of the battle between mendicants and seculars. The work was dated from autumn 1269 by Y. M.-J. Congar, *Aspects ecclésiologiques de la querelle entre mendiants et séculiers dans la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle et le début du XIVe*, *AHDLMA*, XXVIII (1961), Paris, 1962, p. 47. Clasen favors the first half of 1269 because he believes that the *Expositio* was written shortly after Gerard of Abbeville's famous sermon (see n. 110 below) of January 1, 1269. The Latin summary at the beginning of Clasen's article (*Bonaventuras Expositio...*, p. 531) is wrong in dating this sermon from the feast of the Circumcision 1270; that is why it rejects the year 1270 for the composition of the *Expositio*. In fact, the article itself says (p. 533) that Gerard of Abbeville's sermon "sich mit Sicherheit auf den 1. Januar 1269 bestimmen lässt," and later (*ibid.*, p. 541): "Die Regelerklärung, die Bonaventura zugeschrieben wird, ist in der ersten Hälfte des Jahres 1269 und ihrem Inhalt nach vor der *Apologia pauperum* entstanden; sie nimmt auch auf die Neujahrspredig von 1269 Bezug." For a similar statement, see also *ibid.*, p. 536.

⁸¹Autumn 1269 according to J.-G. Bougerol, *Introduction à l'étude de saint Bonaventure*, Paris, 1961, p. 244, and Y. M.-J. Congar, *Aspects ecclésiologiques...*, p. 47; the first months of 1270 according to E. Longpré, *DHGE*, vol. IX, col. 774.

1. *Apostolic life, poverty and canon law*

There is no need here to rehearse the story of the conflicts that twice opposed mendicants and seculars, first around 1255-56, then around 1269-70. Let us simply recall that it was more a question of the new religious orders and their status than of the university crises that had occasioned them. Insertion of the mendicants into the structures of Church and society had challenged old habits, institutions and laws. To be sure, the latter had evolved greatly during the 12th century, but their roots were too deep for them not to be still very much alive. The old order inevitably had its defenders, who could easily find in the Church's spiritual, theological and canonical tradition all the arguments they might need to combat any novelty not to their liking. In this battle between old and new, the tactics of the seculars would be simple. They would accuse the mendicants of having adopted a way of life for which no precedent could be found in the Church's tradition,⁸² and they would accuse them of betraying the apostolic ideal to which they were appealing as their source of inspiration.⁸³

The debate focused from the outset on the new orders with their concept of evangelical poverty and their attempts to practice it. The secular masters, unlike certain heretics attacked by St. Thomas Aquinas in his *Contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem*,⁸⁴ did not absolutely deny the legitimacy of a renunciation to which Christ had so often called those who wished to follow Him. Christian tradition had never ceased to recall its necessity, and toward

⁸²"Vivendi modum antiquis temporibus insuetum, imo incognitum," is what William of Saint Amour would write, around 1266, in his *Collectiones catholicae et canonicae scripturae*, cap. 2 (*Opera omnia*, Constance, 1632, pp. 252-53).

⁸³To understand the role played from the very beginning of this debate by the subject of the *vita apostolica*, we need only look at the interesting *Replicatio adversus objectiones factas*, which Bonaventure's editors printed after the *De paupertate quoad mendicitatem* (*De perfect. evang.*, q. II, art 2) (V, 149-55). What we have is a *reportatio* of Bonaventure's replies to an adversary who had come to introduce counter-arguments in the course of his *disputatio*. This was none other than William of Saint Amour (see M.-M. Dufeil, *Guillaume de S.-A.*, pp. 181-82). From the first lines of his *Replicatio* (V, 149), Bonaventure informs us that his opponent has criticized several of his arguments as "contrary to the apostolic teaching (*doctrinae apostolicae inimica*)." Therefore he will have occasion later to refer to the teaching of the apostles, recalling that it is legitimate to imitate their way of life (see, for example, V, 150, 155), and asserting that the form of life laid down by Christ for the apostles (*forma praescripta Apostolis*) is the same as that adopted by the followers of St. Francis (V, 150). Evidently these arguments must not have convinced William of Saint Amour. The next year, in Chapter 14 of his *De periculis novissimorum temporum*, he would list the 41 signs that supposedly allow us to recognize the "true apostles" who are so opposed to such "false apostles" as the mendicants (see William of S.-A., *Opera omnia*, Constance, 1632, pp. 54-72). Similar criticisms will appear later in the anonymous *De Antichristo* (see below, n. 96).

⁸⁴Cap. 6, 2, Leonine ed., vol. XLI, parts A, Rome, 1970, p. 96, 235-43.

the end of the 11th century the Gregorian reform had tried to impose it on the clergy. But it does seem — at least if we are to believe their mendicant foes — they had pretty much come to interpret these texts in a minimizing fashion. They believed — and probably even taught — that fidelity to the evangelical counsels required nothing more than an interior detachment of the heart or will. Actual renunciation of the goods of this world was unnecessary.⁸⁵

St. Thomas Aquinas had spoken of real or “actual” poverty as opposed to “habitual” poverty which was that of the heart. In any case, it is certain that for the secular masters there were only two legitimate and canonically recognized ways of practicing the former. Anyone who had heard Christ’s invitation to the rich young man and decided to answer it by truly renouncing all his goods, would necessarily either have to work with his hands to earn his daily bread (the solution advocated by many of the earlier rules for monks or canons), or enter a monastery whose goods or revenues would be enough that it could provide for the needs of its members.⁸⁶ The mendicants wanted nothing to do with the first solution. It would not have left them enough time or freedom needed to devote themselves to preaching or teaching. They wanted less to do with the second, which seemed to them an inadequate response to the radical demand for poverty they found in the gospel. They wanted, moreover, to renounce not only private and personal ownership but also every kind of common or collective ownership. They wanted to practice poverty, as St. Bonaventure would say, *tam in communi, quam in privato*.⁸⁷ They wanted to depend solely on the charity of the faithful for their subsistence, and thus on

⁸⁵See, for example, Thomas Aquinas, *ibid.*, p. 97, 253-57: “Asserunt etiam paupertatem laudari in Scripturis non actualem qua aliquis rebus temporalibus se expoliat, sed habitualement qua aliquis rem temporalem contemnit corde, etsi re possideat.” But we may wonder whether the opinion St. Thomas is aiming at here is really that of William of Saint Amour — at least insofar as we know it through his writings — as the latest editors of the *Contra impugnantes* seem to think. With regard to this passage, they refer us to a short phrase of William, taken from his *De quantitate eleemosynae* and printed in his *Opera omnia* (Constance, 1632, p. 77), which they cite as follows: “Si autem omnia dat in spe mendicandi, non credo esse licitum.” It seems that here William is condemning, not the real or “actual” renunciation mentioned by St. Thomas, but a renunciation that would have been made with the intention and hope that afterward one could live by begging. That is something very different.

⁸⁶See William of Saint Amour, *De periculis novissimorum temporum*, cap. 12 (*Opera* pp. 49-50: “Qualiter ergo vivendum est...postquam reliquerit omnia? Respondemus: Aut operando corporaliter manibus, aut intrando monasterium ubi habeat necessaria vitae.” This text is cited by the editors of the *Contra impugnantes* of St. Thomas Aquinas (*ed.cit.*, p. 97), who quotes and refutes this opinion, *ibid.*, 250-53, and 4-6, pp. 99-105, 446-1025.

⁸⁷*De perfect. evang.*, q. II, art. 1 (V, 125).

the right to beg, which William of Saint Amour and his disciples refused to recognize.

Unfortunately, it is hard to get a very clear idea of the arguments used by William of Saint Amour and his partisans to justify their theses on poverty. Although these last few years have seen some remarkable works devoted to the secular-mendicant conflicts during the second half of the 13th century, we still lack a critical study of the scriptural, patristic and canonical arguments advanced by both sides. Our editions are generally good, sometimes excellent, for most of the works in which the mendicants defended their position. But for the writings of their adversaries, especially William of Saint Amour, our editions are very inadequate and sometimes hard to find. The voices of the experts tell us to be careful.⁸⁸ Still, a quick survey of the major works available in print allows us to make a few interesting observations.

Generally speaking, it seems that William of Saint Amour's scholarship, at least in his early writings, was relatively limited. It always remained rather disorganized. But we also note that this master is a canonist.⁸⁹ Quite a few of his biblical or patristic arguments cite texts that can be easily found in the collections compiled by the Aix-la-Chapelle legislators and enriched by the Gregorian reformers. For example, as early as autumn 1255⁹⁰ in his *Quaestio de quantitate eleemosynae*, William defends the kind of collective ownership the mendicants no longer wanted by citing the well-known verse from the Acts of the Apostles (4:32) that refers to the sharing of goods in the first Jerusalem community. Those who defended the *vita apostolica* had often been inspired by

⁸⁸See H.-F. Dondaine, in St. Thomas Aquinas, *Contra impugnantes*, Leonine ed., vol. XLI, part A, Preface, p. 9: "...almost all William's works are virtually inaccessible today except in the 1632 edition whose critical value remains to be tested."

⁸⁹See M.-M. Dufeil, *Guillaume de S.-A...*, p. 177, which says of William that "above all, he secretly knows canon law" and "each support he finds, whether explicit or unacknowledged, provides him with the other *auctoritates*: Fathers, popes and synods from where the text comes, and pericopes that agree with them." But it seems to me that in this apt comment the word "secretly" is too much. Even though he does not always bother to cite texts explicitly, William mounts his campaign against the innovations of the mendicants in the name of a canonical tradition to which he openly appeals. But as noted by Y. M.-J. Congar, *Aspects ecclésiologiques...*, p. 35, "we are lacking...a study of the dispute between mendicants and seculars from the viewpoint of the canonical documents used." However, I cite these remarks only with caution, since I was unable to make use of the work by C. Molari, *Teologia e diritto canonico in San Tommaso d'Aquino*, Rome, 1961, which is at least a partial answer to the wish expressed by Congar.

⁹⁰*Opera omnia*, Constance, 1632, pp. 76-77. For this *Quaestio* and its date of composition, see M.-M. Dufeil, *Guillaume de S.-A...*, pp. 176-78 and 180. William would also quote this text from the Acts in his *Collectiones catholicae et canonicae scripturae* (*Opera omnia*, p. 362).

it, and the *Institutio canonicorum* itself, as we have seen,⁹¹ had finished it off with quotations from Augustine.

The author of the *De periculis novissimorum temporum* and the *Collectiones* was to cite quite a few other texts from Scripture and the Fathers. We need not list them here. Let us simply note that he devotes considerable space to the writings of Augustine and Jerome, especially the letters to Nepotian,⁹² Paulinus of Nola⁹³ and Rusticus,⁹⁴ which were among the documents generally used to describe the clerical way of life. But it must be said that William does not — at least as far as I have been able to tell — cite the passages on the nakedness of the cross or that of Christ found in the letters of Jerome.⁹⁵ Obviously these texts could not help the seculars' cause; it was entirely to their advantage to ignore them. Later one of William's disciples, Gerard of Abbeville, would feel obliged to deal with them. But his only reason, as we shall see, would be to answer the arguments of the mendicants and propose an interpretation of them that was in agreement with the theses of the seculars.

Thus attacked, the mendicants had no other course but to fight on the terrain where their adversaries had dragged them and seek the elements of their defense in the traditional documents which are becoming familiar to us. Drawing on the same sources as the seculars — but handling them with greater ease, method and skill — they set out to prove that the way of life they wished to lead was by no means opposed to the demands of the tradition being used against them. On the contrary, they were rediscovering in it the most profound insights and intentions.

Adopting for themselves the invectives that had been hurled against the Waldensians or Albigensians by a number of 12th-century preachers, the secular masters accused the mendicants of being nothing but "false apostles."⁹⁶

⁹¹See n. 20 below.

⁹²See *De periculis*, cap. 14, ed.cit., p. 68; *Collectiones*, *ibid.*, pp. 231, 270, 274, 275, 296, 313, 314.

⁹³See *Quaestio de valido mendicante*, *ibid.*, p. 82.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 84; *Collectiones*, pp. 185, 242, 271.

⁹⁵The negative results of my quick investigation in this regard have been confirmed in the editions of St. Thomas Aquinas's *Contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem* and the *Contra doctrinam retrahentium a religione*, recently issued by the Dominicans. Several times in these two *opuscula* the Angelic Doctor quotes the texts of St. Jerome that we are considering here (see nn. 108, 110 and 195 below). In the notes regarding Thomas's sources, the editors of the Leonine edition never refer at this point to the writings of William of Saint Amour.

⁹⁶Besides chapter 14 of the *De periculis* of William of Saint Amour mentioned above (n. 83), we must call attention to an odd passage in the *De Antichristo*, often attributed to William. However, M.-M. Dufeil (*Guillaume de S.-A...*, p. 192, n. 83, and especially pp. 330-31) has just shown that it was written by a friend of William, perhaps Nicholas of Lisieux. In any case, the author of this

Thus Franciscans and Dominicans would attempt to show that their manner of following Christ's counsels to His disciples or apostles, especially regarding the practice of poverty, agreed on all points with patristic interpretations of the most important gospel texts. It was this clever defense strategy that would lead them to rediscover, among many other "authorities," those passages from the letters of St. Jerome that spoke of the nakedness of the cross or that of Christ.

2. *Initial reactions: Bonaventure, Thomas of York and Thomas Aquinas (1255-56)*

St. Bonaventure seems to have been the first to cite these texts in the battle against the secular masters. His article *De paupertate quoad abrenuntiationem*, which forms an integral part of the *Quaestiones disputatae de perfectione evangelica*, is an account of a *disputatio* that probably took place in October 1255. It is here that the passage from the *Epistola 120 ad Hedybiam* mentioned at the beginning of this study appears in Bonaventure for the first time.⁹⁷ The way in which he introduces this authority into the debate is worth noting. For the Seraphic Doctor, it is a question of defending not only private poverty, but also that collective or communal poverty to which the mendicants were attached and whose legitimacy was being challenged by William of Saint Amour.

To justify his position, Bonaventure appeals to four series of arguments: from Scripture, from the example of Christ, from the testimony of the saints and from reason. The letter to Hedybia is not cited among the patristic texts in which he gives us the testimony of the saints. It appears in an argument based on the example of Christ, which can be summarized as follows: it is Christ crucified whom we must imitate above all, as the First Letter of Peter teaches us when it says, "Christ died for us, leaving us an example that we should follow in His footsteps" (1 Pt 2:21); but on the cross Christ was naked, and so Jerome wrote to Hedybia: "If you wish to be perfect, do as the apostles

pamphlet vehemently attacks those "sectarians of the Antichrist" who are the mendicants and who "will claim for themselves the apostolic life (*arrogabunt vitam apostolicam*)," thus fulfilling the mystery of iniquity announced for the end of time by the apostle Paul (2 Thes 2:7) (see *Liber de Antichristo*, II, 4, Martène and Durand, eds., *Amplissima collectio*, vol. IX, 1731, col. 1343). Remarks such as these strangely echo St. Bernard's words to the heretics of southern France. In one of his *Sermons on the Canticle*, he asks them just where might this apostolic life be, which they were claiming to lead (*Ubi apostolica forma et vita quam iactatis?*) (*In Cant.*, 65, 4, J. Leclercq, C.H. Talbot and H.M. Rochais, eds., vol. II, Rome, 1958, p. 174, 24-25, or PL, 183, 1091). Similar invectives by various 12th-century preachers, addressed to the Cathari, the Waldensians or the Poor of Lyons, have been quoted by H. Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen...*, 3. Aufl., pp. 506-07.

⁹⁷ *De perfect. evang.*, q. II, art 1, f. 14 (V, 126). See Appendix, Text 3. For the date of this *disputatio* of Bonaventure, see n. 78 above.

did: sell everything you have and give to the poor, then follow the Savior, and, naked and solitary, follow the naked and solitary cross.”

In a few lines, Bonaventure succeeds in reminding his adversaries that the mendicants wish at the same time to imitate Christ and follow the example of the apostles by carrying out the Savior’s appeal to the rich young man (Mt 19:15). This skillful use of reason — to Bonaventure’s great credit — raises the level of the debate and gives it a new dimension that goes beyond texts, formulas or authorities. He invites his brothers, and perhaps his adversaries as well, not only to remember canon law but also to read the gospel and turn their eyes toward Christ crucified.

Similar arguments would soon reappear in another treatise, usually referred to by its incipit (*Manus quae contra Omnipotentem tenditur*). During the summer of 1256, the Franciscan Thomas of York set out to reply to the first drafts of William of Saint Amour’s *De periculis*.⁹⁸ His work is obviously a sort of compilation, hastily put together, apparently with the help of some colleagues and students. But this compilation is also an anthology of extreme interest. Its choice of biblical and patristic proof texts shows the extent to which the Friars Minor wanted to imitate the apostles and how anxious they were to defend, in the name of tradition, the legitimacy of their way of life. Thomas of York knew, of course, all the texts to which apostolic spirituality had referred. He devotes considerable space to the writings of St. Augustine, but after the testimony of the Bishop of Hippo he appeals most often to that of St. Jerome,⁹⁹ especially the letters to Heliodorus, Eustochium, Paulinus of Nola, Hedybia and Rusticus. Since he is drawing from such sources as these and is defending the same theses as St. Bonaventure (whose *Quaestiones disputatae de perfectione evangelica* he seems not to have known), we should not be surprised to find in his writings some of the texts the Seraphic Doctor had already cited or would use later.

In the second chapter of his treatise, where he wishes to prove the need for real and true poverty, Thomas of York first quotes the passage from letter 120

⁹⁸This treatise was published by M. Bierbaum, *Bettelorden und Weltgeistlichkeit an der Universität Paris: Texte und Untersuchungen zum literarischen Armuts- und Exemptionsstreit des 13. Jahrhunderts (1255-1272)* (*Franziskanische Studien*, Beiheft 2) Münster in Westf., 1920, pp. 37-168, which he attributed to Bertrand of Bayonne. But following the study by E. Longpré, *Fr. Thomas d'York, O.F.M.*, in *Arch. franc. hist.*, XIX (1926), pp. 875-930, scholars agree that it is by the Franciscan Thomas of York. For this work and the circumstances of its composition, see M.-M. Dufeil, *Guillaume de S.-A.*, pp. 243-46.

⁹⁹As noted by M. Bierbaum, *Bettelorden...*, p. 278.

to Hedybia¹⁰⁰ that we have just met in Bonaventure. But he cites only its first words, as if everyone knew the rest. To reinforce its teaching and prove that one cannot renounce the world only in heart or intention but must truly despise it (*quod non tantum voluntate, sed re contempnendus sit mundus*), he turns at once to Jerome's letter 58 to Paulinus of Nola. First he cites the passage, quoted at the beginning of this article, in which the formula *nudum crucem nudus sequens* reappears.¹⁰¹ But immediately he follows it with some lines (which Gratian had inserted into his *Decretum*) in which Jerome reminds Paulinus how the philosopher Crates had once renounced the goods of this world because he realized that one could not at the same time possess both riches and virtue.¹⁰²

But Thomas of York does not remain there. In another chapter of his work, meant to show that poverty is not only essential for Christian perfection but is a state more perfect than all others, he returns to the passage from the letter to Hedybia, previously cited only in part. This time he quotes it completely.¹⁰³ This text evidently suited his purpose very well, seeing that Hedybia's ambition had been, we recall, to attain "the first rank of dignity." To reach these heights, Jerome had explained to her, she would have to follow the way of true and total poverty so that, naked and solitary, she might follow the naked and solitary cross (*nudam solamque crucem nuda sequaris et sola*).¹⁰⁴

But another work, much more famous, would soon appeal to this same text. The *Contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem*, published in early autumn 1256, constitutes the Dominican response to William of Saint Amour's *De periculis*. In it St. Thomas Aquinas¹⁰⁵ spends an entire chapter refuting his adversary's theses on evangelical poverty. He means to demonstrate, first of all,

¹⁰⁰ *Manus quae...*, M. Bierbaum, ed., cap. 2, p. 44 (Appendix, Text 3).

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* (Appendix, Text 2).

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45, which quotes St. Jerome, *Epist. 58 ad Paulinum*, 2, CSEL, 54, p. 529, 10-16 (see n. 5 above), who is himself quoted by Gratian, *Decretum*, II, causa 12, q. 2, cap. 71, Friedbert, vol. I, col. 711 (see n. 6 above).

¹⁰³ *Manus quae...*, M. Bierbaum, ed., cap. 3, p. 49 (Appendix, Text 3).

¹⁰⁴ Thus Thomas of York here adopts the same reading as the *Apologia* of St. Bonaventure (see n. 9 above), but he deviates from that which we have seen in the *De perfect. evang.* and the *Expositio in reg. frat. min.* (see nn. 13 and 14 above).

¹⁰⁵ On the date, object, sources and contents of this treatise, see H.-F. Dondaine, in St. Thomas Aquinas, *Contra impugnantes*, Leonine ed., vol. XLI, pars A, Preface, pp. 5-13, and M.-M. Dufeil, *Guillaume de S.-A...*, pp. 253-60.

that Christian perfection involves not only "habitual" poverty, that is, interior detachment, but also "actual," that is, real and true poverty; next, that common or collective poverty is just as legitimate as personal or private poverty; finally, that poverty thus understood does not necessarily impose the obligation of manual labor on those who practice it.¹⁰⁶

To prove the first of these three propositions, the Angelic Doctor appeals to the texts of St. Jerome that are of interest to us. Like the Franciscans, he too claims to be inspired by the example of the apostles. He says that "if evangelical perfection consists in the imitation of Christ," it is "in the apostles that this evangelical perfection manifests itself most strikingly."¹⁰⁷ Thus in seeking the most suitable arguments to justify his statements, Thomas looks first to the gospel texts that speak of the way of life to which Christ called His apostles or the way in which they answered His call. But at the same time he is careful to show that his interpretation agrees with Catholic tradition. To that end, he appeals to the authority of St. Jerome and, at the same time, several other doctors as well. The apostles, he explains, surely practiced "actual" poverty when they effectively renounced all their goods. Peter himself solemnly acknowledged this in the name of the Twelve when he exclaimed: "Behold, we have left all things" (Mt 19:27). That is how St. Jerome understood the situation, seeing that he wrote to Hedybia that if she wished to be perfect, she must do as the apostles did, sell all her goods and give to the poor, "then, through naked and solitary virtue, follow the naked and solitary cross."¹⁰⁸

A few lines later, after citing a passage from St. Jerome's treatise against *Vigilantius*,¹⁰⁹ — always in the same context — the Angelic Doctor comes to letter 125 to the monk Rusticus, with which we are already acquainted. From it he cites the short passage in which Jerome invited his correspondent to sell all his goods and told him to follow, in his nakedness, the naked Christ (*nudum Christum nudus sequere*).¹¹⁰ Immediately after referring to this text, Thomas carefully adds that the letters of Jerome contain quite a few other testimonies concerning actual poverty, as he means to defend it, but in the interest of brevity he will refrain from citing them.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶See *Contra impugnantes*, cap. 6, 2, ed.cit., p. 97, 258-68.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, cap. 6, 3, p. 97, 278-79 and 290-91.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 291-99 (Appendix, Text 3).

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 97-98, 330-38.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 98, 342-46 (Appendix, Text 4).

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, 346-49.

3. Gerard of Abbeville: a clever canonist

After a relative lull, the quarrels between mendicants and seculars flared up again, as we have said, around the years 1269-70. Gerard of Abbeville, a disciple of William of Saint Amour, gave the signal to resume hostilities in a sermon delivered before an audience of Friars Minor,¹¹² which Clasen has dated from January 1, 1269.¹¹³ Again the preacher accused the mendicants of having adopted a way of life that was contrary to tradition. He also tried his best to refute the arguments these religious had used to defend themselves against the attacks of which they had previously been the object. One of the texts cited in this learned homily gives a good idea of the terrain on which he was resuming the battle. Gerard refers to a passage from Jerome's letter 52 to Nepotian, taking care to remind his listeners that it had been cited by Gratian in his *Decretum*.¹¹⁴ That text said that "the glory of the bishop is to provide for the needs of the poor and the shame of the priest is to become attached to his own riches."¹¹⁵ Gerard's conclusion is that clerics could not legitimately renounce all common possessions, for in such circumstances they would be unable to come to the aid of the poor.

Equally questionable arguments would appear a few months later in a certain *Contra adversarium perfectionis christianae*.¹¹⁶ This work had been a long time developing, but Gerard did not decide to release it until summer of 1269.¹¹⁷ Its only aim was to refute Thomas of York's *Manus quae contra*,

¹¹² *Giraudi sermo factus apud Fratres minores*, M. Bierbaum, ed., *Bettelorden...*, pp. 208-19. This sermon is erroneously attributed to William of Saint Amour in the chronological table by Y. M.-J. Congar, *Aspects ecclésiologiques...*, p. 46.

¹¹³ See S. Clasen, *Bonaventuras Expositio...*, p. 533, n. 14 (see n. 80 above). Clasen's argument, which summarizes—if I understand correctly—what he had presented in an earlier study that I was unable to examine (*Der hl. Bonaventura und das Mendikantentum. Ein Beitrag zur Ideengeschichte des Pariser Mendikantenstreites (1252-1272)*, in *Franziskanische Forschungen*, 7, 1940), seems convincing. It should end the uncertainties of critics, who have sometimes dated this sermon from December 31, 1270 (M. Bierbaum, op.cit., p. 357), and sometimes from December 31, 1268 (Y. M.-J. Congar, *Aspects ecclésiologiques...*, p. 46; M.-M. Dufeil, *Guillaume de S.-A...*, p. 355). Let us note, however, that P. Glorieux, in his *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIIIe siècle*, n. 174, e, vol. I, Paris, 1933, p. 358, had already dated Gerard of Abbeville's homily from January 1, 1269, and not from December 31, 1270, as Clasen says in *Bonaventuras Expositio...*, loc.cit.

¹¹⁴ See *Giraudi sermo*, ed.cit., p. 212, which claims to be inspired by St. Jerome's *Epist. 52 ad Nepotianum* (no further details are given) and immediately refers, but without quoting its text, to the canon *Gloria episcopi* (Gratian, *Decretum*, II, causa 12, q. 2, cap. 71, Friedbert, vol. I, col. 710-11), which brings together several passages from the letter to Nepotian.

¹¹⁵ See *Epist. 52 ad Nepot.*, 6, CSEL, 54, p. 425, 13-15, and Gratian, loc.cit., col. 710.

¹¹⁶ Published by S. Clasen, *Arch. francisc. hist.*, vol. 31 (1938), pp. 276-329 and vol. 32 (1939), pp. 89-200.

¹¹⁷ See S. Clasen, *ibid.*, vol. 31, p. 278; P. Glorieux, *Répertoire...*, n. 174, g, vol. I, p. 358; Y. M.-J.

published thirteen years earlier. In this work, especially in Book II, Gerard piles up all the arguments he can find to condemn renunciation of all common ownership, as espoused by the mendicants. To this end, he refers to the verse from the Acts of the Apostles (4:32) on the community of goods in the early Church,¹¹⁸ already used as an argument by William of Saint Amour;¹¹⁹ to the Rule of St. Augustine, which also cites Acts;¹²⁰ to the canon *Gloria episcopi* from which he had earlier drawn inspiration in his homily of January 1, 1269;¹²¹ and even to the Rule of St. Francis.¹²²

But he also wishes to prove that Christ Himself did not reject all common ownership. To justify this statement he cites, among other texts, the verse from the Gospel of John which says that the disciples had gone into the town to buy food (Jn 4:8). Where could the money needed for these purchases come from, wonders Gerard,¹²³ if not from offerings made to Christ? As true priest, He could have accepted them and passed them on to His disciples. There would be no imperfection whatsoever in that, seeing that the old law had authorized the levites to accept such gifts. These considerations obviously called for a quotation of the passage from letter 52 to the priest Nepotian. There it had been said that the priests of the new law who were living on tithes and offerings, as long as they were content with food and clothing, in their nakedness were following the naked cross. Thus Gerard carefully cites this text.¹²⁴ From it he immediately concludes that the apostles, although they lived on tithes and offerings and thus had money at their disposal, nevertheless owned nothing, since these gifts had been made to God and not to them. Truly naked and perfect, they had followed the Lord (*nudi secuti sunt Apostoli Dominum et omnes perfecti*).¹²⁵

Arguing later in the same context, Gerard¹²⁶ re-examines the texts concerning the nakedness of the cross from letter 120 to Hedybia and letter 58 to

Congar, *Aspects ecclésiologiques...*, p. 47.

¹¹⁸ *Contra adversarium...*, ed.cit., vol. 32, pp. 102 and 109-10.

¹¹⁹ See n. 90 above.

¹²⁰ *Contra adversarium...*, ed.cit., vol. 32, p. 110.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 109 (see nn. 114-115 above).

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 130.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97 (Appendix, Text 1).

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 138, which goes back over the texts quoted by Thomas of York that were mentioned above, nn. 100 and 101. But here Gerard cites (once again) only the passage from the *Epist. 58 ad*

Paulinus of Nola, which Thomas of York had quoted in his *Manus quae*. He admits to his opponent that here Jerome is advising his correspondents to renounce all their goods and, in their nakedness, follow the naked cross, or else congratulating them for having already done so. But in return he asks Thomas to admit that Jerome did not, for all of that, say that a certain use of the Church's common resources was illicit or contrary to evangelical perfection. He invites the author of the *Manus quae* to reread the passage from letter 52 to Nepotian, which he had quoted a few pages earlier and cites once again.¹²⁷ He wants to force him to admit that whoever lives on the goods of the Church alone is, in his nakedness, following the naked cross (*qui tantum de bonis Ecclesiae vivit, nudus nudam crucem sequitur*).¹²⁸ A few pages later, Gerard returns to the passage from the letter to Hedybia he had mentioned earlier, this time citing it again.¹²⁹ He points out to Thomas that although St. Jerome did indeed advise that pious widow to renounce all her goods, the text refers only to her own goods, not to those of the Church.

The same accusations would reappear, but in a much harsher tone, in the *Exceptiones contra librum qui incipit Manus quae contra*.¹³⁰ A kind of summary of the accusations brought earlier against Thomas of York's work, Gerard of Abbeville must have published it during the year 1270.¹³¹ This time he uses the term "perverse" to describe Thomas's exposition of the two passages from the letter to Paulinus of Nola and the letter to Hedybia. Indeed, Thomas has interpreted these texts as referring to renunciation of all ownership, common or private, whereas St. Jerome is obviously speaking "only of one's own goods, not the goods of the Church, which are common goods and dedicated to the Lord."¹³² In any case, Gerard was not for a moment at a loss for ideas. A little later he accuses Thomas of York of having also twisted the meaning of a passage from Jerome's letter 14 to Heliodorus which says that "the perfect servant of Christ must possess nothing except Christ." Jerome surely did not wish to condemn common ownership in this text, writes Gerard, seeing that

Paulinum (Appendix, Text 2).

¹²⁷Ibid. (Appendix, Text 1).

¹²⁸Ibid.

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 146 (Appendix, Text 3).

¹³⁰M. Bierbaum, ed., *Bettelorden...*, pp. 169-207.

¹³¹January-June 1270, according to P. Glorieux, *Répertoire...*, n. 174, j. vol. I, p. 359; April 1270, according to Y. M.-J. Congar, *Aspects ecclésiologiques...*, p. 47.

¹³²*Exceptiones*, 6, M. Bierbaum, ed., p. 172. Here Gerard of Abbeville does not quote the two texts whose interpretation he is contesting.

elsewhere he says in letter 52 to Nepotian (cited once again) that "whoever lives solely on the goods of the Church, that is, on the goods of the community, in his nakedness is following the naked cross and possesses nothing except Christ (*nudus nudam crucem sequitur nec habet aliquid preter Christum*)."¹³³

V. Apostolic Nakedness according to St. Bonaventure

1. *The Apologia Pauperum*

Disputes such as these were sure to provoke new responses. Once again, St. Bonaventure seems to have been the first to stand up for the mendicants attacked in this way. In his *Apologia pauperum*, written no doubt at the end of 1269 or the beginning of 1270 as we have seen,¹³⁴ he devotes himself to refuting the statements of Gerard of Abbeville. But he uses the opportunity to speak of religious life, evangelical perfection and poverty with such nobility, clarity and loftiness of thought that E. Longpré¹³⁵ has called this treatise "the most perfect work of Franciscan literature."

Since the nature of the conflict demanded that the Seraphic Doctor appeal to a large number of *auctoritates*, we will not be surprised to find all the texts of Jerome that are of interest to us in this *Apologia*. Sometimes they are even interpreted or used in new ways. To begin with, in Chapter III of his work Bonaventure considers the standard, age-old objection that it would be more perfect to remain in the world and do battle against evil there rather than seeking peace and security in religious life.¹³⁶ Needless to say, the author of the *Apologia* has no trouble refuting such an argument. He recalls that a state is not more perfect simply because it puts us in closer contact with evil or exposes us to more dangers. But he is careful to add that religious life is not the easy way we imagine. Developing this idea, he is led to quote the conclusion of letter 125 to Rusticus, which we have already met. There St. Jerome, after urging this monk to sell all his possessions and give to the poor so that in his

¹³³Ibid., 10, p. 174 (Appendix, Text 1). The passage from the letter to Heliodorus that concerns us here (*Epist. 14 ad Heliodorum*, 6, CSEL, 54, p. 53, 8-10) and reappears frequently in the records of the controversy, had been cited by Thomas of York, *Manus quae*, cap. II, M. Bierbaum, ed., p. 46. Gerard of Abbeville had already objected to Thomas of York's interpretation in his *Contra adversarium perfectionis*, S. Clasen, ed., *Arch. franc. hist.*, vol. 32 (1939), p. 141, and had already quoted part of the text from the letter to Nepotian, to which he refers in his *Expositiones*, but without the formula *nudus nudam crucem sequitur* that appears here.

¹³⁴See n. 81 above.

¹³⁵Art. *Bonaventure (saint)*, DHGE, vol. IX, col. 774.

¹³⁶*Apol. paup.*, III, 15 (VIII, 248).

nakedness he might follow the naked Christ, also reminded him that the task was "painful, heavy and difficult."¹³⁷

The entire Chapter VII of the Seraphic Doctor's *Apologia* is devoted to poverty, to which he attaches so much importance and whose model and "form" he finds in that of the Savior and the apostles. Here especially he recalls the texts of Jerome concerning the nakedness of the cross or that of Christ. Bonaventure wishes to show that true and absolute poverty — what he calls *paupertas penuriosa* — is the very foundation of evangelical perfection.¹³⁸ By His word and example Christ has shown us that the only remedy for overcoming covetousness, which the Apostle calls "the root of all evils" (1 Tim 6:10), is to renounce—internally and externally, spiritually and materially — every form of ownership. But Bonaventure does not stop to examine the distinction between poverty of intention and real poverty which his terminology would seem to require. Both, he is convinced, are equally essential. Therefore, he turns immediately to a distinction he considers much more important, since it is really what is at stake in the debate: the distinction between poverty that is personal or private and poverty that is at once both personal and collective.

Personal poverty is satisfied with individual renunciation, leaving ownership of the goods of all in the hands of the community. This is the poverty described in the Acts of the Apostles (4:32) which, we are told, was practiced by "the multitude of the believers."¹³⁹ It is also the poverty of monks and cenobites whose life, according to the *Gloss*, is all the happier since it resembles more closely that of the world to come, where all things will be held in common.¹⁴⁰ But this is not the form of poverty the apostles wished to practice. Bonaventure makes himself perfectly clear on this point at the end of Chapter VII, when he examines the objections of his adversaries. Breaking with a tradition that goes back at least to the patristic era, and defending what might be called an aristocratic concept of poverty, he refuses to see in the system of community of goods, as described in Acts, a model of inspiration for true imitators of the *vita apostolica*. This common ownership, he explains, was not

¹³⁷ Ibid. (Appendix, Text 4).

¹³⁸ Ibid., VII (VIII, 272): "Capitulum VII...in quo voluntaria et penuriosa paupertas fundamentum evangelicae perfectionis adstruitur."

¹³⁹ Ibid., VII, 4 (VIII, 273).

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., quoting the *Glossa*, in Actibus, 4, 32.

the apostles' doing but that of the multitude (*communitas illa non refertur ad Apostolos, sed ad turbam*).¹⁴¹

The apostles were "the model and form" (*exemplar et forma*)¹⁴² of the second type of poverty, which involves renunciation not only of private ownership but of every form of collective ownership. This is the poverty exemplified by the Savior Himself, who during His life had nowhere to lay His head and at the moment of His death had no clothing to cover His nakedness.¹⁴³ But it is also the poverty Christ prescribed for His apostles, "the perfect imitators of this extreme poverty," for when sending them out on mission He gave them a series of instructions, which have been carefully recorded in the gospels. (Elsewhere¹⁴⁴ Bonaventure has reminded us that these were the origin of St. Francis's vocation.) They were enjoined to take with them neither gold, nor silver, nor money, nor cloak, nor an extra tunic, nor shoes, nor staff (Mt 10:9-10; Lk 9:3).¹⁴⁵

Here again the Seraphic Doctor carefully brings out how the apostles' renunciation is true nakedness. He quotes a text from Chrysostom, who in turn quotes Luke (22:35) but in a version different from the Vulgate. There we are told that Christ asked His apostles, who had just returned from their mission, whether they had lacked anything when He sent them out "naked and unshod."¹⁴⁶ Later, other texts from Chrysostom and the *Gloss* allow Bonaventure to incorporate into his work the well-known texts where St. Paul recalls the hunger, thirst, nakedness and all the other sufferings he had to endure for the sake of his apostolic mission (1 Cor 4:11; 2 Cor 11:27).¹⁴⁷

The same theme reappears again when the Seraphic Doctor wishes to show that all who intend to follow Christ must themselves accept the "extreme poverty" experienced by the apostles. It is not enough for the author of the *Apologia* to return to the appeal to the rich young man (Mt 19:21) or to quote the text where St. Paul reminds the Corinthians that they have been made rich

¹⁴¹Ibid., VII, 32 (VIII, 283).

¹⁴²Ibid., VII, 5 (VIII, 273).

¹⁴³Ibid., VII, 6 (VIII, 274).

¹⁴⁴*Replicatio adv. obiectiones*, I, in *De perf. evang.*, q. II, art. 2 (V, 150).

¹⁴⁵*Apol. paup.*, VII, 9 (VIII, 275), and also VII, 5 (VIII, 274). We recall that it was after hearing this gospel passage reading during Mass at the church of the Portiuncula that Francis of Assisi decided to renounce everything (see ICel 9, 22; L3S VIII, 25). Bonaventure is referring to this episode in the text mentioned in the previous note.

¹⁴⁶*Apol. paup.*, VII, 9 (VIII, 275). The words "naked and unshod" are reminiscent of Is 20:2-4.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., VII, 12 (VIII, 276) and 33 (VIII, 283).

by the poverty of Christ (2 Cor 8:9).¹⁴⁸ He appeals also to the testimony of the Fathers, especially St. Jerome's words to Heliodorus that the latter "is rich enough for he is poor with Christ,"¹⁴⁹ or his exhortation to Rusticus to sell all his goods and give to the poor so that, naked himself, he might follow the naked Christ.¹⁵⁰ Still later, Bonaventure lists all the advantages of such extreme poverty. This discussion leads him to cite letter 58 to Paulinus of Nola.¹⁵¹ To show that absolute renunciation is the true safeguard of virtue, he cites the brief passage where Jerome reminded Paulinus that long ago the philosopher Crates had abandoned all his goods when he realized that one could not at the same time possess both riches and virtue.¹⁵² Bonaventure follows this *exemplum* with the text regarding the nakedness of the cross (which in Jerome's letter comes before this brief story).

However, his concern to refute the arguments Gerard of Abbeville thought he could draw from letter 52 to Nepotian,¹⁵³ was to lead Bonaventure to examine this text more closely. So far, the mendicants had avoided quoting it. The Seraphic Doctor replies to his adversary's objections by appealing to a series of clever distinctions, especially valuable for the interesting details they add to his doctrine of spiritual nakedness and theology of poverty. Let us not imagine, he says, that perfect poverty "consists in living on tithes and offerings, in the manner of priests and clerics," just because Jerome wrote to Nepotian that "one who lives on tithes and is sustained by the altar offerings is a naked follower of the naked cross."¹⁵⁴ There are, in fact, several kinds of nakedness. First, there is nakedness of the heart (*nuditas cordis*); then there is nakedness of the heart and body (*nuditas cordis et corporis*). The former is the same as internal nakedness of will or intention. It consists in spiritual renunciation of all avarice and greed. Gregory the Great spoke of it in a well-known text, where he refers to the evil spirits who possess nothing of their own in this world and against whom the Christian must fight: "It is naked that we must

¹⁴⁸Ibid., VII, 13-14 (VIII, 276).

¹⁴⁹Ibid., VII, 15 (VIII, 277), citing St. Jerome, *Epist.* 14, 1, CSEL, 54, p. 45, 12-17. But here Bonaventure omits the phrase *nudos amat eremus*, which is part of the passage from Jerome and which he cites several times elsewhere. See *De perf. evang.*, q. II, art. 1, f. 17 (V, 126), and n. 157 below.

¹⁵⁰*Apol. paup.*, VII, 15 (VIII, 277). See Appendix, Text 4.

¹⁵¹Ibid., IX, 17 (VIII, 299). See Appendix, Text 2.

¹⁵²See n. 5 above.

¹⁵³See above, IV, 3 (n. 114-33).

¹⁵⁴*Apol. paup.*, VII, 21 (VIII, 279). See Appendix, Text 1.

wrestle against our naked adversary," lest he take hold of our clothing and quickly throw us to the ground.¹⁵⁵

As for nakedness of the heart and body — that is, real and true poverty — we must carefully distinguish its three degrees. First, it may be "great" (*magna*) in its renunciation of that which is superfluous and all personal possessions. This is the nakedness spoken of by St. Jerome in letter 52 when he exhorts the priest Nepotian to follow, in his nakedness, the naked cross, content with the food and clothing that would be provided for him by tithes and offerings.¹⁵⁶

However, there is a "greater" (*maior*) nakedness, which consists in the renunciation of all personal possessions and the giving up of all self-will. This degree is "for regulars and cenobites." St. Jerome spoke of it as well in a passage from letter 14, where he explains to Heliodorus that "the desert loves those who are naked (*nudos amat eremus*)."¹⁵⁷

But there is yet a third type of nakedness. To the demands of the preceding it adds absolute renunciation of every kind of possession, whatever it may be, and is accompanied by a "penury" and destitution that are real and freely accepted. It is the nakedness of the apostles and "apostolic men." The only thing they have to depend on for subsistence, Bonaventure would have us understand, is what they have gotten by begging.¹⁵⁸ This is the nakedness to which St. Jerome exhorted Hedybia when he told her to do as the apostles had done: sell everything she had, give to the poor and follow the Savior, so that, naked and solitary, she too might follow the naked and solitary cross.¹⁵⁹ Such poverty, concludes the Seraphic Doctor, truly reaches the summit of perfection, for through it we embrace more closely the nakedness of the cross and imitate better the One who was naked and crucified: *Ea paupertas ad perfectionis attingit fastigium, qua quis expressius et conformius nuditatem crucis amplectitur et nudum Crucifixum imitatur.*¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., quoting Gregory the Great, *Hom. in Ev.*, II, 32, 2, PL, 76, 1233 B. As M. Bernards has noted, p. 149, n. 24, this oft-cited text had been quoted especially by St. Peter Damian, *Opusc.* 12, 5, PL, 145, 255 D. We will come across it later in the writings of Thomas of Celano (see n. 176 below) and John Peckham (n. 194).

¹⁵⁶ *Apol. paup.*, VII, 22 (VIII, 279). See Appendix, Text 1.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., citing St. Jerome, *Epist.* 14, 1, CSEL, 54, p. 45, 12-13 (see n. 149 above).

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. (VIII, 280): "...haec competit Apostolis et apostolicis viris, et de hac super illud Matthaei: 'Qui potum dederit uni ex minimis istis calicem aquae frigidae tantum in nomine discipuli non perdet mercedem suam'; *Glossa*: 'Minimi sunt qui nihil penitus habent in hoc mundo.' Tales fuerunt Apostoli."

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., VII, 23 (VIII, 280). See Appendix, Text 3.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

2. *The Expositio super regulam fratrum minorum*

Very similar classifications and formulas are found in the *Expositio super regulam fratrum minorum*, probably written a few months prior to the *Apologia pauperum*.¹⁶¹ Its details about the way of life the followers of St. Francis wished to adopt are of utmost interest. In this work — at least if it is really by him¹⁶² — Bonaventure often makes an effort to refute a number of objections raised by the adversaries of the mendicants. It is no doubt to clarify this endless debate that he deals once again with spiritual nakedness. He distinguishes three types.¹⁶³

With regard to the first, which is nakedness of the heart (*nuditas cordis*) or intention, that is, interior poverty, all we learn is that this name is to be seen in relation to a verse from the Psalms (61:11) which says that we must not set our hearts on riches.

The Seraphic Doctor defines the second by referring to a text from Genesis (39:12). There we are told that Joseph left his cloak behind as he escaped from the evil advances of Potiphar's wife. Thus she belongs by right to those he will describe as *nudati tantum chlamyde*. Despite everything, they retain enough to cover their nakedness and naked — but in their own way — follow the naked cross (*suo modo nudi nudam crucem sequuntur*).

Finally, the third is symbolized by that of the young man mentioned in the Gospel of Mark (10:51), who during the arrest of Jesus managed to slip away, leaving his pursuers holding the sheet that was his only clothing. Here it is a question of those who have renounced every kind of ownership and thus, having attained the highest degree of nakedness, truly imitate the example of the Savior.¹⁶⁴

Such extreme renunciation is precisely that which is demanded by the Rule of St. Francis. For the Friars Minor, it is not a question of returning to the system of community of goods mentioned in Chapter IV of the Acts of the Apostles. Indeed, it was not long before the apostles themselves abandoned it, for as the same books says (Acts 6:2), they soon realized that the administra-

¹⁶¹See S. Clasen, *Bonaventuras Expositio...*, p. 541, and n. 80 below.

¹⁶²See n. 79 below.

¹⁶³*Expositio super regulam*, II, 6 (VIII, 399).

¹⁶⁴*Ibid.* On the subject of spiritual nakedness, Jacques de Vitry, as we recall (see texts cited in nn. 70 and 76 above), had already brought up the verses from Genesis and the Gospel of Mark referred to here by the *Expositio*.

tion of these goods was preventing them from proclaiming the word of God.¹⁶⁵

St. Augustine, it is true, tried to reinstate this way of life and impose it on his clergy in order to get them to renounce their own goods completely. But this attempt came to nothing, and the Bishop of Hippo — since he appeals to the canon *Certe ego* which can be found in the *Decretum* — was forced to modify the law he had initially established. He had to tolerate the retention of private ownership by his clergy, a thing they were unwilling to renounce.¹⁶⁶

St. Benedict, whose rule is holy, at least if it is observed,¹⁶⁷ did indeed manage to impose on his monks a real renunciation of their own goods. But contrary to the customs of early monasticism, which we know thanks to St. Jerome and St. Gregory, he had to allow his communities the faculty to accept and keep goods in the form of lands. Since he set no limit on this right to ownership, a great number of monasteries, adding field after field, have not ceased to enrich themselves even to this day.¹⁶⁸

Thus to avoid the dangers that are as inherent in common ownership as in private, Francis of Assisi chose as a rule that which the Lord Himself had given to His apostles (Mt 10:9ff).¹⁶⁹ The latter, having returned to their initial nakedness (*ad primariam reversi nuditatem*), as the *Expositio* would later say,¹⁷⁰ were quick to observe it again, after administering the Jerusalem community for a period of time.

One might object, of course, that if this was the rule given the apostles, the “apostolic life” ought to be reserved to their successors, the prelates. And if the latter do not abide by this rule, neither are the others obliged to observe it.¹⁷¹ But the author of the *Expositio* does not allow himself to get dragged into this sensitive area. Answering an objection of the “Manicheans,” he had said earlier

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 7 (VIII, 399).

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, referring to Gratian, *Decretum*, II, causa 12, q. 1, cap. 18, Friedberg, vol. I, col. 683, which cites this passage from Augustine's sermon 355, already cited by the *Institutio canonicorum* of the Council of Aix (see n. 20 above). The Bishop of Hippo explains that at first he had decided not to order clerics who refused to observe common life with him to do so, but he had to change his mind. He would not deprive of their clerical state those who wish “to possess something of their own and for whom God and the Church are not enough.”

¹⁶⁷ *Expositio*, II, 8 (VIII, 400): “...tamen sancta est vivendi forma, si servetur, quam sanctus instituit Benedictus, quam quidam in nigris, quidam vero in albis a longe imitantur.”

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.* (VIII, 399): “...unde agrum agro non cessant usque hodie eorum plurimi copulare.”

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 9 (VIII, 400).

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, VI, 10 (VIII, 416).

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 5, obj. 3 (VIII, 414).

that poverty was not imposed on the apostles "as prelates" but "as preachers," for when Christ sent them on mission for the first time, there were as yet no prelates or even priests.¹⁷² And so for now he is content to say that prelates are no more bound than others to a renunciation to which all Christians are called. Once again he finds proof for this statement in letter 120 to Hedybia, where Jerome had advised that pious widow to do as the apostles did: sell all her goods and give to the poor so as to follow the naked and solitary cross in the nakedness of virtue (*nudam solamque crucem virtute nuda*).¹⁷³

VI. The Example of St. Francis of Assisi

The Seraphic Doctor returns insistently to the theme of spiritual nakedness, citing those texts from the letters of Jerome which refer to the nakedness of the cross or that of Christ. This insistence cannot be explained solely in terms of the demands of the controversy with the secular masters in which he found himself involved. We cannot avoid the impression that Bonaventure found in these letters a kind of advance definition of Franciscan poverty given in the patristic era — a definition that suited him more than all others. In any case, Jerome's formulas helped him to highlight the kind of natural harmony we are bound to notice between the nakedness of the cross and the Franciscan ideal. The Seraphic Doctor expressed himself on this subject in several writings, all prior to his *Apologia pauperum*. Already he appeals to those expressions from Jerome that several 12th-century authors had found so striking. But in him as in them, they are not loaded with a whole apparatus of references and scholastic distinctions, such as we have seen in his controversial works.

Among all the texts where these expressions reappear, we must pay special attention to the two biographies of Francis of Assisi left us by the Seraphic Doctor: the *Legenda maior* and the *Legenda minor*, both written in 1261.¹⁷⁴ At least two episodes from the saint's life led the Seraphic Doctor to appeal to these formulas of Jerome. First of all, there was the famous scene in Assisi, where at the beginning of his conversion Francis stripped off his clothes and returned them to his father, thus committing himself once and for all to the way of poverty. Thomas of Celano had already pointed out the importance of this prophetic gesture in his *Vita prima*. But Celano had primarily emphasized its ascetical meaning. By taking off his clothes in this way, Francis had publicly

¹⁷²Ibid., IV, 13, (VIII, 416).

¹⁷³Ibid., IV, 14 (VIII, 416-17). See Appendix, Text 4.

¹⁷⁴See J.-G. Bougerol, *Introduction*, p. 242.

declared his intention to turn his back on his family, his goods and the world, in order to more easily do battle against the devil and the powers of evil: "Behold, now he wrestles naked with his naked adversary, and having put off everything that is of this world, he thinks only about the things of the Lord."¹⁷⁵

This interpretation, of course, was inspired by a text from St. Gregory the Great¹⁷⁶ which, we have seen, St. Bonaventure also knew well.¹⁷⁷ But it has neither the spiritual density nor the evocative power of the interpretation chosen by the Seraphic Doctor. The gesture performed by the son of Peter Bernardone — in a state of exaltation that Bonaventure does not hesitate to call spiritual inebriation¹⁷⁸ — acquires its full meaning for him only if seen as Francis's clearly-expressed intention to follow Christ crucified and identify himself with Him. In any case, that is how he understands the event when he concludes his account in the *Legenda maior* by saying that if "the servant of the Most High King was left naked," it was "that he might follow his naked crucified Lord, whom he loved (*nudus relictus est, ut nudum sequeretur crucifixum Dominum quem amabat*)."¹⁷⁹ In the *Legenda minor* he notes that if Francis "was not ashamed to be publicly stripped naked," it was "for love of Him who hung naked for us on the cross (*amore illius nudari non horruit, qui nudus pro nobis in cruce pependit*)."¹⁸⁰

Similar formulas also allowed Bonaventure to highlight one of the two accounts he has left us of Francis's death. The *Legenda maior* reminds us that shortly before leaving this world, in an outburst of fervor — which the Seraphic Doctor apparently likens to the spiritual inebriation mentioned earlier — the saint "threw himself totally naked on the naked ground."¹⁸¹ A little later he ordered the brothers, who in the meantime had lent him some clothes "as to a beggar," to "let him lie naked on the ground, when they saw he was dead."¹⁸² We are tempted, as we reread these accounts, to recall the theme

¹⁷⁵ 1Cel 15. French translation D. Vorreux (Saint François d'Assise, *Documents écrits et premières biographies*, collected and presented by Th. Desbonnets and D. Vorreux, Paris, 1968, p. 228).

¹⁷⁶ *Hom. in Ev.*, II, 32, 2, PL, 76, 1233 B.

¹⁷⁷ See n. 155 above and n. 183 below.

¹⁷⁸ LM II, 4 (VIII, 508): "...ex admirando fervore spiritu ebrius...." LMin I, 7 (VIII, 566): "...ut ebrius spiritu...."

¹⁷⁹ LM II, 4 (VIII, 509).

¹⁸⁰ LMin I, 7 (VIII, 566).

¹⁸¹ LM XIV, 3 (VIII, 546).

¹⁸² *Ibid.* XIV, 4 (VIII, 546).

of return to mother-earth and think of the text from Job (1:21): "Naked I came from my mother's womb, and naked shall I return there." Bonaventure, however, provides us with other interpretations of the saint's behavior.

The first comes from Thomas of Celano and is again inspired by the text of Gregory the Great cited above. Francis wished to die stripped of all, he explains, so that in the final combat, when he still had reason to fear the assaults of the devil, "he might struggle naked with his naked enemy."¹⁸³ But to this explanation the Seraphic Doctor soon adds another. It is surely no coincidence that it agrees with his earlier explanation of the renunciation scene in the square of Assisi. Francis, he says, "wished in all things to be conformed to Christ crucified, who hung on the cross poor, suffering and naked." That is why, he adds, "at the beginning of his conversion, he stood naked before the bishop, and at the end of his life, naked he wished to go out of this world."¹⁸⁴

We can add other texts to these. Although they are sometimes less explicit, they expressly relate the theme of spiritual nakedness to the cross or to Christ crucified. Thus the *Legenda maior* reports that Francis frequently practiced severe penances in order to encourage his brothers, by his example, to bear the cross of Christ courageously. For this reason he often slept on the bare ground, and "clothed in a single poor little tunic, he served the Lord in cold and nakedness."¹⁸⁵ A similar parallel reappears in another passage from the *Legenda maior* where Bonaventure quotes some words Francis is said to have addressed to a gathering of the brothers. When they begged him to tell them which virtue he thought did more to make one a true friend of the Savior, Francis replied by praising poverty and inviting whoever wished to follow Christ to renounce everything and "offer himself naked to the arms of the Crucified."¹⁸⁶

Similar formulas appear in still other writings, such as his opusculum *De perfectione vitae ad sorores* from the year 1259.¹⁸⁷ Speaking of concern for the goods of this world and the avarice that inevitably results when love has grown cold in our hearts, Bonaventure reminds his recipients: "Most certainly, if we were burning with love, in our nakedness we would follow the naked

¹⁸³Ibid. XIV, 3 (VIII, 546). See 2Cel 214, and nn. 176-177 above.

¹⁸⁴Ibid. XIX, 4 (VIII, 546).

¹⁸⁵Ibid. V, 1 (VIII, 516): "...in nuditate Domino serviebat et frigore" (see 2 Cor 11:27).

¹⁸⁶Ibid. VII, 2 (VIII, 523): "...et nudum se offerat brachiis Crucifixi."

¹⁸⁷For the date of this treatise, see J.-G. Bougerol, *Introduction...*, p. 241.

Christ."¹⁸⁸ Elsewhere, in his second sermon in honor of St. Francis, he speaks of "that road of poverty" on which "we follow the naked Christ."¹⁸⁹

This text can take us back one last time to the *Apologia pauperum*, where we find similar expressions in the wonderful conclusion to Chapter VII. There the Seraphic Doctor turns his eyes again to Christ, who "came as the poorest, from the poorest mother," and "to offer a victim to God the Father" chose to be "suspended naked on the cross." What is more, between these two extreme points of His life, in order that He might not lack "the perfect straightness of truth" (according to which the middle must agree with the extremes), "His entire life was a road of poverty."¹⁹⁰ From these evocations Bonaventure means to draw practical teachings for the use of his brothers. And so, alluding to the attacks of which they were the object, he invites them to wrap themselves "as with an armor in the nakedness of [their] unconquered Leader" and to bear insults "from [their] enemies in the name of the poor and crucified Christ."¹⁹¹

The Seraphic Doctor was not the last to use the texts of St. Jerome found in his writings in order to reply to the attacks of the secular masters. After him, the Franciscan John Peckham would take up his pen to refute the accusations leveled against the mendicants by Gerard of Abbeville. To that end, he wrote a *Tractatus pauperis* (1270), but unfortunately all our editions of it are incomplete. Those chapters that have been published show this defender of Franciscan poverty constantly referring to the writings of St. Jerome, especially his letters.¹⁹² He quotes the passage from letter 120 to Hedybia, which we have met so often, at least twice.¹⁹³ The second time it is part of an exposition where John is again refuting the arguments drawn from letter 52 to Nepotian by Gerard of Abbeville. The *Tractatus pauperis* proposes a distinction between

¹⁸⁸*De perfect. vit. ad sor.*, III, 8 (VIII, 114).

¹⁸⁹*De S. Patre nostro Francisco*, S. II, 2 (IX, 579).

¹⁹⁰*Apol. paup.*, VII, 40 (VIII, 285-86). As noted by the editors of the Quaracchi edition (VIII, 286, n. 1), Bonaventure is inspired here by the definition of straightness given by Plato in the *Parmenides*.

¹⁹¹*Apol. paup.*, *ibid.* (VIII, 286).

¹⁹²I have noticed this great abundance of citations from the letters of Jerome especially in the chapters of this treatise published by A. Van den Wyngaert, *Tractatus pauperis a fratres Johanne de Peckham conscriptus*, Paris, 1925.

¹⁹³Ed.cit., p. 45 and pp. 80-81 (Appendix, Text 3).

“nakedness of the heart” and “nakedness of the body” that depends, no doubt, on similar distinctions Bonaventure had made in his *Apologia*. However, it is much briefer and less nuanced.¹⁹⁴

Around the same time, in that other reply to Gerard of Abbeville — the one left us by St. Thomas Aquinas in his *Contra doctrinam retrahentium a religione*,¹⁹⁵ written during the year 1271,¹⁹⁶ — the Angelic Doctor carefully quotes the passage from letter 58 to Paulinus of Nola which speaks of the nakedness of the cross. And in an article in the *Summa theologiae*¹⁹⁷ devoted to poverty, which is part of the II^a-II^{ae}, written around 1271-72,¹⁹⁸ he refers to the formula we have seen in the letter to Rusticus (*nudum Christum nudus sequere*).

Were we to pursue this investigation, we would surely find other citations of Jerome's four texts concerning the nakedness of the cross or that of Christ, both in the later or as yet unedited writings of the medicants as well as in those of their adversaries. We could also easily find in the spiritual literature of the late 13th century and well beyond, formulas inspired by those of St. Jerome, such as the one we notice, for example, in the *Imitation of Christ*.¹⁹⁹ Yet of all the authors we have met, Bonaventure is the one who seemingly devoted the most space to these expressions of St. Jerome. In any case, he is the one who refers most often to the four passages mentioned at the beginning of this study. He is also the only one — if I have counted correctly — to cite all four

¹⁹⁴Ibid., p. 81: “Sed dicunt adversarii paupertatis, etiam temporalibus habundantes, nudos nudam sequi crucem, sicut etiam videtur Jeronymus dicere de clericis qui vivunt de decimis et oblationibus [see Hieron., *Epist.* 52, 5, Appendix, Text 1]. Sed sic loquentes, intelligant quod nuditas sic intelligitur multipliciter sicut paupertas. Aliquando enim accipitur pro nuditate cordis, sicut intelligi potest illud Gregorii: ‘Nudi cum nudis luctari debemus.’ Sed alia est nuditas corporis per abiectioem omnis transitorie facultatis, sicut dicit Job: ‘Nudus egressus sum de utero matris mee, nudus referat illuc.’ Licet igitur qui temporalia habent et non amant, nudam crucem sequantur sed non solam, ut dicit Jeronymus [*Epist.* 120, 1, Appendix, Text 3]: ‘Nudam solamque crucem virtute nuda sequaris,’ solus ille crucis sequitur solam nuditatem qui, quantum possibile est, crucis amplectitur paupertatem....” Here we find a recollection of the distinction made by Bonaventure, *Apol. paup.*, VII, 21-22 (VIII, 279-80), mentioned above.

¹⁹⁵Cap. IX, Leonine ed., vol. XLV, pars C, p. 55, 132-135, and Cap. XV, *ibid.*, p. 69, 98-103. See Appendix, Text 2.

¹⁹⁶Ibid., Introd. p. 7: “...the composition of the *Contra retrahentes* thus takes place between Lent and Christmas of 1271.”

¹⁹⁷*Sum. theol.*, II^a-II^{ae}, q. 186, art. 3, ad 3. See Appendix, Text 4.

¹⁹⁸See P.-A. Walz, *Essai chronologique des écrits de saint Thomas d'Aquin*, in the article *Thomas d'Aquin (saint)*, *Dict. de théol. cath.*, vol. XV, Paris, 1946, col. 639-40.

¹⁹⁹*De imitacione Christi*, III, 37, 3: “Ad hoc conare, hoc ora, hoc desidera, ut ab omni proprietate possis exspoliari, et nudus nudum Jesum sequi.”

of them. Of course, we must be careful not to jump to any conclusions from these facts, but perhaps we are now in a position to draw some lessons from the texts and observations collected here.

First of all, it is clear that in the writings of the Seraphic Doctor the theme of spiritual nakedness is very closely linked with the apostolic ideal that from the beginning had inspired the mendicants²⁰⁰ and St. Francis himself.²⁰¹ But it is equally clear that Bonaventure gives the concept of the *via apostolica* a meaning different from the one traditionally given it. Ever since the patristic era, this concept referred as much — and perhaps even more — to the way of life adopted by the first Jerusalem community described in the book of Acts (2:42-47; 4:32-35)²⁰² as to the radical renunciation laid down by Christ for His apostles (Mt 10:9-10; Lk 9:3) and disciples (Lk 10:4), to which He had invited the rich young man (Mt 19:21), and which Peter had solemnly professed in the name of the Twelve (Mt 19:27).²⁰³ Henceforth the Seraphic Doctor refuses to recognize the system instituted by the first Christian community, or the rules for monks and canons inspired by it, as a faithful expression of the apostolic ideal. The latter, as the mendicants understood it,²⁰⁴ is characterized by a total poverty that excludes all common ownership. Its example was given by Christ and the apostles, and it was defined by the gospel texts just mentioned. Faithfulness to this apostolic ideal of radical renunciation constitutes spiritual nakedness in the strict sense.

But beyond these definitions, Bonaventure, a disciple and son of St. Francis, returns unceasingly and with great insistence to the cross and Christ crucified. This is what gives the theme of spiritual nakedness all its meaning, indeed its greatness. We must beware of seeing the imitation of Christ crucified evoked by Jerome's formulas — and taken up again by the Seraphic Doctor — as nothing more than a form of devotion to the cross or the

²⁰⁰ As early as 1211, in his *Historia Albigensis* (I, 23), the Cistercian Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay was saying that in order to better combat the heretics, Bishop Diego of Osma and his companion Dominic had adopted "in all things the form of the apostolic life *Iper omnia formam apostolicam imitantes*." Text quoted by H. Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen...*, 3. Aufl., p. 507.

²⁰¹ See 1Cel 22; L3S VIII, 25, and nn. 144-145 above.

²⁰² See J. Leclercq, *La vie parfaite : points de vue sur l'essence de l'état religieux*, Turnhout, 1948, pp. 92-94, and M.-H. Vicarie, *L'imitation des Apôtres...*, pp. 13-17, both of whom insist on the importation attached to this description of the Jerusalem community by early and medieval monasticism.

²⁰³ For the role played by these different texts in the early definition of the *vita apostolica*, see J. Leclercq, *op.cit.*, pp. 82-105.

²⁰⁴ The mendicants, not just the Friars Minor, for the followers of St. Dominic also gave a new meaning to the expression, as noted by M.-H. Vicarie, *L'imitation des Apôtres...*, pp. 67-69.

humanity of Christ, which reached a high degree of development in the course of the 13th century. We certainly must not confuse Bonaventure's theology with that of Meister Eckhart, who speaks of the "nakedness of God" to explain how the intellect, at the end of its ascent, apprehends God Himself, "stripped of Goodness, Being and all names."²⁰⁵ The mysticism of the Seraphic Doctor is more affective. Nakedness is not only a sign of the "nothingness" where "the Most High is hidden" or of Him "who reveals it here below."²⁰⁶ It is also a symbol of that inner renunciation without which the soul cannot rise to the absolute of God, beyond all determination. The Franciscan tradition has always had a keen sense of this, as a rereading of the *Itinerarium mentis in Deum* should convince us. Its prologue already warns us that "there is no other path but through the burning love of the Crucified,"²⁰⁷ and its conclusion reminds us at length that only "the one who beholds [Christ] hanging upon the cross" can celebrate the Pasch with Him, in other words, complete that passover in which "all intellectual activities must be left behind and the height of our affection (*apex affectus*) must be totally transferred and transformed into God."²⁰⁸

In a slightly different context, we can also compare Bonaventure's theology of nakedness to the "theology of clothing" proposed some time ago by Erik Peterson.²⁰⁹ Clothing, he says, is at once a symbol of the grace with which we were endowed before the fall, and the glory of the transfigured Christ, whereas the shame our first parents felt after the fall because of their nakedness was a sign of their moral decay and wretched state. It is in light of the traditional doctrine of the *kenosis*, itself based on the teaching of St. Paul (Phil 2:6-8), that we can understand the true meaning of the nakedness of the crucified Christ, a symbol of the extreme humiliation accepted by the Son of God, obedient even to the ignominy of death on a cross. The followers of St. Francis were called upon by their founder to teach the cost of poverty to a world that was acquiring a taste for wealth and more and more seemed to be sacrificing everything for it. For them, to follow the naked Christ in their

²⁰⁵ See V. Lossky, *Théologie négative et connaissance de Dieu chez maître Eckhart*, Paris, 1960, p. 213.

²⁰⁶ I am borrowing these expressions from S. Breton, *La mystique de la Passion: Étude sur la doctrine spirituelle de saint Paul de la Croix*, Paris, 1962, p. 25.

²⁰⁷ See *Itin.*, Prol., 3 (V, 295): "Via autem non est nisi per ardentissimum amorem Crucifixi..."; and later, *ibid.*: "Effigies igitur sex alarum seraphicarum insinuat sex illuminationes scalares, quae...perducunt usque ad Deum, ad quem nemo intrat recte nisi per Crucifixum."

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, VII, 2 and 4 (V, 312).

²⁰⁹ *Pour une théologie du vêtement*, trans. by Y. M-J. Congar, Lyons, 1943

nakedness, meant to accept a share here below in the humiliation of the God-Man, while awaiting the robe of glory that would one day cover the miserable nakedness of His servants.

Appendix

Here we have printed the Latin text of the four passages from the letters of St. Jerome in which are found the formulas concerning the nakedness of the cross or that of Christ, studied in the preceding article. Following each text, we have given references to all the explicit citations we have found and which are mentioned above. We have marked with an asterisk (*) the few rare references to works that cite these different passages of St. Jerome but do not give the text. Of course, we have not mentioned the many works, cited in the course of the article, where the formulas of Jerome appear merely as allusions or reminiscences, with no indication as to their origin.

Text 1 - St. Jerome, *Epist. 52 ad Nepotianum*, 5, I. Hilberg, ed., CSEL 54 (1910), p. 422, 2-7: "Se autem ego pars Domini sum et funiculus hereditatis eius nec accipio partem inter ceteras tribus, sed quasi levita et sacerdos vivo de decimis et altari serviens altaris oblatione sustentor, habens victum et vestitum his contentus ero et nudam crucem nudus sequar."

Cited in the following works:

Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, *Institutio canonicorum* (816), cap. 94 (Mansi, 14, 203-04; PL, 105, 883 B; MGH, Leg. III, Concilia II: *Concilia aevi Karolini*, A. Werminghoff, ed., vol. I, 1906, p. 370, 20-23).

Anselm of Lucques, *Collectio canonum* (c. 1180), VII, 2 (4), ms. *Paris B.N. lat. 1444*, f. 200^v-201^r.

Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum* (c. 1094), VI, 1, PL, 161, 439.

Gratian, *Decretum*, II, causa 12, q. 1, cap. 5, Friedberg, ed., vol. I, Leipzig, 1979, col. 677-78.

Gerard of Abbeville, *Contra adversarium perfectionis christianae* (1269), lib. II, S. Clasen, ed., *Arch. francisc. hist.*, 32, 1939, pp. 96-97.

Ibid., lib. III, p. 138.

Idem, *Exceptiones contra librum qui incipit Manus quae contra* (1270), 10, M. Bierbaum, ed., *Bettelorden und Weltgeistlichkeit an der Universität Paris, Münster in Westf.*, 1920, p. 174.

St. Bonaventure, *Apologia pauperum* (1269-70), VII, 21 and 22 (VIII, 279).

*Jean Peckham, *Tractatus pauperis* (1271), A. Van den Wyngaert, ed., Paris, 1925, p. 81.

Text 2 - St. Jerome, *Epist. 58 ad Paulinum*, 2, I. Hilberg, ed., CSEL, 54 (1910), p. 529, 1-5: "Denique et tu audita sententia Salvatoris: Si vis perfectus esse, vade, vende omnia, quae habes, et da pauperibus et veni, sequere me (Mt 19:21), verba vertis in opera et nudam crucem nudus sequens expeditior et levior scandis scalam Iacob."

Cited in the following works:

Thomas of York, *Manus quae contra Omnipotentem tenditur* (Summer 1256), cap. II, M. Bierbaum, ed., *Bettelorden...*, pp. 44-45.

Gerard of Abbeville, *Contra adversarium perfectionis christianae* (1269), lib. II, S. Clasen, ed., pp. 96-97.

*Idem, *Exceptiones contra librum...Manus quae* (1270), 6, M. Bierbaum, ed., *Bettelorden...*, p. 172.

St. Bonaventure, *Apologia pauperum* (1269-70), IX, 17 (VIII, 299).

St. Thomas Aquinas, *Contra doctrinam retrahentium a religione* (1270), cap. IX, Leonine ed., vol. XLI, pars C (1969), p. 55, 132-35.

Ibid., cap. XV, p. 69, 98-103.

Text 3 - St. Jerome, *Epist. 120 ad Hedybiam*, 1, I. Hilberg, ed., CSEL, 55, (1912), p. 477, 24 - 478, 2: "Vis esse perfecta et in primo stare fastigio dignitatis? Fac, quod fecerunt Apostoli, vende omnia, quae habes, et da pauperibus (Mt. 19:21) et sequere Salvatorem et nudam solamque virtutem [*vel crucem, aut crucem virtute*] nuda sequaris et sola."

Cited in the following works:

St. Bonaventure, *Quaest. disp. de perfectione evangelica*, q. II, art. 1 (*De paupertate quoad abrenuntiationem*) (October 1255), f. 14 (V, 126).

*Thomas of York, *Manus quae contra...* (Summer 1256), cap. II, M. Bierbaum, ed., *Bettelorden...*, p. 44.

Ibid., cap. III, p. 49.

St. Thomas Aquinas, *Contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem* (Autumn 1256), cap. VI, Leonine ed., vol. XLI, pars A (1970), p. 97, 294-99.

Gerard of Abbeville, *Contra adversarium...* (1269), lib. III, S. Clasen, ed., p. 146.

*Idem, *Exceptiones contra librum...Manus quae* (1270), 6, M. Bierbaum, ed., *Bettelorden...*, p. 172.

St. Bonaventure, *Expositio super regulam fratrum minorum*, IV, 14 (VIII, 416-17).

Idem, *Apologia pauperum*, VII, 23 (VIII, 280).

John Peckham, *Tractatus pauperis* (1271), A. Van den Wyngaert, ed., Paris, 1925, p. 45.

Ibid., p. 81.

Text 4 - St. Jerome, *Epist. 125 ad Rusticum*, 20, I. Hilberg, ed., CSEL, 56, (1918), p. 142, 5-9: "Si perfecta desideras, exi cum Abraham de patria et de cognatione tua et perge, quo nescis. Si habes substantiam, vende et da pauperibus (Mt. 19:21), si non habes, grandi onere liberatus es; nudum Christum nudus sequere. Durum, grande, difficile, sed magna sunt praemia."

Cited in the following works:

Book of Customs of the Abbey of Saint-Victor of Paris (12th century), containing extracts from the letters of St. Jerome, preceded by the Rule of St. Augustine, cap. 121, ms. *Paris B.N. lat. 14673*, f. 143th.

St. Thomas, *Contra impugnantes...* (Autumn 1256), cap. VI, Leonine ed., vol. XLI, pars A (1970), p. 98, 342-46.

Idem, *Summa theologiae*, II^a-II^{ae} (1271-72), q. 186, art. 3, ad 3.

St. Bonaventure, *Apologia pauperum*, III, 15 (VIII, 248).

Ibid., VII, 15 (VIII, 277).